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seed and better cultivation ; security of the harvests gained by the expansion of irrigation ; immunity from losses due to pests or pestilence ; higher prices from improved communications and conditions of marketing ; everything, in short, which we have advocated for the material advancement of the people will merely postpone the effects of the growing pressure of the population on the soil. No lasting improvement in the standard of living of the great mass of the population can possibly be attained if every enhancement in the purchasing power of the cultivator is to be followed by a proportionate increase in the population.

What is required is to increase in desirable directions the number of the villager's wants and to show him how to satisfy them by his own efforts. We trust that the whole weight of those to whom the villager looks for guidance will be thrown into suggestions how to improve, during his spare time, the amenities of the village.

It cannot, however, be reasonably expected of the cultivator that he should, unaided, revive this ancient custom of corporate action and utilise it for the improvement of the village and its surroundings. He lacks leadership, and the difficulty is to suggest the leader. The educated man is not willing to live his life in a village, except in a few cases, where ideals of social service overcome the absence of amenities. The system of village guides devised by Mr. Brayne, I.C.S., in the Gurgaon district of the Punjab, seems worthy of consideration.

Universities' Duty.

We attach most importance to linking the village with the social life of the town. We consider that this can best be effected by social workers organised in societies like the Seva Sadan Society of Poona. Such organisation facilities, continuity of policy and steady pressure over a long period both of which are required if permanent results are to be obtained. The universities also have an obligation and a great opportunity to assist in the work of rural development both on the economic and educational side.

Our enquiries have left us firmly convinced of the great importance to rural development in India of the spread of literacy amongst women. There are indications of an awakening interest in this direction. But progress is slow and we would suggest the desirability of demonstrating in striking fashion the value to the community of the education of its women, particularly in its effect upon the spread of lasting literacy amongst the young. Where no literate homes of the cultivating classes are available, we think a definite effort should be made to literacy to a certain number of young mothers selected where conditions are most suitable and where no similar experiment has been tried before. We have little doubt that the result of this comparison will show a markedly stronger tendency on the part of the literate parent both to send the children to school and to keep them there till literacy, which the mother has come to value has been fairly achieved.

We consider that, if teaching is to be efficient, the training of the teacher must be improved and there must be an increase in the number of trained teachers. If possible female teachers should be provided for small children for it is the experience of all countries that they are best qualified for such work. Teachers in primary schools should be drawn wherever possible from amongst those who are familiar with rural life and the text books

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should deal with every day objects familiar to the pupil and have a rural tone. The faculty of observation should also be developed by occasional school walks through neighbouring cultivation.

We are convinced that the progressive adoption of the compulsory system is the only means by which may be overcome the unwillingness of parents to send their children to schools and to keep them there till literacy is attained. The provision of a sufficiency of trained teachers and of suitably equipped buildings must, of course, precede the enforcement of compulsory school attendance. Finance also imposes a limitation.

In our observations on rural industries, we emphasise the importance of introducing modern process. This introduction will be greatly facilitated if the various technical institutes provide instruction in applied science of a high standard.

A problem of some importance is how the villager can best use his spare time for the improvement of his position. We have received various suggestions for the establishment of new industries which may offer increased employment to the rural population. An industry which seems to offer considerable promise is the extension of the local manufacture of agricultural implements. The engineering section of the agricultural departments can give valuable help in promoting such a development. Similar facilities should be provided for the training of the more progressive village artisans, such as blacksmiths and carpenters, who want to keep abreast of developments in agricultural machinery.

Poultry Industry.

There are opportunities for the development of a poultry industry and we are glad to note that increased attention is being devoted by the agricultural department, in most provinces to poultry rearing and the work done, notably in the United Provinces, suggests that this industry has possibilities of expansion.

With regard to rural industries in general, it may be said that the chief needs are the stimulus of new ideas and the provision of adequate instruction and advice on the commercial side. The opportunities which they present for improving the condition of the rural population are extremely limited, and as a general principle it may be laid down that the chief solution of the problems of the cultivator lies in promoting the intensity and diversity of his agriculture.

The development of village industries on a co-operative basis is essential, if they are to survive increasing competition,

Government can do much to assist the mutual adjustment between the large industries and agriculture by their policy in respect to communications and the development of power, by technical education, and by the collection of marketing information. It is essential for the success of the departments of industries that the Director should be an experienced administrator.

The Conclusion.

In conclusion, we record our considered opinion that restriction of recruitment for the new Superior Provincial Agricultural Services to a province or even to India would tell seriously on efficiency. From the point of view of wider outlook and variety of experience, officers recruited from abroad can make a valuable contribution to the development of Indian agriculture and we, therefore, strongly endorse the hope expressed by the Royal Com-

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mission on Superior Civil Services in India in regard to the continued co-operation of European officers.

We have been directed to examine and report on the present conditions of agriculture and rural economy in British India and to make recommendations for the

Cultivators' Duty. improvement of the welfare and prosperity of the rural population.

The aim of the suggestions and recommendations we have made has been to bring about greater efficiency throughout the whole field of agricultural production and to render the business of farming more profitable to the cultivator. Throughout our Report, we have endeavoured to make plain our conviction that no substantial improvement in agriculture can be effected unless the cultivator has the will to achieve a better standard of living and the capacity, in terms of mental equipment and of physical health, to make advantage of the opportunities which science, wise laws and good administration may place at his disposal. Of all the factors making for prosperous agriculture, by far the most important is the outlook of the peasant himself.

Government's Responsibility

This, in the main, is determined by his environment and it follows, therefore, that the success of all measures designed for the advancement of agriculture must depend upon the creation of conditions favourable to progress. If this conclusion be accepted, the improvement of village life in all directions assumes at once a new importance as the first and essential step in a comprehensive policy designed to promote the prosperity of the whole population and to enhance the national income at the source. The demand for a better life can in our opinion, be stimulated only by a deliberate and concerted effort to improve the general conditions of the countryside, and we have no hesitation in affirming that the responsibility for initiating the steps required to effect this improvement rests with Government.

The realisation of this important truth has led, in recent years, to a large increase in expenditure on the departments concerned with rural welfare. None the less, we feel that its force is inadequately appreciated by the Government of India and by local Governments and that the necessity that the rural problem should be attacked as a whole and at all points simultaneously, is still insufficiently present to their minds.

We cannot but think that the failure to grasp the full significance of the proposition we have laid down in some measure explains the absence of any co-ordinated attempt to effect that change in the surroundings and in the psychology of the peasant without which there can be no hope of substantially raising his standard of living.

All Resources Required.

If the inertia of centuries is to be overcome, it is essential that all the resources at the disposal of the state should be brought to bear on the problem of rural uplift. What is required is an organised and sustained effort by all these departments whose activities touch the lives and the surroundings of the rural population.

It is, no doubt, the recognition of the need for co-ordination that has given rise in many quarters to the view that lasting progress is unlikely to be achieved unless, in all provinces the activities of the various departments concerned are co-ordinated by development boards, advisory committees, or

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officers charged with the specific duty of securing combined action towards a given end. Development boards exist in some provinces, advisory committees in all. They are not without their value in bringing departments together and in interesting the leaders of public opinion in departmental activities. But there are definite limits to the extent to which Governments may properly or usefully delegate the performance of their functions. The responsibility for framing policy, and for combining the activities of two or more departments in order to give effect to that policy, must remain that of Government and of Government alone.

It is no part of our duty to make recommendations regarding the internal organisation by which Government should seek to effect co-ordination. We would, however, point out that, in Indian conditions, a very special measure of responsibility in this direction falls upon the Viceroy and upon the Government of provinces. Throughout our enquiry we have been much impressed by the extent to which the Viceroy can, by the display of a personal interest in agricultural matters forward the cause of India's premier industry. But the immediate responsibility of provincial Governors in this matter is the heavier, since the services most directly concerned with rural development are administered by provincial agency, and since it is they alone who provide a link between the Reserved and the Transferred departments. The responsibility of the Ministers in charge of the Transferred departments, which include all those most directly concerned with rural welfare, is also a heavy one and they will need all the assistance that strong secretariats with senior and experienced administrators at their head can give them.

Public Support Needed.

But though we hold it to be the duty of Governments to initiate a combined movement for the betterment of the rural population, we recognise that success on a large scale can be rendered permanent only if the sympathy, interest, and active support of the general public can be enlisted. So vast is the population and so extensive are the areas concerned, that no resources which could conceivably be commanded by the State would be adequate to the task in hand.

Our recommendations extend to so wide a field that it has not been possible for us to frame any exact estimate of such of our proposals as involve expenditure or to classify them in order of urgency. We would express the earnest hope that, as the funds necessary to carry out the policy of rural development we have attempted to outline become available, the various legislatures will be willing to place them at the disposal of appropriate departments. We are confident that the members of those legislatures will play their part in creating a public opinion favourable to the advancement of a great endeavour. Our enquiry has convinced us that, given the opportunity, the cultivators of India will be found willing and able to apply in progressive degree the services of science and organisation to the business or agricultural production.



Govt. of India Report on Indian Reforms

In June 1928 the Government of India published a report on the working of the reformed constitution, covering the period to the end of the life time of the second Council under the Reforms, i.e., December 1926. This report is in continuation of those submitted in 1923 and 1924 which was reviewed by the Muddiman Committee.

This provides interesting reading, and though they do not form the basis of the memoranda submitted by the various Provincial Governments to the Simon Commission they are fairly indicative of the Provincial Governments' opinions.

The Madras Report.

The Madras Government's report shows that mostly joint meetings of the two halves were held and that no resignations occurred owing to difficulties in the Cabinet.

Writing on the subject of the relations between the Reformed Government and Public Services, the Madras Government point out that the attitude of the Services have been very much the same as in the rest of India, but good points were more in evidence here than elsewhere. A greatly increased respect is now evinced by officials of all classes towards the decision of the Legislative Council as well as the status of its members.

The cost of administration increased and as regards the effect of the Reforms on the efficiency of the administration, the Madras Government point out that it is sufficient perhaps to state that the main change to be observed is that between a rigid adherence to a fixed policy and constant formulation of new and progressive policies. The former is more efficient, so long as the policy is a right policy, but in its nature tends to be unprogressive. The latter is apt to be less efficient until the policy is established.

Another effect which is very noticeable is the general unsettlement of the minds of the permanent officials. They have been brought up to carry out definite policies without questioning the underlying reasons for them. They have now seen the policy of every department pulled up by roots and examined "ab initio" and they are uncertain what is to be taken as an established policy and what is not.

Meanwhile revision of all salaries and allowances as well as of financial codes has resulted in a general uncertainty as to the officers' positions and has prompted a spirit of questioning of authority and demurring to the rules and orders which will render administration difficult until the Services settle down again to an established order.

The effect of the Reforms on the local self-Government is next reviewed by the Madras Government. It points out that there has been certain awakening of civic consciousness among the people and a policy of deofficialization, but it is too early to estimate the results in the way of civic achievement. There has been unwillingness both to impose taxes and strictly enforce tax collections, but it is hoped that with better financial conditions the policy of giving wide powers to the local bodies will be justified in future.

Extremist Doctrines.

For a short time in certain quarters there was a tendency to introduce extremist doctrines into the local bodies, but this was successfully combated by the late Ministers and now there is little ground for complaint on that score.

The Legislative Council represented strongly the legal profession and the Municipal and Local Boards administration of the Presidency, and this meant a tendency to represent interests rather than the people or causes. But the degree to which the Council reflects educated opinion has increased with each Council. The reaction of the Council on public opinion is of slower growth than that of representation of public opinion in it.

No Distinct Parties.

As regards the parties, it is stated that the ultimate goal of all being the same, namely, self-Government for India they tend to form opposition for opposition's sake. It cannot be said that distinct parties diverging on regular fixed policies exist.

As regards Parliamentary traditions, it is stated that forms at least of Parliamentary Government have found a ready response in the Madras Council. Work is closely followed by the literate classes, but until literacy is much wider spread and of a higher degree, the Councils will always be functioning above the head of the average voter.

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The Madras Government next opines that the influence of the Press on politics has not been so great as might be expected, chiefly because of limited reading public.

Swarajist Policy.

As regards political parties outside the legislature, it is pointed out that the Swarajists adhered to the policy of non-acceptance of office but had so far given qualified support to an Independent Ministry, possibly to prevent the formation of a "Justice" Ministry. They are accused of having broken the election pledges, but their latest endeavour seems to capture for the Congress the growing power of the purely labour movements, particularly in Madras city.

The Bombay Report.

The Bombay Government's report first deals with the allocation of funds between the two halves. An agreement on the distribution of funds has been reached between both halves in all cases, in spite of the financial stringency and the pressing demands for increased expenditure.

The general recognition of the failure of the Non-co-operation movement as a political force had a noticeable effect on the relations between the Government and local bodies and non-co-operators were not prepared to extremes. These bodies generally maintained friendly relations with the Government and their officials.

Communal Tension.

During the past three years the growth of the Brahmin and non-Brahmin strife in the Deccan and Carnatic districts and Hindu-Muhammedan tension in certain parts of Sind, had a serious effect on the administration of local self-governing bodies. On the whole, the local bodies have shown commendable interest in public health activities, including Baby Week and child-welfare movements, but finance remains the main difficulty. There are signs of growing interest in local self-Government among the people.

The electorate is freakish and apt to vote from personal and caste motives than principle and success or failure. These bodies more often than not depend on the presence of one man of outstanding influence.

The Council in dealing with legislation has always shown a strong desire to increase taxation and is inclined to reduce penalties, wherever possible, and provide additional appeals to courts. There is an inevitable tendency at the present stage to interfere too much in the details of Executive Government and ignorance of details of administration leads to insufficient recognition of Government efforts towards economy.

The reaction of the Council on public opinion was illustrated by making the Swarajists modify their attitude to one of responsive co-operation. Members showed great activity in bringing forward matters of interest to their constituents. The second Council showed signs of much more definite grouping on party lines and the Swarajists voted solidly. Non-Brahmins also were much more unified, possibly as the result of having a non-Brahmin Minister.

As regards the party leaders the Bombay Government points out that Mr. M. R. Jayakar was not a able figure, but by culture and moderation widely separated from most of his party he was a Moderate. His resignation led to deterioration of discipline among the Swarajists. Mr. Bhopatkar, who succeeded Mr. Jayakar, was opposed to the die-hard Swarajist Mr. Nariman, and failed to exercise any control over the party.

The Bombay Government declare that the second Legislative Council was distinctly poorer in quality because of the rout of Moderates by Swarajists resulting in lowering the tone of the Council and loss of business ability. The personality of the President helped to keep things going.

The methods of the non-Brahmins showed that they had still much to learn of politics. The Swarajists were the only non-official party united by bonds other than communal.

In conclusion, the Bombay Government refers to what it says has been by far the greatest hindrance to the success or at least to a fair trial of the reforms in this Province viz, its financial difficulties and the consequent inability of the Ministers to embark on any large schemes of social or educational advance. With reasonable funds the history of the working of the Reforms scheme in this Presidency might have been very different from that presented.

Work of the Council.

On the other hand, the Legislative Council has a large record of useful legislation to its credit. Its influence on both sides of the administration has been constant and considerable and its attitude on financial and general matters has on the whole not

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been unreasonable. If, as there is reason to think, there has been deterioration in some aspects of local self-government, this has not been unexpected or unnatural, and in other directions there has been an increase in non-official interest and co-operation in this important sphere of public work.

The political atmosphere has improved and though communal differences exist and sporadic disturbances have arisen from their evil influence the tension is much less acute here than in Northern India. It does constitute, however, one of dangers and difficulties in further advance.

It has been unfortunate from the point of view of the value of the scheme as an experiment that the party having the largest following in the last Council refused to take office while their effectiveness as constitutional opposition was much hampered by the changing and irregular lines of action arising out of outside political influences.

The Bengal Report.

The Bengal Government points out that the report embodies all the relevant criticism and suggestions received from the Executive Councillors and Ministers who were shown the draft report. It pointed out that during the suspension of the constitution on the Transferred side no advantage was taken to expand the Reserved side at the expense of the Transferred.

The attitude of the Legislative Council however, remained the same so that no matter how essential to the efficient administration of the Reserved subject was the increase in expenditure, it was subjected to severe criticism and opposition.

Fling on Swarajists.

As regards local self-Government, the report reviewing the Calcutta Corporation's work says that the appointment of the Chief Executive Officer being made elective had reduced his authority to a mere shadow. In consequence, there is little check on extravagance and there is a growing indiscipline among the staff.

Primary education has been mainly encouraged, the number of students having risen from 2500 to 1,16,000. Attention has also been paid by the Corporation to public health and medicine, but no progress has been made for the solution of the pressing drainage problems or water supply. There has been most objectionable relaxation of building rules and unpaid taxes accumulated, with the result that the Corporation's closing balances were depleted and borrowing capacity reduced. Until its administration were conducted in the interest of the inhabitants of Calcutta and not a political party, chances of improved administration were small. The report hopes that Swarajist disintegration and their minority might give administration a new orientation.

As regards the District Boards and Municipalities of Bengal, their difficulties were financial, and not political, and not attributable to the reformed constitution. With the exception of Mr. B. N. Sasmal, who, as Chairman of the Midnapore District Board was a complete failure, the Swarajists on the local bodies in the mufassil did their best to maintain, and in some cases raise, the level of the administration.

Financial difficulties are emphasised. Though the finances improved, progress would be crippled unless the Meston Settlement were revised.

As regards legislation the total out-turn of the second Council was very poor compared with the first.

The Bengal Government declare that in the year 1925 the Bengal Council appeared to have awakened to a better sense of its responsibilities. Mr. C. R. Das' exertions in this juncture hastened his untimely death, but after his death, when the Council met in August all attempts to reduce or refuse the demands were defeated. The Council followed its predecessor in showing growing apathy to resolutions. The objectionable practice has grown of increasing the number of members of the Select Committees on personal or party grounds.

As regards party groupings, the Swarajists under Mr. C. R. Das adopted the obstructionist policy. The Independents under Mr. B. Chakrabarty were against Government and there were individuals who owed allegiance to no body. They would accept office themselves, but would support no one else in office. The Ministerialists' bond of union was their personal attitude towards the various Ministers and did not, therefore, give consistent support to Government. The European and Anglo-Indian group possessed all the characteristics of a genuine political party. Official members are always present to support Government and could usually rely on nominated non-officials, save on the question of the release of political prisoners.

Public opinion being negligible, the members took no interest to maintain relations with constituents. As regards the attitude of the Council towards the Europeans, there

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is now a desire for larger grants for Indian education. Resentment is felt against the present scale of the European officers' salaries, and though practically all groups approved of the policy of Indianisation it was realised that without European officers all ranks the Calcutta riots in 1926 could not have been coped with.

In the Council itself the relations between Indians and Europeans were cordial. Non-official Europeans were respected and whatever to be said in the Council in debate the members outside treated each other with unvarying courtesy.

As regards the attitude of the Council towards Labour, it was clear that the interests of the working classes were not confined entirely to Labour members. The Bengal Government specifically deals with the criteria set up by the preamble to the Government of India Act.

As regards the co-operation received it pointed out that the Reforms had not worked for the greater part of the period and though there was a misapprehension as to what was meant by co-operation, there were no signs of recognition that co-operation meant an effective effort to overcome opposition to Dyarchy. The recognition of a sense of responsibility to the electors is nascent and the Council has not displayed a sense of responsibility in voting on questions relating to the Reserved subjects, though in the circumstances of the case it will be unfair to judge them harshly in this respect.

Primary Education.

As regards the growth of primary education the degree of illiteracy is most important. There should be a radical alteration in the quality of primary education.

Bengal is divided into Hindus versus Mahomedans and Government versus the Opposition. A communal Ministry does not lead to an appeal for a verdict to the electorate because of the existence of communal representation. It is, therefore, difficult to foresee any line of advance which is not based on a greater equality of influence of the two classes which are broadly represented by landlords and tenants. The extension of the franchise by including a larger number of illiterates does not contribute to the solution. The only remedy is the extension of education. The suspension of the Transferred subjects gave the Bengal Government an opportunity to extend and improve primary education.

There has been no marked progress in University or secondary education. As regards the constitution and public, the electors do not take much interest in the elections.

Female Franchise.

An interesting feature was the enfranchisement of women. Thirteen per cent of them voted, but by far the largest number of female voters belong to the unfortunate class whose presence was distasteful to lady polling officers and to a few respectable ladies who did appear to vote.

The illiterate voters were 34 per cent among non-Muhammadans and fifty among Muhammedans for the Legislative Council. For the Assembly the illiterate were nine per cent among non-Muhammadans and twenty-six per cent among Muhammedans.

The constituencies took little interest in the work of the Council except when the matter related to taxation or release of Mr. S. C. Bose. The general public has not yet realised the extent of real powers entrusted to the Council. The Executive Council is still regarded by the minority electorate as all powerful. Little improvement is expected until a higher standard of education is attained in the constituencies.

The only effective electoral organizations were the Congress Committees and an individual with only considerable local influence could succeed against a candidate supported by the Swarajist machine.

The influence of the press on public opinion is very great and with the disappearance of the "Indian Mirror" the pro-Government Indian Press ceased to exist. But criticisms were not directed solely against Government, for the various groups lost no opportunity of attacking one another. Party organization in the press did not reflect in the political life in their entirety.

The U. P. Report.

The United Provinces Government's report provides a very interesting reading and gives an impressionist summing up of its entire working. On the subject of allocation of funds, it is pointed out that the Finance Member's responsibility for spending in the departments on the Reserved Side has not resulted in these departments securing more than their fair share of money available. The Government hold the view that the inquiries by the Special Committees are natural and legitimate development of the Reforms.

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The first Minister's policy of avoiding the official interference with the local bodies as far as possible has been continued by his successors. The general progress by self-governing bodies is not as satisfactory as should be expected.

Landlords' Influence.

The Government legislation did not occasion any difficulty except with regard to the tenancy and the land revenue. Throughout the discussion of these bills the landlords were badly led and showed little judgment. The controversies in the legislature had however little effect on the elections of 1927 and the landlords were returned in undiminished numbers, though the majority of voters are tenants. They are still amenable to the influence of their landlords.

The Home Member dissociated himself from this criticism regarding the attitude of the Landlord party in the Legislature.

Pure finance is not much considered in the budget discussions and the questions of policy raised are largely stereotyped. A point of some importance is the absence of any disposition to insist that Indianisation shall result in less expensive administration.

The report concludes: "It is difficult to attempt to sum the tendencies of the Provincial politics or to forecast the future. Little can be added to what has already been said. Dyarchy has now functioned for seven years and the administration has been carried on without a break and on the whole peacefully. Revenues have increased and more money have been spent upon developments in many directions. The Ministers have acquired an insight into the public problems and experience of difficulties of the administration and both in the legislature and to some extent outside it there has been general quickening interest in all public matters. It is probably a true saying that on the part of officials and non-officials alike, there is more general acceptance of the Dyarchy as the form of Government than there was when its illogicalities and cumbrousness were more irksome by reason of their strangeness. Familiarity is breeding acquiescence, but the gap between the legislature and the people remains a profound one and there is a great cause for misgiving in the immense disparity between the work still to be done in qualifying an elector and the means which are so far in sight for doing it.

Communal Feeling.

As regards the relations of the Executive and the Legislature, there appear to be three main elements of weakness. One is the bitterness of communal feeling which may either bring about a deadlock or kill the political development by permanently forcing the Muslim element into an impotent alliance with the official element. Another is the lack of foresight and cohesion on the part of the dominant landlord party in the legislature which will make it difficult for them to hold out against the combination of the Nationalists and the Swarajists, and the third is the apparent lack of goodwill on the part of the Nationalists and the Swarajists towards any form of administration in which the British element has an effective voice.

Hitherto the majority in the Council for one reason or another have been willing, though with occasional manifestations of discontent, to maintain the working relations with the Reserved side of the Government. It is not certain that this state of things will continue. It is does not, the official Government of the time will have to choose between making their policy conform to the minimum demands of the new majority in the legislature or resolutely resisting those demands at the price of possible deadlock.

The Home Member and the Muslim Minister however think that the possibility of organising a permanent Government Party should be carefully examined.

The Punjab Report.

The Punjab Government points out that owing to resignations from I.C.S. and I.P.S. there had been increased difficulty in carrying on the administration satisfactorily. It has not always been easy to satisfy the insistent demands for British Magistrates, British Investigating Officers which invariably follow communal rioting and compliance with such demands had been sometime possible at the cost of some dislocation of essential services. Owing to shortage in the I.C.S. cadre an unduly highly proportion of district and sessions judges were appointed from the Provincial Civil Service which weakened the efficiency of provincial judiciary.

The continued communal tension is bound to have some injurious effect on the services which were undergoing rapid process of Indianisation. The press attacks and questions in Councils have impaired the discipline in some of the subordinate services and there is evidence that feeling of insecurity based mainly on communal grounds, pervade certain establishments. Comparatively rapid process of Indianisation in certain departments had

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frankly been used to adjust communal inequalities and in certain departments, at any rate, more importance is attached to political and communal connections than to departmental efficiency as means of advancement.

There is moreover a belief on the part of the public that corruption in the Services has increased since the introduction of the Reforms, in spite of the action taken by the local Government to eradicate it.

On the other side of the picture, the Ministers had excellent relations with the Services. The force of circumstances has in some cases tended to compel the Ministers to safeguard the claims of their community or party in respect of recruitment from the Services and communal considerations have occasionally impeded the choice of the most suitable men. But there has been a noticeable difference between the Ministers in this respect. Occasionally the I.C.S. heads resented this but on the whole there has been a general recognition that the Ministers must to some extent use patronage to consolidate their position in their parties. Ministers have (not ?) been quick to recognise good work, nor have they shown undue anxiety to expedite Indianisation at the sacrifice of efficiency.

As regards self-government there has been a tendency to centralise and departmentalise certain spheres of work formerly left to local bodies. The evils of communalism have perhaps been more apparent in the field of local self-government than in any other sphere. The first Muslim Minister for Local Self-Government had re-arranged representation on local bodies and though no objection could be taken to it on principle, one of the results of this policy has been to increase communal feeling.

Another unfortunate result has been that the sudden reduction of Hindu representation meant loss of men with considerable business training and experience of civic work.

The Council has on agricultural and co-operative matters given benevolent encouragement. It showed general but not well-informed readiness to promote industrial expansion. It took a sensible and reasonable attitude on the excise question.

Writing on the subject of the Council representing and reacting on public opinion, the Punjab Government declares that practically the only vehicle of public opinion in the Punjab is the press. It represents generally elements in society known for their hostility to British Administration, but of recent years this has yielded its place to a discussion of communal topics. It would be more correct to say that the press has had more influence on the expression of opinion in the Council than debates in the Council have on the press. Nevertheless, public interest in the Council has increased. The area of political consciousness is rapidly growing and the access of fresh elements largely representing classes with considerable stake in agriculture and commerce must tend to have a healthy and steady effect in politics. Questions in the Council relating to a constituency are asked by a distant member due probably to a desire of the representative to maintain good relations with local officials.

Political Parties.

As for party working, the Sikh party holds considerable influence. It sides with the muslim ruler party on agricultural questions, while on political issues it has affinity with the extreme Hindu group and has a leaning towards the Hindus on communal questions. Bonds of party discipline in the Punjab Council are loose and on occasions of important divisions it is seldom safe to assume that all members of a party will obey the party whip. The Punjab politician has still to learn the advantages of party solidarity.

The chief events outside the Councils were the final collapse of Non-co-operation and the Akali agitation.

It is pointed out that both sides of the Government have freely discussed matters of importance and the adoption of this course had conduced to the development of the province at a difficult period of its evolution, even though it may tend to obscure to the public some of the implications of this Constitution of 1919.

The Bihar & Orissa Report.

The Bihar Government reports that the pessimistic outlook of the Public Services has considerably been removed. The ingrained determination of the Council not merely to control the policy, but meddle in the details of the Executive Administration is directly responsible for the feeling that the governing officers are now required to serve two masters. The position of the District officers has definitely changed for the worse. Modern politicians elected to the District Boards and the Municipalities have no desire to have been trained. They resent interference and it is not possible for the District Officer to continue making futile attempts to improve matters. The local officers feel that less



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interest is taken by the higher authorities in district work and more in politics, and he is for the present marking time. Apart from this uneasiness and mistrust, the relations between the members of the Services and the reformed Government have been harmonious.

There has been a grave deterioration in the administration of the local bodies and for lack of expenditure there was stagnation in the Reserved departments. The Council wishes to abolish all supervising officers and is blind to the wholesale fall in the standard of the administration which would inevitably result. The Council is unable to come to any final decision on any debatable matter. The Ministers claim considerable advance as a result of the Reforms, but the heads of the Transferred Departments take a somewhat different view. There has, however, been no marked decrease in the efficiency of the administration.

Professional Politicians.

An ominous and disquieting sign of the times is the growth of the class of professional politicians, mostly raw youths, who take up politics as livelihood and responsible Indians are openly apprehensive of this class who are gaining power. Bribery at the elections is rampant and an atmosphere congenial to the growth of professional politicians is being created.

The Council was reasonable in giving support to the Government measure to remove the practical difficulties of administration. There is no general public opinion on matters discussed in the Council and the ordinary member does not maintain any personal relations with his constituency.

As for party grouping Government relies on nominated members and landlords, but the position is far from easy until a definite party is consolidated, as the Swarajists form the largest unofficial group.

The press of the Province has little direct influence on the public opinion. As for the general political atmosphere, the anti-Government movement is now more indirect.

The ministers, Sir M. Fakhruddin and Sir Ganesh Dutt Singh, append a joint note claiming that the reforms have improved the efficiency of the administration. They do not think any chance of a group or party on communal lines being formed in the Council.

The C. P. & Assam Report.

The Central Provinces Government claims the percentage of thirty-nine per cent allotted to the Transferred side, which exceeds that of any other province with one exception. The Government received advice and assistance from Council Committee.

As for the local self-Government instances of mismanagement and deterioration are natural in the transition period. It is hoped that higher sense of public responsibilities will begin to assert themselves.

During the period reviewed, the Swarajists obstructed successfully and the Transferred Departments were suspended. The polling in 1924 showed that members of the second Council were in a sense real representatives of electors, but owing to literacy and inexperience it was doubtful whether the majority had any idea about the policy which voted. The Swarajists could not therefore, be said to have obtained the mandate for obstruction. The creed of non-co-operation gradually gave way to saner counsels. The Non-Brahmin movement also made a considerable headway in the Mahratti-speaking districts and has now become active force in certain constituencies.

The Assam Report.

The Assam Government reports that though the majority of elected members consider criticism of the Executive Government their most important function there had been no tendency for obstruction. On the other hand, members of all parties, including the Swarajists, had been willing to offer their services and advice on important questions of the policy.

As regards the ministerial joint responsibility, the Ministers have to be selected in consideration both of leadership and also communal claim. In the circumstances the Ministers must themselves decide to what extent they would accept joint responsibility.

As for the local bodies the regrettable feature is the laxity in supervision in accounts and reluctance to take adequate action in cases of fraud or culpable-negligence on the part of subordinates. But with the spread of education, the civil responsibility would grow with experience.

The Opium Bill.

There had been no cases of certification, return or reservation of bills, except the Opium Bills, to which Government withheld assent. The attitude of the Council towards

REPORT ON INDIAN REFORMS

the legislation was on the whole reasonable, and except perhaps in the first year to the second Council the Government have experienced little difficulty in obtaining supplies from the Council. The Council has on the whole maintained a high standard of dignity and procedure. The Government compliments the abilities displayed by the Swarajists, the Independent and tea industry leaders in the Council. Proceedings of the House evoked little interest in the constituencies. The Swaraj Party was the only organised party. There is no Assam press and Bengal Press exercises influence in Assam. The Non-co-operation movement had little effect on the working of Municipalities and Local Boards.

The Burma Report.

The Burma Government's report states that there has been no allocation of funds between the two halves as no demand has been made, nor any necessity arisen therefore. There has been no lack of co-operation between the Executive Government and the Legislature and no lack of harmony between the members, Ministers and the heads or the personnel of the departments. The uneasiness in the Public Services has grown less. There has been no case of certification or reservation of bills or withholding assent, save in the case of the Burma Tax on Sea Passengers, nor has there been resort to Regulations or Ordinances or other extraordinary legislative powers.

In measures dealing with law and order the attitude of the opposition has been one of bitter hostility and unreasoning prejudice. It is significant that the attitude of hostility towards the police, public works and forest departments has changed very remarkably.

So far no outstanding personality has emerged from among the Burmans in the Legislative Council. Little interest is taken by the public in the proceedings of the Council. The influence of the press on politics is small.



CSL

Proceedings of the
Legislative Council
Council of State
and
The Provincial Council

The Legislative Assembly.

NEW DELHI—1st FEBRUARY 1928.

The cold weather session of the Legislative Assembly opened in New Delhi on the 1st FEBRUARY with Mr. Patel in the chair. Though the agenda was formal, a large number of people were attracted to the public galleries owing to the interest created in the session by political controversy. A number of members were sworn in and an hour was spent on questions.

Reserve Bank Bill.

Sir Basil Blackett then rose to introduce the new Reserve Bank Bill.

The President allowed Mr. Aney to raise a point of order.

Mr. *Aney* contended that the motion of Sir Basil Blackett would not be in order for various reasons. The old Bill was partly discussed in the last session and the House had decided on its principle. Therefore, any motion now asking the Assembly to reopen the discussion of the same subject and going back on the principle already decided upon would offend against the principle of *res judicata*. Was Sir Basil right in bringing before the Assembly a Bill dealing with a subject which had not been finally decided and which the Assembly was in possession of? Such a procedure, even if it was technically correct, was not in accordance with the dignity and prestige of the Assembly which should refuse to be coerced. This abnormal procedure contemplated by the Government also offended against the rule of repetition and the rule of anticipation which were recognized in every constitution.

Sir *Basil* said he was zealous of the dignity of the assembly and in a true sense an Assembly man. He, therefore, trusted that the House would acquit him among other presumptuous sins of the sin of offending its dignity. Mr. Graham would explain the constitutional aspect.

Mr. Jamnadas *Mehta* said two courses were open to the Government; either to withdraw the old Bill and bring a new Bill or to get the old Bill passed in this House and bring amendments to it in the Council of State. But the Government would not have the old Bill withdrawn because they were sure withdrawal required unanimous consent of the house which the Government were sure they would not obtain.

Sir Basil Blackett.—The dignity of the House would be safer in the keeping of Mr. Jamnadas Mehta than in the suggestion that the Government should bring an amendment to the Bill in the other House.

Mr. Srinivasa *Iyengar* intervened in order to obtain a ruling from the Chair on this constitutional point with a view to enable the Congress party to determine its conduct on this and some other subjects. He said the Government had no right to introduce a new Bill when the Assembly was seized of the original Bill. It was the Chair and the whole House which were in possession of the old Bill. Moreover, having regard to the expressed commitment of the Government to the principle of the old bill, it was not open to the Finance Member from a technical or common-sense point of view to seek to introduce the new bill. Rule-making authorities never contemplated such a grotesque and absurd procedure as the Government contemplated.

Replying to the objections, Mr. *Graham* Legislative Secretary, explained that the House could not under the rules compel the Government to proceed with a Bill to its final conclusion. It was absurd and incongruous to suggest that for the preservation of the dignity of this House the Government should allow the old Bill to be passed here and then bring necessary amendments in the other House. The Government had no fears that if the old Bill had been asked to be withdrawn the House would not agree to it. That old Bill was alive but in a state of suspended animation and the Government did not propose to make any motion in respect of

it in this session. The House had seen the last of that Bill. (Cries of : 'Has it ? Are you quite sure ? It may come at any time.')

Proceeding, Mr. Graham maintained that there was no question of anticipation. Then on the ground of repetition, Mr. Graham quoted Standing Order 31 and said there had been precedents for it. When Sir Hari Singh Gour had brought forward a Bill for the removal of the sex bar against women legal practitioners practising in courts, no select committee thereon was appointed, because the Government had brought forward another Bill on the same subject.

At this stage the President drew the attention of Mr. Graham to the fact that Sir Hari Singh Gour did not convene a select committee on the Government undertaking that they would bring in their own Bill.

Mr. Graham contended that there were two bills before the House in the same session, for Sir Hari Singh Gour's Bill was not proceeded with. The same was the position now in respect of the present Bills.

Sir Purshotamdas called attention to the dangers of the procedure. Mr. Graham had said that the Government were not afraid of the withdrawal of the old bill. Why not then first withdraw it ?

Sir Basil Blackett.—Sir, the only question before the House is whether the procedure is regular or not.

The Chair.—Sir Purshotamdas is in order.

Sir Purshotamdas, continuing, said the case of Sir Hari Singh Gour was not identical. 'I say, Sir, the Government will itself regret this procedure in future. It is an insult to this House, and is a mockery to those who spent months in the joint committee to consider the original Bill. (Applause.)

Munshi Iswar *Saran* opined that while the House could not compel the author of any Bill to proceed with the Bill, it could put its foot down against Government playing with it by introducing parallel legislation. This dangerous procedure, if followed in future, might lead at a time to the introducing of two, three or four parallel Bills on the same subject.

President's Ruling.

The President then gave his considered ruling on the point, which in effect was that unless the Government withdrew the old Bill he could not call upon Sir Basil Blackett to make a formal introduction of the Bill. The President said :—

"The question raised has two aspects. The first is whether the method adopted by the Finance Member in dealing with the Reserve Bill in the Assembly so violates the proprieties of the House as to constitute it an abuse of its forms and procedure. The second is whether the new Bill in so far as it provides for a shareholders' bank, as against the decision of the Assembly in favour of a State bank, is not barred by the rule of repetition contained in Standing Order 31 of the manual. On this second point my view is that unless a motion asking the Assembly to consider the clause in the new Bill providing for a shareholders' bank is made by the Finance Member the bar arising, if at all, from the rule against repetition does not operate. It is, therefore, necessary for me at this stage to consider that question and, indeed, I do not propose on this occasion to say anything more than what is strictly necessary for the purpose in hand.

HISTORY OF THE MEASURE

Coming now to the first question, it is necessary for the Chair to bear in mind the previous history of this piece of legislation in order to decide whether the method now proposed by the Finance Member violates the proprieties of this House. It will be remembered that the Finance Member introduced his Reserve Bank Bill in the Delhi session last year and it was then referred to a joint select committee of both Houses. That committee consisted of 30 members and held its sittings for several days at different places. The fight between Government and the non-official members on the committee centred round two important matters : (1) whether the Reserve Bank should be a State bank or a stockholders' bank, and (2) what should be the constitution of the board. On both these points the Government lost, and the Finance Member made his minute of dissent on the report of the joint select committee. The bill as reported was then presented to the House

for consideration at the Simla session. After nearly three days' discussion on that stage the Finance Member, on behalf of the Government, accepted the recommendations of the joint select committee, to the nonofficial view at the same time making it quite clear that the House should come to some reasonable understanding on the question of constitution of the board. The Bill was then considered clause by clause and the first seven clause were passed by the House, including the clause regarding the State bank. The eighth clause regarding the constitution of the bank was being considered on the 1st September when the House adjourned to the 2nd September. When the House assembled on that day the Finance Member requested the Chair to adjourn further consideration of the Bill to the 5th September in order to enable him to come to some understanding on the question of constitution of the bank with the various party leaders in the House. This request was granted and the House again met on the 5th September when it was found that the Government had not included the item on the agenda, nor was any explanation forthcoming why that was not done. At the following meeting of the Assembly on the 8th September the Finance Member made a statement of the next week's business and announced the decision of the Government that they had no intention of proceeding further with the Reserve Bank Bill at present. This announcement was resented by the nonofficial members and the whole of the Swaraj Party left the House as a protest. On the 13th September when the House reassembled a motion censuring the Government of India for withdrawing the Reserve Bank Bill from the consideration of the House at that stage in that sudden and abrupt manner was discussed and carried. In explaining the attitude of the Government on that motion the Finance Member expressed himself thus : "I entirely agree to the House. If the members of this House are of opinion that an affront was offered to the House, I can only say on behalf of the Government that no such affront was desired or intended, and I am very sorry that any impression of that sort should have gone abroad. As regards the withdrawal of the Bill what the Government have done is to come to the conclusion that in view of the time available during this session and the complexity of the problem still to be solved it was not desirable to attempt to complete the Bill this session."

CORRECT PROCEDURE.

This is the history of the Bill which the Chair has to bear in mind in deciding whether the method which the Finance Member now proposes to adopt violate the proprieties of this House. The Finance Member intends today to introduce a new Reserve Bank Bill. Under Standing Order 4 (2) of the manual, the old Reserve Bank Bill is still on the pending list of business. It has neither been withdrawn nor has it lapsed by the efflux of time. It is no doubt true that the mover of a Bill is entitled to drop it altogether in the sense that he makes no further motion with regard to it, but if he drops a Bill and proposes to introduce another instead on the same subject what should be the correct procedure for the member to adopt is a question which the Chair has to consider in this connection.

I have taken some trouble to ascertain the practice of the House of Commons in matters of this kind, and though I have not been able to find any reported case which is on all-fours with the case we are considering, there are cases which, if they do not bear materially upon this question, certainly illustrate the principle involved in it. A member who has introduced a Bill drops it himself or is required to drop it, either because he is not satisfied with its provisions and desires to make material alterations in it or because the committee to which the Bill has been referred recommends such radical alterations in it as to constitute it entirely a different Bill from that which has been read a second time by the House and committed.

PRECEDENTS OF HOUSE OF COMMONS.

In 1873 the mover of the University Test (Dublin) Bill made material alterations in the Bill as introduced and the Speaker held that the Bill should be withdrawn with the leave of the House and a new Bill introduced.

In 1878 when the order for the second reading of the Hypothec (Scotland)

Bill was read, objection was taken that the Bill had been so transformed as virtually to amount to a new Bill. The Speaker ruled that the Bill should be withdrawn with the leave of the House and a new Bill substituted.

These are cases where alterations have been introduced on the sole authority of the member who had introduced the Bill and not by a committee of the House. The Partnership Amendment Bill, 1866, was committed *pro-forma* and a great number of amendments were proposed in the committee which so changed the Bill as to transform it into an entirely new Bill.

The Title Rent Charge Recovery Bill of 1899 was materially altered by the committee to which it was referred and the Speaker in both cases unhesitatingly affirmed that the practice of the House had been in cases of that kind to withdraw the old Bill and then to introduce a new Bill in an amended form.

In the University Test (Dublin) Bill above referred to, the Speaker expressed the practice of the House in these words. "There is no principle more clearly laid down in this House than this. When a member has introduced a Bill to the House it ceases to be in that member's hands and passes into the possession of the House. No essential alterations in that Bill at any stage may then be made without a distinct order of the House. I may remind the House that principle applies with special force when the House proposes to go into a committee *pro-forma* on a Bill in order to meet objections to that Bill raised on the second reading. Upon those occasions it is clearly established that no alteration can be introduced in a Bill inconsistent with the general character of the Bill. The House has clearly laid down a clear course for the members to take. If they desire to make any essential alterations in a Bill, on which they have charge at any stage, that course is to ask the leave of the House to withdraw the Bill and to present another instead thereof. That is the proper course to take, and that is the course which, as I understand, the hon. member proposes to take."

The case that we are considering is further complicated by reason of the fact that the old Bill, which is still pending, has not only been considered in committee and reported upon, but also the consideration of that as reported by the joint select committee has been approved by the House and decisions on several clauses reached. The Finance Member by proposing to introduce his new Bill on the same subject endeavours in effect to make material alterations not so much in the old Bill as introduced but in the Bill as amended by the joint select committee and furthermore, in the decisions already reached by the House.

The rule of practice enunciated by the Speaker of the House of Commons in the cases above referred to applies, therefore, with greater force to this case. If the Finance Member had chosen to continue the old Bill he could not have made any motion asking the Assembly to reconsider its decision in favour of a State bank as against a shareholders' bank. It cannot be argued that the rule against repetition applies to motion made during the same session and, therefore, there would be no objection to the reopening of the question of State *versus* shareholders' bank in the following session. In fact, the Finance Member could not have got an opportunity to re-open the question, as the Bill would have been taken up for consideration from the stage at which it was left over and no President would allow a Finance Member or an Assembly to go back on the clauses of a Bill already passed. If, therefore, the Finance Member could not have reopened the question of State *versus* shareholders' bank in the ordinary course, he is, in my opinion, not entitled to do so by resorting to this extraordinary procedure. The practice of the House of Commons that a member desiring to make substantial alterations in a Bill introduced by him can only do so by withdrawing the Bill with the leave of the House and introducing a fresh Bill in an amended form is in my opinion based on considerations of propriety of parliamentary procedure and has no relation whatever to the rule against repetition. If any motions in connection with a new Bill are otherwise barred by the rule against repetition, it is difficult to understand how the withdrawal of an old Bill can save them from such a bar. I am not, however, called upon to express any opinion on this question at present.

AN ABUSE OF PROCEDURE

There is one other point to which I should like to refer before I conclude my observations. The position of the Assembly has been rendered much more difficult in this case by reason of the fact that the new Bill has already been published in the *Gazette of India* under orders of the Governor-General in Council. This procedure has deprived the Assembly of an opportunity of refusing the same subject as a protest against the method adopted by the Government in dealing with the Reserve Bank Bill. That being so it is now for the Chair as the sole interpreter of the rules and standing orders of the House and guardian and protector of its rights and privileges to intervene. Holding these views and taking the fullest responsibility for my decision I unhesitatingly affirm that the method proposed to be adopted by the Finance Member violates the proprieties of the House and is an abuse of its procedure, and I, therefore, regret I must decline to recall upon him to introduce his Bill. (Applause from the Swarajist, Nationalist and Independent benches.)

There are two courses open to Government : (1) To withdraw the first Bill with the leave of the Assembly, if it is given, and introduce the proposed new Bill. In suggesting this course I desire to guard myself against conveying any impression that the withdrawal of the old Bill will remove all difficulties in the way of introduction of the new Bill in this session. (2) The only other and safer course for the Government is to allow the first Bill to disappear from the pending list of business by lapse of time and then introduce this Bill (*vice* proviso to Standing Order 4 (2)."

After the President's ruling the Swarajist members withdrew from the House in a body.

INDIAN MERCHANT SHIPPING ACT AMENDMENT BILL.

On the motion of Sir Geogre Rainy the Bill Amending the Indian Merchant Shipping Act was then introduced.

Sir Geogre Rainy in his statement of objects and reasons observed that the list of central subjects in the Schedule to the Devolution Rules made under section 45-A of the Government of India Act included the following :—(1) Shipping and navigation, (2) lighthouses, (3) port quarantine, and (4) major ports. All these subjects are now administered through the agency of the local Governments as provided by section 45-A (1) (c) of the Government of India Act and the statutory powers in respect of them had hitherto to a large extent been vested in the local Governments. At a conference held in Delhi in November 1924 which was attended by representatives of the local Governments, the chairmen of the port trusts of major ports, port officers and port health officers as well as by representatives of the departments of the Government of India concerned, it was considered whether these subjects should continue to be administered through the agency of the local Governments or should be administered direct by the Governor-General in Council. As a result of these discussions the Government of India decided that (1) shipping and navigation and (2) lighthouses should be administered direct and that legislation should be undertaken so as to vest the necessary statutory powers in the Governor-General in Council. They also decided that the question of the major ports about which there was some difference of opinion should be reconsidered later when experience of the central administration of other subjects had been gained. Port quarantine, which is closely connected with sanitation of the port generally will also be dealt with separately.

The Indian Lighthouse Act, which was passed in September, 1927, provides for the direct administration of light-houses by the Governor-General in Council. The object of the present Bill is to amend the Indian Merchant Shipping Act, 1923, so as to provide for the administration of shipping and navigation by the Governor-General in Council direct instead of through the agency of local Governments. The amendments which were specified in the schedule to the Bill, were mainly formal, substituting the words 'Governor-General in Council' for 'local Government' and making the necessary consequential amendments. Clause 7 of the Bill, however, empowered the Governor-General in Council to delegate to any local Government all or any of his powers under the Act. This provision has been included in the Bill.

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to give necessary elasticity in the administration during the period of transition and to permit the delegation of powers in matters which may be found can more conveniently continue to be administered through the agency of the local Governments.

BUSINESS FOR NEXT WEEK.

Sir Basil Blackett then announced that in view of the ruling of the President on the introduction of the Reserve Bank Bill, he was unable to make a statement with regard to the business to be transacted next week. He hoped to make that statement at the earliest possible opportunity.

ADJOURNMENT MOTION ON LIQUOR BILL.

The Assembly next discussed the adjournment motion of Pandit *Kunzru* regarding the Liquor Bill before the South African Parliament. He traced the history of the Cape Town Agreement and said that although every section of Indians was not satisfied with it they accepted it as marking a great advance in the hope that it would lead to an amicable understanding for all future. That the hope expressed by Mr. Bhore in the Assembly in announcing the terms of the Agreement was well founded was evident from the clause which stated that it was the duty of every civilized government to devise ways and means to uplift every section of its permanent population to the fullest extent of their capacities and opportunities. There was thus to be no question of driving out Indians by racial legislation. It was further thought that if the principle of equal wages for equal work was introduced the position would right itself. But this Bill clearly was a racial legislation against Indians inasmuch as it was specially aimed against the Asiatics. After the conclusion of the agreement relating to equal pay for equal work there was absolutely no reason why Indians should be driven out of any profession, since there could be no fear that they would enter into unfair competition with Europeans. No doubt the Minister of Justice in South Africa had given the assurance that the Liquor Bill would not affect the Indians already employed in the industry. But that is not enough. In accordance with the Cape Town Agreement no cause should rise in future that would create bad blood between the two countries.

Mr. *Bajpai*, on behalf of the Government, assured the House that since October, 1927, when the Bill was published the Government of India fully realizing its importance took all necessary steps to bring their views before the Union Government—views which in this matter were always identical with those of the Assembly and the country. This measure undoubtedly raised racial questions whether Indians should or should not be employed in this industry, but its scope was limited. The limited scope, however, did not make the Government of India feel oblivious of the importance of the legislation, and the Government of India in accordance with the letter and spirit of the Cape Town Agreement had represented to the Union Government that it was contrary to that Agreement and that on the grounds of equity there was no justification for passing it. But the House must be aware that the relation between India and South Africa was much better than what it was in 1925 when the Colour Bar Bill was before that Parliament, or in 1925 when the situation was at one time so grave, that there was no proper atmosphere even for the Round Table Conference. But happily the conference did meet and the Agreement was arrived at, and there was an Agent in South Africa who was Agent not only of the Government of India but of the people of India, who enjoyed the fullest measure of the confidence of the Assembly and the Indian community in South Africa, who was held in esteem by the European community in South Africa and respected by the Union Government. The Government of India would back up Mr. Sastri at every stage of his representation on behalf of India, and Mr. Bajpai, therefore, begged the House not to pass the motion which was a virtual vote of censure.

Lala Lajpat *Rai* said if the Bill were carried into law it would violate the spirit of the Agreement. He was glad to have an assurance from the Government of India that they were doing their best to safeguard Indian interests. He, however,



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warned the Government that the feeling in India was one of strong resentment. He advised Mr. Kunzru to withdraw the motion.

Leave being given, Mr. Kunzru withdrew the motion. The Swarajists did not attend throughout the after-lunch proceedings. The House then adjourned.

The Viceroy's Address.

On the *2nd FEBRUARY* both the Houses of the Legislature met to hear the Viceroy's inaugural address. It was a stirring address which was listened with rapt attention. One hundred and ten members attended and there were about 500 visitors. The Viceroy's speech took thirty minutes and was loudly applauded. His Excellency said :—

"GENTLEMEN,—With the exception of one topic to which I will return later in my speech, I do not propose today to deal with all the various important subjects which are likely to come before you for consideration this session. But there are one or two matters to which I think it is proper that I should make brief reference.

Our relations with foreign states along our great land frontier, from Persia in the west to Siam in the east, continue, I rejoice to say, very cordial in character. India has been honoured by a public visit from his Majesty the King of Afghanistan on his way to Europe, and the warmth of his welcome, by Government and people alike, was evidence of the links of friendship and common interest that bind the two countries together. It was a matter of much disappointment to me that indisposition debarred me from active participation in the welcome to his Majesty. My disappointment was no less great than indisposition should have robbed me of the pleasure of making the personal acquaintance of that sagacious statesman, his Highness the Prime Minister of Nepal, now in Calcutta on a visit which only the state of his health precluded from being a public visit and which, I trust, will soon lead to a complete restoration of his normal vigour.

INDIANS OVERSEAS.

I pass from the subject of India's external relations with her territorial neighbours to mention recent events affecting the position of Indians overseas. Hon. members will have observed with great satisfaction the cordial spirit in which the appointment of the Rt. hon. Srinivasa Sastri as our Agent in South Africa has been from the first received both by the Union Government and by the various sections of the public, both European and Indian, in that country. Since his arrival our Agent has performed invaluable work in consolidating the friendly relations between the two countries, in stimulating among the Indian settlers the desire for self-help and in promoting between Europeans and Indians in South Africa a clearer perception of mutual obligations. He has realized the highest expectations of those who, appreciating his capacity and gifts, expected most from him and there is, therefore, every reason to hope that questions which are still outstanding or may arise in the future will be harmoniously adjusted.

Indians in East Africa have also recently claimed the special attention of my Government and of hon. members. Acting on a suggestion of a representative deputation of the Legislature which waited on me in Simla last September, my Government have recently sent Kunwar Maharaj Singh and Mr. Ewbank to assist the Indian communities concerned in connection with the Commission which has been deputed by his Majesty's Government to examine locally certain aspects of future policy. Our representatives have already made a rapid tour of the territories in which Indian interests are important and are now working there in close relation with the accredited leaders of Indian opinion. Hon. members may feel confident that any case which the Indian settlers may desire to advance will be effectively presented and can count upon careful consideration at the hands of the Commission.

STATUTORY COMMISSION.

I now turn to the major political question which it is necessary that I should ask you to examine in greater detail. Since I last addressed the Legislature, his Majesty's Government have, as hon. members are aware, taken certain decisions in connection with the Statutory Commission which are of vital concern to India,

Circumstances made it impossible for me to announce these decisions to the Legislature, as I should naturally have wished to do, and I therefore, avail myself of this the earliest convenient occasion to make some observations in regard to them. I need not recapitulate what I said in my statement of Nov. 8. That statement gave at length the reasons which had prompted his Majesty's Government to accelerate the date of the enquiry and to appoint a Parliamentary Commission. It outlined the proposed procedure at the various stages and indicated broadly the lines on which his Majesty's Government hope to unite the best efforts of the chosen representatives of India and Great Britain in the wise ordering of India's future. Within the general framework as there described, the Prime Minister made it plain in the course of the Parliamentary debates that it was the considered intention of his Majesty's Government to leave to the Commission itself full discretion as to the methods by which they should approach their task. The Commission arrives in India tomorrow, not as yet on its more formal mission, but with the hardly less important object of enabling its members to acquaint themselves with the general working of the legislative and administrative machines and hold informal consultations for the purpose of determining the most appropriate means of discharging the responsibility which Parliament has laid upon them.

DIFFERENCE OF OPINION.

Considerable difference of opinion has become apparent as to the way in which India should receive these decisions of his Majesty's Government and of Parliament. On the one hand, those who speak for important sections of India political thought have been loud in their criticism and condemnation of the scheme approved by Parliament; on the other hand, many thoughtful and distinguished Indians, as well as large and powerful communities, have declared themselves in favour both of the Commission's constitution and of the general procedure that has been devised and have expressed their readiness to give it all the assistance that they can.

MISAPPREHENSIONS.

I do not propose to enter far into the lists of controversy, but there are two points to which I think it right to refer. It has been freely said that his Majesty's Government have done Indians a real injustice in denying to them adequate means by which Indian opinion may influence and affect those proceedings. Such charges as these arise in part from the genuine failure of some critics to appreciate features of scheme which, I thought, had been sufficiently plainly stated. It has, for instance, been assumed that representatives of India would not confer with Joint Parliamentary Committee in London until after Parliament had reached main decisions of principle upon the second reading of a Bill. That this is not the case is clear from my statement of Nov. 8 in which I said that it was not the intention of his Majesty's Government to ask Parliament to adopt any proposals which, as a result of the Commission's report, might be put forward without first giving an opportunity for Indian opinion by personal contact to exert its full weight in shaping the view of the Joint Parliamentary Committee in regard to them. I was careful to point out that at this stage Parliament will not have been asked to express any opinion on particular proposals and that therefore, so far as Parliament is concerned, the whole field will still be open.

'MISTAKING SHADOWS FOR REALITY.'

Apart from such misapprehensions, I am free to admit that the question of whether or not better means could have been devised for associating Indian opinion with the enquiry which Parliament is bound to undertake is one on which every man is entitled to hold his own view. But though Indian leaders have the right, if they wish, to say that his Majesty's Government have chosen the wrong method of such association, they are not at liberty, if they desire to retain the character of true counsellors of the people or of honest controversialists, to say that his Majesty's Government have not sought means—and I would add, very full and very unprecedented means—of placing Indians in a position to take an ample share with them in the evolution of their country's future. I cannot help thinking, if we may attempt to look beyond the present dust and turmoil of argument, assertion and

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debate, that there is real danger in some quarters of mistaking shadows for reality. I doubt whether those who criticize the broad framework of the plan approved by all parties in Parliament, have reflected upon what is implicit in the idea of the select committees. In the earlier stages, there is the association of these committees with the Commission through whatever procedure the chairman and members of the Commission, after placing themselves fully in touch with Indian opinion, may deem best calculated to enable them to discharge the duty entrusted to them. In due time the Commission will have completed its task and the matter will pass into other hands. At this moment, as the Commission moves from the stage, the central Legislature has, if it so desires, through chosen representatives of its own, perhaps the greatest and most powerful means of influencing the further current of events. It is at this juncture invited through some of its members to sit with Parliament itself, acting in its turn through its own Joint Select Committee.

FULL ASSOCIATION BETWEEN PARLIAMENT AND INDIAN LEGISLATURE.

Let us picture to ourselves the Joint Select Committee of Parliament and the select committee of this Legislature sitting together in one of the committee rooms of Westminster to consider the proposals of his Majesty's Government. These proposals will deal with a vast problem on which Parliament, indeed, has to decide, but where it is no more to the interest of Great Britain than it is to that of India that the issues should not be clouded by avoidable difference or disagreement, and in regard to which, therefore, Parliament will naturally seek to reach decisions that command as great a measure as may be of reasoned Indian political support. Is it not fair to conclude that both the Joint Parliamentary Committee charged with the function of making final recommendations to Parliament and, earlier, the Commission, each being masters within very wide limits of their own procedure, will desire to go to the farthest point that they deem possible in order to carry along with them the convinced assent of the representatives of India with whom they will, under the plan proposed, be working in close and intimate relations ?

JUDGMENT OF POSTERITY.

To suggest that in these circumstances the effect of Indian opinion, if it avails itself freely of its opportunities, will be no greater than that which might be associated with the role of witnesses and will not indeed be such as to influence the course of events throughout every stage, is to advance a proposition that no political experience can support and that, I should have thought, no one who was versed in the process and management of public affairs would seriously maintain. Any such impression is as strangely at variance with the intentions of Parliament recorded in recent debates as it is with any such picture as I have sought to draw of the process in operation. It is surely obvious that what will be of supreme importance to India at both stages will be the quality of the men she has chosen to represent her, and it is difficult to conceive of any way in which Parliament could have given a more clear indication of its desire both to give full weight to Indian opinion and to recognize the dignity and position of the Indian Legislature. In such matters it is well to remember that constitutional forms are nothing but instruments in the hands of men responding to the skill of the craftsman as the plain chisel in the hand of the expert sculptor ; and as men are greater than the instruments they use, we gravely err if we suppose that complaint, however loud, of the tools which circumstance has placed in our hands, will suffice to induce posterity to hold us guiltless if in the result our workmanship whether through lack of will or of capacity, is found wanting. Whatever men may be tempted to think at the present moment, I dare predict that the searching inquest of history will not fail to return judgment against those who sought to use their power to hinder when it was in their power to help.

A SERIOUS CHARGE.

The other main point to which I invite attention is the statement which has been widely and repeatedly made that his Majesty's Government have deliberately offered an affront to India by the exclusion of Indians from the personnel of the Commission. I have said enough to make it plain why I do not think it reasonable

for any Indian to feel that he or his country has been slighted by the decision of his Majesty's Government. The relative merits of the various methods of associating India with this business are, as I have said, matters on which opinion may legitimately be divided. But to go further and say that his Majesty's Government deliberately intended to affront Indian feeling is a very much more serious charge to make and the first duty of those who make it is to satisfy themselves that it is well founded.

Let me make it very plain that I expect Indians, as I would be myself, to be sensitive of their honour. None, whether individuals or nations, can afford to be otherwise. Honour and self-respect lie at the foundation of all social life. But honour and self-respect are not enhanced by creating affronts in our imagination where none in fact exists. For, the essence of any such offence as of rudeness in private life lies in the intention behind the act and no reasonable person would dream of blaming the conduct of another lacking. In the present case British statesmen of all parties have stated in terms admitting of no misconception that the appointment of a Parliamentary Commission was in no way intended as an affront to India. Time and again, this assertion has been repeated and I would ask in all sincerity: By what right do leaders of Indian opinion, who are as jealous as I am of their own good faith and would resent as sharply as I any refusal to believe their word, impugn the good faith and disbelieve the plain word of others? I would deny to no man the right to state freely and frankly his honest opinion, to condemn, if he wishes, the action of his Majesty's Government in this regard, or to say that they acted unwisely or in misapprehension of the true feeling that exists in India. That, again, is a matter of opinion. But what no man is entitled to say, for it is quite simply not true, is that his Majesty's Government sought to offer a deliberate affront to Indian honour and Indian pride.

INDIA MUST PERSUADE PARLIAMENT.

I have thought it right to speak plainly on these misunderstandings because they have been widely represented as the justification of some at any rate of the counsels which urge Indians to abstain from all part or lot in the enquiry now to be set on foot. I feel at the same time a profound and growing conviction that those who would argue that such abstention will do no harm to the cause of India are dangerously deluding themselves and others. There are, of course, those who would wholly deny the moral right of Parliament to be the tribunal in this case. But as I have said more than once, however much I may respect many of those who take this view. I do not pretend to be able to reconcile it with the actual situation which to-day we have to consider. I have during the time that I have been in India been careful to avoid saying anything that might magnify differences that must inevitably exist and have never invited any man to forego principles to which he felt in conscience bound to subscribe. But let nobody suppose that he is assisting the realization of his ideals by reluctance to look on facts as they are. It is in no spirit of argument or lack of sympathy with Indian aspirations that I repeat that India, if she desires to secure Parliamentary approval to political change, must persuade Parliament that such change is wisely conceived and likely to benefit those affected by it. She has now the opportunity of making her persuasion felt through the means of the Commission, statutorily established. The Commission has been established with the assent and cooperation of all British parties. They will carry through their enquiry with, it is hoped, the generous assistance of all shades of Indian opinion. But whether such assistance is offered or withheld, the enquiry will proceed and a report will be presented to Parliament, on which Parliament will take whatever action it deems appropriate. Any one who has been able to read the full report of the debates in Parliament on the motions to appoint the Commission must have been impressed by the evidence of spontaneous goodwill towards India with which the speeches of responsible spokesmen of all parties were instinct. This goodwill would naturally be a factor of immense importance in determining the attitude of Parliament towards the question, and I would very earnestly hope that it might not be lightly cast aside. And yet it is certain that an agitation, fostered and promoted by methods which have led to grave occurrences in the past, is bound to breed serio-
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misgivings in the mind of the British Parliament with whom at present lies the final decision in Indian political affairs.

THE POLICY OF BOYCOTT.

What then in India or Great Britain is to be gained by a policy of Boycott? Neither I nor any one else can predict the effect upon the commission's report or, later, upon the mind of Parliament if many of those who claim to speak for India decide at every stage to stand wholly aloof from a task in which Parliament has solicited their assistance and collaboration. It is clearly possible for people to stand aside and withhold their contribution, just as it will be possible for the Commission to prosecute its enquiry and with the assistance at its disposal reach conclusions in spite of such abstention. But it the least it would seem certain that such an attitude must interpose yet further obstacles to the discovery of that more excellent way of mutual understanding which the best friends of India of every race well know to be requisite for her orderly evolution to nationhood. And meanwhile, in order to mobilize national resentment at an alleged deliberate affront that has never been more than the fiction of men's imaginations, appeal will have been made under the guise of vindicating national self-respect which there has been no attempt to impair, to all the lowest and worst elements of suspicion, bitterness and hostility. Those were wise words of one of India's most distinguished sons a few weeks ago which repeated the lesson—taught more than once of recent years—that it is easier to arouse than to allay such forces, which too readily pass beyond the control of those who invoke their aid.

A WELLWISHER'S APPEAL.

I do not know whether I am too sanguine in hoping that even at this hour it may be that words of mine might induce some of those who aspire to guide their fellow-countrymen in India to desist from a line of action which at the best can only lead to negative results and disappointment and may at the worst bring consequences of which India is unhappily not without experience. But in any case I feel it to be not less incumbent upon me now to state what I believe to be the truth in this matter than I lately judged it to be my duty to direct the attention of India to the communal antagonisms that threatened the destruction of any attempts to build an Indian nation. The counsel I then gave was, I am glad to think, regarded as that of a wellwisher, sincerely desirous of assisting India. But the counsel of a friend must be independent of what at any particular moment some of those whom he addresses may desire to hear. And if that which I now give is less universally certain of acceptance it is not less dictated by my desire to dissuade India, as I verily believe, from mistaking the path at one of the crossroads of her destiny". Thus finished H. E. the Viceroy his address to the Legislature which then adjourned.

Reserve Bank Bill.

The next meeting of the Assembly was held on the 6th FEBRUARY after three days' recess. The consideration of the Reserve Bank Bill as amended by the Joint Committee was the sole item on the agenda. Sir Basil Blackett announcing the Government procedure regarding the Reserve Bank Bill and the business for the next week, said the Government had bowed to the ruling of the Chair. (Nonofficial applause). The question was how to deal with the situation it had created. There were originally three courses open to the Government. They could have moved for the withdrawal of the old Bill with a view to proceeding with the new one. But it was desirable that the members and the public should before the opening of the session know through publication in the Gazette of India the new proposals.

Moreover, in the absence of knowledge of the new proposals, the House might very reasonably have objected to the withdrawal of the old Bill. And the President's ruling had confirmed their fear of possible impediments to the unhampered consideration of the new Bill caused by the procedure after the withdrawal of the old Bill. The Government, therefore, thought that the best course was to publish the new Bill and proceed with it without moving for the withdrawal of the old

one. They were unaware that such a course would be regarded as irregular, but assuming its regularity they held that it was one most conducive to the dignity and convenience of the House. This procedure had now been ruled by the President to be impracticable.

The Government were not prepared to abandon altogether its attempt to bring the Reserve Bank Bill into existence at an early date. They wanted to give the Legislature a full and clear opportunity to decide whether it wished, as the Government believed it did, to secure the establishment of a reserve bank on sound lines in India. The Government, indeed, felt that the House would have cause for dissatisfaction if the difficulties of procedure, independent of the merits of the measure, were to result in an indefinite postponement of this important subject.

The course of proceeding with the old Bill was open to certain objections and involved some inconvenience both to the Government and to the House. The form in which the Bill would be acceptable to the Government was known to the House. In order that a piece of legislation on which so much labour had been spent and so large a measure of agreement had been achieved by the all-round cooperation of all parties in the House, which he gladly acknowledged with gratitude, in order that a measure which the Government believed to be generally regarded as fraught with a promise of great benefit to India as a whole may not be jettisoned without at any rate one further effort, the Government had come to the conclusion that the best course would be to resume forthwith the consideration of the old Bill.

The House then proceeded with the disposal of Mr. Cock's amendment providing for two deputy governors and omitting the statutory provision that one of them should be an Indian.

The amendment was put to vote and carried by 53 votes against 45.

SALARIES AND ALLOWANCES OF GOVERNOR.

Sir Basil Blackett next moved that the salaries and allowances of the governor and deputy governors of the bank may be determined by the board subject to a minimum prescribed by the Governor-General in Council. This was necessary to prevent the possibility of an absolute deadlock.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas, opposing, said the amendment was redundant and merely showed want of Government's confidence in the board.

The amendment was carried.

A DIRECTOR TO REPRESENT LABOUR

Mr. N. M. Joshi moved that one director should be elected by the trade unions registered under the Indian Trade Unions Act.

He regretted the absence of wage-earners' representatives on the board and said that considering that the people whom he sought to represent numbered five crores, he should have suggested the election of four persons.

Mr. B. Das supported the amendment.

Sir Basil Blackett said the matter was interesting for a debate but involved a principle which should not be incorporated in the scheme of the directorate. He assured the House, however, that the interests of the labouring classes would receive their due weight. In this matter he stood for the joint committee scheme. (Laughter). The amendment was defeated by 36 votes against 53.

The House accepted without discussion Sir Basil Blackett's amendment stating that the representative of cooperative banks would not represent the interests of those banks but the agricultural interests of the whole of India.

LEGISLATURE'S RIGHT TO NOMINATE DIRECTORS.

Sir Basil Blackett next moved for the elimination of the clause providing for three directors being elected by the Indian Legislature. Sir Basil said it was a cardinal principle of the introduction of a reserve bank that the Legislature should have no representation on its board. The Government opposed using the legislatures for purposes for which they were not brought into being and thereby bringing business into politics and politics into business. This matter was debated fully in Simla and he made it clear that the Government considered their proposal on this subject of very great importance.

Mr. Jamnadas Mehta, opposing Sir Basil Blackett's motion, agreed that the directorate of the bank should be free from political pressure. (Hear, hear). But when the Government of India, which was a political institution subordinate to another political institution—the British Cabinet—was empowered to make nominations to the board, then it was preposterous that the Legislature, which he averred was not a political body, should be prevented from electing a few directors.

Proceeding, Mr. Jamnadas Mehta quoted the opinion of Sir Felix Schuster, which did not support the idea that the Legislature would exert political pressure, if empowered to elect directors.

Sir Basil Blackett, intervening, pointed out that the Government's contention was that members of the Legislature should not themselves become directors.

Mr. Jamnadas Mehta said there was nothing wrong in the Legislature being represented on the board, because the central Legislature had a wide representation of economic interests and was just the body that should be given the right to select three directors in order to ensure the success of the bank.

Mr. Anwar-ul-Azim, supporting Sir Basil Blackett said that it was all right if eminent leaders like Pandit Malaviya, Lala Lajpat Rai and Mr. Jinnah were elected on the directorate, but there was no guarantee that they would be. It was his clear opinion that they should not dabble both in finance and politics.

Mr. Yamin Khan strongly supported the Finance Member's amendment. His main objection to the clause was that men like Sir Abdul Qayum and representatives of the depressed classes and representatives of the Indian Christian community were prevented from being directors.

Mr. Vidyasagar Pandya, opposing the amendment, quoted the instance of the bank in the United States of America where the legislature had the right of nomination.

Mr. Sesha Iyengar said the Government were fighting shy of the control of the Legislature in order that the bank might avoid inconvenient criticism, wherever the management went wrong.

Mr. Aney disposed of the two previous speakers who would support every Government proposal because it came from the Government. The sole justification for the Bill was to remove the Secretary of State's and the Government's interference and control. But that object would be stultified if the amendment was accepted. He had gathered in the last session that Sir Basil Blackett did not have any fundamental objection to the proposal.

POLITICS AND BUSINESS CANNOT BE SEPARATED.

Maulvi Mohamed Yakub maintained that the only way to have at least one Muslim director on the board was through legislative election. (Nonofficial applause.) But to adopt the Government amendment would mean elimination of Muslim directors.

The speaker, continuing, asked whether this House had not been already represented on the Delhi University Senate. Why then, not extend the same principle? As for business and politics, he maintained the two could not be separated 'while politics in the world is rotating round business. (Hear, hear.) The last war was fought because of business rivalries. I am surprised that a keen politician like the Finance Member should raise this objection. I hope the House will not pass a vote of self-condemnation.'

CONNECTIVE WISDOM OF 50 MILLIONS.

Mr. Kelkar opposed Sir Basil Blackett's amendment. He protested against the Government attempt to exclude the Legislature, which was an important part of the government, from exercising its right, authority and privilege of sending to the directorate of the bank its own representatives, especially when the executive had reserved to itself the right of nominating some directors. The Assembly represented the collective wisdom of 50 million people and as there were divisions and groups in the House, election by such a body was sure to be the best.

Sir Victor Sassoon spoke as a businessman purely from the business point of view. As one who had been trained in the old-fashioned business methods, he supported the Government amendment, because a business undertaking could be

best managed by businessmen. As a businessman if he were to cast his influence, he would try to secure the choice of persons on the ground of their business instincts and not for any other reason. If the selection was to be on other grounds, then a large number of business concerns would be run by politicians.

Lala Lajpat Rai.—But they have no money.

Proceeding, Sir Victor Sassoon referred to Mr. Mohamed Yakub's remark that if the Legislature was deprived of elective powers there might be no Mussalman on the directorate, and said that he was sure that in Bombay which possessed a large number of qualified businessmen a Mussalman would be elected to the board. He appreciated Pandit Malaviya's view that if the Assembly was given the power to make selections, there was every reason to suppose that they would send to the directorate persons who were sound businessmen. But this view had been greatly shaken by the arguments advanced by several other speakers, who urged different reasons.

Mr. Jayakar opposed the amendment. He had agreed with the view that petty political scheming should be eliminated, but had grown extremely suspicious of the Government insisting on express provision banning all public men in the Assembly from becoming directors. He believed all businessmen were tyrants in their own way (laughter) and the best combination was that of publicmen and experts. He happened to be at the head of the Road Development Committee and without betraying any secrets he could say that if this committee had consisted solely of expert engineers they would have taken them into a pit from which the public men on the committee were trying to save that committee. He remembered the criticism made against Lord Haldane's appointment to the War Office during the War, but Lord Haldane proved to be a most successful administrator because he knew what his countrymen wanted and the experts supplied him the special knowledge. 'We, public men will supply that patriotic view. Without us the directorate will be a combination of tyrants, of self-appointed men. (Applause.) He was sorry that Sir Basil Blackett had also caught the prejudice of the Heaven-born against public men.

Lala Lajpat Rai asked whether the Government of India was not a political institution and made the offer that if the Government gave up the right of nominating directors the House would do the same. He considered that there was a sinister move and the method adopted to oust Indians was a crooked one. He warned against big business which would drive them to ruin and which had brought the war. He particularly asked whether Sardar Sundar Singh Majithia, nominated to the Imperial Bank directorate, was a businessman. Was he not nominated to serve the political interests of the Government? As for the Mahomedans, why should they go on to the directorate by any one's sufferance in Bombay, when they could claim a seat by right through proportional representation?

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas (representing the views of the Indian Merchants' Chamber, which had a membership of 500 businessmen) declared that constituted as the Government of India today was, there must be some representation of this Legislature. (Applause.) Sir Basil Blackett had put no alternative before the House and he warned the House against the pitfall of adoption of the amendment being exploited later by the Government in making other material changes in the Bill. The whole agitation against political influence was sham as the Government themselves exercised the largest political influence. (Applause.)

Sir Walter Wilson (representing the Associated Chambers of Commerce) said that every chamber had totally opposed any idea of political influence over the directorate. Whatever the bank might be—whether it was a political institution, as Lala Lajpat Rai had tried to make out, or any other form of institution—it must be completely free from political control, political domination and political influence. It was important to see that the directors were not elected as a reward for party services. His constituency would not wish to vote him as a director of the bank so long as he was a member of the Assembly.

Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar repudiated on behalf of the Congress party the suggestion of Sir Basil Blackett that the Government were bringing a different scheme as amendments to this Bill before the Council of State simply because Mr.

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Jamnadas Mehta had made the suggestion as a joke and not seriously. The Government was adopting this unreal procedure under dictation from Whitehall, to which the Assembly could not agree.

Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar vigorously protested against the perpetual sneers at lawyers and politicians and told Sir Walter Wilson that this kind of talk must cease. Mr. Iyengar contended that Europeans also had their own politics; they nominated members who always voted with the Government. The English politics was being run by lawyers. What, then, was the use of crying that politicians should be banned? On one side they were being asked to cooperate, but on the other there was an invitation to greater resentment and non-co-operation and boycott. Concluding, he said there was no State bank except on the paper.

After several members had spoken the President adjourned the house till the 8th FEBRUARY when, resuming the debate, Pandit Hirdayanath KUNZRU said if the amendment was accepted, it would give the nominees of Government undue influence in the affairs of the bank. He was not clear why the Finance Member moved for the deletion of the clause without at the same time proposing the appointment of directors in some other way. It was open to the Finance Member to suggest that the American system be followed or that the Legislature should elect a panel out of which Government should choose a certain number of persons. If the motion was carried there was a possibility, therefore, of the introduction of a shareholders' scheme when the Bill passed through the Upper House.

Mr. JOGIAH deplored the fear that by electing directors from the Legislature, politics would be dragged into business. He assured the House that this could not occur. On the other hand his complaint was that members on official benches brought political considerations on almost every matter affecting the interests of this country. The exclusion of nonofficial members would create many difficulties. It would certainly deprive the bank of the services of well-known businessmen like Sir Purshotamdas, Sir Victor Sassoon and Sir Darcy Lindsay.

Pandit Madan Mohon MALAVIYA declared that the Legislature having the indisputable title of representing the people of the country was entitled to have a voice in the nomination of directors of a bank which would wield enormous power for good or evil. He held that it was an utterly irresponsible statement to make: 'Don't take politics into business.' He did not suggest that politics should be allowed to influence the day-to-day administration of the bank. The Pandit felt that the reality of the situation was being concealed from the House. The Government's insistence on the exclusion of the legislators was due to dictation from Whitehall.

Sir Basil Blackett reminded the Pandit that he had contradicted a similar statement of Mr. Pandya on Monday.

The Pandit said he deeply sympathized with the position in which the Finance Member had been placed (laughter), but asked whether the Secretary of State and the Finance Member had not come to an agreement about the form in which the Bill was to be supported by the Government of India, and that it was not to be supported if the understanding between the Finance Member and the Secretary of State was departed from.

Sir Basil Blackett replied that undoubtedly the Bill was the result of his visit to home and an agreement with the Secretary of State.

Pandit Malaviya asked whether the memorandum drawn up by the Finance Member and Mr. Keish of India Office giving the outlines of the principles, could be departed from. This memorandum had been circulated to members by Mr. Pandya.

Sir Basil Blackett replied that it was unlikely that any large changes in the Bill would satisfy the conditions which the Government had throughout considered necessary for a sound bank.

Pandit Malaviya.—What I ask is whether he is free to introduce changes in the Bill?

Sir Basil Blackett.—If this House wants the Reserve Bank Bill, it had better be careful of what amendments they want to introduce. The present one is absolutely fatal to the Bill. (Applause).

Pandit Malaviya.—I am glad I have brought the Finance Member out so far. (Laughter). So the India Office is determined, that if the Assembly insists on this provision, they will have none of the Bill.

The Finance Member.—That is what I said last September and last June.

Pandit Malaviya.—And yet it was found necessary for him to go to England to gain new light and obtain new instructions. (Laughter and applause). I cannot imagine, Sir, a more humiliating position that the Secretary of State is to decide the constitution of this bank for India.

The Finance Member.—If the point is that something is being forced on the Government of India against their will, I assure him that it is not so. The Government of India would have nothing to do with a bank in which the directors are elected by the Assembly.

Pandit Malaviya.—It comes to this, then, that the Government of India before introducing the Bill took one view and would adhere to it even if a majority of this House thought otherwise. This is very unjust to this House. We are dealing with a Bill which by one transaction can bring about prosperity or ruin to the country. That the constitution of such a bank should be decided by the Finance Secretary to the India Office and by some merchants in London and by the Government of India alone is, Sir, a position which is unheard of anywhere where the people have any constitution worth the name. (Hear, hear and shame). The result is wicked so far as the people of India are concerned. The Government have not been able to suggest any alternative since the presentation of the Joint Committee's report to this House, and I appeal that this is an occasion on which the country expects every member to realize that heavy responsibility lies on him.

As the discussion was on the amendment, Sir Basil had no right of reply and his amendment was put and carried amidst official applause by 51 votes against 49.

A NONOFFICIAL AMENDMENT.

A minute later an amendment of Pandit Thakurdas for giving the Council of State the right of electing one director was rejected by 52 votes to 42.

PROVINCIAL COUNCILS' REPRESENTATION.

Sir Basil Blackett then moved the deletion of the sub-clause giving provincial councils the right to elect three directors.

Sir Victor Sasson took the opportunity of assuring the House that no one had a higher opinion of lawyers than he, but as lawyers could alone be made judges so businessmen should be had to run a business concern. The question, however, was not about lawyers or politicians being made directors but electorates.

Mr. Kelkar said that agricultural interests would not be represented through representatives of chambers of commerce, as these bodies existed only in towns. The members of the Councils were the real representatives of the mofussil population and the directors elected from them would look after the interests of the mofussil population well. If it was intended to make the bank a popular institution the deletion of the sub-clause must be abandoned.

Mr. B. Das found to his surprise that the members who represented commerce in the Assembly were very much frightened of politician but the members of the provincial Councils were representatives of the agriculturists and they were not politicians.

Mr. Ram Narain Singh said the amendment was very pernicious from the Indian point of view. It was the business foresight of the Finance Member that had brought this Bill into the house in order to help British interests in this country, and it was out of fear from probable future change in the constitution of Government that Sir Basil was so anxious to entrust the bank to a non-political body. Continuing, he said : 'We are not very much concerned whether the Bill is passed or not. We shall have powers and then we shall, also, do whatever we like with the constitution of the Reserve Bank'.

Mr. Rangaswami Iyengar said, so far as the provincial Legislatures were concerned their claim to be constituted as an electorate stood on an essentially different footing from that on which the central Legislature stood. For the representation of agriculture, trade and industry, provincial representation was

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essentially necessary. For the constitution of an electorate, the bulk of the members of the provincial Councils was elected by the agriculturists and, therefore, they could protect the agriculturists' interest better.

Sir Basil Blackett admitted that the arguments against the proposal (contained in sub-clause (f) were not so strong from the point of view of expediency. (Hear, hear.) The Government of India had in mind the interests of the agriculturists. He did not think it advisable that the affairs of the bank should go into provincial politics.

Pandit Hirdayanath Kunzru said unless adequate reasons were forthcoming for acting otherwise they should stick to the principle of a State bank.

Chaudhuri Mukhtar Singh said India was one of the countries which had been deliberately reduced to an agriculturist country. (Laughter from nonofficial European benches.) Every industry one after the other had been destroyed by the benign Government. (*Lala Lajpat Rai*.—Exactly.) The Finance Member did not tell them how he would protect the interests of the agriculturists. He did not think that three persons elected by the provincial Legislatures would at all influence the whole directorate with their political thoughts even if they belonged to a particular political party.

The amendment of Sir Basil on being put to vote was carried by 50 votes to 49 and the Assembly adjourned for lunch.

After lunch, Mr. Vidaya Sagar Pandya moved a number of amendments which were negatived or withdrawn.

CLAUSE 8.

The President then put to the House that clause 8 as amended be passed.

Mr. Jamnadas Mehta, on behalf of the Swarajists, opposed the passing of the clause. He said this clause alone gave vitality to the Bill and after the Government's mechanical majority which was helped by accidents on the nonofficial side, the life of the Bill had disappeared and the bank would now be drifting under foreign heels. Sir Basil Blackett had previously assured the House that he would like to see the Bill passed by a preponderating majority, but the narrow voting by which he had won his amendments showed that he had been a pugilistic and had broken his solemn promise. Mr. Graham had told them they had seen the last of the old Bill, and Mr. Graham must now be feeling how dangerous prophesying was.

Mr. Graham, interrupting, stated that his statement was conditional on their desire to introduce another Bill.

Mr. Jamnadas, resuming, said this House must make a protest against the improper imputation against the *bona fides* and the capacities of its members. His experience in the Bombay municipal corporation was that businessmen in that body were distinguished singularly by their silence. (Laughter.) The Hilton Young Commission itself was faced with the problem whether the Government of India should have any hand in constituting the directorate of the board and decided that 'in the special circumstances of India' it should have, which meant that the Government of India had got to bow down to an alien agency. Sir James Brunyate had declared openly that the bank would be subordinate in matters of high policy to the State and as the Government's policy today was to exploit India, so the bank would be an instrument for the same purpose. Moreover, the Legislature would be handicapped in exposing the scandals and mismanagement, as the Government would not let them discuss the affairs of a so-called independent bank. He further contended, that businessman possessing inner knowledge of the working of the Reserve Bank could make honest millions which the directors supplied by laymen could no do. He appealed to the House to protest against this outrage on the self-respect of the House.

Mr. Kelkar said the clause was the keystone to the structure of the Bill, and if they gave consent to it they would make themselves the laughing-stock of the world.

The President put to the House, that clause 8, as amended, be passed and a division was ordered. The votes recorded in the lobby showed a tie, 49 on either side, but before the result was handed over to the President it was brought to the

notice of the secretary that Mr. Abdul Matin Chaudhury, who was present in the lobby but had first refused to vote in the lobby, had now changed his mind and wished to vote against the clause. On the President being informed he ascertained from Mr. Chaudhury on the floor of the House if he was in the lobby and had changed his mind. Mr. Chaudhury affirmed this statement. He was allowed to record his vote which gave the Opposition a majority of one, and thus turned the tables on the Government.

Sir Basil Blackett said, the Government now had to consider whether the House wanted the Reserve Bank Bill at all. The President thereupon adjourned the House.

On the 9th FEBRUARY the proceedings were dull for the first half hour and the Swarajist benches were empty as they are keeping away from the transaction of the normal business of the session. Within an hour of the opening of the session, however the news spread in some quarters that the Government had decided to drop altogether the Reserve Bank Bill legislation in view of the fact that in the present political temper of the House it was not likely that the Assembly would give independent consideration to an important financial measure of this character.

INDIAN SUCCESSION ACT (AMENDMENT) BILL.

Maulvi Mohamed Yakub moved that the Bill amending the Indian Succession Act be referred to a select committee, consisting of Mr. Crerar, Mr. Jinnah, Pandit Malaviya, Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar, Mr. Jayakar, Mr. Abdul Haye, Mr. Ismail Khan and the mover. He was glad to say that even the Allahabad High Court has accepted the principle of the Bill and with the exception of the wording of the second clause of the bill was acceptable to all High Courts. This defect could be removed in the select committee. The motion was carried.

INDIAN MERCHANDISE MARKS ACT (AMENDMENT) BILL.

Mr. Neogy moved that the Bill amending the Indian Merchandise Marks Act be circulated for eliciting opinions thereon. This legislation seeks to stop the palming off of foreign goods as goods made in India and to empower the Governor-General in Council to specify any imported goods in respect of which the importer, the wholesaler or the retailer shall be called upon to affix trade description, giving the place of origin of goods. Mr. Neogy produced a box in which hosiery was received from Japan and showed that there was no trade description on the box. When the cover on the lid was lifted, the Japanese trade mark was revealed.

Sir George Rainy said the Government reserved their opinion on the measure till the opinions of the local Governments were received. They had no objection to its circulation. The motion was adopted.

REGULATION AND IMPROVEMENT OF LAW REPORTS.

Maulvi Mohamed Yakub next moved that the Bill to regulate and improve law reports be circulated for eliciting opinion. He attributed the increase in litigation to the increase in the number of law reports, because every lawyer found some ruling in support of a weak case. Further more, judges were misled by too many rulings and injustice was done to many persons.

The House agreed to the motion without demanding a division.

INLAND STEAM VESSELS ACT (AMENDMENT) BILL.

Mr. Neogy moved that the Bill amending the Inland Steam Vessels Act be circulated for eliciting opinions thereon. The Bill invests the Government with authority to fix maximum and minimum freights and fares that can be lawfully charged by inland steamer services on the analogy of similar authority in regard to company managed railways. It also seeks to constitute advisory committees to be attached to inland steamer concerns to keep them in touch with public opinion and the grievances of travellers. Mr. Neogy said his Bill had the unanimous support of the press of Bengal.

Sir Walter Wilson, while not opposing the motion for circulation, said it would be unjust to press this legislation without at the same time regulating passenger boats which plied in the rivers. Legislation designed to prevent healthy competition was hardly within the province of the Government.

Mr. Sarabai Haji felt that Mr. Neogy's Bill did not go far enough. British companies were trying all means to keep out Indian companies. They were induced to wind up their concerns. Tempting offers were proposed and in the last

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resort a threat of a rate war to wipe them out was made. Shippers also helped British companies.

Sir George Rainy said the Bill proposed to fix minimum and maximum rates, the former to enable Indian companies to be floated and the latter to guard the public against higher fares. Mr. Neogy had not shown that there had been an increase in the fares and rates to justify his fear. As for minimum rates, the principle involved was whether such rates were possible of application to a system involving competition. The case of railways quoted by Mr. Neogy was not similar, as the railways were given monopoly and in return accepted maximum and minimum rates. There was also some difficulty caused by the competition which waterways had at the hands of the railway at certain points so that minimum rates would divert fares to the railway. The Commerce Member, however, assured the House that he was not speaking in a spirit of hostility and the Government would weigh both sides after obtaining the local Governments' and other view.

Mr. Neogy replied that the small dividends of these companies were due to the transfer of large sums deliberately to the reserve. The balance sheets of the companies had been examined for him by a friend who was an expert.

Sir Walter Wilson.—Is he a writer on the subject?

Mr. Neogy.—Yes.

Sir Walter Wilson.—Then take it from me he is no expert. (Laughter).

Mr. Neogy said that for seven years the public had been agitating in East Bengal, but the shipping companies had kept an attitude of supreme indifference. The Government's attitude of non-interference had of course been most helpful to British trade. He maintained that the shipping companies were just as monopolist as the railways and must be dealt with in a similar manner. There was not today a single indigenous shipping company in his part of the country because of the rate war.

Mr. Neogy's motion for the circulation of the Bill was agreed to.

BILL TO PREVENT ACCUMULATION OF INTEREST.

Maulvi Mohamed Yakub moved for the circulation of his Bill to prevent accumulation of interest for long periods by laying down that no creditor shall realize as interest an amount exceeding the principal. He declared that the Usurious Loans Act of 1918 provided no remedy to check this evil of accumulation beyond a certain limit. The motion was agreed.

AGE OF CONSENT BILL.

Sir Hari Singh Gour's Bill to amend section 141 of the Indian Penal Code was opposed by Mr. Keane and Mr. Crerar, the latter declining his assistance to improve the law, and the Bill was withdrawn.

Sir Hari Singh Gour next moved for the consideration of his Age of Consent Bill which penalizes cohabitation with unmarried girls below the age of 16 and with married girls between the ages of 13 and 14. He said the Government Act of 1925, which raised the age of consent to 13 and 14 in the case of married and unmarried girls, respectively, did not commit him to abandon his attempt to raise the age further when public opinion was sufficiently roused. He said only the other day he had submitted a petition signed by 6,000 men and women to end this appalling race suicide. He dwelt on the evils of early marriage which was responsible for the ghastly death-rate among young mothers. The Government's opposition on the ground of administrative difficulties was only an attempt to shirk responsibility. The Government had gained sufficient experience of the working of the Act of 1925. He felt very strongly on the subject and would state in unmistakable terms that the Government had been accused of being reactionary in social matters. Motives had been ascribed that it was easy for the Government to govern a people. If the Government opposed this elementary piece of justice the Government must face the criticism that the Government was an enemy of social progress because its strength lay in the weakness of the people.

Mr. Harbilas Sarda said public opinion had sufficiently matured in support of this legislation.

Mr. Crerar paid a tribute to the courage and persistence of the mover without which no great reform was achieved. The problem had its ramifications vitally

bearing on some of the most fundamental problems of national life. Sir Alexander Muddiman's speech quoted by Dr. Gour did not mean that the consequences of the change of 1925 should not be taken into consideration by the House. He warned the House against the dangers of drastic changes in the criminal law at short intervals, occasioning uncertainty in the public mind as to the exact state of the law. The Government of India were in deep sympathy proportionate to their own weight of special responsibility in the matter. They yielded to none in their desire that progress should be achieved as rapidly as circumstances permitted on the basis of enlightened public opinion and well-considered and efficacious law. There were other methods by which this problem might be approached. A very practical and useful way to deal with the problem was to deal with the question of child marriage. (Hear, hear).

Whatever might be the precise expedients adopted to give effect to Mr. Sardar's views on the matter, the speaker entirely agreed with him that this was an aspect of the question requiring the gravest, most careful and most practical consideration. The local Governments were addressed to know the results of the amendment of 1925. Their replies were coming in and he must frankly tell the House that the local Governments thought that the amendment had not been in operation for a sufficiently long period to enable any really accurate and sound knowledge of the results. The Home Member further announced that on receipt of these reports, it was the intention of the Government of India to constitute a strong committee of officials and nonofficials to undertake a comprehensive survey of the whole question with a view to further action. An enquiry by such a committee, he confidently anticipated, would discharge the very important function of stimulating and concentrating public opinion in the more direct and positive direction of investigation and formulating the lines of further possible advance. He hoped that in view of the definite steps taken and those in contemplation, the motion for consideration would not be pressed and that the Bill would be moved for circulation. He assured Dr. Gour that the Government had no intention of taking advantage of the absence of the Swarajists and was in no way responsible for their absence on the occasion of the discussion of such an extremely important measure. (Applause).

Lala Lajpat Rai acknowledged the difficulties in the way of enacting such legislation and stated that if the Government appointed a committee to consider the whole question, the House should accept it. He formally moved for circulation of the Age of Consent Bill, which was agreed to.

SEVERAL BILLS INTRODUCED.

After this the following new Bills were formally introduced. Sir Hari Singh Gour's Special Marriage Bill, Mr. Kelkar's Indian Limitation Act (Amendment) Bill, Mr. Haji's Coastal Traffic Reservation Bill, Mr. (?) Deferred Rebates Bill, Mr. Abdul Matin Chaudhury's Indian Merchant Shipping Act (Amendment) Bill, Dr. Gour's Indian Divorce Act (Amendment) Bill and the Hindu Inheritance Bill, Mr. Kelkar's Bills relating to the removal of caste disabilities and restriction of interest recoverable from debtors and Mr. Joshi's Bill amending the Indian Penal Code for protecting trade unions. The Assembly then adjourned till next day.

The Reserve Bank Bill dropped.

On the 10th FEBRUARY the Assembly reassembled to hear Sir Basil Blackett's announcement regarding the dropping of the Reserve Bank Bill.

Sir Basil Blackett made the following statement :—

"The Government of India have carefully considered the situation created by divergent conclusions in regard to clause 8 of the Reserve Bank Bill arrived at by the Assembly last Wednesday and in particular the practical consequences of the final decision to omit the clause. The main purpose of the Bill was to establish a reserve bank and thereby transfer the control of currency and credit to an independent nonofficial body in India and at the same time to effect far-reaching reforms in the monetary and banking machinery of India. Government had reason to believe and still believe that the informed opinion in the country is generally in favour of the establishment of a reserve bank and the House has on more than one occasion affirmed the principle in proceeding with the old Bill. Government were actuated by the desire to give the Assembly a clear opportunity of deciding for itself whether

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or not it wanted a reserve bank on sound lines. The Assembly has now had that opportunity. The decisions taken by it on Wednesday are none too easy to interpret and might almost be said to have been contradictory. But the decision to omit clause 8 was in any case quite clearly a wrecking amendment and renders any attempt to proceed with the Bill if not impossible at any rate unseemly. This would be true even if both the Government and the House were unanimous in desiring to proceed further. The vote in favour of the omission of clause 8 is in fact very little different in its consequences from the rejection of the principle of the Bill.

"Government feel, therefore, that they must construe the course of events on Wednesday as an indication of the absence of that measure of general support for the Bill among the representatives of public opinion within the Assembly which they think they ought to have behind them in carrying through so important a financial reform. In these circumstances while expressing their gratitude to those who have striven to secure for India the benefits of a reserve bank they see no sufficient reason for pressing the Government view further upon the House. They must take it that the House prefers to continue the existing currency system and the existing machinery and methods of control of India's currency and credit which, though frequently criticized by some of those who have been most active in opposing this measure, have given signal proof of their efficacy and value in securing stable monetary conditions for India during the period which has elapsed since the passing of the Currency Act of 1927, and in the absence of a more effective public demand for a change the Government do not now propose themselves to take any further steps with a view to the introduction of the reform which the Reserve Bank Bill was designed to bring about. The Bill is of course still before the House, but in the absence of any easy means by which we can usefully continue our consideration of the remaining clauses I would suggest to you, Sir, that the debate should be adjourned. Should this course be agreed upon I should be glad of an opportunity before you to adjourn the House for the day of making a statement in regard to the further course of Government business."

Party Leaders' Speeches.

As soon as Sir Basil had announced the Government decision party leaders expressed gratification, but they threw the entire responsibility for this circumstance on the shoulders of Government.

Mr. Jammadas Mehta, on behalf of the Congress party, congratulated the Government for having realized that a wrong bill could not be proceeded with. He was glad that the Government had also realized that the country did not desire a bill like the one which the Government attempted obstinately to foist upon it.

Sir Basil Blackett.—I have just stated the contrary.

Mr. Mehta.—The tactics, which the Government adopted from the very beginning in regard to this Bill were unedifying. They agree to a State bank.

Sir Basil.—No.

Mr. Jammadas.—It is on record that the Finance Member agreed to proceed with the discussion of the old Bill as a contribution to the spirit of harmony. But after that acceptance of the fundamental principle of State bank the Finance Member went to the Secretary of State to convert him, but returned converted and then the Finance Member proceeded in a manner which the history will pronounce to be outrageous. It is not true that the country does not want a reserve bank. The country wants a reserve bank under national control, but the Government would not give that and that is why this legislation has failed. If the Assembly had accepted the Bill in the form the Government wanted then we would have given the British Government a measure for the ruthless exploitation of India for at least 25 years more. The obstinacy of the Government has already cost the country in that there is no real gold standard and there is to be gold exchange standard with the 182. ratio.

Pandit Malaviya, on behalf of the Nationalist party, endorsed the remarks of Mr. Jammadas Mehta and pointed out that what the country wanted was that the financial control now being enjoyed by the Secretary of State should not be transferred to the Government of India but to the representatives of the people. The manner in which this tyrannical Government proceeded with the Bill—from the

State bank to the shareholders' scheme—and treated the Assembly was a standing commentary on the vicious system of administration. He congratulated the Government and the country on the decision now announced not to proceed with the Bill.

Mr. Jinnah reviewed the history of the legislation and said that after consulting the Secretary of State the Finance Member published a brand new scheme which was fundamentally opposed to the principles of the scheme accepted by the Government and was before the House. Moreover, the Government announced their determination to proceed with the shareholders' scheme and it was only after the new Bill was not allowed to be introduced that they decided formally to proceed with the old, but ultimately to have the new scheme incorporated in the Bill in another place. Mr. Jinnah said : We were not going to pass the shareholders' scheme in substitution of the State bank. I am glad this House had given the only answer that was possible, namely, the omission of clause 8. If it had not been omitted by chance (laughter) it would have been finished, perhaps later. (Applause.) On this side we were determined to put an end to that farce at the earliest possible moment. I am glad we have not prolonged the agony through which we were passing.

Mr. Cocke, speaking as one who had taken part in the discussions throughout, felt that the previous speakers had not given an impartial survey of the situation. The joint committee decided in Bombay in favour of a State bank. Sir Basil Blackett's acceptance of this vote was conditional upon agreement regarding the constitution of the directorate which would be acceptable to the Government. In Simla they tried to get at the bottom of the problem and find a solution, and now the Bill had fallen on the principle of directorate. (Voices.—No, no) No State bank in the world had representation of the Legislature while this House had insisted that it would not have the bank unless it appointed to it some members of the Legislature. The adherence of Government to the principle of the exclusion of the Legislature had the support of the commercial opinion throughout the country including to some extent Indian commercial opinion. We have broken on that principle and the Bill is dead. Whether in future a Finance Member will agree to bring forward a measure on this principle I do not know, but I hope I shall not be here when that situation arises.

Lala Lajpat Rai said the lesson that the Government should take to heart was that whenever it tried to force down the country's throat any measure with the support of the official, nominated and European votes it would meet solid national opposition. (Hear, hear.) If the Government had won its divisions by one vote so had the nonofficials won by their majority. Mr. Cocke represented that commercial opinion whose interests were in conflict with the interests of India. 'What we want in the bank is control by the representatives of the people.'

Mr. Shanmukham Chetty also joined in what he called funeral orations. It was not true that the House did not want a reserve bank, but it had put an end to a huge farce that was being enacted. He emphasized that the Finance Member unequivocally agreed to a State bank provided that they came to some settlement on an acceptable basis. It was not the fault of the Opposition that the negotiations broke down, but some unseen power ordered the Finance Member to stop them and he unceremoniously made the announcement in Simla. Even then some of the Oppositionists hoped that the negotiations would continue. Their hopes were frustrated when the Finance Member published in the *Gazette* a new bill radically altering the scheme of State bank. They welcomed the announcement of the Finance Member with a sense of relief, but they also felt sorrow for having been deprived of a financial reform and felt humiliation, for a person residing 6,000 miles away had crushed financial Swaraj.

Mr. Joshi recalled that the Joint Parliamentary Committee that considered the Government of India Act in 1918 recommended the establishment of a convention that where the Government of India and the legislature agreed on a financial measure the Secretary of State should not intervene. This convention was announ-

ced in the Assembly several times. In the present case the Secretary of State broke the negotiations and therefore also disregarded the convention.

Sir Basil Blackett said the story of the bill was not altogether a happy one and the result had not been satisfactory to anyone. Everyone had been accused for the failure of the Bill. It was said that the Government of India and the Secretary of State were to be blamed. But he (the Finance Member) did not want to say who was to be blamed. The result is that an attempt to introduce important reform has failed and one of the reasons for the failure is that the Assembly wanted to take the place of the executive. One lesson of this episode is that the legislature and the executive must learn to work together.

The hon. Mr. Patel, President, congratulated both the Government and the Opposition—the former for the decision to drop the Bill altogether and the latter for the sigh of relief on their part, thus leaving the Chair free from further trouble in this connection. (Laughter). In view of the unanimous decision he did not propose to put further clauses of the Bill.

Mr. Jinnah said that if the Government wished to have the motion adjourned they must make a formal motion and the nonofficials would express nothing.

The President—The Bill is now in the hands of the Chair and unless some one moved for its adjournment *sine die* I am prepared to go on with the Bill and put each clause.

Mr. Kabiruddin Ahmad amidst laughter moved for its adjournment *sine die*. The Motion was agreed to, though there were some dissentient voices. The Swarajists, then, withdrew from the House.

INDIAN MERCHANT SHIPPING ACT.

On the motion of Sir George Rainy the Bill amending the Indian Merchant Shipping Act was referred to a select committee, consisting of Mr. Neogy, Dr. Moonje, Seth Jamnadas, Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas, Mr. Haji, Mr. Abdul Hayei Sir Walter Wilson, Mr. Anwarul Azim, Mr. Couper, Sir George Rainy, Haj. Abdullah Haroon Jaffer and Mr. B. Das.

The name of Sir Walter Wilson was added to the select committee on the Bill amending the Negotiable Instruments Act and the House adjourned.

SOUTH AFRICAN LIQUOR BILL.

On the 13th FEBRUARY Mr. Bajpai made a statement announcing the Union Government's decision to withdraw clause 104 of the Liquor Bill. (Applause). The decision, he was sure, would be received with great relief not merely because of the relief it afforded to Indians in South Africa but because of the fresh proof it provided of the great friendliness which now animated that Government in treatment of the Indian problem. He expressed appreciation of the Government of India of this practical proof given by the Union Government of their sympathy towards the Indian cause and the Government's tribute to the Agent to the Government of India for the rare skill and tact with which he had handled a delicate question. (Applause) He expressed the Government's gratitude to the House, as their wise restraint during the recent discussion of the question in the Assembly had proved to the Government of utmost value in the conduct of these negotiations. (Applause).

TARIFF BILL.

Sir George Rainy introduced his Tariff Bill which, he said, in his vernacular he would describe a hotch-potch of various tariff amendments, none of them very important. The decision of the Government on the recent report of the Tariff Board regarding belting was also included in the Bill. Questioned by Sir Walter Wilson, the Commerce Member assured the House that there would be no hurry, and Sir Walter would get time to consult his constituent chambers on the provisions of the Bill.

INDIAN MINES ACT (AMENDMENT) BILL.

Sir B. N. Mitra moved for the appointment of a select committee on the Indian Mines Act (Amendment) Bill which would secure regularity of hours of work in mines. The opinions so far received supported the fundamental principles of the Bill. Detailed suggestions would be considered by the select committee.

The motion was agreed to and the House adjourned till next day.

HINDU FAMILY TRANSACTIONS BILL.

On the 14th FEBRUARY though the attendance was thin and the Congress members were absent in a body, an interesting controversy raged on the floor of the Assembly on Mr. Crerar's Hindu Family Transactions Bill, which he moved the Assembly to consider as passed by the Council of State. This Bill was the only item on the agenda and quite a large number of amendments were moved.

Mr. CRERAR moving the consideration of the Bill, said that it intended to give effect to certain recommendations of the Civil Justice Committee by providing that partitions and separations of interest among members of Hindu undivided families and other transactions among persons governed by Hindu law shall in certain cases be effected by written and registered instruments. The Bill, he said, would put an end to vexatious and speculative litigation and emphasised that the Bill was not to come into force until the date was notified by the Governor-General in Council. This reservation had twofold objects : Firstly, that due notice must be given of any change of law before it came into operation, and, secondly, that the registration of documents and stamp duty being provincial subjects, it was undesirable that final conclusion should be arrived at until the local Governments were consulted on the points which were likely to affect them as a result of this Bill. The Civil Justice Committee had recommended that the stamp duty be fixed on such basis as would not work hardship.

Pundit Thakurdas BHARGAVA characterized the Bill as a measure for imposing further taxation on Hindus. So far as the Punjab was concerned instead of eliminating oral evidence, it would cause the presenting of more evidence and the courts would have to decide very obtruse questions. He enumerated the various difficulties which would be imposed on villages, particularly those who lived at a great distance from registration courts, and how in certain cases the man registering a partition deed of Rs. 100 would have to spend Rs. 17 on court fees alone besides other professional fees, and Hindus would object to their women, particularly widows being dragged to courts. The Bill made unheard of distinctions between Hindus and non-Hindus and the opinion of the Chief Justice of the Punjab and seven out of the eight bar associations of the Punjab was against the Bill. He was surprised that a Government which kept the people so illiterate was responsible for this measure which could be entertained only if all were literate.

Sir Hari Singh GOUR joined the previous speaker's opposition and characterized the Bill an extremely reactionary and drastic measure which, he said, was a danger to Hindu society and placed upon them a considerable tax. Why should Hindu copartnership alone be singled out and other communities left untouched ? The Bill would cut at the very root of those separations which were affected by the process of time and changes in status and profession, etc. He also held that the opinions obtained on the Bill showed that Hindu opinion was unanimously against the Bill and non-Hindu opinion was also generally against the Bill and yet Government had declared that the Bill had received 'considerable measure of support'. He could not trust inpecunious local Governments regarding the rate of stamp duty and registration fee and asked the Government to agree at least to a select committee.

But on being reminded that the motion for select committee which he proposed would commit the House to the principle of the Bill, Sir Hari Singh informed the Chair that he opposed the consideration of the Bill.

Mr. K. C. NEOGY said that even in Bengal where there were lesser complications of the Hindu joint family system, this Bill would cause complications. He quoted from the evidence given by Mr. S. R. Das before the Civil Justice Committee and held that the opinion then expressed by Mr. Das were opposed to the present measure.

The hon. Mr. S. R. DAS rose to remove the misconceptions that had arisen over the Bill. He emphasized that the principle of the Bill had been approved of by all local Governments and by several public bodies. He never said that the Bill itself had been approved of by these bodies. The objection to the Bill had been summed up by the Madras Government which pointed out that the only thing to be done was that the stamp duty on these transactions should be fixed at a specially low rate. But this was a matter, said the Law Member, in which the

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opinions of the local Governments should be obtained for they were affected by this in their revenues.

Mr. JAYAKAR spoke urging the Law Member to accept a select committee where so many imperfections could be remedied or else he opposed the consideration of the Bill. That there were many imperfections was clear from the fact that at the very first cursory reading of the Bill Sir Hari Singh Gour had to raise doubts and the Law Member was hard put to find explanations. Mr. Jayakar wished the recommendations of that most mischievous committee (the Civil Justice Committee) had been dealt with as a whole instead of in such a piecemeal fashion. The Bill interfered very seriously with the silent and imperceptible process of disintegration which was going on in Hindu society. Did the Government wish to come in the way of that social evolution? As a social and political reformer he would not allow that, whatever might be the Government's intentions in the name of law's delays. Moreover, when there were so many imperfections why should the Law Member object to a select committee and quote some rule. Either he should have drafted correctly in the first instance and brought it from the Council of State or not gone in the first instance to that body of elders to discuss a measure of this description. As a lawyer of 23 years' standing he never knew that mere intention of separation required compulsory registration. He could show at least a dozen other imperfections but there was no time. If the Law Member would not agree to the committee then much as he should like to help in the passage of the Bill he would oppose it.

Munshi Iswar SARAN did not agree with Mr. Jayakar that the Bill would retard social disintegration for if it did the speaker would support the Bill as he believed that the Hindu joint family system would never disappear and was based on the highest ideals of sacrifice by a brother for a brother. If they were to wait for this social revolution to complete before attaining self-government then Mr. Jayakar would have to wait till eternity. He was sorry the nonofficial benches were empty on one side. The Government must acknowledge that there was considerable conflict of opinion, and he moved the adjournment of the consideration by a week to enable the two sides to come to an understanding.

Mr. CRERAR, Home Member, opposed this motion, as the Civil Justice Committee's report had been before the country for over three years and the select committee's report on the Bill had also been before the country. If the atmosphere in the other House was calmer than it was in this House then such a measure requiring calm deliberation should best be considered first in the Upper House. (Applause). He repudiated the suggestion that the Council of State could not give it proper consideration. He felt that if Government business were to be held up because of the absence of a section of the House for which absence the Government had no responsibility then there would be no business done.

Munshi Iswar Saran explained that his adjournment plea was not based on the Swarajist absence, but solely on a desire for finding some way out of the conflicting views.

When the motion was put to the vote and pressed to a division the European nonofficials and Muslim nonofficials divided into both camps and there resulted a tie with 37 votes on either side.

The President said the Chair would not be justified in further delaying the progress of the Bill and voted against the motion for adjournment thereby enabling the Government to win.

The House, then, adjourned for lunch. But as soon as it reassembled after an hour's recess the attendance was very thin and on Mr. Vidayasagar Pandya raising the point that there was no quorum the President adjourned the House. So the House dispersed without yet voting on the motion of Mr. Crerar to take the Bill into consideration.

TERRITORIAL FORCE BILL

On the 15th FEBRUARY Mr. Mc Worth Young moved that the Territorial Force Bill, as passed by the Council of State, be taken into consideration.

Mr. Young after explaining the provisions of the Bill at once made it clear

that the Government would be willing to accept one or two of the amendments down on paper, and thought that the Bill should be considered without going to the Select Committee. But he said he would leave the matter to the House.

Mr. K. C. Neogy thanked Mr. Young for his conciliatory tone. He traced the history behind the measure, and said that when the Government had taken so many years to bring the matter to this stage, it was not unfair for the non-officials to ask for a Select Committee. The nonofficials wanted to understand in the less formal atmosphere of the select committee the reasons underlying some of the Government's conclusions.

Colonel Gidney explained that the Government's decision to limit the liability of the Auxiliary Force was not based on racial grounds, but by the necessity of avoiding inconveniences both in Government departments and commercial concerns, which would be the case, if their employees were to proceed for service outside their area. The Select Committee motion would only delay the progress of the Bill. No useful purpose would be served by it, and he opposed the motion.

Mr. Young did not know what the sense of the House was, but agreed to the motion of Mr. Neogy for a Select Committee; and as provisions of the two bills should be discussed together, he also accepted the next motion for a Select Committee on the Auxiliary Forces Bill. The Assembly then adjourned.

Debate on the Simon Commission.

The scene which the Assembly presented on the 16th FEBRUARY recalls only one similar occasion—that of the ratio Bill debate. Every inch of space in the public Galleries was occupied by visitors and the House was very full. The previous record of 134 on the ratio Bill was touched and some sick members like Mr. Belvi and Mr. Harchandrai were brought in only at the time of voting.

Mr. Acharya, Mr. Jayakar and Mr. G. P. Singh having intimated that they did not propose to move the resolutions, Lala Lajpat Rai moved the following motion amidst non-official cheers :—

"This Assembly recommends to the Governor-General in Council that he be pleased to convey to his Majesty's Government the Assembly's entire lack of confidence in the Parliamentary Commission which has been appointed to review the constitution of India."

Lala LAJPAT RAI, in moving his resolution, said he did so with the most profound sense of responsibility that he had ever felt in performing a public duty.

He had no faith in the *bona fides* of those who had appointed the Simon Commission. He did not believe that they were actuated by motives of justice and fairplay or by regard for the interests of India. He had no faith in the competence of the Commission. Without meaning any reflection on Sir John Simon and his colleagues and giving them the greatest possible credit for the best of intentions, he must say they were not the men to solve the problem of India. Their ignorance of India, Indian history and Indian politics was said to be their great qualification for the task set before them. In Lalaji's judgment that was their greatest disqualification.

The Indian problem was so vast and so complicated that even if the Gods were to descend from the Heavens, they could not rightly understand it and digest it in a few months to be able to present a solution of it, which would be acceptable both to India and to England. They could do nothing in the circumstances which would be really speaking authoritative. With the best of intentions and motives, the Commissioners could only be the gramophone of the Indian bureaucracy, and eventually the gramophone of the Secretary of State for India. Lalaji said he had no faith in any Commission at all. The Indian problem was beyond the competence of the Commission. He could understand Commissions being appointed to enquire into particular facts which might be disputed or which might not be clear : but did not believe in any Commission whose chief object was to enquire into the nation's progress and settle policies. The past history of all Royal Commissions in India had been, according to the speaker a history of disappointments and disillusionments and he did not believe that the present Commission was going to be an exception. The problem of India in its relation with England, was not a problem for any Commission of Enquiry. It was a problem for negotiation and agreement.

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As for evidence, the Commission could have any amount of evidence for one view or the other. The Indian bureaucracy and the Anglo-Indian mercantile community who were interested in maintaining British rule in India could manufacture any amount of evidence to show that India was not fit for self-government and that no change should be made in the system of Government prevailing in India more or less for the last 70 years.

Continuing Lala Lajpat Rai controverted Lord Birkenhead's speech. He did not deny the ultimate responsibility of Parliament in the passing of any agreed constitution. But Parliament's sanction was automatic when the Government in power accepted the Agreement. The Secretary of State had threatened that India would be in a welter of anarchy if the British withdrew. Lala Lajpat Rai said : "Let us have a trial of it, for two years. Can there be worse anarchy, than that imposed by law enforced at the point of the bayonet ? (Hear, hear). I am not afraid of anarchy".

A European : What about China ? -

Lala Lajpat Rai : "I shall welcome condition of anarchy, as it will enable us afterwards to settle down and form into a Government, which will be our own handiwork. (European benches : laughter)."

Lalaji : You may laugh because you are the painter that paints the picture. In our place, you will not be laughing but weeping. This withdrawal of the British may break your glorious connection with India, a connection which has been most inglorious from the Indian point of view.

As for the Commission coming out as a jury did the jury in England consist of one peer ? No. This foreign commission was both the jury and the judge. The existence of the depressed Classes was not known till after the declaration of 1917 ; and in the census of 1921 it went up from 30 to 52 millions and Mr. Coatman had definitely put it up at 60 millions.

"What has the British Government done for these people for whom Government and the Anglo-Indian Mercantile community is shedding crocodile tears ? (Applause)."

Sir Victor Sassoon :—They do not exist. (Laughter).

Lala Lajpat Rai :—May I know who created the Negroes in Africa whom the whites are bleeding to death ? (Opposition applause). What, I ask, has the Government done for them ?

Mr. Kabiruddin Ahmed :—What have you done ?

Lala Lajpat Rai :—I have been working among them for 25 years.

Lala Lajpat Rai said his reason for questioning the *bona fides* of the Government was based on the inner knowledge that he possessed of the currents and undercurrents during the War, when he was in the United States of America and the Allies were urging the United States to join them. The declaration of August 1917 was made by an honest statesman, but was not drafted by honest men. It was not sincere, but was purely a war measure. The Government of India had been found too wooden and inelastic as a war machine. They could not mobilise the loyal supporters of the country. Its machinery was to be changed to suit war conditions. And the announcement of 1917 was made as a clever move to prove to President Wilson and the American people that the War was being fought for the peace of the world and to advance the cause of democracy !

As soon as the War was over, they were given the Rowlatt Act and the Reforms that followed left the Assembly absolutely impotent.

Colonel Crawford :—"What about the Reserve Bank ?"

Lala Lajpat Rai :—The rejection of the Reserve Bank Bill still leaves you in the field. We rejected the official bill, but were unable to impose our will. And what about the Salt tax, the Princes' Protection Act, the Ratio Bill, the Lee Proposals and the Skeen report ? These are your credentials for proving your *bona fides* (applause). I say the Government and the Anglo-Indian mercantile community have absolutely no intention of leaving us. We are told we are not fit to lead the army, to manage our finances, to run our Railways. Are we then fit only to pay taxes, and is our trustee to swallow every penny of the trust ? (Applause). The Indian people have been emasculated by this soul-less machine

of Government, which only knows how to grind and crush, and not to construct. I make a special appeal to Muslim friends. Do not be misled by the professions of this hypocritical Government. Remember the partition of Bengal and the treaty of Sevres. Remember that the Government has emasculated the people, that 100 millions are not getting even their bread twice daily (shame, shame). And let me tell the Government that, powerless and helpless though we are, we are in earnest—in dead earnest—not to pick up the crumbs you throw for us" (Applause).

The *President* ruled that the issue before the House was whether they should or should not co-operate with the Simon Commission, and that he would call upon Sir Zulfikar Ali Khan to move his amendment if the others withdrew.

This having been done, and Dr. Gour's and Mr. Fazal Rahimtullah's amendments being ruled out of order, Sir Zulfikar Ali Khan was called upon to move his amendment.

SIR ZULFIKAR ALI KHAN'S AMENDMENT.

SIR ZULFIKAR ALI KHAN moved the following amendment to Lala Lajpat Rai's resolution :—

"The opinion of this Assembly is that the procedure put forward by the Indian Statutory Commission merits the favourable consideration of this Assembly."

Sir Zulfikar Ali's speech was considerably interrupted by derisive cheers from the Opposition, so that the Chair had to give him five or six minutes' extension of time.

Sir Zulfikar Ali declared that he was not swayed by any frowns or favours but spoke his innermost conviction.

A Voice :—"Yes, I know it!"

Sir Zulfikar Ali :—"If you know it, you better go out. (Laughter). The main point of difference is as regards the composition of the Commission. We must remember that India has different communities, each community having its own ambitions and lacking mutual trust. In such a situation, how could we expect the British Government to constitute a Commission with Indian representatives on it? Whom will those Indians represent? Only their own particular politics. I say, Britain would not have been justified in putting on the Commission such persons. How can we forget that there are in India, Hindus, Mahomedans, Brahmanas, Untouchables, etc.? Are the British Government to appoint Indians from the major communities only? That would have been wrong. The minorities cannot be ignored. They are dynamic with a historic background. The trouble of the minorities is that they do not get due recognition at the hands of the majorities. We have tried them."

Cries :—"When, when?"

Sir Zulfikar Ali :—"In Simla, in Benares; and now we are trying them in Delhi. So, I say, that the Statutory Commission which has no Indians on it has the confidence of the minorities because they feel that it is a tribunal which will do justice to their interests. The Commission was appointed; and immediately on its arrival in Delhi, Sir John Simon issued a statement asking for co-operation to discuss the question of the betterment of the Indian people. But the party leaders met in a hurry, and within half an hour gave their "No."

An Opposition Voice :—"Because, it was such a clear case."

Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar :—"Not half an hour, but three hours."

Sir Zulfikar Ali :—"The hurry with which they put their signatures to the rejection of Sir John Simon's offer shows that there is bankruptcy of statesmanship in India. (derisive cheers from the opposition benches). If I had been in their position I would have said: Since the President of the Commission has extended a friendly hand and is prepared to facilitate the task of considering further reforms, we are willing to discuss matters." But there was bankruptcy of statesmanship.

Mr. Kabirruddin Ahmad :—"Yes, just as in the case of the Bengal National Bank!"

Sir Zulfikar Ali :—"However, Sir, there are some names in the list of signatories who command my respect; for they are persons who are a force in politics. But there are others among them who do not represent popular opinion."

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Moulvi Mahomed Yakub :—"They do more than you in any case." (Laughter).

Sir Zulfiqar Ali :—"You were only an improvised President of the Muslim League in Calcutta." (Laughter).

Moulvi Mahomed Yakub :—"Let us face an election on this issue. Are you prepared?"

Sir Zulfiqar Ali :—"My friends know that I am speaking the truth, and they try to drown my voice."

Proceeding he said that the Punjab was solidly on the side of the Commission (Ironical cheers).

Mr. T. C. Goswami :—"Please don't libel the Punjab!"

Sir Zulfiqar Ali declared that his reasons for supporting the Commission were two,—(1) the inter-communal tension with riots and bloodshed and (2) the refusal of the majority community to concede the right of the minorities.

Sir Zulfiqar Ali quoted extensively the resolutions passed recently by the All-India Hindu Mahasabha against separate representation on the Legislatures and against communal representation on the Services.

Mr. Jinnah :—"Did you not accept the Delhi Moslem proposals!"

Sir Zulfiqar Ali :—"I did accept; but I am an elected member and when I went back to my constituency they refused to accept it."

Dewan Chamnalal :—"What is your personal view!"

Sir Zulfiqar Ali :—"Personal views have no place in the present debate."

Regarding the Hindu Sabha resolution that there should be no communal representation on the services, the speaker asked if there was any Mahomedan who would abide by that condition.

Concluding, Sir Zulfiqar Ali Khan said that no country remained under subjection unless there were defects in national character. (Loud Cheers).

Mr. Mahomed SHAH NAWAZ pointed out that Indians had got what they wanted, namely, equality of status, and explained at length the procedure outlined in Sir John Simon's letter to H. E. the Viceroy. The plan suggested by Sir John was a most complete representation of Indian interests at every stage of the enquiry (Government cheers). It was a great pity that Indian leaders had not accepted Sir John's statement. It was not possible to argue with them. Were they going to drive the British out? They must consider the facts as they stood. India wanted Swaraj within the British Empire, but on condition that the interests of the minority communities were adequately safeguarded. The British brought peace and prosperity to the country (cries of "No"). Mian Shah Nawaz continued: "I should like to see Lala Lajpat Rai acting as the Governor of the Punjab for four months. (Laughter). Can you manage the affairs of this country? (Cries of "yes"). It is easier to say so than to do it. You cannot. It is perfectly clear."

Continuing, the speaker said that India would not gain by non-co-operating with the Commission.

The Hon. Mr. CRERAR, Home Member, supported the amendment. He asked the House to realise that the issues of great moment were under discussion and therefore these issues must be dispassionately considered. It was natural that some apprehensions should be felt when an important announcement like the appointment of the Commission was made. But much had since occurred and several authoritative pronouncements had been made which, if properly regarded and construed, enabled the Assembly to view with greater certainty and understanding the position in which they stood. He would endeavour to avoid anything that might partake of or tend to provoke acrimony or prejudice. The only axiom on which he could proceed was that the ultimate conclusion must rest in the last resort with Parliament. That axiom must of course be considered in the light of the policy of Parliament, declared more than ten years ago and accepted by all the political parties in England, and in the further light of the recent debates which had emphasised the equally unanimous desire for securing the largest possible measure of agreement with the political opinion in India. There were some who would reject the proposition. Every aspect of the question must be regarded in the light of the actual facts of the case. They must avoid the error condemned by Lord Acton of making the splendour of words do duty for realities. It had been allege

that no Reforms enquiry was necessary, because the fulfilment of all the conditions requisite to full responsible government in India was a potent and established fact. It had been alleged that any enquiry would be sham, because a complete series of preconceived decisions had already been arrived at. Both the allegations were equally remote from the fact. The enquiry was necessary. He was fortified in that belief by the views expressed by the signatories to the Minority Report of the Reforms Enquiry Committee which contemplated, with approval, the appointment of a Royal Commission with freer terms of reference and a larger scope of enquiry than their own, and also by the terms of Pandit Motilal's resolution in the Assembly on that report.

It had been contended that the present system of Government had succeeded ; and with equal emphasis it had been contended that it had failed. How were these opposing contentions to be judged, except by an assessment of the results, which must be one of the earliest preoccupations of any agency of enquiry ? Lord Acton summed up in a phrase a lifetime of political reflection and historical research, when he said :—"The test of liberty is the position and the security of the minority." Was there not much matter for enquiry in India ?

The position of the minority communities, joint or separate electorates, financial settlement with the provinces, the readjustment of the provincial areas and the communal differences—were these not still acute outstanding controversies to be settled by an enquiry ? But some might say: We propose to enquire into these matters, and settle them ourselves. He had no quarrel with that position ; but so far not much progress had been made towards that achievement. If new paths were to be explored and new expedients to be devised, an enquiry was certainly necessary. To proceed otherwise and gamble with the future, was to court disaster.

Surveying the events of the last few years, and even the last few weeks, Mr. Crerar noticed there was evidence of actions proceeding from counsels of recklessness. He denied entirely that there had ever been any reason or justification for counsels of despair. "We would be acting wisely if we collaborate in the impartial and authoritative enquiry to be conducted by entirely new methods, though fulfilling in every practical particular what had so often been required, but never so far in such a near prospect of realisation."

He referred to the proposals put forward by the Commission regarding its procedure and the scheme announced by His Majesty's Government. He considered the manifesto of some Nationalist leaders as a precipitate and unceremonious rejection of a considered and well-weighed document drawn up by one of the most eminent of British statesmen. "Was it because those who would urge this precipitate step upon the House and upon all other persons concerned, were actually conscious that it was a formidable and convincing reply to the position which they themselves have hitherto with equal precipitancy taken ? Was it because they sought by this means to prevent the contents of this document from receiving a full and fair consideration from reasonable and moderate opinion throughout the country ?"

He hoped the House would not permit itself into a course so ill-considered and so imprudent. He did not think that many of the communities and interests which had proposals to put forward and grievances to be redressed would neglect the most powerful instrument which was now within their grasp.

Concluding, the Home Member said that times of crisis might arise, might pass and might make an indelible mark for good or evil on the destiny of states or their own personal fortunes without creating at the moment any clear perception of what had happened and what the consequences might be.

"This is a time for prolific, if fateful, issues ; but none of us here present have now or will hereafter have any excuse for failure to recognise that this is so. The issues are too clear, the facts too apparent, the omens too unambiguous. A situation so plain in its challenge, so insistent in its demands, ought to receive from us the best response we can give. In the words of the Viceroy whatever men may be tempted to think at the present moment, I dare predict that the searching inquest of history will not fail to return judgment against those who sought to use their power to hinder, when it was in their power to help." (Loud applause).

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Mr. S. Srinivasa IYENGAR said that the Government wanted to strike while the iron was hot. India seemed to them divided into communal and political camps. The country's united answer had frustrated that object. The Britisher's fairplay never crossed the English Channel. Though Mr. Lloyd George promised the right of self-determination and to extend it to tropical countries, it was being denied to India. But the Indian people stood for that right. (Applause). There was no question of their fitness. The matter was one for negotiation for the establishment of Swaraj or full responsible government. The Commission, instead of advancing the cause of reforms, would cover all the loopholes left by the Montagu Act, and would produce a scheme which would make the attainment of responsible government impossible.

There was no doubt in his mind that the Skeen Committee's report and its confidential sub-committee's report were responsible for Government taking no further risk of admitting Indians into their secret evidence.

As for Government's solicitude for the minorities, he warned the Moslem, the Parsi and the Christian that this solicitude was not for their welfare, but for the welfare of the British commercial and official minority in India to whom the Government wanted to give every possible protection. (Hear, hear).

The decision of the leaders was not, Mr. Iyengar declared, taken in a fit of temper. Even Moderates and yesterday's co-operators were for boycott. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru's stand for the boycott had fortified the Congressmen in their conviction that their course was right. Was Sir T. B. Sapru a great statesman only when he was a Member of the Government of India and became a bankrupt-statesman the moment he came to the non-official side? (Laughter and applause). Did the Home Member consider them school-boys? Lalaji's speech was marked by great sincerity and earnestness. Was it not that the Arya Samaj was mostly doing the work of uplift among the depressed classes? As for the protection of the minorities, what had the British Government done in the 150 years of their rule? On the other hand, the Congress was tackling the question earnestly, and within this year hoped to produce a settlement which would be acceptable to the entire body of Hindu and Moslem opinion. Section 84-A never contemplated a purely Parliamentary Commission. He appealed to all to vote for the resolution. Otherwise, they would be voting for the downfall and humiliation of the country.

Mr. M. R. JAYAKAR made an impressive speech at the conclusion of which he was loudly cheered. He accepted the Home Member's invitation to lay aside all passion, and to examine the position in the cold light of reason and argument. Lala Lajpat Rai with his 35 years' political service in India and Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar on behalf of the Congress Party, had spoken from the broad points of self-respect and patriotism. He would confine himself to a narrow issue whether the statements made before the country by Sir John Simon, the speeches made in Parliament and the responsible utterance of His Excellency the Viceroy showed that they had offered terms on which India could co-operate with this Commission. As one who had taken the odium and risk of unpopularity for having as a member of the Maharashtra Party declared readiness to co-operate with the Commission on certain terms, he said that he had been looking forward to this day when he could vindicate his position which had been assailed both by Indians and Europeans. But Sir D'arcy Lindsay had said that he never made any constructive proposals. His constructive proposals were made on the 16th November in Poona. But the Britishers did not listen and set the whole country in agitation. So, men like Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, and Sir Chimanlal Setalvad had joined the boycott movement. The Government sat tight and dumb, and relied on the petty constitutional propriety that Sir John must himself come to this country and speak, as if in these days there were no wires and wireless. This petty Government, relying on constitutional propriety asked the country to wait, as if the honour and self-respect of the country could wait. What would have satisfied the country three months ago would not satisfy it now. (Cries of "Why? Why?" from Col. Gidney and a few others). He himself stepped in when there was a stalemate; and taking the odium in order to relieve that stalemate made a gesture of co-operation in an interview. What followed was nothing but the cold and unconvincing speech of Lord Irwin. We were then asked to wait for

the arrival of that Messiah. That Messiah came and delivered his message. It had been alleged that leaders took only 10 minutes to express their opinion. That was absolutely wrong.

Mr. Jayakar continued: "Let me tell Sir John there are very able men on our side, who with dog-sense could easily find out whether there was anything bona fide and anything real that was meant in the document. I say, it is a complete travesty of the equality which I and those who agree with me asked for. As the manifesto of the Responsivists of Maharashtra said, India desired her accredited representatives to occupy the position of judges and architects of India with co-ordinate powers to sit with the representatives of the British people. Unless this was agreed to, it would not be possible for India to co-operate and assist in the work of the Commission. But that was not done and they were told that the preamble of the Government of India Act had stated that Britain would be the judge of the time of measure of each advance. Assuming that India accepted that position, was there not in the next line of the Government of India Act that Parliament must be guided by the cooperation of the Indian people? I shall not be content with membership of the commission unless there is complete equality. If Sir John Simon will agree to six or seven Indian politicians on our side sitting across a round table and appointing an umpire who is to regulate what he should give, then I am sure that I can bring my friends to co-operate with the Commission. Sir John must be prepared to meet us on equal terms and to discuss freely not in the tone of his letter, especially the second letter, but as one genuinely anxious to come out of the difficulty which has been created by his Government. I know what I want. I don't know the elasticity of the terms of reference. I don't know the complexion of the Parliamentary Commission; and I am prepared to tell Sir John and his friends word and line by line that there is no equality now. If he is convinced that what we say is not wrong, then he must go back, and get that equality from Parliament or the King." (Loud cheers).

But that, equality was not now given, was made clear by Sir John Simon's statement. That was so in regard to the taking of evidence where the Commission would take evidence in secret and Sir John would choose to tell the Indian wing as he called it, what best it should know. They must rest content to trust him everywhere. As regards the report stage also, the British Commissioners were responsible for their report to Parliament and not the Indian wing, whose report would be printed without any delay and even published simultaneously. What a concession! It would even go to England as an annexure to the report as a record of the opinion of the Indians! But there was no attempt to show that any effort would be made to arrive at a united report. Sir Chimanlal Setalvad and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru had said that the present constitution and the present scheme as announced did not offer terms of equality.

Mr. Jayakar added: "I say that the door is left open even now. The Government must not imagine that the door will be kept open for long. What is possible to-day, will not be possible to-morrow. Recently 'The Times of India' said of me that 'Mr. Jayakar's sagacity had out run his courage.' To-day, I say that my patriotism has outrun my political sagacity. It is because the Government have not played up that in my lot with my countrymen. We reject the statement of Sir John, because it is not a *bona fide* statement. (Loud applause).

Mr. M. A. JINNAH made it clear that the differences with Government on this point were fundamental. There were several political schools of thought in this country—revolutionaries, Congressmen, Constitutionalists and petitioners. Lieutenant Mahomed Nawaz had made an honest and frank speech when he said: "Whatever you do is right. Let me have something, as I am your man. Without you, I can do nothing." (Voices: 'No, no').

Mr. Mahomed Nawaz: I never said that.

Mr. Jinnah: "You said: 'We cannot drive the British out; so make the best use of what we can get.' There are those who want to reap a wonderful harvest for the Moslem community." I say to that: "You have been fooled, and you want to be fooled again; but I refuse to be fooled."

A voice: "By whom?"

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Mr. Jinnah: "By anybody." (Laughter). If Government is content to satisfy this school of thought, I say: 'Then carry on as long as you can.'

Mr. Jinnah's party had, in its Bombay manifesto, clearly stated its constructive demand. Probably Sir D'Arcy Lindsay being a merchant did not understand the difference between procedure and principle; but their manifesto had demanded for Indian representatives equal status and equal powers (hear, hear) to take part in the making of recommendations. He did not deny to Parliament the ultimate right of legislation. And this equal power and equal status could be given by an authority other than that which appointed the Simon Commission.

Mr. Jinnah continued: "Can a man even possessing the meanest intelligence declare that equality of status and powers have been granted to Indians? (Applause). What we are told is that even in the enquiry stage we are not to get equal status, and that we are merely to give evidence. The same is the case about the Parliamentary Committee. In the words of Lord Birkenhead, the Indian Legislature's Committee can only develop criticism and objection. (Laughter). How will it be in a better position than the Committee of the Anglo-Indian Association, and for the matter of that of the Committee of the Moslem League? Where is the great boon conferred on the Committee? It is a camouflage on the face of it."

Mr. Jinnah had no quarrel with Sir John Simon, who had shown the utmost courtesy by making their subordinate and subsidiary position as pleasant as he could possibly do, except for the secret evidence. The Indian wing in the provinces would be provincial committees, and the Central Committee could ask questions only when permitted by Sir John. And so far as the substance of Sir John's letter was concerned, it was an open secret, and it contained nothing material that had not been stated by Lord Olivier and Mr. Ramsay MacDonald during their speeches. So its contents sprung no surprise upon them. Even then they spent four hours in considering it.

Mr. Crerar had quoted the Minority Report of the Muddiman Committee but not fully: for the minority recommended a Royal Commission or any other suitable agency with freer terms of reference. But that was in December 1924, and to-day they were in February 1928.

Mr. Neogy: Miss Mayo had yet to come.

Mr. Jinnah: "You are making a great mistake by trying to represent that all the parties are determined on the boycott for some sinister motive. I warn you that if you persist in that you will lose the whole of India.

Mr. Crerar: "I imputed no motives."

Mr. Jinnah: "Do you want only one section to co-operate with you? Do you wish any decent party or any decent and self-respecting man to co-operate with you; or, do you want only those who come before you as petitioners? If you want petitioners, I wish you luck. But be frank and be honest. Do not tell us that we have got equal status and equal powers, and do not mislead the rest."

Mr. M. C. RAJA, representative of the Depressed Class, recalled the references of the speakers before him that the Government had done nothing for the Depressed Classes, and said that the Government would have done everything had not the higher classes stood in their way. He referred to the speech of Pundit Madan Malaviya in the old Imperial Legislative Council regarding the amelioration of the depressed classes, when the Pundit has said that Government should rightly abstain from interfering with social and socio-religious affairs.

Proceeding, Mr. Raja said that the present Reforms gave them some power. They had no voice in the Government before 1919. Then the Congressmen wanted to do away with the nomination system in the Madras Legislative Council. That distinctly showed that they stood in the way of nomination of representatives of the Depressed Classes (Cries of "No, No" from the Swarajist benches).

A voice: You could come by election.

Continuing, Mr. Raja said that they welcomed the Commission as there was a possibility of its proving a boon to the Depressed Classes. They would also urge the Commission to remove untouchability. The Congress and other similar bodies merely passed pious resolutions, and did nothing beyond that.

THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

[NEW DELHI

DEATH OF MR. VISHINDAS

At this stage Sir Basil Blackett intervening broke the sad news that Mr. Harchandrai Vishindas had breathed his last. He suggested that to show their respect to the departed member they should not continue to-day's sitting. To-morrow being a Moslem holiday, he was prepared to give Saturday for the purpose.

The President announced the adjournment of the House as a mark of respect to the memory of the deceased till Saturday next the 18th FEBRUARY, when

Mr. M. C. RAJA referred to Mr. Rangaswami Iyengar's question as to why the Depressed Classes should not come by election, and replied that the election of the Depressed Class representatives was as difficult as the river Jumna joining the Kaveri. If the Congress Party was so much interested in the welfare of the Depressed Classes, why did they not put up any candidate among them?

Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar : Did you ask for it?

Mr. Raja : Why should I ask for it?

Mr. Jamnadas Mehta : Become a Congressman and you will be put up as a candidate.

Proceeding, Mr. Raja welcomed the fact that there was no mixture of Indian element in the composition of the Commission. He was convinced that the scheme of enquiry announced by Sir John Simon gave far greater opportunities of discussion than a mere round table conference. Excepting a microscopic fraction of the country, the rest of India believed that political progress could come only through diffusion of education and by the extension of the benefits of British rule. Let India co-operate with the Commission, which was no respecter of persons, and which would judge the motives of Indians as they would see them.

Mr. T. C. GOSWAMI, who was applauded by the Congress benches, said that Mr. K. C. Roy, whose words were listened to with great respect by the House, had told them that Sir John Simon and his colleagues were honest men. He had no quarrel with that proposition. But the point at issue was not Sir John's brilliance or the mediocrity of his colleagues, but the implication which he must emphatically repudiate, that a man because he was clever had any right to come from another country, to dictate terms to this country.

European Benches : He does not.

Mr. Goswami : We have the scene of these seven Commissioners in search of a mission standing before their shop and telling : "Come in one and all, we are ready to receive you (Laughter). Contrary to their notions of racial intercourse under official guidance, they have to distribute their smiles in Western Hotel. A large number of mushroom parties have sprung up and there is even a party in Madras called the "Self-Respect Party." (Laughter).

Mr. Goswami next referred to the latest speech of Lord Birkenhead, which had done the Government cause greater harm than any speeches from the nonofficial benches. The Secretary of State had painted a picture of numerous deputations waiting on the Simon Commission. Sir John had told them of 300 telegrams of welcome. Sir John might plaster them on the bare walls of his room. "We know how these telegrams are arranged. We have done that ourselves. (Laughter). It is a game at which both can play." If Sir John Simon wanted to know how the Constitution had worked, the proceedings of the Legislative Assembly could show that. He could, for instance, learn how Lord Reading spoke of the detenues' case having been examined by two High Court Judges which turned out to be false ; and how Lord Lytton certified that a sum of Rs. 30,000 was necessary for carpets for the Government House to enable him to discharge his duties.

Mr. Kabiruddin Ahmad : Why don't you place these grievances before the Simon Commission ? (Laughter).

Mr. Goswami : We on this side have always stood for a Round Table Conference. That offer is still open to the British Government. We younger men are anxious to establish national self-determination ; and the Government ought to judge us not merely by the speeches made here (Laughter, Hear, hear), but by the silence of the masses, which is very much more dangerous than our speeches. (Congressmen : Hear, hear). We admit that the freedom of India presents

questions which are complex ; but the freedom of India will also mean complete reorganisation in the whole world. We are striving for that freedom.

Europeans :—Boycott won't do.

Mr. Goswami : We will follow it up by such measures as the situation will demand. I am hopeful that we will carry the day. There is among us great power of resistance of temptations ; and so, the large patronage of the Government has proved unavailing. I make a present to the Government of the exofficio loyalist votes ; but we will carry the day.

Pandit MOTILAL was cheered as he rose to take part in the debate. He said that two important contributions had been made to the debate, one by Mr. K. C. Roy in this House, and the other by Lord Birkenhead across the seas. Mr. Roy had asked him to give a lead. That he had done long ago when he advised the country to have nothing to do with the Statutory Commission. (Applause). Pandit Motilal joined with Mr. Roy in paying a tribute to the greatness of Sir John Simon, and associated himself with all that had been said about the eminent lawyer both in England and in India. He knew Sir John was out to do some big thing ; but the fact remained that the biggest thing that an Imperialist Englishman could do, would not meet even the smallest possible demand of the Indians. "Sir John Simon is a big man but I for one will not advise my countrymen to surrender their right to even the biggest man in the world. That right is the right of self-determination. The promises made during the War were treated with scorn ; but India will not forego her right. In a short while, we will be able to stand on our legs ; and I am confident we shall be in a position to exercise that right fully and freely."

As regards Lord Birkenhead's speech, it was the completest justification for the attitude adopted in the country. (Hear, hear). Political leaders who had spent their life in the service of the country were to count for nothing, and the Simon Commission was to receive an inspiration from those whose self-interest or fear compelled them to stand by the Bureaucracy. His Lordship had talked not merely of the "millions" of Muslims and depressed classes, but of the "millions" of Anglo-Indians. He hoped that the capacity of Anglo-Indians to multiply would increase, to come some-where near His Lordship's description. (Laughter).

Lord Birkenhead had put Indians on the same level as lunatics, and wanted to reduce them to the position of inarticulate exhibits. What Lord Birkenhead stood for was that his will was supreme, and must be imposed at all risks. Pandit Motilal continued : "It is easy to reply in the same strain ; but I shall resist the temptation and will only remark that heads that are swollen contain little wisdom, and that a man who rides high, rides for a fall."

The Pandit next turned to the resolution before the House. It was a resolution of the Nationalist Party. Congressmen suggested some changes, and the omission of the word "present" on which Mr. Jayakar had laid so much emphasis. But their suggestion did not meet with the support of the Nationalists. But all three parties stood for boycott, and the reasons for it did not matter (laughter). In fact, every party had its own reason for boycott (renewed laughter on European benches). So long as Britain held them by force, she was the arbiter of their destiny. The talk of giving any measure of freedom to a subject nation of their own accord was hypocrisy. It was in 1924 that his resolution for a round table conference was adopted by an overwhelming majority. A year later, another resolution which pitched their demands lower and certainly did not ask for full responsible government, was passed by the Assembly. The Government was asked to accept the offer. But it did not, and since then a lot of time had passed. To-day all the Non-Congress parties had joined them in the demand for full responsible government. But this goal took into note the period of transition before India could have Dominion status like that enjoyed by South Africa and Ireland. But the matter must be settled at a conference between the plenipotentiaries of the two countries. Pandit Motilal quoted and fully endorsed the remarks made by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru who till recently was a great pillar of strength to the Government. Sir T. B. Sapru had in his book stated that the reasons advanced in 1924 against Reforms would hold good even in 1929. The real question was one of policy, and on that British and Indian opinion had differed and would continue to differ in future.

The Pandit added : "It is absolutely futile to endeavour to reconcile Indian opinion when English and our interests clash. We do not use the same words in the same sense. I say the time is nearing when all parties will range themselves with the Congress in demanding complete independence."

Continuing, Pandit Nehru said that as for the constitution of the Simon Commission, he would merely recall that Lord Birkenhead, who had told them at one time that the Commission would consist of the best brains of the Empire, had in the end read into the Act a meaning which was not there, that the Commission must be purely parliamentary.

The President at this stage reminded Pandit Nehru that he had been shown sufficient indulgence, and must bring his remarks to a close.

Concluding, Pandit Motilal said he only wished to refer lastly to the telegram from Mr. Ramsay Mac Donald to Mr. Hartshorn. The Pandit made it clear that Indian opinion never expected that the Labour Government would do anything for India in this matter. "We stand on our own legs. Governments which have not paid attention to the lessons of History have invariably come to grief; and I have no doubt that what has not been accomplished by the statesmanship of England will be accomplished by the people, adding another to the number of fallen empires."

Sir Bhupendranath MITRA pleaded guilty to lack of political flair, particularly as he was not sure what correct flair in political matters was or should be, under the present conditions in India. His doubts on this point had been intensified after he had listened to the speech of Mr. Jinnah and some others. The speaker was essentially a servant of the Crown, and in that capacity he had served his King and country for over thirty years. It was his loyalty to his country that made him exert himself to secure for his country the maximum advantage in every direction. He yielded to none in solicitude for the welfare of his country, and its well-regulated progress towards self-government.

Owing to the momentous importance of the present debate he could not refrain from appealing to the members not to take a course which might ultimately jeopardise India's real interests. In the present political conditions of India, he must concede to the British Parliament the final voice in laying down the procedure for the examination of the working and development of self-government in India and in determining the extent of progress in that direction. To his mind there could not be a greater calamity than the fact that Indians were still incapable of making any serious effort to settle their internal differences, communal and otherwise. For this failing, History showed that the Government could not be blamed. Upon getting rid of that failing and upon the gradual approximation to the ideal of a harmonious India, depended political progress and the attainment of self-determination. He had little doubt that the reason for precipitate action by certain leaders was that that action was conceived in a spirit of passion, engendered by a feeling of affront to pride and self-respect, and of consequent distrust of the British Government. That aspect of the situation had been made abundantly clear by Lala Lajpat Rai, Mr. Jayakar and Mr. Jinnah. He besought the members of the Opposite benches not to allow themselves to be swayed wholly by passion and sentiment.

Referring to the attitude taken by the Oppositionists on the Joint Free Conference, the speaker said the question deserved serious consideration, whether the method of collaboration on honourable and equal terms which the scheme provided—even though it was subject to certain limitations laid down by Parliament—could not with sufficient good-will on both sides be worked to India's material advantage. Sir John Simon and his colleagues had already promised their sincerity and good-will in the matter, and the speaker saw no reason to question their good faith. He doubted whether it was in the interests of India that some of her leaders should adopt an attitude of complete *nonpossumus*. If the resolution were adopted, the effect would inevitably be that India would lose the services of some of her most eminent sons for the evolution of her political development. He trusted that the members on the opposite side would not force the country into an unfortunate position. He appealed to the House not to pursue the negative resolution but to try to establish contact with Sir John Simon as soon as possible, and to secure for India the best advantage out of what might be considered a bad business.

Concluding, Sir B. N. Mitra assured the House that his appeal was not the outcome of a slave mentality, but was based on the strong optimism of one, who during the best part of a quarter of a century had succeeded in turning circumstances, more adverse than his friends were now confronted with, to some advantage to his country.

Sir Purushottamdas THAKURDAS, in supporting the resolution, made a long speech, at the conclusion of which, he declared, amidst applause, that India expected every man to do his duty at this juncture. He said he was fully conscious of India's weakness and her handicaps. He was equally conscious of the benefits of British Rule ; but at the same time he considered it his duty to his country and the King-Emperor and the British Parliament to say in unequivocal terms that the Commission, as at present constituted, was not acceptable to India. He looks upon the Commission as a deliberate attempt on the part of the people in power in London to humiliate India, not only in the eyes of the world, but also in the eyes of Indians themselves. It had been said by official apologists that there was no special significance attached to the exclusion of Indians from the Commission. If that was the case, then why did they stick to that position, and why should they not yield to Indian sentiment? The Government of India Act did not preclude the appointment of Indians on the Commission.

Sir Walter Wilson :—Would you have Mr. Saklatwala?

Sir. Purushottamdas said it was not possible to expect the cooperation of the Indian people unless and until Indians were given equal rights and status. That there was no equality, had been exposed by Mr. Jayakar and Mr. Jinnah. If anything further was wanting to prove it, there was abundant evidence in the letter of Sir John Simon, when he said that the Indian Parliamentary delegation would not be the only body which would appear before the British Parliamentary Joint Committee, but that it would be one along with other representative bodies. There was an unmistakable mark of inferiority in the whole transaction. Yet, surprise had been expressed by some that the leaders had expressed their opinion on Sir John Simon's letter so soon after its publication. There was nothing new in that document ; Major Graham Pole had further testified to it when in a statement to the press, he said that the terms were settled in London in November 1927.

Sir Wilson : Overlook that statement.

Sir Purshottamdas : Not unless you are prepared to say that Major Graham Pole is telling a lie.

Mr. C. S. Ranga Aiyar intervening informed that the statement had also appeared over the signature of Mr. Ramsay Macdonald in "The New York Herald" and widely reprinted in India.

Proceeding, Sir Purushottamdas referred to Sir John Simon's advice to the Indian legislators to trust him regarding the *in camera* evidence. etc., and replied : Supposing something unforeseen happened concerning the health of Sir John? What would happen to that trust then? If Sir John really meant to give the Indian legislature equality, then let him say so in another communication.

The speaker paid a personal tribute to Colonel Wedgwood for the bold stand he took up in the House of Commons, as well as in the historic letter which he wrote to Lala Lajpat Rai. He feared that Lord Birkenhead had struck a big nail in the coffin of the aspirations of India. "Man proposes, but God disposes. We shall wait and watch. India expects every man to do his duty, in spite of fears and threats and all indications of pressure ; and I say India will come out triumphant. (Applause).

Sir. Hari Singh GOUR, while rising from the Nationalist Party block, was loudly cheered by the Congress, Nationalist and Independent Party benches. He analysed the debate thus. The Congress Party repudiated the right of Parliament to determine India's advance. The Nationalist and Independent Parties recognised the right of Parliament, but demanded equality in the enquiry. Thirdly, Sir Zulfikar Ali Khan's amendment, which was supported by the Government, asked for unconditional and unqualified co-operation with the Commission. The Nationalists were not for absolute non-co-operation. They were not for unconditional co-operation either.

The President : "Will the Hon'ble member say on whose behalf he speaks ?

Sir Hari Singh Gour : I speak on behalf of myself (loud and prolonged laughter). I am a Responsivist, and I stand for conditional co-operation. Mr. Baldwin has stated on the floor of the House of Commons, that Indians should dismiss from their minds that there was any thought of inferiority in the scheme, Indians being asked to approach as friends. I am an old man. I am a man of peace. I want to obtain the liberation of my country, if possible by co-operation. I shall be guilty of a gross dereliction of duty if I spurn this chance of advancing my country's progress. (Official benches : Hear, hear).

"The resolution says that India should not co-operate unless there is equality. that equality has been granted to us, by the British Premier in Parliament. If Sir John Simon's letter does not rise equal to the occasion, our complaint is not against Sir John Simon but against the British Premier. When the Government comes to move the resolution for the appointment of a committee of this House, then it would be time for us to give expression to our feelings and attitude and not now. Those who want the Commission, and at the same time equality, cannot vote for boycott of the Commission, and then claim equality. They must vote for the Commission. Therefore, I ask my friends here to reconsider their attitude. Nothing will be gained by wholesale boycott of the Commission, because that cannot be made the pivot of attack. The Commission and the Committee of the Legislature are two different things ; and because we have not got equality for the Committee, why should we vote against the Commission itself ? If you are for conditional cooperation, you cannot vote for the main proposition (Mr. Jinnah : "Manu is going wrong"), and then ask equality for the Committee. I hope that good sense and common-sense will prevail at the voting time.

Sir Basil BLACKETT appealed to the House to regard the decision that was to be taken as of very great importance to the future of the Indian constitution, and in particular to the future of this Assembly. Ten years ago, the legislature came into existence, and to-day the British Parliament was asking the Indian Parliament to co-operate with it in taking a leading part in deciding India's future constitution. But Lala Lajpat Rai had asked them to reject the hand of Great Britain, and follow the old barren policy of non-co-operation. (Lala Lajpat Rai : It is the mailed fist).

Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar had said that Parliament's declaration of 1917 was insincere. But this Assembly, with the first Indian elected President and with its enormous powers, was evidence of the falsehood of his suggestion. Mian Sha Nawab, an officer, who was holding the King's Commission had spoken courageously and modestly.

A voice : What does his presence signify ?

Sir Basil : It signifies that the voice of large number of people which was hitherto unheard is beginning to be heard (cheers).

Proceeding, Sir Basil said that Sir John Simon and his colleagues were engaged in a double problem—the problem of the introduction of self-governing institutions with large powers, and the problem of the relations between the East and the West. He was an optimist, and he was thinking of a free and self-governing India as a partner in the British Empire. Sir B. N. Mitra, who had been working hard to improve the machinery of the Government was a better Swarajist than the whole lot of Congressmen who were engaged in pulling down the existing structure in the ambitious programme of erecting another. "I claim I have been a far better Swarajist than my friends opposite. If you doubt you can compare my record with your own. England is telling India that she is going to aid her in developing self-governing institutions.

Mr. Rangaswami Iyengar : We are going to have it, not as a gift.

Sir Basil : I agree self-government cannot be given. (hear, hear.) It must be taken with the help of Britain."

Continuing, Sir Basil quoted from the speeches of Mr. Jinnah and Sir P. Thakurdas in 1924 on the Finance Bill, when both of them refused to walk into Pandit Motilal's parlour of Non-co-operation.

Sir Purshothamdas : My attitude now is quite consistent with the speeches I then made.

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DEBATE ON THE SIMON COMMISSION.

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Sir Basil also quoted the speech of Colonel Wedgwood made in 1922 severely condemning Non-co-operation as tomfoolery.

Mr. Jinnah interjected : Colonel Wedgwood has changed now. You have changed him.

Sir Basil : I cannot see how my friends opposite reconcile their own attitude against non-co-operation with the intention to vote for this purely negative resolution. I am afraid Mr. Jinnah has not only walked into the Pandit's parlour, but has been assimilated (Hear, hear) by the Congress party. The spider may be hungry ; but why should the fly be in such a hurry. (Loud and continued cheers.) If the Assembly would now refuse the hand of the British Parliament then it would refuse to treat itself as a Parliament. (Cries of "no.") It is not the Statutory Commission that is going to suffer. (Cries of "No threats please.") Mr. Jayakar has shown both political courage and political sagacity by his speech. He has complained of the tyranny of his people. I hope my friends opposite will forgive me, when I say that the tyranny which prevents liberty of thought and liberty of conscience is absolutely incompatible with the development of democratic institutions in India. (Hear, hear.) There is no likelihood of the composition of the Commission being changed ; but the procedure outlined by Sir John Simon in his letter merits the favourable consideration of the Assembly. I suggest to Mr. Jayakar that he should now join his political sagacity and political courage with his patriotism and continue to keep the door open by voting for the amendment. (Loud cheers.)

Colonel GIDNEY declared that the leaders who had so contemptuously rejected the offer of Sir John Simon had not the country behind them. Whom did Mr. Sinivasa Iyengar's Congress represent, except the people he had collected from Madras ? Whom did Mr. Jinnah represent ? Not the Moslems of the main Moslem provinces of India. (Cheers.) Who represented the Depressed Classes among the Opposition ? "I say you represent hardly 2 millions people. In fact, you represent yourself as leaders, some of you without followers. (Cheers and counter-cheers.) The fact that you have acted in this manner has discredited you. There is no getting away from the fact that you are under the British Parliament. (A voice : British bayonets.) Call it British bayonets if you like. So long as you are under that constitution, it is your bounden duty as members of this House to co-operate with the Commission.

Mr. SUHRAWARDY tried to controvert the arguments of the Opposition. He asked the authors of the Delhi proposals, why they sprung upon the country, three years in advance, their scheme, if they held that the Commission had been prematurely appointed. While he did not agree with Lord Birkenhead that a purely Parliamentary Commission was justified historically and constitutionally, it was certainly dictated by the practical necessity of the case. If Lord Sinha had been appointed, the Extremists would have vomited fire ; and if Comrade Saklatwala had been chosen, the Moderates would have had a cold shudder. (Laughter.) Pundit Motilal being the father of the resolution for complete independence, fondly believed that the country was for that goal. But Mr. Gandhi had described the Congress as a school-boy debating society, when it passed the independence resolution. (Hear, hear). The failure of Non-co-operation was writ large on the Swarajist benches ; and not only was the speaker returned by two constituencies in Bengal, but no Bengal Moslem on the Congress ticket succeeded. Mr. Bannerjee, Swarajist, had taunted his colleagues in the Bengal Council for absenting themselves, by saying that they were presumably satisfied with the constitution of the Commission. (Laughter.) The Moslem Bengal thus stood against boycott in spite of the show put up by the All India Moslem League session in Calcutta, where Pundits harangued. (Laughter.) Lt. Mahomed Nawaz returned by the general electorate was against boycott, and Mr. Jinnah was in love with the general electorates !

As the speaker was continuing, the President asked him to bring his interesting remarks to a close.

Mr. S. C. Mitter : These may be taken as read.

The speaker asked Lala Lajpat Rai not to shed crocodile tears for Moslem interests. He told Mr. Goswami that if the Royal Commissioners were mediocre, so were most of the Men in the world. He would have mediocre men to deal with his case. (Applause.) The unholy alliance among the Opposition ranks was bound

soon to melt away, and the Opposition's formula would soon turn out to be the proverbial "Delhi-ka-laddoo. (Applause)

Pandit Madan Mohan MALAVIYA rose amidst cheers from the Congress, Independent and Nationalist parties. He said the proposal before the House was the result of the attitude taken by the British Government. He quoted from the articles which he wrote immediately after the appointment of the Commission, and pointed out the conditions on which he would be prepared to co-operate with the Commission. He contended that those conditions of equality had not been given due consideration. The decision on the Indian constitution should be entrusted to Indians only and that was why he joined hands with the Congress Party.

Pandit Malaviya described Lord Birkenhead as a big bully who would drive Indians further from their English fellow subjects. In contrast, the speaker quoted from the speech of Lord Morley, stating that the influence of the educated Indians was far more than their numbers suggested. The despatch of 1833, the proclamation of 1858, the speech of Sir John Wood in 1861 and the War speeches of British statesmen, and membership of the League of Nations had over and over again recognised the equal status of Indians. It was in disregard of historical practice that Indians had been excluded.

The resolution was not a negative one, but was a positive proposition, namely, that unless the King-Emperor appointed an equal number of Indians as commissioners, they refused to co-operate. (Applause.) It was idle to expect Sir John Simon to grant what he had not the power to do. The speaker asked the Government categorically whether it was not true that the first suggestion of a Parliamentary Commission was made by the Government of India, that the legal opinion expressed by the Government of India's advisers stated that Indians should not be shut out, that the names of 5 or 6 Hindus were actually recommended for the Commission, and that the Law Member was not in favour of exclusion of Indians (hear, hear) and that Sir M. Habibullah warned the Government of the results of the exclusion of Indians (hear hear) and warned the Government of the results of a boycott. There was a clique working against India, which helped the preparation and circulation of a wretched book. "The Times," and "The Englishman" and "The Pioneer" and the European Association had months ago known that the Commission would be purely Parliamentary. Thus, the Europeans were taken into confidence, and not Indians. And the atmosphere created against India was such that Indians were represented as a low people and not fit to be equals.

The Pandit next related the charges made against him by Mr. Raja by quoting from some speech of his in the old Imperial Council, and showed that not only had he urged the Government to give them full facilities for education, but had even urged the grant of additional facilities, and that it was Sir Reginald Craddock, the then Home Member, who merely replied that the resolution of Mr. Maneckji Dadabhoy would be referred to the local Government. (Shame, shame.)

The Pandit read out a telegram just received from the President of the Dravida Sabha repudiating Mr. Raja's claim to representation and supporting the boycott.

Mr. Raja tried to get up but met with cries of "Order, order."

Mr. Cosgrave asked whether Mr. Raja was not entitled to be heard.

The President said that according to the Standing Orders, a personal explanation unless the Speaker allowed, could be given only after the speech was over.

Mr. Cosgrave said the rules limited the speech to fifteen minutes, but the Pandit had spoken for 50 minutes. (Voices : Order, order.)

The President said that the Pandit was one of the leaders of the parties in the House, which the Hon'ble Member was not.

Concluding, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya appealed to all Indians that the national honour was at stake, if they voted in favour of co-operation with the Commission. ("No, No" and also applause.)

Mr. Raja, rising on a personal explanation, said the telegram was a bogus one, and was sent by a person who was a creature of Mr. Srinivas Iyengar. (Laughter.)

Mr. CHATTERJEE said that the Indian Christians did not like the exclusion of Indians and stood for self-determination. They were not amongst the petitioners either. He believed in God's will as a remedy for the ills of mankind, and asked them to accept the hand extended to them by the Commission.

Lala LAJPAT RAJ replying to the debate, said that he stood by the All-Parties' Conference decision that the Commission as at present constituted, was unacceptable to India. He asserted that the Pronouncement of 20th August 1927 was settled in 1916 because of America's pressure and quoted from the Parliamentary debates the speech of Lord Chelmsford in support. It must be remembered that the scheme of dyarchy was settled in march 1926, and the announcement was made in August 1917, and the United States entered the War in April 1917, three months before the announcement.

Lala Lajpat Rai proceeding said that Col. Wedgwood's position had been misrepresented, for whatever might be said of his views on non-co-operation in 1922, he certainly preached non-co-operation in Parliament on the 25th November 1927. Promises had been given by Britain, which were not carried out. There was nothing to be said against the Commissioners because they could not give equality, but against the documents which appointed them. Lord Birkenhead had said that the Commission would go on with the work. Of course, it would when millions of Moslems, Depressed Classes and Anglo-Indians would come and give evidence! Lalaji could not understand Sir Hari Sing Gour, who had shifted his ground. Lala Lajpat Rai told Mr. Shah Nawaz and Sir Zulfiqar Ali Khan that the Hindus had no intention of thrusting joint electorates on Moslems, unless the Hindus carried the bulk of Moslem Nationalists with them. At the same time, he told them that it would be safer to trust the Hindus than Englishmen. To the taunt of Sir D'Arcy Lindsay, that India had not yet produced a constitution, Lalaji said that it was not possible to produce one so long as a third party in India put up "created interests", Constitutions were not made in a day, but a constitution was being drafted, and God willing, would be completed very shortly. (Loud cheers). If the Government wanted to ascertain the depth of Indian opinion on this question, they must not allow any official to vote on the resolution. Any vote against the resolution, was a vote against freedom and for permanent bondage.

Mr. CRERAR winding up said that the Commission was appointed under the King's order; and once it was appointed, that body was the master of its own procedure. He therefore repelled any criticism that the Government of India was responsible for the procedure. He also repudiated the allegations that Sir John Simon's statement was prepared in London. The powers of the Commission were very great indeed. The House would be well advised to reflect on the enormous ground to be covered, and the great dangers and inconvenience that would result from delay in the appointment of the Committee of the legislature.

While admitting the great services Lala Lajpat Rai had been rendering to the Depressed Classes, Mr. Crerar said that the Depressed Classes were urging for protection from Brahmanical taboos and caste prohibitions. The Home Member suggested that Lalaji should discuss the question with other leaders to the ultimate benefit of the Depressed Classes. Mr. Jayakar would have done better if he had maintained his original position, and better still if he had continued his advance (applause). He advised Mr. Jinnah to carry his realism further, and obtain the best possible results for his clients. It was a mistake to suppose that the present enquiry concerned only the three political parties, the Government and the Commission. The most important part of the affair was the country and whole population of India; and it was in their interests that the debate should conclude.

MOTION PASSED

As the debate concluded, the President stated that he would ask the House to vote on the main resolution of Lala Lajpat Rai. If it was defeated he would put the rival proposal to the House.

As the House was divided, the President saw some members pressing Mr. Kabiruddin Ahmed to vote.

The President offered protection to the member, and asked him publicly to state which side he wished to vote.

Mr. Kabiruddin declared that he would remain neutral.

The result of the voting was that 68 were for the resolution and 62 against. The announcement was greeted with shouts of "Bande Mataram."

THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

[NEW DELHI]

RAILWAY BUDGET FOR 1928-29

Though he described it as his maiden effort at budget-making, Sir George Rainy's first Railway Budget which he presented to the Assembly on the 20th FEBRUARY not only showed a record year for traffic in 1927-28 and a large reduction in the cost both of carrying the traffic and of repairing rolling stock ; but announced substantial reductions in rates and fares with the object of stimulating traffic.

The financial results of 1926-27 belied last year's apprehension that seven lakhs might have to be drawn from the Railway Reserve, as the actual surplus was higher than the estimate by Rs. 150 lakhs.

Dealing with the revised estimates for 1927-28, Sir George Rainy said the check caused by the disastrous floods in Gujarat and Orissa was temporary, and all anxiety disappeared by the end of October.

Regarding the financial results of the year, passenger earnings compared with those of the previous year would be better by 150 lakhs, and goods earnings by 3 crores. Goods traffic extended with the exception of cotton to all commodities ; and no doubt ability to handle the traffic quickly had contributed largely to this success. Sir George drew attention to the growth of 40 per cent in the export trade in coal during the first seven months of the year. The railways expected to carry nearly 700 million ton miles and over 1,000 million passenger miles more than in 1926-27 ; but in spite of increased traffic, the working expenses would be 63 lakhs less than the estimate, chiefly because of the drop of 11 annas per ton in the cost of coal and various measures taken to secure economy.

Particularly remarkable was the reduction under Repairs and Maintenance, of 70 lakhs in spite of the addition of between 600 and 700 miles to the lines to be maintained. That proved that the anticipations of Mr. R. K. Shunmukham Chetti, who moved a cut of 50 lakhs were more correct than the Railway Board's. But the result was due to the fact that the Railway Board agreed with the Assembly as to the necessity of economising in the workshop expenditure. Modernisation of workshops, which was still proceeding, had enabled more fuller use of the rolling stock ; so that the need for buying new stock was proportionately diminished. Interest charges took about 150 lakhs owing to heavy capital expenditure on development and a sum of about 50 lakhs more than in the year 1926-27 was provided for depreciation. The final result of 1927-28 was thus expected to be a gain of over 12 3/4 crores from commercial lines, which was nearly 375 lakhs more than in 1926-27. Of this, strategic lines' loss would consume 1 2/3 crores ; 636 lakhs would go to general revenues and 474 lakhs to the Railway Reserve.

Sir George Rainy said that in view of the financial position he proposed large reductions in third-class passenger fares, in rates and in the rates on certain commodities on the State-managed lines.

Sir George Rainy expected a gain from commercial lines, in 1928-29, of 10 crores and 64 lakhs, of which 1 2/3 crores would meet the loss on strategic lines. About 550 lakhs would go to the General Revenues and 350 lakhs the Reserve. The operation of the Depreciation Fund would show an increase of 3 crores.

The Capital expenditure during the current year would be 3 crores, and the provision for 1928-29 was 28 crores, including 4 crores for purchase of Burma Railway Company's interest from the 1st January 1929. 636 miles of new lines would be opened during the current year, and 800 miles next year—the programme being to construct pioneer lines in Burma and Assam, branch lines in Southern India, cross-connections in the Punjab and feeder lines in Sind. Thus, the Railways were fully alive to their responsibility of extending and improving the communication of India.

Sir George Rainy wished Sir Charles Innes had presented the Budget to-day, as the results achieved were due to his policy and to the work of Sir Clement Hindley. The speaker had come with an open mind, and was convinced that valuable results were attributable to the separation of Railway Finance. If the House was anxious to continue the present policy, a stable rupee was the very first requisite ; and for securing this, the Railways owed a debt of gratitude to the Hon'ble Sir Basil Blackett, and acknowledged the assistance invariably received from Sir Basil's

broadminded and courageous outlook on Railway Financial Problems, particularly in regard to separation of Railway Finance. The Commerce Member acknowledged the practical co-operation received from the House and the most loyal co-operation and assistance received from Sir Austen Hadow, Mr. Parsons and other members of the Railway Board.

REDUCTION IN RATES AND FARES.

Announcing the reduction in rates and fares Sir George Rainy said :—

In the first place, we propose to make a substantial reduction in the third class fares on the E. I., N. W. and G. I. P. railways. Up to 50 miles, no change will be made ; but from 51 miles and upwards the reduction will be $\frac{1}{2}$ pie per mile on the E. I. and N. W. railways. This means a reduction of 13 per cent for a journey of 300 miles, 16 per cent for a journey of 500 miles, and 20 per cent for a journey of 900 miles. The corresponding percentages on the G. I. P. Railway are 12, 13 and 15.

In addition, we propose to abolish on the E. I. and G. I. P. Railways the distinction by which Intermediate and Third Class mail fares are higher than by ordinary trains. If there were no growth of traffic the reductions in third class fares would cost 122 lakhs in a complete year.

It may perhaps interest the House to know how the new rates for third class passengers compare with those in force before the War. On the G. I. P. Railway, the increase is still substantial varying from 60 per cent at 50 miles to 30 per cent at 600 miles. On the E. I. Railway, the comparison is more favourable to the new rates. The increase is 40 per cent at 50 miles, 23 per cent at 300 miles, 14 per cent at 600 miles, and 10 per cent at 900 miles.

When the increase in salaries and wages and the prices of almost all commodities which as occurred since 1913 is taken into account, the increase in third class fares on this railway is distinctly less than might have been expected. But the comparisons on the N. W. Railway are better still at 50 miles. It is true, the increase is 55 per cent, but at 300 miles it drops to 18 per cent and for all distances over 466 miles the new fares are actually lower than the per-war fares, the difference at 900 miles being as much as 16 percent. I ought to add that we propose to discuss with company-managed railways, the desirability of similar reductions on their systems in order to stimulate the growth of third class traffic.

Second in importance comes a substantial reduction in the rates for parcels and luggage. The figures of past years clearly suggest that the present rates are operating to restrict traffic, and in another respect the scale is unsatisfactory, because it proceeds by ten seers at a time, so that a parcel weighing 11 seers is charged the same as one weighing 20 seers. Instructions will be issued for the introduction of a revised scale with 5 seers instead of 10 seers divisions, and for a reduction of the rates by 15 per cent. The cost in a full year if there were no increase in traffic would be Rs. 74 lakhs, but we have every reason to expect a substantial increase. In the case of goods rates, we propose from reductions which should be of substantial benefit to the poorer classes and to the agriculturist. At present on the State-managed railways kerosene is carried at a uniform rate which works out at 42 pies per maund per 100 miles. We propose to substitute a telescopic scale which fixes lower rates for all distances in excess of 300 miles and drops to 10 per 100 miles for distances in excess of 700 miles. This reduction means a decrease in freight of 16 per cent for a haulage of 500 miles, 35 per cent for 750 miles and 42 per cent for 900 miles. The total cost is Rs. 28 lakhs a year with the present volume of traffic.

In the second place, we propose to reduce the rates on manure and oil-cake which vary at present on the State-managed railways to the absolute minimum of a tenth of a pie per mile. This means a reduction varying from 42 to 54 per cent for distances of 500 to 900 miles. In a full year the cost is Rs. 15 lakhs, but more manure carried means larger crops, and larger crops will result in more traffic for the railways ; so that the indirect gain to the railways from the concession may in the long run be considerable.

The third important reduction is in the rate for jaggery. In this case also we propose to substitute a telescopic unifrom rate at a cost of about Rs.10 lakhs in a

full year, for distances in excess of 500 miles. This means a reduction, rising from 43 per cent to 55 per cent at 900 miles. Here also, we look for a substantial increase in traffic.

Finally, we propose to make a small adjustment in the rates for grain pulses and seeds. At present the rates on the E. I. Railway up to 97 miles and on the N. W. Railway up to 232 miles are higher than on the G. I. P. Railway. We propose to remove this distinction at a cost of Rs. 12 lakhs a year.

In order to complete my account of the reductions in rates there are four others to be mentioned. Two of them cost very little, but will I hope be appreciated. Petrol at present pays a uniform rate which works out at 83 pies per 100 miles. We propose to substitute a telescopic scale which will affect all distances in excess of 300 miles and means a reduction of 19 per cent for 500 miles, 30 per cent for 750 miles and 34 per cent for 400 miles. The cost is only Rs. 2 lakhs in a full year.

The second concession is a reduction in the charges for horses, live-stock and motor cars, which will cost about Rs. 3 lakhs a year.

The other two reductions may be described as the removal of anomalous conditions on the E. I. Railway. It is more than two years since Oudh and Rohilkhand Railway was absorbed, but the telescopic scales still stop short at the old junctions; and terminals are charged as if the two railways were separate. The abolition of this system will cost Rs. 33 lakhs in a full year. In the second place, the E. I. Railway charges a goods terminal of 6 pies a maund for through booking, on which they render terminal services at one end only though the terminal charge at either end for local booking is only 3 pies. The through terminal will now be reduced to the same figure.

Some of the reductions in rates and fares to which I have referred will be brought into force at once; but due notice must be given of the remainder. We do not expect that all of them can take full effect till June at the earliest. That fact will of course reduce the loss of revenue in 1928-29. We are giving up in a full year Rs. 122 lakhs in passenger traffic earnings, Rs. 77 lakhs in other coaching traffic and about Rs. 106 lakhs in goods earnings—that is Rs. 305 lakhs in all. We anticipate however that the very substantial reductions made will have an immediate effect in stimulating the growth of traffic and, that the actual loss will be much less. We have deliberately elected indeed to make substantial reduction in the case of particular commodities, in the belief that the growth of traffic would thereby be insured, rather than to spread the reductions over a wider area, and incur the risk that no one reduction would be large enough to stimulate bookings on the whole. We expect that loss in revenue will not exceed Rs. 2 crores in 1928-29 when the dates at which the reductions are likely to become effective and the probable increase in traffic are taken into account."

INDIANISATION QUESTION.

Referring to Indianisation, Sir George Rainy said: "32 per cent permanent gazetted appointments created in 1925-26, and of the vacancies which occurred during that year in such appointments on the State-managed Railways were filled by Indians. In 1926-27 the percentage practically doubled. It was over 62 per cent this year. It seems probable that 42 Indians will be appointed to the superior railway services including the 13 candidates who, as announced last week were successful in the examinations for the Indian Railway Service of Engineers and for the Transportation and Commercial Department of the State-managed railways. We are only expecting 18 European recruits this year for the State-managed railways. So Indians are likely to obtain 70 per cent of the appointments. We are rapidly reaching the percentage recommended as our aim by the Lee Commission.

So far, I have only been referring to permanent appointments. But we have also succeeded recently in obtaining a much larger proportion of suitable Indian recruits for the temporary engineers' posts on the State-managed Railways, which our large construction programme requires. When in 1925 we began to recruit temporary engineers in large numbers, we first of all advertised in this country for them, but the immediate response was not as good as we could have wished. We only succeeded in obtaining 28 sufficiently well-qualified men, of whom 7 were

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Europeans. In order not to hang up the programme of development we had therefore to obtain recruits from England through the High Commissioner; and we got from him in all 43 temporary officers, on three-year agreements, of whom 9 were Indians and the rest Europeans. Subsequently, in January 1927, we advertised again for recruits in India and obtained a much more satisfactory response. We have consequently stopped the recruitment of temporary engineers in England altogether since January 1927. We have obtained 20 temporary engineers in India, of whom 11 are Indians; and we have now got arrangements for maintaining a register of approved candidates for employment to whom appointments are offered as they fall vacant. I am conscious that this reference to Indianisation breaks the sequence of my speech. But I thought, the House would be glad to have these figures before the general discussion on the budget takes place."

SEPARATION OF RAILWAY ACCOUNTS

As regards separation of Railway Budget, Sir George Rainy said: "During the last budget debate, it was suggested by some members that the time for review had arrived. Sir Charles Innes then said, that if there was a general feeling in the House to that effect, he would be quite prepared to agree to it. It is therefore a matter which had been under my consideration since I took charge of the Railway Department last April; but I felt that it would be difficult if not impossible to arrive at satisfactory decisions as to the changes if any in the system which might be thought desirable until we were in a position simultaneously to decide what changes in railway accounting practice were necessary as a result of the enquiry made by Sir Arthur Dickinson. His report was received last Autumn and the Railway Board and the Auditor-General are now engaged in studying its recommendations. We hope that those of them which have a direct bearing on the separation of Railway Finance will be ripe for decision in the Railway Standing Finance Committee in the course of next summer. When that has been done, a natural opportunity will occur for considering again the terms of separation agreed to in 1924. The discussions which will take place during the next few days will serve to elucidate the general feeling in the House. And if there appears to be a general desire to review the terms of the convention, we shall push on with the examination of Sir Arthur Dickinson's report, and will do our utmost to have the opinions of the Standing Finance Committee ready for the consideration of this House when it meets again in the Autumn session. If we are successful then I would move during the course of that session for the appointment of a committee to examine the working of the Convention and report what alterations if any were desirable.

I have made it plain that the Government of India attach great value to the convention, and consider that it has worked most successfully. But I hope that by what I have just said I have made it equally plain that they do not regard it as a thing so sacrosanct that it should be withheld from scrutiny or that they have any desire to deny this House an opportunity of satisfying itself on the whole subject. I trust that the procedure I have suggested will commend itself to the House.

The budget which I have presented to-day must, I think, give the Assembly reasonable cause for satisfaction: and it may fairly be claimed by the Government as affording evidence of the success of the policy vigorously pursued during the last five or six years. During that period the railways of India, whether regard be had to their actual working or their financial results, have improved more rapidly than in any previous period of their history. Six years ago, owing to the wagon shortage and suspension during the War of the provision of new traffic facilities, the railways were unable to deal with the goods traffic offering without prolonged delays, which were a source of annoyance to the mercantile community and inflicted serious injury to trade. For two years past our wagon supply has been ample and we have been in a position to deal expeditiously, with all the traffic offering even at the busiest season of the year. Six years ago the natural position of the railways was thoroughly unsound, and very heavy increases in railway rates became necessary in order to restore solvency. To-day the railways are not only entirely solvent, but after making a substantial contribution for relief of taxation and setting aside larger sums to the reserve fund as a provision against the bad years that may come, we are able to make a substantial reduction in rates and fares without any apprehension that

these may involve us in commitments too heavy for us to bear. Results like these cannot be achieved by any Railway Administration unless its policy is conceived on sound lines and unless those in charge of its administration possess the practical wisdom to devise the schemes necessary to secure economy and efficiency and the energy, which enables them to carry these schemes to fruition."

There was general applause when Sir George Rainy concluded his budget speech, after nearly one hour.

INCOME-TAX BILL.

Sir Basil then moved that the Bill amending the Indian Income-tax Act, as emerged from the Select Committee, be taken into consideration.

Sir Basil Blackett, in moving for the consideration of the Bill, said that the Government did not propose to press for amendments in the new Bill. They were no doubt not in agreement with the Select Committee regarding clause seven. In this clause, the Select Committee had deleted that portion which related to exports from India, on the ground that there were difficulties created by the conflict of judicial rulings.

The Bill was then taken into consideration clause by clause.

SIR VICTOR SASSOON'S AMENDMENT.

Sir Victor Sassoon moved an amendment for the deletion of the latter portion of clause 7. The Select Committee by a majority had decided to retain the proviso inserted by the Government to maintain the principle that the sphere of taxation of the Central Government should not be encroached upon by the local governments or by the local authorities—a principle which the Committee supported. Double taxation should be avoided, and an illustration would be where the local authority imposed a road cess, and based its assessment on the particular form of profits earned by that firm. It was admitted that if another method of assessment were employed, the firm would be entitled to deduct the cess in arriving at its profits. But under the proviso as now proposed a firm would not be allowed to make this deduction, but would have to pay income tax on the amount it had paid as road cess.

The Local Governments had a right to charge for services rendered (road cess), and such charges were a valid deduction from the gross profits in ascertaining the amount assessable for income-tax. He further argued that if the clause was passed, it was not unlikely that the local bodies would continue to charge for services rendered as before, as their position remained unchanged. The Central Government would be receiving an income from an unfortunate assessee to which they were not in equity entitled. The amount in question was about Rs. 1¼ lakhs; but Sir Basil should waive the right for the windfall, and not sacrifice the principle of equity. By passing the clause, the Assembly would be laying down a new principle that the innocent might justifiably be punished, for the misdeeds of the guilty.

The arguments of Sir Victor were endorsed by Sir Purushothamdas Thakurdas (another signatory to the minority report) who emphasised that income-tax should be on the net income of a company.

Sir Basil Blackett said that the verdict of the Select Committee was for the clause being retained. The clause had worked well for forty years. He admitted that there was a clear conflict of principles, but they attached very great importance to the principle that the Central Government should be the one and the only authority entitled to the profits; and that if in any particular case, it appeared that another taxing authority was by some means or other taxing a company, then it should be after and not before the Government of India had taxed. The assessee would be in the same position as they were upto 2 years ago, for forty years. Sir Walter Willson supported the amendment for deletion.

Mr. K. Roy opposed the amendment and it was defeated by 35 against 38 amidst mild cries of shame.

Mr. K. V. Rangaswami Iyengar was the only Swarajist present, and he voted for deletion.

Discussion then took place on clause 4 on the amendment of Mr. Mukhtar Singh that the admission of one member in the absence of objections by the other

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members of a Hindu family should be regarded as sufficient proof of such partition. He said that it was objectionable that an income-tax officer, who was vested with full powers, should be both assessor and judge.

The amendment was lost.

Sir Victor Sassoon next moved an amendment in respect of clause 7 for the introduction of a new sub-clause, the effect of which would be that where a merchant buys and sells in this country, his agent would be assessed for Indian incometax ; but where he merely buys in India, giving the Indian merchant his profit, he will not be liable for any profits he makes outside by selling in his own country. The Government proposal in the bill was too wide, and they (the Government) might some day claim that if an Indian merchant shipped cotton to Hamburg, they would be entitled to income-tax not only on the profit the cotton merchant made, but also on that of the mill which consumed it, and on the profit of the shop which sold the shirt which was made from it.

Sir Basil Blackett replied to Sir Victor Sassoon's arguments, which he said were calculated to mislead the Assembly. The clause now in question was introduced in 1918 at the instance of businessmen in Bombay, who complained of competition from Japanese merchants who had established branches in Bombay, and who did not pay income-tax while Indian business houses were taxed. The amendment of Sir Victor Sassoon would very much narrow the present clause.

AMENDMENTS LOST.

Mr. C. G. Cocke supported the amendment which was put and lost.

Another amendment on almost similar lines moved by Sir Victor Sassoon was also lost.

Thereupon, Sir W. Willson moved for rejection of clause 7, as it stood in the bill. He relied on the observations of the Taxation Enquiry Committee, that it was wrong to tax an agent in India on the profits which he might be unable to ascertain.

Sir Basil Blackett replied and Sir Walter Willson's motion was defeated.

The Bill as it emerged from the Select Committee was passed without any alteration, Sir Basil rebutting the charge of Sir Victor that income-tax officers were "Blackmailers."

Sir Basil then moved for a Select Committee for the other Income-tax Amendment Bill, one of whose principal objects is to make illegal certain practices now adopted legally by persons desirous of evading payment of income-tax.

Sir Basil Blackett affirmed that there was nothing Draconian in this bill, which was to a large extent modelled on the English Law.

Sir Walter Willson said the Associated Chamber was anxious to help the Government in seeing that there was no avoidance of payment of the tax ; but he held that the Bill was another link in the circle of income-tax law. He made running comments on the provision of the Bill and reserved his detailed criticism to the Select Committee to which he had been selected. But he emphasised that the Bill must provide that restrictions were intended to apply only to attempts at evasion which could be proved.

The Select Committee will consist of Sir Basil Blackett, Sir Purushottamdas Thakurdas, Mr. Cooke, Haji Abdulla Haroon, Sir Victor Sassoon, Mr. M. S. Aney, Mr. K. C. Neogy, Mr. Mukhtar Singh, Mr. Ghaznavi, Mr. Mahomed Shahnawaz, Mr. Anwarul Azim, Mr. K. C. Roy, Mr. V. K. A. Iyengar, Mr. R. K. Shanmukham Chetti, Mr. Vidyasagar Pandya, Mr. Nirmal Chandra Chandar, Mr. Kikabhai Premchand and Sir Walter Willson. The House then adjourned.

THE INDIAN NAVY DISCIPLINE BILL.

On the 21st FEBRUARY, the House discussed the Indian Navy Discipline Bill. The speeches delivered on it were charged with bitterness and suspicion of the Government. This Bill was consequential on the Navy Discipline Act passed in Parliament but in the garb of conferring on India the benefits of the beginnings of naval Swaraj. The fruits of the study which Mr. Chetty had made of the genesis and progress of the parent measure in Parliament were available to the

Assembly when in an uncommonly good speech he drew pointed attention to the dangers with which it was fraught. 'I would not touch it with a pair of tongs', concluded Mr. Chetty after exposing how it was a part of the deep game of British imperialists to strengthen their own navy at the expense of poor India. The speech carried conviction with every non-official elected Indian member in the House, so much so, that there was none to come to the rescue of Mr. Macworth Young who all the time looked despondent. The arguments of Mr. Chetty were so unassailable that the Army Secretary could not but admit their force and plead only for the sympathy of the House.

But still there was a sting in the tail of Mr. Macworth Young's speech. It was that if the Bill was not passed there would be no Indian navy at all and India would continue to be defended by the British Navy, and consequently Swaraj would be postponed. But the Assembly's temper was definitely against a bill which sought to create a navy mainly for the benefit of Britain but whose cost would be borne by the Indian Legislature which would have no control over the expenditure.

This resentment grew stronger with every nonofficial speech, and Munshi Iswar Saran in the course of an effective contribution, confessed to a feeling of despair at the Government's attitude in regard to the army and navy. The members had in mind how the Sken Committee's report has been jettisoned and only one Indian is to be taken annually for naval training as a sop to make India pay for Britain's imperialistic aggrandisements. So unanimous was the opinion among nonofficials that the representative of the Anglo Indian community thought it necessary to advise the Army secretary to abandon his attempt and come back with a better measure as demanded by Mr. Jinnah and Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas.

Later on the Army secretary's threat that the Bill would be dropped was hailed with delight by non-officials and the bill itself was rejected by a majority of one vote. The House then adjourned.

GOVT. SOLICITUDE FOR DEPRESSED CLASSES

On the 23rd FEBRUARY Mr. Jayakar moved a resolution recommending that instructions be issued to all local Governments to provide special facilities for the education of the untouchables and other depressed classes and also for opening all public services to them, specially the police.

So the debate turned out to be an acid test of the professions and practice of the Government. And this was provided more by Lala Lajpat Rai's amendment than by the original resolution of Mr. Jayakar, for Lalaji not only wanted the Government to lay aside a crore for these classes, whose special trustees Lord Birkenhead was pretending to be, but also wanted it to open all public wells, streets, roads and institutions to these classes.

Mr. Bajpai made a vain attempt to present the Government case in a rosy light and could hardly show more than that there were seven lakhs of scholars of these classes. He, however, made a very important statement which should shatter Lord Birkenhead's theories, namely, that the untouchables are only 28 millions and not 60 millions.

Mr. Bajpai tried to cross swords with older hands, but found himself in deep sea on account of his being a young member. However, the House took a charitable view of his lapses. He could not answer the non-official case which was that efforts should be made to raise these classes to the level of others. Mr. Bajpai, however, made the confession that whatever progress was made in this direction was made during the Reforms period and said that the United Provinces and Bengal had the best record.

Mr. Arthur Moore seemed sympathetic, but did not realize that the solution lay in mass education and improvement in the economic condition of these classes and not as he said, in carrying propaganda among the 'oppressors'.

Pandit Malaviya's intervention at the end made out a terrible indictment of the Government, tracing as he did the opposition of the Government from 1815 onwards to all non-official measures for the spread of mass education.

Mr. Bajpai's expression of 'sympathy' carried the House nowhere, but as the Swarajists were not attending, the nonofficials were only 25 against the Government bloc of 47. So Lala Lajpat Rai's proposal was rejected. Though the Government

VOTING ON RAILWAY DEMAND

had opposed Mr. Jayakar's resolution, it considered it wise to remain silent and let it be carried. The House then adjourned.

RAILWAY BOARD GRANT.

On the 24th FEBRUARY the voting on demands for railway grants commenced in a thin House. Sir George Rainy moved the demand for a grant of Rs. 11 lakhs in respect of the Railway Board.

Mr. Jamnadas Mehta, in moving a censure reduction of the amount to Re. 1, observed that the Railway Board was a pocket edition of the Simon Commission. (Laughter.) It carried on its programme without regard to the opinion of the House. He complained of the non-appointment of an Indian on the Board in spite of the promises given and the opportunities having arisen.

Mr. Jamnadas Mehta, continuing, asked if a European member of the Indian Civil Service could, after mismanaging finances, become Governor of a province and if another European member of the same service could handle archaeology one day and industries another day and so on, was it difficult thing for an Indian to be appointed a member of the Railway Board? Surely then in the opinion of the Government an Indian to be appointed a member of the Railway Board was yet to be born. (Laughter.)

The censure motion of Mr. Jamnadas Mehta was defeated by 40 votes against 52.

Next Mr. Kunzru raised a debate regarding racial distinction in the subordinate services. The debate was not concluded when the House adjourned till the next-day, the 25th FEBRUARY when Mr. Kunzru's cut motion was negatived.

Mr. Kunzru next moved a cut of Rs. 10,000, to protest against the lack of educational facilities for the children of Indian employees of the railways for whom hardly one-third was spent of what was spent on the education of European and Anglo-Indian boys. The Oak Grove School at Mussoorie received Rs. 1,90,000 from the E. I. Railway but admitted no Indian boy.

Mr. Kunzru on an assurance from Sir George Rainy withdrew his motion.

Mr. Kunzru then raised the question of local traffic service which was soon disposed of.

STORES PURCHASE POLICY.

Mr. Kunzru next moved a cut to discuss the stores purchase policy of the Railway Board. He quoted from Sir Arthur Dickenson's report which, without giving the Indian Stores department a chance to explain its position, had condemned purchase of stores by it as defective. But even Sir Arthur Dickenson had suggested a central organization under the Railway Board for the purchase of railway stores. Mr. Kunzru suggested that a better method would be to establish a special branch of the Indian Stores department where those experienced in railway stores could function. The Raven Committee had shown how railway workshops were mismanaged and if an enquiry were to be held into the purchase of stores disclosures would compel the Government to alter the present procedure.

The motion was lost.

CONCESSIONS FOR SEVASAMITI SCOUTS

Pandit Hirdaynath Kunzru then raised unsuccessfully the question of railway fare concessions to Seva Samiti boy scouts as Mr. Parsons said these concessions were given on consideration only of an increase in traffic.

INDIANIZATION

Mr. B. Das next complained that the company-managed railways had not fulfilled their obligation to recruit 75 percent Indians.

Sir George Rainy said the Government was ever watchful and the members could, if it were not doing so, direct attention to the matter. There was no ground for the extraordinary suspicion of Mr. Das. Remarkable progress had been made in two years and the company-managed lines would fulfil their part of the obligation regarding Indianization.

Several other token cuts were rejected, the movers drawing the attention of the Government among other things to the non-recognition of the Moradabad Railway Union and the absence of proper relief to the railway employees.

THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

[NEW DELHI]

RAILWAY BOARD DEMANDS.

On the 27th FEBRUARY Maulvi Mahomed Yakub proposed a cut of Rs. 100 in the Railway Board grant in order to draw attention to the necessity of opening a branch of the clearing house at Lucknow. It was a most suitable centre in every respect and by opening a branch there a longstanding grievance of the employees of the Oudh and Rohilkhand Railway would be removed.

The motion was put to vote and defeated, 25 voting for and 55 against.

GRIEVANCES OF RAILWAYMEN

Col. Gidney next drew attention to the existence of grievances among railwaymen and urged the appointment of a committee of enquiry or the institution of a complaints department in either the Railway Board or at the headquarters of various railways. He enumerated a series of grievances which, in spite of his persistently drawing the attention of the Railway Board, continued to exist. In the first instance, the service agreement was used as a leuer to satisfy the desire of officials. Employees who had put in long service were dismissed without adequate reasons and, once they were dismissed, it was almost impossible for them to prove their innocence. In this connection, he objected to railway officers being given autocratic powers for dismissing their subordinates. Secondly, employees were very often harshly dealt with in the matter of their provident fund and gratuities. Thirdly, men were made to perform inhuman duties like putting in up to 16 hours per day. Fourthly, the existence of the system of confidential communications marred the future of many persons. Their work was always judged in the light of confidential reports received against them from centres wherefrom they had been transferred.

The motion was withdrawn. Col. Gidney then drew attention to the unsatisfactory leave rules. The motion was lost.

UNFAIR FREIGHT POLICY.

Discussion then centred round a cut moved by Chaudhri Mukhtar Singh criticizing the general railway policy of fixing freight rates on different articles in such a way that Indian industries and agriculture were adversely affected, while English firms in India and foreign industries were helped.

The mover instanced the case of sugar produced in outside countries which was allowed to be carried on the same freight as Indian sugar and jaggery. Sulphate of ammonia was a manure manufactured outside India and sulphuric acid was manufactured in India and commonly used by agriculturists. But Government had decreased the rates on the former and increased the rate on the latter.

Chaudhri Mukhtar Singh then referred to the rates on bone manure, which helped the exporters to the detriment of Indian agriculturists. Lastly, he mentioned the fact that while the Government had for the convenience of England-going persons arranged for the Punjab Limited (special train), they were yet to think of arranging for a special train for the carriage of fresh fruits from one part of India to another.

Eventually the cut was defeated by 39 votes against 42. The House adjourned.

SUPPLY OF RAILWAY REPORTS.

On the 28th FEBRUARY Mr. Joshi complained that the reports of railway departments and of their committees were not made available to members of the Assembly and to the general public. The motion was eventually withdrawn.

FINE ON RAILWAY STAFF.

Mr. Joshi next criticised the control, management, and use of the fine funds.

The motion was withdrawn and the demand under the head Railway Board was then passed without any cut.

On the motion of Sir George Rainy the House agreed without opposition to the next demand of Rs. 1,67,000 in respect of inspection.

SEPARATION OF AUDIT AND ACCOUNTS.

When under the third head Audit Sir George Rainy made the demand, Mr. Neogy referred to the recommendations of the Dickenson Committee and the system of separation of audit from accounts now under experiment on the E. I. Railway. He gave expression to the fear that this system might be extended to other railways without the Assembly having had opportunities for discussing the results of the experiment along with the results of the convention of the separation of



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railway finance from the general finance. He wanted an assurance that nothing would be done in a hurry and behind the back of the Assembly.

Mr. Parsons promised to bring the results of the experiment on the the E. I. Railway before the Standing Finance Committee. He further indicated that the recommendations of the Dickenson report would come up before the Standing Finance Committee separately and not *en masse*. The demand was sanctioned.

WORKING EXPENSES.

The next head was Working Expenses (Administration).

Mr. Seshu Iyengar urged that an operating ratio should be fixed and there fore moved for a cut of Rs. 3,00,00,000 out of Rs. 12,00,00,000 and odd.

The cut was lost and the motion was carried.

THIRD CLASS PASSENGERS.

Mr. Joshi next complained against the inadequate facilities afforded to third class passengers. He said the earnings from this class were ten times more than those of the first and second class, still the accommodation and facilities provided for the latter classes were many times better. In the waiting rooms there was not even a bench for 3rd class passengers to sit on.

The motion was lost. The demand was sanctioned.

Mr. Joshi next protested against the inadequate reduction proposed to be made in third class fares. He was sure that if this benefit was given to the whole of third class passengers Government would benefit by the resultant increase in traffic which it was sure to bring about.

The motion was put to vote and defeated, 34 voting for and 41 against.

COAL FREIGHT.

Mr. Neogy then brought to the attention of the Government the necessity of reducing coal freight particularly of the coke used for domestic purposes.

Sir George Rainy said that the matter would not be overlooked when the time for the reduction of freights came.

At five o'clock the guillotine was applied and all the remaining eleven demands under various heads were carried. The House then adjourned.

Budget For 1928-29.

On the 29th FEBRUARY Sir Basil Blackett was loudly cheered by the Assembly both when he rose to present his last budget and also towards the conclusion of his speech. The Swarajists joined in the general cheers when he sat down with a prayer that no storm from without or from within might descend upon India to disturb the bright prospects of financial well-being to which India seemed to be justified in looking forward. During the course of his speech at several stages Sir Basil was cheered, particularly when he announced the complete remission of provincial contributions and when he referred to the fact that the finances of the country had been stabilized. The following speech was delivered by the Finance Member in introducing the Budget for 1928-29 :—

INTRODUCTORY.

SIR,—Before the last Simla session, long before the Finance department is usually called upon to make a close forecast of the budget of the succeeding year, questions raised by the report of the Tariff Board on the Cotton Industry necessitated a decision to sacrifice nearly a crore a year of our customs revenue. This decision, which added to the risks already taken in framing a budget for 1927-28 which left a gap of about a crore and three-quarters on the wrong side in the prospective figures for 1928-29, has made the period of incubation of the present budget an exceptionally long one. Long preparation is apt to lead to a long budget speech. Moreover, last budget speeches, like speeches on other valedictory occasions, offer temptations to reminiscent prolixity. But, aware of the temptations that beset me in presenting the last budget statement that I shall have the honour of making to this House, I shall endeavour to signalize the occasion by making my speech a short one.

ACTUAL OUTURN OF 1926-27.

2. The revised estimates for 1926-27 published a year ago anticipated a total revenue of 1,29.97 crores and a total expenditure of 1,27.15 crores, leaving a net surplus of 2,82 lakhs. The final figures show a total revenue of 1,31.70 crores and

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a total expenditure of 1,28.74 crores, leaving a net surplus of 2.96 lakhs. The increased figures on each side of the account arose mainly from the method adopted for bringing railway revenue and expenditure into the account. The only important variation is an excess of 42 lakhs under military expenditure, which has been converted by minor variations under other heads into a small gain of 14 lakhs. In accordance with the proposals I made last year, the entire surplus of 2.96 lakhs has been taken to the Revenue Reserve Fund. The close approximation of the revised estimate to the actual outturn is an encouraging sign of the improvement in our methods of budgetting. The extent of this improvement will be clear from the statement attached to the printed speech which gives the corresponding figures for a period of ten years.

REVIEW OF THE YEAR 1927-28.

3. The visible balance of trade, including private imports of treasure, for the ten months ended 31st January 1928 was in favour of India by 37.24 crores as compared with 27.05 crores a year ago. Both imports and exports of merchandise have increased in value by 8 percent. Improvement has been increasingly marked during the latter months of the year 1927, and it is a further sign of inherent soundness of India's trade position that practically all the principal articles of import and export contribute to the increase. Among exports, raw cotton alone shows any appreciable falling off, reflecting the unsatisfactory conditions of the last harvest, but the figures for the present season, so far as they are available, hold out a better promise. I will not occupy the time of the House with figures for individual commodities except to refer to motor vehicles of which the statistics are of peculiar interest in relation to the development of India's road communications. Following the reduction in duty which came into force a year ago, increases of 16 and 35 per cent. respectively have been recorded in the number of motor cars and commercial motor vehicles imported during the first nine months of the year, but owing to lower prices, the yield of our customs duty on these imports has fallen below our expectations. During the last two years, however, prices in general have shown a stability unknown since the outbreak of the war. While more stable world conditions are partly responsible for this result without which there cannot be a healthy basis for the expansion of trade, the figures of India's trade reflect the advantages which have accrued from the stabilization of the rupee. I always regard railway earnings as an important barometer of trade and the House has already been made aware of the remarkable improvement in the railway figures for 1927-28 which, by enabling important reductions to be made in railway charges, will itself give a new stimulus towards business and agricultural prosperity. In addition, I think I see other clear indications that during the last year Indian commerce has made a steady advance and that the effects of the post-war trade depression are at long last being dissipated. A noticeable feature of the trade returns is the reduction in the net imports of treasure by 9 1-2 crores in the first ten months of the current year.

REVENUE, 1927-28—CUSTOMS.

4. The net customs receipts for 1927-28 were put at 48.73 crores. Present indications are that this estimate will be all but realized. There will, however, be rather wide variations under certain of the individual heads. For example, tobacco is now expected to yield 37 lakhs more, mineral oils 38 lakhs more, protective duties on iron and steel 25 lakhs more, and jute as much as 55 lakhs more than estimated, while there will be a deterioration of something like 70 lakhs under cotton piecegoods, and 40 lakhs under matches. On the whole, I think we shall be down by about 10 lakhs. This is very satisfactory when we remember that the estimate allows for the loss of about 45 lakhs due to the abolition of the import duties on mill stores, and machinery consequent on decisions taken after the budget was framed. The stopping of the leakage in Kathiawar may be given as an important reason for improvement in our figures.

5. Taxes on income have proved a disappointment, particularly in Bengal where the original estimate was unduly high. I have taken the original estimate of 16.95 crores—a deterioration of 1.30 lakhs.

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SALT.

6. Salt revenue is down on the original estimate by 25 lakhs notwithstanding the fact that salt issues have so far been slightly in advance of last year. The system of credit sales accounts for a portion of the decrease, and I expect a better yield next year.

OPIUM

7. The net revenue from opium scarcely varies from the original estimate a slight reduction in the receipts being counterbalanced by a reduction in expenditure.

RAILWAYS.

8. The railway contribution, as the House is aware, is now estimated at 6.36 crores as compared with the budget figure of 5.48 crores. The latter estimate assumed that the net surplus would not exceed 3 crores and would, therefore, go in full to the Railway Reserve Fund. The improvement in railway earnings has the result of making the surplus considerably bigger and one-third of the excess over 2 crores accrues to general revenues.

EXPENDITURE, 1927-28.—MILITARY.

9. I put military expenditure at 54.92 crores, the same figure as in the original budget. Savings owing to troops being sent to China and other causes have been or are being used towards financing a programme of expenditure upon modernization which the Army authorities and the Government of India recognize as urgent but for which adequate provision could not be made in the budget. It is satisfactory to note that no excess is anticipated over the original estimate.

DEBT SERVICES.

10. The head Debt Services shows a saving of 17 lakhs owing to an increase in the interest payable by Railways as a result of their having spent 30 crores on new capital works as against 25 crores provided in the budget. There is also an increase in the interest receivable from the Provincial Loans Fund owing to the larger advances made to it.

OTHER HEADS.

11. The only other variation of importance which I need mention is a decrease of 18 lakhs in irrigation expenditure. This is more apparent than real, and represents mainly a transfer from revenue to capital in the North-West Frontier Province.

SUMMARY.

12. The above variations may be summarized as follows :—

			(Lakhs of rupees.)	
			Better.	Worse.
Customs	...	...	...	10
Taxes on Income	...	...	...	1,30
Salt	...	...	...	25
Railways (net )	...	...	88	...
Debt services	...	...	17	...
Immigration expenditure	...	...	18	...
Other heads	...	...	42	...
			<hr/> 1,65	<hr/> 1,65

In other words, the revised estimate, like the original budget, exhibits neither a surplus nor a deficit. The latter put revenue and expenditure at 1,25.26 crores, the revenue figure including a special appropriation of 1.72 lakhs from the Revenue Reserve Fund to which the revenue surplus of last year was transferred. The revised estimates point to a total expenditure of 1,27.74 crores and a total revenue of the same figure including a special appropriation of 1.69 lakhs from the Fund. Exclusive of this last item, the variation in the net result amounts to 3 lakhs only. Here again, we have reason to congratulate ourselves on the success of our budgeting.

WAYS AND MEANS AND PUBLIC DEBT.

13. Before giving the figures for next year, I propose to deal with the Ways and Means position. This may be briefly summarized as follows :—

(Crores of rupees.)
Revised, Budget,
1927-28. 1928-29.

Liabilities.

Railway capital outlay	...	...	30'0	28'0
Other Capital outlay	...	...	2'3	4'4
Provincial Governments' transactions	...	...	8'0	7'0
Discharge of debt (net )	...	...	25'4	19'1
Miscellaneous (net )	...	...	3'0	—'2
			68'7	58'3

(Crores of rupees.)
Revised, Budget,
1927-28. 1928-29.

Resources.

Rupee Loan (net )	...	...	18'5	32'0
Sterling loan (net )	...	...	9'1	...
Postal Cash Certificates and Savings Bank.	...	...	6'7	6'6
Other unfunded debt	...	...	4'0	5'1
Debt redemption	...	...	5'2	5'6
Depreciation and Reserve Funds	...	...	5'8	6'8
Gain on Revaluation of Securities in the Paper Currency	...	...	7'1	...
Reserve, etc. (net )	...	...	11'4	2'2
Reduction of Cash balance.	...	...	68'7	58'3

POSITION SATISFACTORY.

The net proceeds of the rupee loan in the current year amounted to 18½ crores only, while the total amount of debt redeemed amounted to 25'4 crores. Of this total 21½ crores represented the bonds maturing in 1927 and 1928 which were either converted or redeemed in cash. In our anxiety to guard the interests of the Indian taxpayer and in our desire not to disturb the market in Government securities which were being quoted at rather figures than we ourselves thought to be justified. we did not make the terms of our rupee loan as attractive as we possibly should have done, and the fact that it was a shortdated loan seems to have militated against complete success. In the result, we had to tide over temporary difficulties by various expedients. The re-introduction of Treasury Bills in India was in full accordance with our plans, as we deliberately desired to improve the financial facilities of the Indian money market and check seasonal fluctuations in the market for Government securities by this means. We found it necessary, in addition, to resort to external borrowing, first by raising sterling bills to the extent of £5 million in England in July last which have since been repaid and later by the issue of a sterling loan of £7½ million about a month ago. Even so, the net cash receipts from the rupee and sterling loans aggregated only 27½ crores which was only about 2 crores more than the net amounts of debt discharged and as much as 13 crores less than the amount required for railway and other capital outlay including that of provincial Governments. It is no inconsiderable achievement to have financed a capital outlay of this magnitude in a year of rather difficult money conditions, in which our own calculations were upset by the fact that the capital expenditure was 6½ crores in excess of our original anticipations. It is in my opinion, well worth India's while to persist in the policy of spending money freely on capital development for productive purposes. The railway budget introduced last week, with its big reductions in fares and freights, is evidence of the value of the policy we have been following. Very large sums are now being invested year by year in expansion of railways, in irrigation works, in harbour development and on hydro-electric and other projects. But if this policy is to be continued unchecked, there must be no slackening in the annual savings of the country and these must be made available without stint, for loans for capital purposes, whether issued by the Central



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Government, by provincial Governments or by other authorities. For 1928-29 the capital programme of the railways is being restricted to 24 crores with a special addition of 4 crores for the purchase of the Burma Railways. The Railway Board would have liked a larger allotment, but we felt that this was much as we could wisely provide in existing circumstances. The aggregate capital expenditure next year, including the drawings of provincial Governments, is again expected to be in the neighbourhood of 40 crores, while the net amount of debt falling due for discharge will be 19 crores. Allowing for other capital resources available to us, I expect that it should be sufficient to raise a loan of about 32 crores only, of which about 13 crores will represent new money. I see no reason at present to think that the whole of this cannot be raised in India, but much must depend on the monsoon, and the fact that the payment to the Burma Railway Company has to be made in sterling adds to our sterling requirements. Indeed if we effect the purchase out of money remitted from India, we shall really be paying off four crores of external indebtedness.

HOME REMITTANCES.

14. A year ago, we estimated that we should require to remit £35½ million to London during 1927-28. Actually, this would have been somewhat higher owing to our inability to carry out the remittance programme in full at the end of 1926-27, so that we started with abnormally low balances in London. In addition, the excess in our capital expenditure was partly incurred outside India. The sterling loan to which I have just referred has made it possible to reduce the net remittance figure to about £30¾ million of which £28½ million is expected to be remitted through the market. For 1928-29 the remittance figure has been put tentatively at £36 million, which will enable us to close the year with a normal balance.

PRICES OF GOVERNMENT SECURITIES.

15. I quote, as in previous years, the market prices of Indian Government securities in India which show how India's credit has improved in recent years.

MARKET PRICE ON

	1st Feb. 1923.	1st Feb. 1924.	1st Feb. 1925.	1st Feb. 1926.	1st Feb. 1927.	1st Feb. 1928.
	Rs. a.	Rs. a.	Rs. a.	Rs. a.	Rs. a.	Rs. a.
5 per cent. Tax free loan, 1945- 55. ...	88 4	96 10	97 15	100 12	107 5	106 10
3½ per cent. Indian Govern- ment rupee loan. ...	57 0	66 0	66 9	70 8	77 7	75 15

The following further figures compare the prices of India stock and other stock in London on certain dates. They show even more clearly than they did last year that the credit of the Government of India now stands considerably higher in the London market in relation to the British Government and other gilt-edged borrowers than it did in 1914.

	30th April 1914.	30th April 1923.	1st. Feb. 1926.	1st. Feb. 1927.	31st. Dec. 1927.
India 3 per cent loan ...	75¼	60¼	58	59¾	62¾
India 3½ percent. loan ...	88¼	70¼	68	70¾	72¾
Local loans 3 per cent stock London County Council :—	87	69½	64¼	63¾	65
3½ per cent. stock ...	97	79¾	73	74¾	73¾
3 per cent stock ...	81	68¾	63	64	63¾

The improvement of India's credit in London was strikingly demonstrated by the success of the recent sterling loan.

Last year I commented on the fact that the disparity between the prices of India $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Rupee stock and India $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. sterling stock was leading to very considerable transfers of money from India to London in order to take advantage of the higher yield of the sterling stock. This process has been continuing to a not inconsiderable extent, though checked by the final stabilization of the rupee on a gold basis. It is significant that disparity is much less now than it was last year. Nevertheless, the necessity for an external loan was partly due to the effects of this transfer of capital away from India, and if public and private transactions be taken together, I have little doubt that in spite of the issue of a sterling loan of £ $7\frac{1}{2}$ million in 1927-28, the net amount of India's external indebtedness has been considerably decreased and not increased in the course of the last year. It will be seen from the figures which I am about to give of the Government of India's total debt, that the increase during the year in our external indebtedness as a Government, is considerably less than the sterling loan and that the sterling debt is only £ $3\frac{1}{3}$ million more than it was three years ago. During 1927-28 our total indebtedness has increased by 16 crores, while our deadweight debt has decreased by 22 crores.

[We omit the statement showing the Debt of India, outstanding at the close of each financial year.—EDITOR.]

In the five years since the 31st March, 1923, when the era of deficits came to an end the aggregate debt has increased by 1,13 crores, the productive debt has increased by as much as 1,89 crores, and the unproductive portion has been reduced by 76 crores. By the end of 1928-29 we hope to have just about liquidated the debt due to the five years of revenue deficits from 1918-19 to 1922-23, and if the recent rate of progress is continued, our unproductive debt should vanish altogether in about twelve years' time.

BUDGET ESTIMATE FOR 1928-29 —REVENUE— CUSTOM.

17. I now turn to the budget estimates for next year, 1928-29. Net customs revenue at 50'18 crores is expected to bring in 1,55 lakhs more than the revised estimate of the current year. Sugar, allowing for the effect of the establishment of the land customs line at Viramgam, should bring in about 40 lakhs more; motor cars and cycles which, in point of revenue though not in point of numbers, proved somewhat disappointing after last year's reduction of duty, should bring in about 26 lakhs more; cotton piecegoods have been disappointing in the current year, but should show an improvement in 1928-29 which I put at 30 lakhs. On the other hand, I have had to allow for the full effect of the loss of revenue resulting from the abolition of the import duty on mill stores and machinery which was only partially felt in the current year. This in itself means a further loss of 40 lakhs.

TAXES OF INCOME.

18. I have assumed that next year's receipts under head of Taxes on Income will fully reflect the prosperity which the jute trade is enjoying in the current year, as is evidenced by the revised estimate of the export duty on jute; also that we shall obtain a full year's revenue under the altered method of assessment of tea companies. Allowing for these two factors, we are, I think, justified in taking the net total for next year at 17 crores which is 1,35 lakhs more than the revised estimate for the current year, but only 5 lakhs more than the original budget.

SALT.

19. Under the head Salt I have repeated the Current year's budget figure of 7 crores. This is 25 lakhs more than the revised estimate which as I have said does not represent the full duty upon the actual issues of 1927-28.

OPIUM.

20. The result of our policy of gradual reduction and eventual extinction of opium exports is to reduce gross opium revenue by 32 lakhs next year, but there will be a saving of 7 lakhs in expenditure so that the net sacrifice under this head will be 25 lakhs.

RAILWAYS.

21. The contribution from railways to general revenues for next year will, under the convention, be based on the results of the working of the year

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1926-27, and yield only 5'23 crores. This will be reinforced by the addition of 25 lakhs representing one-third of the surplus over 3 crores assumed in the railway budget. Even so, we shall be getting 88 lakhs less than is anticipated in the revised estimates for 1927-28.

OTHER HEADS.

22. I have allowed for the reduction of 10 1/2 lakhs in the subsidy due from Mysore, which was recently sanctioned. For the moment, I assume that we shall be receiving from the provinces the entire amount of the contributions which have not been finally extinguished, namely, 2,58 lakhs, inclusive of 54 lakhs from Bengal.

EXPENDITURE.—MILITARY EXPENDITURE

23. The following table exhibits the figures of net military expenditure for each year since 1921-22 :—

		(Crores of rupees.)
1928-29	...	69'81
1922-23	...	65'27
1923-24	...	56'23
1924-25	...	55'63
1925-26	...	56'00
1926-27	...	55'97
1927-28 (revised estimate)	...	54'92
1928-29 (budget estimate)	...	55'10

In 1928-29 military expenditure has been taken at 55'10 crores of which 10 lakhs represents a new provision for expanding the Territorial Force. Excluding this special provision, the figure is 8 lakhs more than the one for the current year. I warned the House a year ago that there was no immediate prospect, after the big reduction since 1921-22, of further substantial savings in military expenditure. The Government have given very special consideration to the matter during the current year and we have come to the conclusion that the figure proposed for next year can not be reduced if India is to make a reasonable provision for her defence in modern conditions.

DEBT SERVICES.

24. Under the head Debt Services, we have a saving, as compared with the revised estimate for 1927-28, of 67 lakhs. I should, however, draw the attention of the house to the fact that the budget estimate includes two abnormal items, namely, one of 81 lakhs for the premium on the 5½ percent. Bonds issued in 1918 and maturing in 1928 at 105 percent. and an increased charge of 25 lakhs for bonus on Cash Certificates. Both these charges are in the nature of deferred interest. But for these special items, the savings would have been as much as 1,73 lakhs. I have drawn attention in previous years to the way in which our steady pursuit of the policy of making regular provision for the reduction or avoidance of debt and confining new borrowings to productive purposes is bringing in an annual dividend to the taxpayer. The charge for interest on dead weight debt in the year 1923-24 amounted to 15'97. crores, while in 1928-29 it will be only 9'51 crores—a decrease of 6'46 crores. The increase in the provision for reduction or avoidance of debt during the same period is 171 crores, while the aggregate provision on this account next year is 5'40 crores. In other words, the saving in the interest on dead weight debt in the five years is more than three and a half times the increase in the provision for debt redemption and over a crore more than the actual provision on this account in 1928-29.

BENEFICIAL SERVICES.

25. The expenditure on Civil Administration next year is expected to be 41 lakhs more than the revised estimate for 1927-28. A portion of this is represented by annual increments, etc, but, although perusal of the proceedings of the Standing Finance Committee and of the demands for grants will show that we have not been niggardly in providing increased amounts for beneficial services. I would draw the attention of the house to the larger grant to the Indian Research Fund Association, to the new items of expenditure in the demand for Agriculture and to the scholarships to Indian artists for study and training in Europe. On the commercial

but none the less beneficial side of our activities, the House will observe with interest the new or increased provision made for certain items of expenditure, particularly those relating to irrigation in Waziristan and Baluchistan, forests in the Andamans, the Trade Mission and extension of the rupee purchase policy. We have also a number of new items relating to the development of Civil Aviation in pursuance of the policy accepted by the house a year ago. The expenditure on the five year education programme, to which I referred in my budget speech last year, is of course continuing and progressive, but we have not been in a position this time to provide for any similar new programmes within the limited means now at our disposal.

POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS.

26. The Indian Posts and Telegraphs department, which was expected to work a year ago at a small loss of Rs. 76,000, is now expected to show in 1927-28 a net loss of about 4½ lakhs. There has been a considerable increase in the gross receipts of the department but this has been rather more than counter-balanced by an increase in working expenses. The increased loss has been brought about mainly by the fact that an additional sum of 8 lakhs has had to be provided to enable the book value of a large volume of surplus, obsolete and over-valued stores to be written down to their current values. The department is, however, expected to show a small profit of Rs. 23,000 next year after making a provision of over 14 lakhs for additional expenditure on new measures of improvement of the conditions of service of the lower-paid staff. This provision represents yet another instalment of the scheme of improvement of the conditions of service of the establishments in question which, as I informed the House last year, has been under the personal investigation of my hon. colleague, Sir Bhupendra Mitra. When the details of this scheme were placed before the Standing Finance Committee a couple of months ago, special reference was made to the desire so often expressed in the House that the question of reducing postal and telegraph charges should be pursued. As was then pointed out, such reductions would involve a far greater loss than the present finances of the department would justify. I am not sure myself whether it will ever be possible to run the department without a subsidy from the taxpayer at much less than the present postal rates, regard being had to the index number of the cost of living today and the consequent increase in the wages bill. In any case, priority must be given to the staff. The Indo-European Telegraph department, which was expected to show a loss of 3 lakhs in the current year, exhibits no appreciable change, though for 1928-29 the figure of loss will be somewhat larger, namely, 7½ lakhs. The earnings of the department are affected by the competition of the radio system of communications between India and England. It is suffering just as the cable companies are suffering.

BUDGET SURPLUS.

27. The aggregate revenue of 1928-29 is put at 1,32'23 crores and the expenditure at 1,29'60 crores. At this stage, therefore, we have a surplus of 2,63 lakhs. The main variations from the revised estimate for the current year may be summarised as follows :—

			Better.	Worse.
Customs	...	...	1,55	...
Taxes on Income	...	...	1,35	...
Salt	...	...	25	...
Opium (net)	...	...	...	25
Railways	...	...	...	88
Provincial contributions	...	...	2,58	...
Revenue Reserve Fund	...	...	...	1,69
Debt Services	...	...	67	...
Civil Administration	41
Military Services	18
Other heads	36
			6,40	3,77
Net		2,63

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28. I do not doubt that the House will share the satisfaction of the Government at this surplus, which is all the more gratifying when we remember that considerable risks were taken a year ago in the original budget, and that, on top of those risks, we agreed during last summer to sacrifice nearly a crore a year of customs revenue for the sake of assisting the cotton industry.

LIABILITY FOR BONUS ON CASH CERTIFICATES.

Before, however, considering what to do with the surplus, I must draw attention to the accumulated liability in respect of the bonus on Cash Certificates. These certificates were first introduced in India in 1917 in connection with the first Indian War Loan and were designed to attract the small investor. They have been very popular and have done great service in promoting savings in India. Cash Certificates of the nominal value of no less than 40 crores will be outstanding on the 31st March 1928. Unlike our regular annual rupee loans, they are always 'on tap'; and they can be encashed at any time though they come to full maturity only after 5 years. Their capital value is not subject to depreciation, and the actual amount payable on encashment is on a progressive scale so fixed that the investor gets a growing return for his money after the first twelve months; consequently, the longer he keeps his certificates, the greater is the inducement to keep them till maturity. But this accrued bonus is paid along with the capital value only at the time of encashment, whenever that may be, and not half-yearly as in the case of our ordinary loans. All these factors combine to make it impossible to forecast precisely the amount of bonus that may have to be paid in any year, while there is the additional practical difficulty that the actual payments in a year are generally less than the accrued liability, and the accrued liability is constantly growing in amount. In the case of the ordinary debt, we can know exactly what we have to pay and provide for such payments from revenue accordingly. In the case of Cash Certificates, on the other hand, we have so far been providing out of revenue only for actual payments in the year and not for the accrued liability. I estimate that this accrued but undischarged liability for bonus was about 3 3-4 crores on the 1st October 1927 and will stand at about 5½ crores on the 1st October 1928. Following past practice, which is of course fully defensible in view of the fact that, in the main, our budget is a cash budget in which provision is normally made only for actual receipts and disbursements during the financial year to which it relates, and having regard to our revenue position generally, I have not been able to include, in the forecast next year, anything more than the amount of the present estimate of actual payments of bonus, namely 50 lakhs. Even this figure is 25 lakhs more than is required in 1927-28, but there remains a large balance which we may, theoretically, be called upon to pay at any moment and for which we have made no provision; and as soon as the revenue position permits it, we shall have to consider setting aside considerable sums from revenue in a separate fund in order to enable us to meet the full liability when we are called upon to do so. The liability is becoming too large for us to be content to leave the full burden to fall on later years, when a sudden increase may seriously disturb the equilibrium of the budget.

SURPLUS RECURRENT.

29. I do not think, however, that this liability need deter us from utilizing the surplus disclosed in the budget as a recurrent surplus. In 1929-30 the special item of 81 lakhs for premium on bonds referred to by me earlier in my speech will disappear and substantial savings may be expected to accrue in future, as they have done in the past, under interest on deadweight debt. In 1929-30 also, we stand to gain considerably from the increased net earnings of our railways in 1927-28. The advent of a bad monsoon or other unforeseen circumstances would no doubt disturb the position, but on the other hand, our revenue from taxes on income should show some improvement from year to year. The same is true of our customs revenue subject to the proviso that there are good reasons for regarding the present figure of 15 per cent for our general revenue tariff as unduly high, and it would undoubtedly be in the interests of the trade and industry of the country to reduce it, as soon as financial considerations permit, to a level at which it will compare less disadvantageously with the figure at which the revenue tariff of most of the

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advanced countries of the world is fixed. I do not, however, think that any reduction is possible in the present budget.

COMPLETE AND FINAL REMISSION OF PROVINCIAL CONTRIBUTIONS.

30. We have another and a prior claimant to our surplus. Last year we remitted the entire amount of the outstanding provincial contributions, and although a portion of this, namely 2,58 lakhs, was stated to be definitely temporary, I do not think that either the Assembly or the Government of India would care to face the storm of protest which would greet us from the provinces if the final extinction of the provincial contributions, which we have undertaken to remit at the earliest possible moment, were not effected now, and preference were given to remission of central taxation or even to new expenditure. The Government of India accordingly propose that 2,58 lakhs of our surplus shall be utilized for such extinction, leaving a small surplus of 5 lakhs in the budget.

CONCLUSION.

31. I have now given to the House all the secrets of the budget of 1928-29. It is not a spectacular budget. After the budget of 1927-28 and the railway budget for 1928-29, with its large reductions in passenger fares and in freights, it might almost be called an anti-climax. It imposes no new taxation and though it allows for reductions in the customs tariff to the tune of nearly a crore, these reductions were announced six months ago. What this budget does is to provide a surplus, in spite of the reduction in the customs tariff, sufficient finally to extinguish the provincial contributions. I think it is a budget which both the Government and the country can view with pleasure. We have consolidated the ground won last year and can now establish our friends and allies, the provincial Governments, firmly and finally in the trenches which we won for them a year ago, but which have hitherto been debatable ground. The provinces have now no further fears of a counter-attack. They can proceed to carry out the great task allotted to them in the governance of India, with the knowledge that no part of the revenues at their disposal will be diverted to the central Government's purse. The central Government too has reached a new vantage ground, from which it can begin to survey the country ahead. In opening my first Indian budget, the budget for 1923-24, I voiced some of what I called in the language of Mr. Punch my, 'first depressions'. The only cause for depression that I see today in the matter of India's finances is personal. I have to say goodbye to the officials of the Finance department to whose invaluable and devoted assistance during 5 very strenuous years I desire to pay a very sincere tribute, and I cannot myself hope to take a share in solving any of the many interesting financial problems still remaining to be dealt with. Intrinsically, the financial position of the Government of India seems to be sound and prosperous. From 1929-30 onwards, it will be the privilege of this House and of my friend and successor, Sir George Schuster, whose acceptance of the post is a matter of great personal satisfaction to me, to find no outside claimant to the recurring surpluses which I hope it will be their good fortune to enjoy in the coming years and they will be free to turn their minds on the one hand to new directions in which money can be usefully laid out for India's advancement, and on the other hand to the readjustment of the burden of taxation and to those reductions of taxation, so welcome to tax-gatherer and taxpayer alike, which apart from some minor cases and with the one big exception of the cotton excise duty, have been beyond our reach in my term of office. I cannot more fittingly close my statement than with the prayer that no storm from without or from within may descend upon India to disturb the bright prospects of financial well-being to which she seems today to be justified in looking forward.

This finished the Budget speech and the Assembly adjourned till the next day, the 1st MARCH to transact official business.

SALT ADMINISTRATION IN BURMA.

Mr. V. K. Ayyangar moved for the consideration of the Burma Salt Act (Amendment) Bill, making the administration of Salt in that province a central subject. Mr. B. Das opposed the measure, which was eventually passed.

AMENDMENT TO SECURITIES ACT.

On the motion of Mr. V. K. Ayyangar, the Bill amending the Indian Securities Act, as passed by the Council of State was passed.

The object of the Bill is to enable a company to hold Government securities jointly with a private individual or another corporate body and to empower the Government to pay the amount of the securities to the surviving joint holder in any case that may arise.

PLYWOOD TEA CHEST INDUSTRY.

Sir George Rainy, in introducing the Bill providing for the fostering and development of the manufacture of plywood tea chests in British India, said that it was brought to his notice that the time since the publication of the Tariff Board's report and the announcement of the Government of India was too short to make it possible for members to take this Bill into consideration. He considered that feeling to be reasonable and did not move for the consideration of the Bill.

PROTECTION FOR WAGONS AND UNDERFRAMES.

Sir George Rainy then introduced the Bill to give effect to the Government decisions on the Tariff Board's report regarding protection to the steel industry (wagons and underframes).

In moving for the reference of the Bill to a select committee, the Commerce Member explained the Government decisions in great detail and pointed out that the reason why the wire nail industry was not given protection was that the necessary raw material for this industry was not produced and the only firm which had been manufacturing wire nails had shut down and there was nothing at present to protect. The protective duty in respect of wire nails was, therefore, being removed from the Tariff Act.

But in the case of wagons and underframes, the policy of protection had succeeded and there was every reason to hope that the industry would, with some protection, be able to stand on its own legs. As one who had been associated with the question to the steel industry, Sir George Rainy said that he had given the greatest possible attention and care to the needs of the industry. The Government hoped that in three years' time they would be able to purchase wagons and underframes from firms in India to the extent that they did in 1923-24 and that after that there would be no need for protection beyond a revenue duty.

Steel castings were not given protection in spite of the Tariff Board's recommendation, because it had been ascertained that the circumstances of the industry were such that the industry could not develop to any great extent by means of a bounty. The motion for a select committee was carried. The Assembly adjourned.

GENERAL DISCUSSION OF THE BUDGET.

On the 7th MARCH the Assembly met after five days' recess and held a general discussion of the budget and continued it till the next day. In all 12 spoke on the second day, three Swarajists, three officials, two Independents, one Nationalist, two Europeans and one non-party member.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas, Mr. Chetty and Mr. Jamnadas Mehta launched an attack on the financial regime of Sir Basil Blackett, which forbade them from joining in the chorus of congratulations. Sir Victor Sassoon indignantly protested against the cruelties of the income tax collectors.

Col. Gidney confessed that there was a colour bar in the Indian Medical department, affecting his own community.

Dr. Moonje met the Government on its own ground and, while conceding the fetish of efficiency, showed how the replacement of British by Indian soldiers would reduce substantially the military bill.

The only official who attempted to come to the rescue of Sir Basil Blackett was Mr. Abdul Aziz who revealed the typical mentality of district officers, particularly of the Punjab, by trying to drive the wedge between middlemen and agriculturists.

Finally, Sir Basil Blackett wound up the debate in a clever speech, which beyond the debating success did not throw much light on the points raised during the debate and indeed seemed to prove a member's accusation that much of Sir Basil Blackett's difficulties were temperamental, in that he thought nothing good in opinions opposed to his own.

THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF'S STATEMENT ON SKEEN COMMITTEE

His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief then made his speech regarding the Government's decisions on the recommendations of the Sandhurst Committee.

The Commander-in-Chief first dealt with the general subject of military expenditure and put in an able defence against the criticism of the Army estimates. He pointed out that all the actual cuts recommended by the Inchcape Committee to reduce the budget to 57 crores had been faithfully carried out and that in spite of certain charges since transferred to the Army, the budget now stood just over 55 crores. As regards reduction to 50 crores if the prices fell, the Commander-in-Chief showed that the total annual expenditure on food stores had fallen since the Inchcape Committee reported.

Referring to the criticism that the whole of the Army expenditure in India was unproductive and largely contributed to the drain of money to the United Kingdom, the speaker mentioned that a considerable amount was restored to the pockets of the Government in another form. For instance, the total taxes and duty paid by the military amounted to one crore. Then, again, the railways, posts and telephones, printing and stationery took away another 1,80 lakhs. He also showed how service in the army raised the character and standard of the classes from whom the Indian soldier was drawn. Then, 65 lakhs were spent annually from the Army funds directly on nation-building services, such as education, sanitation, etc. Further, various departments of the Army, such as the remount department, grass and dairy farms and various factories, played their parts by setting an example to private enterprise. And as for the drain of money to the United Kingdom the Commander-in-Chief mentioned that 77 per cent was spent in India and only 23 per cent in England.

The Commander-in-Chief remarked that while the Indian military budget had been constantly decreasing, the Soviet Russian estimates for 1926-27, were 50 per cent greater than those for 1924-25.

Dealing with mechanisation, the Commander-in-Chief said the heavy initial expense consequent upon India's present limited industrial resources and factories and the need for exhaustive experiments to discover which types of fighting or transport vehicles were most suited to India, made the progress necessarily slow in the initial stages. But when these stages had been passed, there would be a large recurring saving in the substitution of motor traction for a considerable portion at any rate of animal transport.

THE SKEEN REPORT.

The Commander-in-Chief next dealt fully with the Skeen report and announced that the Home and Indian Governments had been able to reach unanimous conclusions regarding Indianisation of the Indian Army as a whole. He emphasised three primary considerations: (1) recognition that a further measure of Indianisation in the Army was necessary; (2) as the Indian Sandhurst Committee had insisted, there must be no diminution in the all-round efficiency of the Army in India; (3) as the committee had also observed, there must be no breakdown in the supply of British recruits to the commissioned ranks of the Army.

The Government had accepted the initial recommendations of the committee that the number of direct vacancies at Sandhurst open to Indians should be increased from 10 to 20 a year and that five to 10 vacancies in addition be reserved for the Viceroy's commissioned Indian officers. As regards further expansion of vacancies, the Government could not accept the committee's proposals which amounted to a mere time table from the year 1929 to 1952, irrespective of whether efficient and suitable candidates were forthcoming. The Government would wait and see the effect of the large initial increase in the number of vacancies offered. The committee had produced a programme which, according to its own admission, was liable to be corrected according as candidates came forward or not. The Government on the other hand should frame the later stages of their scheme in the light of actual experience at the time. It must be remembered that the 10 vacancies did not now produce 10 Indian King's commissioned officers a year.

The Commander-in-Chief announced that his Majesty's Government had agreed to open vacancies at Woolwich and at Cranwell for Indian cadets with a

view to the formation of Indian artillery, engineer and air units. The number of vacancies to be available each year would naturally depend on the numbers required to officer these units and with a maximum of six cadets or 37 Indian vacancies at Sandhurst, Woolwich and Cranwell. In the case of the Air Force, the question of eventual numbers would have to depend upon whether they met with success in producing numbers sufficient to enable them to avoid a satisfactory scheme for its formation. Indians had now for the first time in history the opportunity of becoming officers in the artillery, engineer and air services of the Indian military establishment and the obligation now lay upon India to prove that her sons were fit for this great charge.

The entrance examinations for the Indian cadets at all the three colleges would be assimilated as far as possible to the examination taken by British candidates but certain papers in which Indian candidates owing to differences of nationality and outlook might be at a disadvantage would be modified so as to allow for differences in language and general knowledge. Indians would not compete against British boys for the Sandhurst examination but compete among themselves reserved for them. Approval had been given to the nomination of an Indian nonofficial gentleman by the Viceroy as recommended by the committee, to form part of the oral examination board before which the cadets would appear. It had also been decided that the local civil authorities, *e. g.*, the collector or commissioners, shall not have the power of turning down a candidate before he reached the examination stage.

THE 8-UNITS SCHEME.

The principle of the existing 8-units scheme would be maintained. The present Government of India agreed with the Government in Lord Rawlinson's time, when the scheme was introduced, that if Indian officers scattered over the Indian Army it would be impossible to obtain any criterion as to their ability to command units. Indians would, therefore, continue to be posted in regiments reserved for them. In this connection the Commander-in-Chief strongly objected to the use of the word segregation, pointing out that the Indian officers were serving on the best of terms with the British officers in those units and that it would be years before the last British officer was eliminated from them. Senior British officers were doing all in their power to educate and to train young Indian officers in those regiments so as to enable them to take over the command of squadrons and companies when they reached sufficient seniority and later on regimental commands. To such a system the word 'segregation' was inapplicable. The Government would, therefore, continue posting officers in the normal way so long as the anticipated output from Sandhurst could be absorbed in them. When this was no longer possible and they found they had available young officers who had passed out of Sandhurst in larger numbers than could be placed on the cadre of squadron and company officers in those eight units, they would be in a position to commence forming one or possibly more homogeneous units as far as the officers' cadre was concerned, that is, the King's commissioned officers replacing the Viceroy's commissioned officers and so forming units on the same organization as obtained in all British units. But it would probably be a few years before the existing cadre were complete with Indian King's commissioned officers.

THE INDIAN SANDHURST.

In making the recommendation for an Indian Sandhurst the committee appeared to have had two principal reasons in view, firstly that with increased numbers of Indian cadets it would be impossible for the British Sandhurst to accommodate them and, secondly, that it was unfair that the parents of Indian boys should be subjected to heavy expenses by sending their boys to England for military education. With these considerations in mind the committee recommended the opening of the Indian Sandhurst in 1933 by which time they anticipated increased number of Indian cadets. The Commander-in-Chief pointed out that the Government had no means of predicting the number of candidates that would come forward in any particular year and could not, therefore, fix a definite date for the establishment of the Indian college. He also pointed out the admitted advantages which a course at British Sandhurst gave to Indian boys in their subsequent

careers and hoped that when the time came and an Indian military college comparable with Sandhurst could be opened in India there would be a sufficient number of Indian ex-Sandhurst cadets and in due course ex-staff college officers to take a hand in forming the military college and staffing it with instructors and professors.

As regards expenses the Government had solved the difficulty by deciding to give grants calculated on the difference between the estimated cost of education at an Indian military college and the actual cost of Sandhurst.

GOVERNMENT'S POLICY AND AIMS.

For the future, the Commander-in-Chief said, the rate of further advance depended upon Indians themselves. Until the Government had full experience of the results of the increase now proposed, they would not limit their discretion by detailing a fixed programme of automatic increase in the number of vacancies. The question of increase would necessarily arise when the number of qualified candidates forthcoming was greater than the vacancies. One essential condition would be the maintenance of the requisite standard. The object which we all seek to achieve is to fit Indians to undertake the defence of India. As constitutional advance progresses, the question will continually be asked how far the military side of Indian Swaraj has kept pace. The Government contemplates that as India progresses towards full self-government within the Empire there may be in the process of development an army of the same character as the Dominion armies, organised on a national basis and officered by Indians holding their own distinctive national form of commission. That is our policy of Indianisation. The process of development will naturally be contingent on the success achieved in the various stages of the experiment. The way is now open for the first time for Indians to enter new branches of the Army and to enter it in greatly increased numbers. In no quarter is it desired to impose arbitrary limits to such expansion of India's military effort as events may prove to be within the reach of her capacity. The rate of progress in these matters depending as it does so vitally upon the human element cannot be the subject of an automatic time table. But the Government has now, I venture to think, for the first time laid down the lines of a policy which affords the best means of reconciling the legitimate desires of those who speak for India with the necessity of maintaining at every stage the requisite strength of our defence forces.

Concluding, His Excellency said :—"The Indian Army has been my home for well over the last forty years and my love for it is entirely whole-hearted. I yield to none in my affections for it, in my pride for its great traditions and wonderful past record and in my jealousy to ensure that its future and efficiency shall be safeguarded. This, I feel, would not be the case if Government were to attempt to go further at the present time than they have done in the steps taken to further Indianisation which, if forced too hurriedly, would assuredly bring disaster to this Indian Army of ours, ruin to the cause of India and broken hearts to many magnificent old Indian soldiers who have been my comrades and, as they themselves know well the best of friends throughout my lifetime. (Loud applause.)

Pandit Motilal NEHRU then rose and declared that the Commander-in-Chief's speech had left him cold. It was to his mind in perfect keeping with the policy to which they owed the Statutory Commission, which was said to be doing wonders in the Madras Presidency and which was manufacturing stories of receptions. The Commander-in-Chief's announcement was a further-step in the direction of the working of that policy. For, the real thing which they wanted was a Indian Sandhurst, and it was not to be established. He had found no reason to enthuse over the recommendations of the Sken Committee of which he had at one time been a member. Indeed, when the recommendations were published, he felt a sense of relief that he was not a party to them.

Mr. Jinnah.—How do you feel now?

Pandit Motilal.—I feel the same now, for even if as recommended by the committee, an Indian Sandhurst was established, it would have taken several years before there would have been a sufficient number of trained Indians for the Army.



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Pandit Motilal.—What am I to substantiate ?
Sir Basil Blackett.—You stated a lie.
Pandit Motilal.—Am I to substantiate what is human nature ? I repeat it a thousand times.....

Sir Basil Blackett.—It is a foul slander.
Pandit Motilal.—You are so full of animal nature that you have no idea of what human nature is. It was nothing but animal nature which made you send our troops in spite of our protests.

Proceeding, Pandit Motilal Nehru maintained that the Commander-in-Chief's announcement was in perfect keeping with the policy which underlay the procedure announced by Sir John Simon as regards the Commission's enquiry. This procedure was one to which the Congress party would not subscribe for a single moment. The Army was kept apart as being no part of responsible Government. There was a separate enquiry as regards the Indian States. And yet responsible Government was to be granted by the Statutory Commission which India was asked to cooperate with. Nothing but a miracle would bring self-Government under such auspices, of course, not self-Government but progressive advance towards it.

Lala Lajpat Rai.—There is nothing to prevent the Government from going back.

Pandit Motilal.—So many Empires have gone down for having ignored the people's will and now the British Empire is ignoring India's will and I say that the day of reckoning is not very far. (Loud unofficial cheers.)

Mr. JINNAH, who was a prominent member of the Skeen Committee, asked the Commander-in-Chief why the report of the sub-committee of the Skeen Committee was still suppressed. If it was not to be published, was the appreciation of the sub-committee's labours genuine or only formal. May I know the object 'of suppressing the report and the proceedings of this sub-committee ?' He thought Pandit Motilal was wise in leaving the committee. (Cheers.) He realized it was not worth while to waste his time, energy and brain. The speaker did not follow that line but continued on the committee in order to produce a fair and reasonable scheme for the purpose of accelerating Indianisation. They spent 13 to 14 months and their report was unanimous.

Mr. Jinnah continued :—'The Government has fundamentally turned down that report and I must emphatically protest against to-day's announcement. It is a travesty of the unanimous recommendations of the Sandhurst Committee. (Hear hear.) It is difficult to deal with the details of the pronouncement. I would take the earliest opportunity, if possible, of moving the adjournment of this House to discuss them and pass a vote of censure on the Government ('hear, hear') for not carrying out the report of the Sandhurst Committee which was approved by this House by an overwhelming majority.

'The Commander-in-Chief has told us that the 8-unit scheme must remain in operation. Every British officer and Indian officer who gave evidence was opposed to the scheme and yet it is not given effect to. Why ? I tell the House the only reason is—and the Commander-in-Chief has put it in diplomatic language—that it will be taking risk, the risk that British recruitment may fall. Why, because it is only by means of the 8-unit scheme that an Indian will never be a superior officer of a British officer.' ('Hear, hear' and 'shame').

In support of this, Mr. Jinnah quoted from the appendix to the Sandhurst Committee's report the report of a lecture on the subject.

Mr. Jinnah continued :—'You say : "We increase your number to 25 at Sandhurst and six each at Woolwich and Cranwell." That is not what we are aiming at. The Commander-in-Chief knows perfectly well that we wanted to lay the foundation of a military college in India that will establish our own traditions and a system of our own and the sooner that is done the better. Sir. Victor Sassoon says that the military expense is the insurance premium for safety. Have I got the choice to change the insurance office or say I can get as much safety by paying less premium. (Applause.) Here is a machine, the whole basis of it is the garrison in this country. (Hear, hear.) I do not want the garrison of his Majesty's forces to insure me. I want a national army. (Applause.)

'The whole principle is bad from start to finish. So long as you maintain this

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vicious principle, so long as this machine continues with the present organization, you cannot reduce very much of its expenditure. What is the good of the Commander-in-Chief telling us yarns that one heard from one's grandmother. "Oh! The Army is a better nation-building department than any other. See, what we do in the education of our soldiers who are better fed and clothed than in their villages. We run factories. We are the pioneers of every national movement in this country." (Laughter.) Sir, I can tell his Excellency these yarns won't do. (Renewed laughter.) I do not deny that the Commander-in-Chief is doing his best. If you were to put me there, I would say the same thing, because I have got to run that machine.

"Why tell us these little yarns if these are the issue. Our fundamental position is this : We want to turn this garrison into a national army. You can help us or hinder. I am convinced that the British Government does not wish to help us. I had my faith in serving on the Sandhurst Committee and that—let me tell the Commander-in-Chief—by turning down this report and the announcement he has made, he has completely shattered my faith in the *bona fides* of the Government." (Loud and prolonged applause.)

Demands for Grants

EXPORT DUTY ON RAW HIDES.

On the *10th MARCH* the Assembly proceeded to the discussion of demands for grants.

A plea for the abolition of the export duty of 5 per cent, on raw hides was voiced by Mr. Muhammad Rafique by moving a cut of Rs 9 lakhs on the first head, "Customs". The speaker held that the relief the Government wanted to give to the tanners proved disadvantageous. Hence if they meant to interpret their good intentions they should come forward with a measure in the form of an import duty. The cut was lost.

EXPENDITURE UNDER CUSTOMS.

Chaudhury Mukhtar Singh objected to increased expenditure under the head Customs. In 1921-22, he pointed out, the figure stood at a little over Rs. 54 lakhs while in the present budget it was proposed to spend 87 lakhs. The motion was rejected.

DUTY ON JUTE.

Mr. Neogy next moved a cut of Rs. 1,000 to discuss the question of the duty on jute. He showed by citing various authorities that jute was not a monopoly of India. The duty on jute approximated to taxation of the people and affected the prosperity of the province. Further, the imposition of the duty had encouraged foreign countries to manufacture substitutes for jute. He asked the Finance Member to find out whether the duty was a good tax or bad. If it was good and was to be maintained a part of it must be given to Bengal. If bad, it should be abolished. The motion was lost.

CUSTOMS, PROCEEDS AND INDUSTRIES.

Chaudhuri Mukhtar Singh objected to using the income derived from protective duties for purposes other than the development of industries. He suggested the money realized by customs be proportionately distributed among the various provinces for the benefit of industries. He criticized the Government policy in developing trade solely for the interests of foreign traders.

The cut was lost by 36 votes against 42, the Swarajists remaining neutral.

VEERAMGAUM CUSTOMS CORDON.

Mr. B Das, by a token cut, raised the question of the Veeramgaum customs cordon. He maintained that the Government of India was the paramount power over Indian States and they should not have entered into any contract with Indian States allowing them to develop ports without the policy having been defined by the Legislature. He also objected to the harassment of people who crossed the customs line. The motion was withdrawn.

DUTY ON SCIENTIFIC INSTRUMENTS.

Mr. K. C. Neogy moved a cut of Rs. 100 to urge a rebate of the customs duty on scientific instruments and chemicals imported for *bona fide* use in educational and scientific institutions. The motion was lost without a division.

The Army Reforms.

Mr. JINNAH then moved the adjournment of the House to discuss the Government's turning down of the unanimous recommendations of the Skeen Committee. He traced the history of the question since 1921, when a resolution was adopted by the Assembly and accepted by the Government that as soon as funds were available steps should be taken to establish a military college. Then in 1923, when the same question was under discussion, Mr. Burdon, the then Army Secretary, moved an amendment for a committee to examine what steps should be taken to establish a military college. Then again in 1925 Mr. Venkatapathi Raju's resolution was discussed for the establishment of a military college. It was then that Sir Alexander Muddiman moved an amendment, on behalf of the Government, for a committee to consider whether it was desirable and practicable that steps should be taken to establish a military college. The non-official side refused to agree to the implication and contended that stage had passed and the Government themselves had in 1921 agreed to steps being taken to establish a college. But Lord Rawlinson then stated that he had previously accepted the Assembly's wish without knowing the methods of the Assembly, and that he proposed to proceed warily. Fortunately, on account of pressure from the Assembly, Sir Alexander Muddiman himself announced the appointment of the committee which was presided over by Sir Andrew Skeen than whom a more conscientious soldier it was difficult to find in any part of the world. The composition of the committee was decided upon by the Government. That Committee reported and since then the Government had been deliberating and the announcement was made that the utmost extent to which the Government could go was that 37 vacancies would be given in place of the existing 100.

Sir Walter Willson, interrupting, said : In the first instance.

Mr. Jinnah.—Yes, in the first instance, but on Doomsday it would be something more than 37.

Mr. Jinnah, proceeding, asserted that there was nothing new in this announcement, for it was practically the same decision which was arrived at by the War Council and communicated to the sub-committee of the Skeen Committee when it arrived in England. It was, therefore, a camouflage to say that this announcement was the result of careful consideration of the committee's recommendations.

Voices : Shame.

Mr. Jinnah asked the Government to deny his assertion. Proceeding, he pointed out that the recommendations of the committee were several links in one chain which could not be unlinked at any stage without seriously affecting the recruitment of the best material required. The committee had definitely pointed out that the process of training might take time, but a start must be made in an Indian Sandhurst. This had been denied in the Government announcement. At least the late Lord Rawlinson conceded as regards the 8-unit scheme that if there was a surplus of King's commissioned officers they would be posted to other units, but even that had been denied by the statement of Sir William Birdwood, who stated that the eight units would be homogeneous units, meaning that no Indian officer would be in command of British soldiers. This history of army reform was one which did no credit to the Government. Lord Birkenhead had said in the House of Lords that there was no Indian who desired that the British Army should be withdrawn. This, said Mr. Jinnah, was simply not true.

Lala LAJPAT RAI said that the Commander-in-Chief's statement did not come as a surprise to his party (Nationalists). It was exactly as the speaker had expected him to say. Mr. Jinnah's declaration that the conclusion on the Skeen Committee had been arrived at long before the deliberations of the committee had ended proved to show that the Government had already reached their decisions with regard to the future constitution of India. Therefore, nothing would be gained by co-operation with the Simon Commission. Mr. Jinnah had said that his faith in the Government had been shattered. The speaker had never any faith in the Government. Such an attitude was natural. Those who had any faith should disillusion themselves. (Hear, hear.) People who, even after this experience, believed that the British government would give them self-government were misleading their

countrymen. (Hear, hear.) It would be better to chalk out a different course for the attainment of freedom. 'We cannot expect help from the other side to get rid of that side. Sir Victor Sassoon had said that the army was an insurance for the peace of the country, but to the speaker it looked to be an insurance for the constant slavery of India. (Applause.)

Mr. Srinivasa IYENGAR associated himself with the sentiments of the previous speaker and referred to the unsatisfactory recommendations which could not be accepted by the British Government. The time had come to remove from the Indian political life the most mischievous phrase—Indianization. He did not want any foreign army to be called the Indian Army, but wanted a real Indian army. To that end a modest beginning was suggested among others by two most responsible officials of the Government, namely, General Sir Andrew Skeen and Mr. Burdon, which the Government turned down. The argument was given that they were unfit for self-Government, for they could not defend themselves, but at the same time opportunities were denied to qualify themselves for self-defence.

Continuing, Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar said that there was no reason to cooperate with the Statutory Commission even if equal status and opportunities were given to the Indian members, because they knew that their recommendations would meet the same fate as the Skeen Committee's report. (Cries of 'Shame, shame.') The maintenance of this policy would be continued disrespect to the Assembly of which the Government were also members. Time and again, the hypocritical professions of the Government that they were helping Indians towards self-government had been exploded and they should not any more claim sincerity of purpose. Mr. Iyengar advised nonofficials to always pass censure motions till the Government took themselves away else-where. (Laughter).

Alluding to Lord Birkenhead's speech that no Indian had expressed to his lordship India's wish for the withdrawal of the British element in the Indian army, the speaker declared the Government could any day be run in a better manner by Indians than by the British. He would unhesitatingly say Indians did not want the British army and they were quite fit to manage their military affairs.

Before Mr. Macworth YOUNG rose to reply on behalf of the Government, President Patel drew attention to the fact that the Commander-in-Chief, who had made a long speech announcing the Government's decision, was absent when that announcement was being discussed.

The Army Secretary explained that the notice of adjournment was made known this noon before which the Commander-in-Chief had fixed up some other engagement. Proceeding, Mr. Macworth Young regretted that the Government decision should be discussed in a hasty and ill-considered manner when members had not had time to study it. Alluding to the charge that the Government had turned down the recommendations of the Committee Mr. Macworth Young said every one of the recommendations had been accepted by the Government and would be put into operation in the next financial year. On the committee's proposals staff officers in India were consulted and then the Government came to their own recommendations which were forwarded to the Secretary of State who discussed them in his own Council and submitted them to the sub-committee of Imperial Defence before they were finally decided by the British Cabinet. Thus there were full consultations and mature consideration of the vital subject. On one or two points the conclusions of his Majesty's Government differed from those of the Government of India who returned to the charge and obtained the Cabinet's approval before the announcement was made by the Commander-in-Chief. Proceeding, the Army Secretary discussed the number of Indians who would be entitled to admission not only in Sandhurst but also in Cranwell and Woolwich, which, he affirmed, was a great advance. The methods of selection from the army would be improved with due regard to efficiency and the Government had framed a scheme whereby the training of Indian candidates would be financed by the State.

The maintenance of the principle of the 8-units scheme was in the direction of nationalizing the army. There was nothing racial behind it. The Army Secretary said that in the opinion of fighting units it was not a practical proposition to

make British soldiers serve in a unit commanded by an Indian. Unless the improved methods of selection had the desired effect it was not safe to adopt an automatic increase in Indianization as urged by the committee. He regarded the report would be the basis of an immediate constructive proposal.

Colonel CRAWFORD entered a protest against the Government making an important pronouncement during the budget discussions leading to an adjournment motion which prevented a fuller debate thereon. He regarded it as a great advance that Indians had been admitted to the artillery, engineering and Air Force services as well. He complained that both the Skeen Committee and the Government had not given due consideration to the position occupied by the Viceroy's commissioned officers in the future scheme. He thought they must form the basis of nationalisation of the army for they had military traditions which educated young Indians nowadays had not. They had all the qualifications and only required special military training like that which was given at the Kitchener College at Jullunder. Indeed, Colonel Crawford wanted this college to become the nucleus of the Indian Sandhurst. He fully supported the eight-unit scheme, but he pleaded for giving them an increased status and improved position so as to remove the feeling of inferiority.

Mr. K. C. ROY demanded the publication of the despatches concerned with this subject in order to find what part had been played by the Indian representatives on the Viceroy's Council and on the Secretary of State's Council and whether they reflected the Indian view in the matter, for he could not imagine how any Indian could have been a party to his transaction. The announcement by the Commander-in-Chief represented an improvement in detail, but marked a definite setback in policy. He feared Mr. Jinnah forgot to take notice of one significant passage in the announcement, namely, wherein the possibility of a dominion army without King's commission was foreshadowed. Col. Crawford had referred to this last year and evidently he had become a true prophet. India wanted an army in which Indian officers would not be inferior to British officers. He was one of those who had abundant faith in the Government, but that faith had been shaken by the Government decision.

Raja Ghaznafar ALI KHAN, contested Mr. Macworth Young's contention that the recommendations of the Sandhurst Committee were accepted to a great extent by the Government. He quoted Sir John Maynard's views that there were a large number of Indians who could be found fit for Sandhurst, but the chances were not open to them. It was not at all necessary to appoint a committee to deliberate for two years and tour the European Continent and America when the net result was an increase of ten more Indian recruits for Sandhurst. That could be announced by the Commander-in-Chief without the appointment of the committee at a large expense of money and labour. Mr. Burdon and General Skeen would not have signed the report if they considered the case was not strong.

Continuing, the speaker said he represented the largest military constituency in India. He knew that only six months prior to their retirement junior officers of the Indian Army were made lieutenants. (Laughter.)

Alluding to the 8-unit scheme, Raja Ghaznafar Ali Khan remarked that Indians wanted to make military service as attractive as possible, while the Army Secretary wanted to make it more attractive for Britishers. The posts of Subedar-Majors, Subedars and Jamadars would be dispensed with in the eight units, but, the speaker averred, no Indian would like to join those units, because he would not be able to rise to those posts he aspired for in his military service. 'If Indians during war-time after acquiring nine months' military training were found eligible for field service what difficulty is there to-day for the establishment of an Indian Sandhurst?' Concluding, the speaker said he was sure even the new Muslim group must have felt insulted on the Commander-in-Chief's announcement, because it was in direct contravention of the proposals enunciated sometime ago by one of their leaders, Sir Abdul Qayum. (Hear, hear.)

The motion was carried by 70 votes against 41 amidst nonofficial applause, Sir Abdul Qayum remaining neutral. The Assembly then adjourned.

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EXPORT DUTY ON BURMA RICE.

On the 12th MARCH voting on Budget grants was taken up. After Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra had presented the Select Committee report on the Mines Bill, Maung Tok Kyi moved a cut of Rs. 100 as a protest against the export duties in Burma generally and the export duty on rice particularly.

Maung Tok Kyi said that the Burma rice-producer was suffering from the Blackett ratio and the ring of foreign exporters who controlled the rice market and on the top of it all from the export duty. The motion was withdrawn.

MUSLIMS AND CUSTOMS SERVICE.

Mr. Anwarul Azim moved a token cut, urging adequate representation of the minorities and Muslims in all branches of the Customs service. He appealed to the Hindus to view the question in a conciliatory spirit.

The motion was finally put and carried without division.

INCOME-TAX ADMINISTRATION.

Mr. Kelkar moved a token cut, complaining that the income-tax authorities in Bombay used a wide patronage in making indiscriminate appointments in the department.

Sir Basil Blackett promised to examine the matter with Mr. Kelkar, whereupon the motion was withdrawn.

Mr. Bhargava (Punjab) moved a token cut to ventilate the assessee's grievances against income-tax collectors, their arbitrary assessments and harassment. The motion was defeated.

AN 'INJUSTICE' TO BENGAL AND BOMBAY.

Mr. Neogy moved a token cut to draw attention to the unfair working of the Devolution Rules which deprived Bengal and Bombay of their share of the income-tax revenue. The question was discussed at the recent Conference of Finance Members, but no relief was granted to the two provinces. The speaker concluded that it could not be outside the ingenuity of the Finance Member to devise some remedy for the grievance of the two industrial provinces of India. The cut was negatived.

FOREIGN COMPANIES' PROFITS.

Mr. S. N. Haji moved a cut to urge proper assessment of the profits made by non-Indian shipping, insurance and banking companies in India. While the Indian concerns were assessed, British and foreign concerns remained unassessed in India. Even during the war, when pointed attention was drawn to the profits made by foreign companies and money was needed, the Government refused to levy an income-tax on those concerns. There was no reason why the Government should not compile figures of profits made by foreign shipping, insurance and banking concerns. The cut was rejected.

INCOME-TAX IN UPPER BURMA.

Maung Tok Kyi moved a cut to protest against the extension of the Income-tax Act to Upper Burma four years ago and urged its remission in view of the poverty of the people to which Mr. Cooper had testified this morning. The cut was rejected and the income-tax demand was passed. The House then adjourned.

Simon Commission Grant.

On the 13th MARCH Pandit Motilal Nehru moved a reduction of the miscellaneous grant by Rs. 3,40,000 representing the cost over the Simon Commission. He was cheered as he moved the cut.

Pandit Motilal Nehru held that it was not open to the House to grant the demand after its vote against the Commission. The House having once given its verdict, it was the plain duty of even those members who opposed the boycott of the Commission to uphold the dignity and honour of the House by throwing out the demand. Those who were the upholders of the constitution would support the constitution by voting with him alone. Moreover, Parliament must nurture its own child and must not foist its cost on India. It called the tune and must pay for the piper. Continuing, Pandit Motilal said if the House had accepted the Commission, its procedure and appointed its committee, there was some reason for them to vote the expenditure. Before proceeding further, he wanted a ruling whether he could go into the merits of the case.

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The President ruled that no speaker was entitled to reflect on the decision of the House, and he would rule out any arguments in support, as otherwise the other side in fairness, would require an opportunity to reply.

Pandit Motilal Nehru thereupon concluded his observations.

Mr. CRERAR replying, amidst cheers, said that the discussion was necessarily restricted to a narrow channel. The House was invited by Pandit Motilal Nehru to embark on the agricultural operation of ploughing the sand, and he was glad to find Pandit Motilal Nehru in an unfamiliar role, asking the House to support the constitution. (Laughter.) The speaker too would urge the rejection of the motion on constitutional grounds. Nothing could be done without the intervention of Parliament who appointed its instrument. 'We must provide funds to enable that constitutional instrument to carry out its ordained operations.' (Applause.) Mr Crerar asked what was the alternative.

Mr. Jinnah.—Send them back (Laughter.)

Sir W. S. Wilson.—You would require money for that. (Renewed laughter.)

Mr. Crerar said they had heard of how the Congress committees had been adopting for weeks past fruitless expedients. (Hear, hear.) 'If we honestly, consistently and having regard to the practical facts of the case, desire something to be done, then is there any other alternative than the one which has here now been presented to us and for which the House has been asked to grant fund for investigation for the benefit of the country'?

Mr. Crerar concluded: 'I venture to point out that the Government, the Commission and the leaders of this legislature are not the only parties. I pointed out then, and I venture to point out again that there is a fourth party, the most important party whose interests ought to be paramount, namely, the country and the people of India (Applause.) If this House has the interests of that party at heart this motion will be rejected.' (Applause.)

Pandit Madan Mohan MALAVIYA referred to the gibe of the Home Member about the results of the All-Parties Conference and said when the Government had provided two years for the Statutory Commission it was unfair on the part of the Home Member to expect Indian politicians with no secretariat behind them to frame a constitution for 300 millions in a few sittings. Though they were groping in the dark they saw things more clearly, because they had a clearer conscience. The country unanimously protested against the constitution and procedure of the Commission and the Assembly having by a majority proposed against it, there was no reason for going back upon the decision by granting money. Of course there were a few who were siding with the Commission. They would not carry the Government very far. The Government might get a vote there and some demonstration there in favour of the Commission but the fact that black flags greeted the Commission in Lahore where the Government expected smooth sailing, clearly showed that the people protested against the Commission. No Indian who had the interests of the motherland at heart, could vote the money.

Mr. M. K. ACHARYA vigorously contested the Home Member's argument that the interests of the fourth party would be consulted. Representatives of that fourth party were in the Assembly, and they had decided to boycott the Commission. Lord Olivier himself had admitted that however limited the franchise, the Assembly did represent the people of India. The suggestion that the larger interests of the country ought to be considered was a reflection upon the elected members of the House which must clearly demonstrate its adherence to constitutional principles by voting down the grant.

Mr. JINNAH maintained that it was desirable to vote down the grant because Parliament had appointed the Commission without consulting the representatives of the people of India. All the political parties in India had protested against the constitution, and Mr. Jinnah ventured to say even those who were forced by reasons of their own to make the best of it, now protested against it. The Commission was detrimental to the interests of India, declared Mr. Jinnah. He added, that the very fundamental principle on which the Commission was appointed postulated that India was incapable of constitutional advance. The fourth party referred to by Mr. Crerar was the people at large. Barring a few *johukumists* and

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flunked, the country was for boycott and it was some persons of the fourth party who received stone hits and suffered the loss of a few lives recently.

Official benches.—Whose fault?

Mr. Jinnah.—‘Your fault; because you are imposing the Commission against the wishes of India. (Nonofficial applause). The Commission is said to be having a preliminary survey, but under police guard and with the help of the C. I. D., and the enforcement of the Penal law, like section 144. Is this the way to enquire into the future constitution of India? I am surprised that Sir Basil Blackett, who even walked out the other day with a shrug of his shoulders, agreed to bring this grant before the Assembly.’

Munshi Iswar SARAN said that if the Home Member was surprised at Pandit Motilal Nehru's support of the constitution, the speaker was surprised to find the Home Member attacking the constitution. He hoped the Home Member would not forget Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Mr. Jinnah who helped the Government at the War Conference. What was the use of bringing forward the argument of the fourth party? It was these leaders that Government would look to for support again.

Pandit Motilal Nehru's motion deleting the Simon Commission provision, was then put to the vote and carried by 66 votes against 59 amidst cries of *Bande Mataram* from non-official benches.

ADVISERS TO LABOUR CONFERENCE.

Mr. Joshi next objected to Government not sending advisers on the Indian delegation of the International Labour Conference. According to the constitution, the Government of India were entitled to send two advisers for each item on the agenda.

LEADERSHIP OF LEAGUE DELEGATION.

Mr. Joshi moved a nominal cut to protest against the non-appointment of an Indian as leader of the Indian delegation to the League of Nations.

The House divided and carried the cut by 76 against 45 and the demand under the head ‘Miscellaneous’ as reduced by these three cuts was carried.

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Sir Basil Blackett then moved for a grant of Rs. 1,34,500 for the Secretary of State in England.

Mr. K. C. ROY moved that the demand be reduced by Rs. 13 lakhs.

Mr. Roy said that his object was to raise a constitutional issue to urge the progressive development of the powers of the Governor-General in Council and the Assembly by a corresponding reduction of the powers of the Secretary of State. The present Act gave the Secretary of State more comprehensive powers than were even enjoyed by the East India Company. The Indian political opinion, which in Mr. Gokhale's time looked to London for final appeal, had now veered round in favour of an increase in the powers of the authorities in India. At no time did the Secretary of State use his powers with more rigour than now.

Mr. Roy quoted instances in support of his contention. The new Reserve Bank Bill was dictated by the London city interests. The Secretary of State should have followed the example of the Milne commission and paid the entire cost of the Simon Commission from the British Exchequer. The Skeen Committee's report had been turned down by London. The Secretary of State should have, instead of sending a mandatory Navy Bill, allowed the Assembly control over the proposed expenditure, which power the House would not have abused. He held the Secretary of State to be responsible for the non-appointment of any Indian on the East African Commission. Indians had no voice in their foreign policy and the rejection of the Bray report on Frontier reforms was also due to the Secretary of State's orders. The India Council had outgrown its utility and the India Office was entirely alien in character. It had even rejected the proposal for exchange of officers with the Government of India. He finally urged the appointment of a competent committee to explore all possible avenues of increasing the powers of the Governor-General in Council and the Assembly.

Mr. M. K. ACHARYA moved that the demand be reduced to Re. 1.

He said that India did not want the India Office. Secondly, the India Office had been kept only to protect British interests. The Secretary of State's Council

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consisted of diseased fossils and reactionaries who were consulted by the Secretary of State on all matters which suited him so as to strengthen Britain's hold over India. Moreover, the Publicity department of the India Office, like the Publicity department of the Government of India, had been conducting propaganda against India's progress. For instance, a statement was made by a member in Parliament that Miss Mayo was encouraged by the India Office in the publication of *Mother India* and the statement was not challenged.

Mr. Crerar, interrupting, reminded the House that 'the statement has been frequently denied on the authority of the Secretary of State on the floor of the Assembly'.

Mr. Acharya demanded proofs in support of the denial and, proceeding, maintained that the efforts of the India Office all tended towards misrepresentation of Indian opinion, not excluding the reception accorded to the Simon Commission.

Sir Basil BLACKETT pointed out that the Assembly was not asked to vote the salaries of the Secretary of State or the Under-Secretary of State but for expenses in connection with the agency charges in England. The effect of carrying out the cut would be that there would be no agency in England to carry out the various functions connected with Indian administration. If such cuts were carried to a non-existent figure, obviously the House was not discharging its powers in a responsible manner. The pity was that those who walked into Messrs. Srinivasa Iyengar's and Motilal Nehru's parlour always regretted after the event.

Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar.—Never.

Sir Basil Blackett.—The hon. member always disbelieves statements made by some of his victims.

Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar.—You are yourself the latest victim.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas supported the cut because the Secretary of State was merely to discharge functions of superintendence and direction and control, for which he was paid from the British Exchequer. Why should he do also agency work, which would be done by the High Commissioner? There should be no two agencies for this work.

Mr. Joshi associated himself with the remarks of Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas and particularly regretted the absence of Indians in the India Office which was a great injustice to India.

Mr. Acharya's amendment was carried by 66 votes against 53 and the grant of only Re. 1 was passed for the Secretary of State's agency work, amidst cheers.

CENTRAL BOARD OF REVENUE.

Sir. Basil Blackett next moved the grant for the Central Board of Revenue.

Mr. Moore (European group) proposed a cut of Rs. 100.

Mr. Moore said that the one most serious reflection on the Government was the existence of income-tax associations which helped the people not to evade the tax but to secure refund from the Government for taxes illegally and wrongfully collected. The unnecessary harassment caused to businessmen by income-tax collectors whose sole business seemed to be to extract every penny without regard to legality or morality. The agents of foreign firms found much difficulty.

The cut was thereupon put to the vote amidst cheers and carried by 51 to 41, Mr. Moore voting with the majority while other European members remaining neutral. The Central Board of Revenue demand was passed. The House then adjourned.

FRONTIER REFORMS.

On the 14th MARCH, the discussion on demands being resumed, Sir Basil Blackett moved that Rs. 88,71,000 be granted for the North-West Frontier Province administration.

Mr. Sarfaraz Husain KHAN (Swarajist) moved a cut to raise the question of reforms. The speaker traced the history of the movement originating with Sir. Sivaswamy Iyer's resolution in 1921, the publication of the report of the Denys Bray Committee in 1924 and the passing of a resolution by the Assembly in 1926 demanding reforms for the province. Two years had again passed, but Government

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had not taken any action on the report. They had waited too long and even an old man like himself was exasperated, what to speak of youngmen. It was a regular humiliation for the House. Did Government wish the Congress to declare independence of the country, as America did?

Sir Denys BRAY said that when Syed Murtaza Sahib raised a debate on the question in March, 1926, there was a conspiracy of silence. The speaker was afraid to meet the same conspiracy today. If Mr. Sarfaraz Hussain Khan wished to know the reasons which led Government to proceed with the utmost caution, let him turn to his own party and the other parties for reasons. The other day Lala Lajpat Rai had asked him whether the Government was aware that its indecision was causing friction between the Hindus and the Musalmans. Sir Denys Bray asked him if there was any decision that would not cause friction between the Hindus and the Musalmans?

Lala Lajpat Rai.—I will reply to that question.

Sir Denys Bray said he searched his memory in vain for any contribution on the subject from Lala Lajpat Rai.

Mr. Shanmukham Chetty.—Is he the arbiter of the destinies of the frontier people?

Sir Denys Bray said he was one of the arch-conspirators of this conspiracy of silence. (Applause.) If Lala Lajpat Rai had a solution free from friction let him state it plainly. The Government would not turn it down lightly, provided always that it gave due weight to the essential all India aspect of the problem. Sir Denys Bray continued, since the last debate matters had not stood still. The detailed examination of the scheme had proceeded a great way. Yet the problem still bristled with difficulties regarding the financing of a necessarily deficit province, regarding the delegation of powers in a province where the all-India aspect is all compelling, the difficulties of preserving the central Government's control over those all-India aspects, the difficulties inherent in the essential inseparability of much of the cis-frontier business from the trans-frontier and difficulties communal in origin. Sir Denys Bray quoted Sir Alexandar Muddiman's announcement that no definite decision had been arrived at, none would be arrived at or announced till Government were satisfied that they had come to the right conclusion and the moment for the announcement was ripe. Sir Denys Bray added: 'Those words remain as they were then.' Mr. Sarfraz Husain Khan made no reference to the all-India aspect of the problem. This was dealt with not merely in the majority report but received great prominence in the minority report.

Mr. Shanmukham Chetty.—Ask Mr. Rangachariar what he thinks now.

Sir Denys Bray said that Mr. Rangachariar with an intellectual honesty wholly admirable made it quite clear that it was necessary implication of his proposal that there be a forward movement right up to the Durand line. That summed up one of the great difficulties of this case. True, since the debate, some difficulties in one area had lessened. Five years ago Waziristan was a blot on the military budget. Now Waziristan enters hand in hand with Baluchistan to illustrate Sir Basil Blackett's solicitude in the interest of nation-building from the stage of the Central Government. (Applause.)

Sir Denys Bray recalled that five years ago he made a fighting speech in defence of the Waziristan policy. 'Today I make no defence. The policy has made good. Indeed our very success blinds us to its magnitude.' Statistics spoke for themselves. In 1919-20 in Dikhan 155 persons were kidnapped, 262 killed, 61 wounded and property worth Rs. 10 lakhs was carried off. No one who had stood on the trans-border hills that breed more than they can feed and who had not looked down with imaginative hunger on the rich plains below could realize the magnitude of the task. Since then the policy had taken root—the policy of a big cantonment outside but dominating the Mahsud country with scouts and Khassadars from inside. All these forces were linked together by a central root. And the figures for 1926-27, compared with the ghastly statistics of 1920, were, none kidnapped, none killed, only one wounded and Rs. 2,300 worth of property and one Government rifle lost. (Applause.) Five years ago the tribesmen opposed the building of roads. Today they were clamouring for them even in their own areas. They were clamouring for more schools, for irrigation and for dispensaries, and in one best known village

they were even clamouring for a well-known lady doctor of Dikhan to set up in their midst. They have promised her house, furniture, up-to-date surgical instruments and even loots in the last Mahsud expedition. (Laughter and applause.) Even more significant was the spirit among tribes-women. Five or six years ago they were more reactionary than the men. They had now learnt to be keen on those little luxuries brought by the road by that great empire-builder, the Hindu merchant. They had learnt to value the security which the road and the policy brought to them. Five years ago when I spoke of this policy as a forward policy of civilization I was greeted with a laugh. Who laughs today? (A member interrupted.)

Lala LAJPAT RAI declared amidst applause that he was not opposed to the introduction of reforms. (Applause.)

Hindu-Muslim relations had greatly improved since the last debate and since the advent of the Simon Commission. The speaker claimed reforms for the frontier as their inherent right and not on the ground of services during the war. He had pleaded for this while in England before higher authorities recently, but Government evidently did not want to come to a decision. They always talked of the problem bristling with difficulties. In effect it was a negative reply.

Sir Denys Bray.—No.

And Sir Denys cleverly blamed the Hindus for the Government indecision, said Lala Lajpat Rai, which was causing bitterness between the Hindus and the Muslims in the province. The Mahomedans would have supported the Hindu plea for re-amalgamation with the Punjab in order to get reforms had they not been promised a separate Legislative Council; but now the Hindus were being blamed for the delay in arriving at a decision.

Sir Abdul Qayum interposed.—I was the first witness before the Bray committee and at the end of my statement I said that if no reforms were given to the frontier, amalgamation with the Punjab was the only alternative. (Hear, hear.)

Lala Lajpat Rai proceeding charged Sir Abdul Qayum with being responsible for the delay in obtaining reforms. He always praised the Government and never joined a popular cause. So long as he adopted the attitude of *non possumus* on popular questions and voted with the Government in the lobbies even on trivial matters there was no chance of his asserting his rights. The All-Parties Conference had decided in favour of the introduction of reforms on the frontier. The same was the attitude of Dr. Moonje. (Dr. Moonjee nodded assent.) Now the Foreign Secretary said that if the Hindus and Mahomedans came to an agreement that agreement would not be turned down lightly. The Government should allow the matter to be settled between the Hindus and Mahomedans and when they came to a settlement they must give effect to it unhesitatingly. The present administration of the province was rotten and was nothing short of lawlessness. Lala Lajpat Rai opined that the Hindus would fare better on the frontier under Muslim Raj than under the present lawless Raj. This was the attitude he wanted the Hindus to adopt on this motion. (Loud Applause.)

After several members had spoken the motion was carried.

JUDICIAL REFORMS FOR N. W. F. P.

Sir Abdul Qayum next raised the question that the judiciary in the North-West Frontier Province was understaffed. He emphatically pleaded for the strengthening of the judiciary. The sooner it was done the better for the Government, said Sir Abdul Qayum. The poor litigants had to traverse a distance of 50 miles in some cases for small suits.

Sir Denys Bray replied that the judicial reforms for the North-West Frontier Province were on the anvil and the moment the session concluded he would go up to the frontier for a personal discussion. The motion would strengthen him in his struggle with the Finance Member's successor.

Sir Abdul Qayum wanted to withdraw the motion, but the House declined leave and the non-official parties pressed the matter to the vote. The cut was carried by 53 to 44 votes, Sir Abdul Qayum remaining neutral.

ARMY DEPARTMENT DEMAND.

The demand was then passed and the Army department vote was taken up, which Dewan CHAMAN LAL moved be reduced by one rupee.

Mr. Chaman Lal, at the outset, regretted the absence of the Commander-in-Chief when this important question was being discussed. However, last year the Commander-in-Chief said, happy was the nation that had no history. Dewan Chaman Lal said, happy was the nation which had no army. The military expenditure in India was 47 per cent of the total revenues and the figure was unwarranted by either the political or military situation. But the expenditure was kept up for imperial reasons the Army being always kept at fighting strength for British imperial uses. If Soviet Russia had a heavy military expenditure it was due to that country being in perpetual fear of British aggression. But India had no reason for such fear. Why should India keep up an army? To bring down the expenditure two courses were open : raising a citizen army, as in Australia, which the Government would not agree to, or Indianising the army within a definite period as demanded by the Skeen report which had been turned down. According to the Commander-in-Chief's programme it would take 400 years to nationalise the army. At present the army was heavily weighted against Indianisation. Burke, during the impeachment of Warren Hastings, said that India was a kingdom of army officers who were being trained at India's cost, kept at India's cost and given pension from India's revenues.

Pandit KUNZRU showed that for the last 60 years, notwithstanding the repeated demands of the Indian people, not only nothing had been done for Indianisation of the army but steps had been taken recording a set-back in the position of Indians in the army. He challenged the suggestion that an Indian Sandhurst could not be established and held that the difficulties could be neutralised just as they had been in other dominions. He criticised the Government policy in not giving effect to the recommendations of the Inchape Committee in various directions and pointed out racial prejudice in the Army.

Col. GIDNEY asked, what position the Anglo-Indian community would occupy in an Indianised army? The dearth of British boys in the army was due to the fact of higher wages being available in England. Government could get efficient lads from European schools in India. He too complained of racial distinctions in the army and instanced cases of the posts which when filled by men recruited in England commanded greater remuneration and other facilities than when filled by persons recruited in India.

Mr. GOSWAMI strongly protested against what he called a cowardly libel on India contained in the Commander-in-Chief's speech which challenged the efficiency of Indians while discussing the Skeen Committee report in the Assembly. The Commander-in-Chief had asked them to wait till public schools were established. The speaker knew what the result of public schools had been in England. The report of the committee on public schools was considered unfit to be disclosed. Indian educational institutions were sufficient to produce the desired kind of boys. This was evident even from the Assembly. An outsider could judge the debating capacity of Indian and European members. Even the *Pioneer* of Allahabad had condemned the Government for its benevolent arrogance and criminal culpability for exhibiting a phase of British regime. Even that expression, 'benevolent arrogance' would, in Mr. Goswami's opinion, be an euphemism if applied to the Commander-in-Chief's speech, because his Excellency did not hope to Indianise the army completely even till after three hundred years. It was arrogant for Britishers to claim to rule in India another three centuries. Empires of greater potency did not last so long.

The discussion had not concluded when the house adjourned.

On the 15th MARCH Mr. Macworth YOUNG, Army secretary, replied to the criticism of the various speakers. He said if the Army budget was the only charge on the central revenues the critics might say that cent per cent was spent on the Army. But they must take the provincial figures also, which brought the proportion down to 26 per cent. and, if they included the commercial services, the proportion was 18 per cent. He admitted that compared to other countries the proportion was high. But the reason was not that the Army was kept for imperial purposes but the nature of India's frontier and its vulnerability.

It was true that the cost of the army in a self-governing India would be less. One reason why the Army in India was expensive was the fact that British troops

had to be maintained. The proportion of British soldiers to Indian soldiers was matter for the experts to determine on strategical consideration.

Similarly, for the purpose of internal security, British troops were kept for strategical reasons. The experience of district officers was that once a disturbance broke out, it could be quelled by disciplined force, whether Indian or British. But he was speaking of the time preceding a disturbance. 'If you display British troops in time, there will be no disturbance. The lesser educated masses for one reason or other have confidence not in the appearance of armoured cars or machineguns but in British troops.'

A third reason for maintaining British troops was that they formed an integral part of the scheme of the Army in India. Mr. Young admitted that the Indian Army was composed of some of the finest material in the world. (Applause.) But there were duties which British troops could do better and others which Indian troops could do better. 'Those who have served in the Army know that one stiffens the other.'

There was one aspect of military expenditure for which the Indians themselves were responsible and it was a growing item of expenditure, namely, mechanical transport. Because of the absence of indigenous enterprise they had to keep the transport always at mobilization point. If private firms could run a kind of transport which would also be useful to the Government in times of war, the Government could make considerable economy and would be prepared to subsidize such firms. Mr. Young hoped that the Roads Committee would take up the question seriously.

Mr. Young told Mr. Kunzru that the Inchcape Committee's recommendation for a reduction in the strength of the infantry battalions had been carried out partly and would be fully carried out after the reserves had been formed in full strength.

Replying to the searching questions of Col. Crawford, the speaker said that Col. Crawford did not expect him publicly to own that the Army was not fully equipped for fight and attack. (Laughter.) But he assured him that the Government was trying in every way to see that when they went to the field they were short of nothing. (Applause.) The question of accommodation of officers differed from cantonment to cantonment. It had been exercising the mind of the Government for a considerable time and a solution was being found out. Mr. Young assured Col. Crawford that they were looking into the question of officers getting higher furlough pay in India than in England, which prevented their going 'home' on leave.

Dr. Moonje had criticized the absence of Indians on grass farms and dairy farms. The fact was that appointments in these services were subject to passing a promotion examination. It was only a question of time for Indians to enter these services, just as they were entering the Foreign and Political department and the Cantonment department.

As regards Col. Gidney's complaint, Mr. Young said that the Anglo-Indians were free to enter the commissioned ranks. Last time an Anglo-Indian cadet had been selected for Sandhurst. 'The anomalous position is due to peculiar circumstances. One result is that he sometimes has it both ways.' (Laughter.)

Lieut. Muhammad Nawaz Khan had urged the appointment of officers from the Territorial Force. The Government on this point accepted the Skeen Committee's observations that the force was not sufficiently developed for the purpose. But the proposal would be kept in view, if they saw a chance of its success.

Dewan Chaman Lal had stated that it would take 250 years to Indianise the Army. But Mr. Young asked why was it supposed that only 20 vacancies would be offered for ever. The Government only did not accept the Skeen Committee's time-table but their programme was progressive. They would watch the results and he hoped it was not unreasonable to wait for a year or two at any rate and see how the present proposal worked.

He assured Lieut. Muhammad Nawaz Khan that the Government considered the Viceroy's commissioned officers to be a very important source for the supply of



As for a reorganization of the untis on the British pattern, Mr. Young said the scheme was a gradual one. Eventually Indian officers must get an Indian pay, probably on the scale the British officer got in England. But they would not make a change in the case of the first three or four years' service.

Pandit Motilal Nehru.—Make way for us and see how we do it.

Dewan Chaman Lal's cut in the Army department was carried and the reduced amount was sanctioned.

Mr. Doraiswami Iyengar.—I want to know to what extent it has been useful. What I find is that the tours are to a few places like Calcutta and Bombay where you are feted by the European chambers. The Railway Member should travel in

third class, and not in saloons, to know the discomforts of passengers. The Law Member visited Madras only to preside over the meetings of the Justice party.

The President asked the speaker to leave time for the Government to reply as the time for guillotine was approaching.

Mr. Crerar said that the item represented their touring expenses. He had not toured since the assumption of Home Membership. He hoped the members did not wish to deny him an opportunity of doing so.

As for the wider issue, he wished to disabuse Dewan Chaman Lal's mind about either the squareness of the Executive Councillors or the roundness of the holes which they occupied. (Laughter.) He would claim on behalf of the Executive Council that even during the session they had proved that they were carrying on their duties with a considerable measure of success. (Applause.) The first point was India's public finance. The Indian credit today stood high in the world markets. It must be admitted that it was not the budget of the country which was suffering from depression, from poverty or from the evils of maladministration. (Applause and 'oh' from the Swarajist benches.) Secondly, Sir George Rainy's Railway budget showed prosperous conditions and good administration. (Applause.) He claimed that considering the inherent difficulties of the case and the disabilities under which the Government of India laboured, the success achieved since the conclusion of the war was one of which the Government and members of the Executive Council need not be ashamed. (Applause.) The war had paralysed every country, whether combatant or otherwise. India had presented her own problems. India had successfully passed through the period. 'Am I not entitled to ask that some measure of credit be assumed by the public authority which was a party to taking most of the public decisions during the course of these years?' (Applause.)

As Mr. Crerar was proceeding, the President applied the guillotine and the vote for the Executive Council was reduced to Re. 1 by 58 votes against 53. The announcement of the result was greeted by the Opposition benches with cry of 'resign, resign'.

OTHER DEMANDS.

The other demands were then put one by one. All the demands were agreed to without division. When the Home department vote was put, cries of 'no, no' were persistently raised by a few, but when the President was calling a division, Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar appealed to the Chair not to divide the House and the demand was carried without division. All the demands were agreed to. The officials cheered, followed by counter-cheers from the unofficial benches. The Assembly then adjourned. 1

DISCUSSION ON FINANCE BILL.

On the 16th MARCH the Finance Member moved that the Finance Bill be taken into consideration.

This being agreed to, Mr. Jogiah moved that the salt duty be reduced to eight annas.

Mr. Doraiswami Iyengar wanted the salt duty to be abolished on Indian salt but kept on imported salt, and he urged the Finance Member to do this little thing before leaving the country, so that the poor people might thank him.

Mr. Sarfaraz Husain Khan wanted the duty to be reduced to Re. 1.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas hoped that the Government had realised that the salt duty was considered as bad as the liquor duty imposed by local Governments. It starved the people and cattle of salt. One day the Government must face this question, though today the speaker could not support its reduction, in view of the budget position. Sir Purshotamdas wanted to know why Sir Basil Blackett had not circulated the report of the special officer on the subject of making India self-supporting in the matter of salt production and what decision the Government had taken.

Sir Basil Blackett, replying, said that he took personal interest to enquire into the effect of the salt duty in the first year of his Finance Membership. He found that the people would rather see money spent on education and sanitation, particularly as a reduction of the duty would mostly help the middleman. Sir Basil Blackett asked the members seriously to address their constituents, and if they

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placed as alternatives the reduction of the salt tax or the acceleration of education and sanitation the people would gladly prefer the continuance of the salt tax.

Replying to Sir Purshotamdas' query, the Finance Member said that though the Government resolution on the subject of salt production was ready, months ago it was held up for a little important detail. He hoped it would be published soon. The conclusion which the Government had come to after careful consideration was that there was no *prima facie* case for a Tariff Board enquiry for making India as a whole self-supporting in the matter of salt. So far as Bengal was concerned it seemed almost inevitable that imported salt would always be more suitable and a great loss would be incurred without sufficient advantage by preventing imported salt from coming in there. That was the general conclusion which the resolution would announce. There were particular questions as to the possibility of the production of salt and encouragement of the industry in particular parts of the country. This question was being examined.

Sir Basil Blackett said that considering the standard of living the incidence of salt duty was low. Government had no doubt that it would be possible to produce first class salt in India. The difficulty was of organisation. Government had fully considered the question of a differential duty against imported salt. The Taxation Enquiry Committee had recommended that if a *prima facie* case was made out it should be referred to the Tariff Board. The reason why it was not referred was clearly that a *prima facie* case could not be made out. The Finance Member hoped that members would study the resolution which would shortly be issued on the report of the special officer. He could not encourage Mr. B Das that his locality would have the advantage of a differential treatment.

The House then passed the second clause retaining the salt duty at Re. 1-4.

INCOME AND SUPER TAX.

Discussion then began on clause 5 relating to income-tax and super-tax.

Sir Victor Sassoon moved an amendment for the inclusion of a proviso reading : 'Provided that no company shall be required to pay super-tax on revenues received as dividends from another company if super-tax had already been paid by the latter company'.

Sir Basil Blackett objected to the moving of the amendment on the ground that the Finance Bill only fixed the tax for one year while Sir Victor Sassoon's amendment, if carried out, would alter the income-tax law for all time to come.

The President ruled the amendment in order by putting a wider construction on the scope of the Finance Bill.

The Finance Member feared that the effect of the ruling would be that the whole of the income-tax law would be open for consideration.

President.—Then I would ask Government to be more careful in framing the preamble.

Sir Basil Blackett reiterated his objection to the amendment in connection with the Finance Bill and, proceeding, pointed out that Government would lose Rs. 20,00,000. There was an important case pending in court containing a point similar to the one raised by Sir Victor Sassoon. Why should Government give up the right of revenue by the tax and depend on what might come as subscriptions to loans? By passing the amendment the Assembly would be greatly increasing the danger to the creation of bogus companies.

The amendment was lost and clause 5 accepted.

POSTAL RATES.

Mr. Thakur Dutt Bhargava wanted the price of a letter to be reduced to half an anna.

Mr. Vidyasagar Pandya compared Indian postal rates to British rates and showed that the British rates were much cheaper as the weight of packet went up.

Mr. Mukhtar Singh said if the postal rate could not be reduced by 50 per cent, it should be reduced by 25 per cent.

Sir. B. N. Mitra said if these recommendations were given effect to not only would there be no surplus but there would be a deficit.

Government had in hand a programme of opening post offices in rural areas. This could not be given effect to then. In 1924-25 they opened 87 new post offices

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and during 1927-28 the number would be 1,000. Furthermore Government wanted money for increasing the efficiency of the department and for the improvement of service conditions and prospects of postal employees. While saying that it would not be proper to separate the postal system from the telegraph he informed the House that on the telephone side he expected a profit of Rs. 4,00,000. The suggestion of Mr. Pandya meant relief to wealthy people which, he said, was strongly objected to by the nonofficials in 1921.

Sir Basil Blackett assured the House that the Government had no desire to make any profit from the working of the combined postal and telegraph department and that any surplus therefrom would be utilised for the reduction of rates or improvement in facilities and conditions of employees. The Finance department had no desire to appropriate the profit of Post and Telegraphs to general revenues. Concluding the Finance Member stated that the question of rates should be judged when the traffic could bear it and not in order to benefit one class or other.

The proposals of Messrs. Pandya, Bhargava, and Mukhtar Singh were rejected.

PRICE OF POST CARD.

Mr. Bhargava next moved that the price of the post card be reduced to one pice. He hoped the House would at least give this relief to the poor.

Sir B. N. Mitra, replying, said that if only his last year's speech was studied much of the misunderstanding and heat generated during the discussion would be avoided. He wished he could remove all the charges for the sake of the poor, but the fact was, as Mr. Birla had put it, he could not rob Peter to pay Paul. The department was not a benevolent institution. It was run on the principle of charging fee for services rendered, and if after due regard to development of the staff any surplus accrued it would be utilized for the reduction of postal rates. Now he could not accept the proposal which would mean a loss of a crore.

Mr. Bhargava's amendment was rejected, 35 against 47. The House adjourned.

THE FINANCE BILL.

On the 17th MARCH the House resumed discussion on the Finance Bill.

Chaudhari Mukhtar Singh moved that income-tax be charged in the case of a joint Hindu family when the total income was more than Rs. 5,000. He said the Hindus were not justly treated in the matter of income-tax and showed by instances that members of a joint Hindu family could be taxed even if its members earned less than Rs. 2,000 yearly. The motion was rejected.

Chaudhri Mukhtar Singh then moved two proposals that income-tax be charged in the case of a Hindu joint family when the total income was more than Rs. 4,000 and when the total income was more than Rs. 3,000. Both these motions were also rejected. The House divided on the second motion, 52 voting against and 47 for it.

Clause 2, the subsequent clauses, the preamble and the title of the Bill were then passed.

Sir Basil Blackett then moved that the Bill be passed.

Pandit Madan Mohan MALAVIVA opposed the passage of the Finance Bill. He maintained that barring the removal of the cotton excise duty, the Finance department had done nothing to improve the financial situation of the country for which they deserved credit. Taxation continued as high as during the war and had not been reduced even after so many years' continuous heavy taxation. Surplus budgets were the result of this continuously heavy taxation. The remission of the provincial contributions was not a circumstance for which the Finance Member could take credit. The exchange ratio of 1s. 6d. was passed despite the opposition of the popular representatives, because of the manoeuvres resorted to by Sir Basil Blackett. The Reserve Bank Bill, as brought forward by the Government was against the true interests of the country, and Pandit Malaviya felt relieved that the Bill was not allowed to be proceeded with. The Government made sterling borrowings in England in order to support the 1s. 6d. ratio. If they continued to borrow against the wishes of the people of India then that debt would be repudiated by the country.

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Maladministration was not only in Finance, but also in the Army department Pandit Malaviya objected to the large number of British troops for the internal security of India and maintained that internal security could be better maintained with the help of Indian troops. The manner wherein the recommendations of the Skeen Committee were turned down was a matter which would do no credit to England. When the average income of an Indian was only one-twentieth of an Englishman, India was made to spend Rs. 56 crores on her army when the Inchcape Committee had after careful consideration put down the figure at Rs. 50 crores. The basis of raising the army must be patriotism and if it was a question of mercenary army India was prepared to have one and he was sure there would be no chaos. He suggested the British portion of the army be reduced annually by 5,000 men and replaced by Indians, if necessary.

Concluding, Pandit Malaviya said that India's cup of misery was full and demanded an assurance from the Government that the grievances would be looked into.

Mr. Arthur MOORE said he did not realize until Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya spoke that the Finance Bill was in danger of being thrown out and in order to prevent that the speaker recalled previous history. He said that though the Montagu Act was opposed by many the first Assembly built up a high reputation. Throughout the world the report went forth that the Indians were displaying an aptitude for parliamentary government and a sense of responsibility. In 1923 the ban was lifted by the Congress on Council entry and the Swarajists entered and Pandit Malaviya and Mr. Jinnah played into their hands and the Finance Bill was thrown out. But the reputation was partly retrieved by Pandit Malaviya and Mr. Jinnah refusing to repeat this vote in 1927.

Then he asked : Should they repeat the mistake of 1924 ? He also blamed the Government partly, particularly over the non-acceptance of the salt tax vote of the Assembly in 1923. The position now revealed a conflict in which the Opposition repeated irresponsible votes and the Government went its way caring little what happened in the Assembly. Mr. Moore was most concerned that if the Finance Bill was thrown out then the question that would come up for consideration would be whether or not parliamentary government was feasible in this country. He appealed earnestly and sincerely against this course.

Pandit Motilal NEHRU said it was painful to listen to Pandit Malaviya's speech because neither the Government took Pandit Malaviya seriously, nor arguments were likely to influence them. He might as well have addressed these arguments to stone figures.' (Hear, hear). Mr. Moore had stressed the exploits of the first Assembly which made the reputation of India which was lost by the throwing out of the Finance Bill in 1924 and regained partly by Swarajist work in committees. Pandit Motilal Nehru did not know whether the tone of Pandit Malaviya's appeal suggested that he wished to vote the Finance Bill down, but Congressmen would be glad of the assistance of any party in this direction.

As regards the reputation Mr. Moore had spoken of he had heard opinions from public men, both in England and other countries of the world. There was no one who blamed us for our action. They only said that the only effective thing was to follow our action with a revolution, for which we have been finding difficulties. The whole point of throwing out the Finance Bill is that with self-respect we should be no party to granting supplies, and as the money is at the disposal of this House and when it refuses to grant and yet the Government take it, that is called robbery in law. (Hear, hear). Pandit Motilal Nehru said that at one time he too believed the British Government's assurances but the march of events convinced him that the British Government were never serious about the grant of responsible government. There were some who said a free India would be a greater asset to the British Empire, but they forgot that the Government were doing everything to make such a happy development impossible. Lord Birkenhead in a speech recently had openly admitted that the whole prosperity of Britain, the whole future of the Empire was linked with the possession of India. India could not, therefore, ever expect to get even dominion status out of Britain's free choice which meant working for freedom separate from the Empire. Pandit Motilal Nehru held that if an open competition between Englishmen and Indians in the army and other services on terms of equality

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was held Indians would outdo the British. (Applause.) As regards the *New Statesman's* charge that if the British withdrew tomorrow the Nehrus would disappear in impotent obscurity, Pandit Motilal Nehru said: 'Our highest ambition is to be buried in the foundations of a free India and that the edifice of freedom of India will rise on our bones.' (Applause.)

Mr. C. S. Ranga IYER said that the Assembly was no more a parliament than the preparatory school at Dehra Dun, the Indian Sandhurst. If taxation without representation was robbery, taxation with certifications was dacoity. The Swarajists were out to dig out the foundations of a mock parliament. Mr. Ranga Iyer referred to the cases of detenus who were put in jail without trial.

Mr. Iyer said the case of the ex-Maharaja of Nabha was a pathetic one, proclaiming as it did that even a prince had no liberty more than a plebian. He had been interned under Regulation III of 1818 on the alleged ground that he had been disloyal to the Government. Administration in the Indian states would have been far better if the British Government had not put obstacles in the way of their progress. There could be no Swaraj in India so long as Indian states were kept as buffer states, or as various Ulsters.

Mr. Ranga Iyer accused the British Government as being the cause of spreading communal virus, and asked why they did not punish communalists in the same manner as they treated politicians even of the non-violent order. Why had there been withdrawal of prosecutions against communalists whilst politicians were vindictively punished? The policy of Sir William Marris was definitely to give insidious support to communalism in the United Provinces. If in spite of all these injuries India did not turn revolutionary it was because it had been accustomed for centuries to suffer. But even a trampled worm will turn.

The Assembly, then, adjourned.

On the 19th MARCH, resuming discussion on the Finance Bill, Sir Victor Sassoon regretted the position that the Government had been beaten so often in the lobby that they had ceased to care even for their mistakes. Thus, because of the continued Swarajist gestures, Sir Basil Blackett had paid no attention to the constructive suggestions made by the speaker during the Finance Bill debate. No Government would treat the members of the House in this way without the slightest regard to the opinion of the House, unless the Government could prove that the House never listened to arguments, reasons or logic. Sir Basil Blackett by walking out and walking in (laughter) and other attitude had shown that he was non-cooperating with those who criticised constructively.

And to the speaker's surprise Sir Basil Blackett had discarded his criticism of the Central Board of Revenue by remarking that all the criticism proved the efficiency of this department. The Government should, on the other hand, encourage the members to develop their criticism. In this connection the Government front benches would do well to let the provincial official members on the back benches specialise in the various subjects. (Hear, hear.) As it was, these members, but for a little exercise in going into the lobby to record their votes, would be suffering from an atrophy of their physical as well as mental powers. (Applause.)

Concluding, Sir Victor Sassoon wished Sir Basil Blackett good fortune and good luck. (Applause.) Though Sir Basil Blackett was the speaker's political opponent, the speaker remarked that Sir Basil Blackett had done according to his lights what he thought was in the best interests of India. (Applause.) Time alone would show whether Sir Basil Blackett's decisions were wise. Sir Basil Blackett was by no means a sun-dried bureaucrat or a reactionary. Sir Basil Blackett was a friend of those who stood for the constitutional freedom of India and his departure would be, therefore, a distinct loss to India. He did not think that India realized what a good friend she had in Sir Basil Blackett. Sir Victor Sassoon offered his sincere tribute of admiration to Sir Basil Blackett for his ability and charming individuality. (Applause.)

Lala LAJPAT RAI said that Mr. Crerar had the other day brought out an argument about the fourth party. The speaker's experience of the Parliaments of other countries was that their chancellors of the exchequer paid special attention in their budgets to the discussion of the economic conditions of the masses,

their food, their health, their housing. But not a word was uttered on the subject by the Finance Member or any member of the Government. And yet they said they were the guardians of the interests of the masses. Mr. Harold Mann, lately director of agriculture, Bombay, had stated that the problem for the bulk of Indian agriculturists was how to fill their empty belly. The American states spent 39 per cent. of their revenues on education. Miss Mayo had correctly stated of the educated Indian boys : 'Give us office or give us death.'

Continuing, Lala Lajpat Rai said to the officials : 'There is great danger for you, there is great danger for us. If things go on like this even the Himalayas will not prevent Bolshevism coming into India'. He asked the Government to abolish the House if they did not care for its opinion. The Statutory Commission was continuing its enquiry and was proving its impartiality by congratulating a Sikh loyalist because he had defeated an Akali and its capacity for observation by ignoring black flags and accepting reception from flunkies and calling it wonderful.

At this stage closure was applied successfully.

Sir Basil BLACKETT spoke for 45 minutes and made a remarkable speech. He said both financial and political issues had been raised in the debate. He thought he had given a convincing reply previously to Sir Victor Sassoon regarding super-tax, but admitted that he (the speaker) was mistaken in the instance of the case he had quoted previously.

Sir Victor Sassoon's suggestion to find employment for the unemployed members on the Government benches had appealed to the speaker and the Government would note it with interest. He was surprised at Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas' reference to the question of cash certificate liability. The practice observed in India was similar to that observed in England. He drew attention to it, because he did not wish that India should let a larger liability grow up than was desirable and was glad that he had brought it to notice rather than leaving it to his successor.

As for sterling borrowing, its proportion to the total debt was 66 per cent. in 1913 and 46 in 1927 and between 1923 and 1927 they had purchased railways at a cost of over 20 million pounds. He claimed it as something of an achievement that external borrowing was resorted to only in the first and last years of his membership. (Applause.) He hoped it would be possible always to avoid external borrowing. But so long as they had an annual productive capital programme of over 40 crores, it might be necessary from time to time to undertake a reasonably small borrowing outside. But if the amount of external borrowing was growing, it would be wise to reconsider the question whether the present capital programme should be curtailed.

Lala Lajpat Rai had raised the economic question. The speaker's previous budgets had referred to the topics mentioned by Lala Lajpat Rai. Sir Basil Blackett said it was clear that great poverty existed in India, both in urban and rural areas. But the remedies were not so clear. Those who said that the Government did nothing to improve the economic condition of the people would profit by reading a pamphlet on the uplift movement written by the deputy commissioner of Gurgaon who with his wife was doing everything to improve the state of affairs in his district (Applause.)

Sir Basil Blackett continued :—'I do not want to be provocative, but I may claim that there are few countries in the world where the economic progress has been greater than in India in the last two or three decades. (Applause.) Undoubtedly the start is from a very low standard and that accounts for the pace at which the improvement is taking place. Compare the Punjab of 30 years ago to the immense improvement in the economic conditions of the people today. And the results of canal colonisation today are only a small instalment of what is going to result if success attends the big irrigation schemes in the Punjab, Sind and Madras.'

Mr. Jamnadas Mehta's anger at the present Finance Member, continued Sir Basil Blackett, had blinded him to the facts. Sir Basil Blackett gave statistics to show that the percentage of boys in schools had risen in 1926 by 48 per cent. compared to 1913.

Pandit Malaviya.—What percentage of the school-going population ?

Sir Basil Blackett.—I am trying to refute the statement that the Government are doing nothing.

The speaker said the deposit in cooperative banks were in 1913 *nil*, in 1923 8½ crores, in 1927 18¾ crores. The savings in deposits in 1913 were 20½ crores, in 1923 23¼ crores and, in 1927 32 crores. Cash certificates which in 1923 were 4 crores, in 1927 had risen to 40 crores. The commercial bank deposits had risen from 92 crores in 1913 to 190 crores in 1923 and 209 crores in 1927. The production of iron ore was 391,000 tons in 1913, 821,000 tons in 1923 and 1,545,300 tons in 1925. (Applause.) While up till 1923 all stamps and currency notes were printed in England at an annual cost of £200,000, they would print the whole of these from this year at Nasik with Indian labour. (Applause.) Thus, since the beginning of the twentieth century there had been very striking economic progress.

Dewan Chaman Lal.—How much does an average man eat and work ?

Turning to the Swaraj party, Sir Basil Blackett said Pandit Motilal Nehru's speech was the most clear statement that had yet been made in the House of the position of the Swaraj party and, though essentially uncompromising, it was a most moderate statement. (Laughter.) The Pandit had agreed with Lord Birkenhead that for political, economic and strategical reasons India was essential to the British Empire. Sir Basil Blackett agreed with the Pandit, though it was possible to make out an equally strong case that for economic, political and strategic reasons the Empire was needed by India. The Pandit had said that human nature being what it was the British Government were unlikely to yield to Indian opinion and that cooperation would be fruitless. His friends in England, on the Continent and in Russia had approved of that policy but suggested that revolution was the only logical step. The Pandit had, however, stated that revolution was hopeless under the present conditions. Thus the Pandit's counsel was one of hopelessness for the time being and probably the Pandit's remedy was that in some moment of danger, in some moment of weakness, the British Government might be forced to concede to India what India could not get today by revolution.

Sir Basil Blackett contended that the Pandit was profoundly mistaken. The August (1917) declaration was sincere. It was not a war measure but was possibly accelerated by the war. 'It was not, I maintain, a concession wrung by politicians from the unwilling British Empire but it was a generous recognition of the great services rendered by the martial races of India at the stricken battlefields of the world. (Applause.) It was not a war measure, but was an expression of two factors fundamental in the British position towards India, namely, economic and political—economic because the greatest interest of Great Britain in India is that India should be economically strong and prosperous, because she wants trade with India. There is also a political motive that goes deeper. Somebody was referring this morning to Warren Hastings and his impeachment. The British Parliament has been perfectly consistent in one line of thought. It has felt that there was danger to the liberties of Great Britain in the existence of an autocratic Government controlled by the British people, that ultimately the liberties of Great Britain would be in danger if something could not be done to limit the existence of autocracy in the Indian Empire. That was the motive behind Burke's speeches in the impeachment of Warren Hastings. And that was the motive behind the announcement of 1917.

'I maintain, therefore, that Pandit Motilal is quite wrong in his reading of human nature. I do not claim that the British action has been altruistic. I claim it is both economic and political. Britain wants India to be an economically strong and prosperous country and as such India must become politically strong and that is why Great Britain feels that India should somehow or other be helped to advance on the road towards self government. (Applause.) I think I may claim sufficient knowledge of the British people to say that even if Pandit Motilal and his friends do not assist us, the British people will continue their course because they must. (Applause.) I would put it even to Pandit Motilal that as he admits that he cannot have a revolution, would it not be wiser till he has an opportunity of doing so to take part in the evolution, which would at any rate

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help him one stage nearer towards self-government or towards the methods he the wishes to adopt ?

Turning to Pandit Malaviya Sir Basil Blackett associated himself with his tribute that the late Mr. Montagu was a great friend of India. (Applause.) 'I will ask him to honour the memory of Mr. Montagu, to work the constitution and vote for the Finance Bill.'

Sir Basil Blackett agreed with Mr. Ranga Iyer that the best part of Pandit Motilal's life was spent in cooperating with the Government. (Laughter and applause.) The constitution could be reduced to mockery by a persistent and permanent majority. Such danger threatened in 1924, but the opposition fortunately collapsed. It was about to be revived now for reasons which were obvious. His predecessor as leader of the House had stated that he was looking for the moment when he could report that dawn was at hand. 'I cannot report that dawn is at hand. I hope my judgment is covered by momentary happenings and that my successor will report that the dawn has set.' (Applause.)

Sir Basil Blackett did not agree with Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar that a constitutional deadlock had been reached, because the constitution provided for dealing with the situation that had arisen. The Congress party was of course going to vote for the rejection of the Finance Bill. But when he listened to Lala Lajpat Rai and Pandit Malaviya, he thought they regarded that the main object of the existence of their party was to keep the Swaraj party to its profession. (Laughter.) The Finance Bill had been considered, discussed clause by clause and adopted and having voted supplies and approved the contents of the Bill, the House must pass it. 'However desirable it may be to make another gesture, this gesture will not so much hurt the Government as it must hurt the Assembly.'

The motion that the Finance Bill be passed was then put and carried by 61 votes to 41. The Government benches cheered at the result. The Swarajists then withdrew from the House.

MERCHANT SHIPPING BILL.

After the Finance Bill was passed, Sir George Rainy (Commerce Member) moved for the consideration of the Merchant Shipping Bill, as reported by the select committee. The principle of the measure was centralising the administration of ports, but the committee had inserted a new clause based on section 79 of the Act empowering the Government to appoint advisory committees and saying that as regards the composition and powers of advisory committees the Government should consult the mercantile opinion. Sir George Rainy promised to do this when the Bill was passed.

The Bill, as amended by the committee, was passed without alteration.

TARIFF BILL.

The Tariff Act (Amendment) Bill was under discussion when the House adjourned.

NON-OFFICIAL RESOLUTIONS.

On the 20th MARCH the Assembly's proceedings were once again in the nature of an anticlimax to the previous day's excitement. The Swarajists had walked out and Government members too seemed in a holiday mood. Mr. K. C. Neogy was in his best form in asking for an inquiry by committee into the 'grossest form of falsification' of account's disclosed by the affairs of the Sambhar salt improvement scheme. He did not wish to be content with the auditor-general's technical certificate that there was no fraud but wanted to look behind the scenes. He confronted the Finance Member with charge after charge and challenged the Finance Member to contradict him.

The demonstration was very effective because the Finance Member could only retort: 'I don't accept anything'. However he too in the end yielded to the need for enquiry at least by the Public Accounts Committee, and though the resolution was lost Mr. Neogy's point was gained.

Mr. Sarvottam Rao championed the cause of Indian antiquities and on a satisfactory assurance from Mr. Bajpai withdrew his resolution.

Mr. Haji Abdoola Haroon was absent but Mr. Mukhtar Singh moved the resolution to find out the extent of surplus yielded by the sugar duty since the

amendment of the tariff schedule in 1925. The resolution was very important to a section of the House and a defeat could not be risked. So advantage was taken of the thinness of the House to point out the absence of the quorum which made the Assembly adjourn. In fact the quorum did not exist even earlier in the day but the Deputy President, Maulvi Muhammad Yakub secured it by ordering the bell to be rung. This enabled the resolutions to be discussed and the last one to be moved and it was the Deputy President who later from his seat in the House moved adjournment for want of a quorum.

On the 21st MARCH when the Assembly met attendance was very thin, but the first division brought in members and the attendance considerably improved. The Swarajists were in their seats today.

TARIFF AMENDMENT BILL.

Sir George Rainy's Tariff Amendment Bill was further considered.

Chaudhri Mukhtar Singh opposed the reduction of the duty on currants and was not influenced by the consideration that thereby they would get the best treatment from Greece. Sir George Rainy explained that the new agreement with Greece, in fact, made India give up very little and gain substantially in the matter of the piecegoods trade. Sir Victor Sassoon congratulated the Government on behalf of the Bombay mill-owners.

Chaudhri Mukhtar Singh's amendment was withdrawn.

Sir Walter Willson opposed the proposed distinction between white Portland cement and others.

Sir George Rainy said a specific duty could not be indiscriminately applied to articles bearing the same name without reference to the price of the commodity.

Sir Basil Blackett pointed out the change from *ad valorem* to specific duty which really reduced the duty on this class of cement to $7\frac{1}{2}$ instead of 15 per centum *ad valorem*. It seemed obviously desirable to modify it now.

Sir Walter Wilson's amendment was rejected by 25 votes against 45.

The Tariff Bill was passed.

STEEL PROTECTION BILL.

Sir George Rainy then moved the consideration of the Steel Protection Bill.

Sir George Rainy at the outset announced that the Government of India after full consideration had accepted the changes made by the select committee to the Steel Protection Bill, namely, that there should be no more protection to the wagon industry than was recommended by the Tariff Board. Sir George Rainy summarized the objections advanced in the select committee and said these deserved very serious consideration. Then there was an additional argument that without strong reasons the Government should not give protection beyond what was recommended by the board. But his minute of dissent to the select committee was based on one consideration, namely, as to what would happen if the wagon industry in India refused to accept an order at the maximum price which the Government considered reasonable. Indeed, it was this contingency that made the Government propose increased protection in the Bill. That danger still existed in the Bill as recommended by the select committee. On the other hand, the Government recognized that if they should follow the plan recommended by the board, it should be possible usually to avoid that danger. The Government's guiding principle would be to add $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. to the price of 1925-26, but the responsibility for fixing a reasonable price was not fixed on the Government and not shared by the Assembly.

As regards the bounties paid for the manufacture of rolled steel, it appeared difficult to devise a formula which would enable the legislature also to take its responsibility in the matter. If there was a strong desire that this should be brought forward in the next session of the Assembly the Government would certainly consider one. The Government would be content to accept the decision of the select committee that the duty on wagons and underframes and their component parts should not be increased and in determining what was the reasonable price to pay for wagons made in India the Government would take into account the prices paid in 1925-26. They would treat the $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent addition as the general guide, but

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would have also regard to the variations in the world price of steel and the total volume of the orders to be placed for the year and the size of orders for particular type.

The Bill was then passed clause by clause without amendment and then Sir George Rainy moved that the Bill be finally passed.

During the third reading Mr. Kelkar urged concessions for the nuts and bolts industry.

Mr. Neogy asked if the conditions for protection would be adhered to, namely, rupee capital, a majority of the directorate to be Indians and whether the material used in the manufacture was mainly Indian in origin, were fulfilled.

Mr. Joshi fearing the possibility of combines among wagon manufacturers urged the policy of wait and see.

Sir Walter Wilson said the policy of protection should be such as would not carry the conditions too far as to nullify it.

Sir George Rainy assured the House that there need be no fear. The conditions of protection would be adhered to and orders would not be placed with any firm which was not eligible to receive bounties under the Steel Protection Act.

The Bill as amended was passed.

TERRITORIAL FORCE BILL.

Mr. Macworth Young moved the consideration of the Territorial Force Act Amendment Bill as passed by the Council of State and reported by the select committee. He said the Government accepted in principle the proposal of the formation of urban units in all Governors' provinces. Previously, the proposals were received from three provinces only and now the recommendation for an urban unit in Calcutta had also been received and was the subject of discussion with the local Government. If the local Government recommended and as soon as funds permitted this urban unit would be formed. The same would apply to other provinces who would apply for the formation of units. The Army secretary further announced the acceptance of the proposal that as in the case of the Auxiliary Force a boy between 16 and 18 would be allowed to enrol as a cadet in the Territorial Force without liability for military service. The select committee also recommended the formation of a central advisory committee to advise the Government on matters relating to the administration of the Territorial Force. This recommendation, too, the Government accepted and a committee would be appointed. It was not necessary to provide this in the Act as unlike provincial advisory committees the central advisory committee would be purely advisory and help generally in the administration.

Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru dwelt at length on the liability for military service and expressed his agreement with Dr. Moonje who had tabled a motion that the liability of the Territorial Force be reduced and limited to the confines of India. For, if the Government were unable to accept the view of the Shea Committee with regard to the liability of the Auxiliary Force there was no point in asking that the Territorial Force be used for general military service.

Mr. Kunzru urged the Government to establish at least one urban unit in order to provide reasonable facilities for enrolment to all persons wishing to join these units. He further wanted an assurance that boys between the ages of 16 and 18 would not be liable to military service. Continuing, Mr. Kunzru pleaded that there would be no arbitrary limit for the expansion of the University Training Corps, nor any distinction between the officers of the junior and senior class.

Dr. Moonje held that one of the features of the Bill was the creation of an urban force, but when the rural units could serve beyond the frontier why should the urban units be restricted to inland service only? This was invidious discrimination and he urged that there should be general liability for all. When there was any foreign concerted action to invade India they should be the first to cross the frontier and defend India and there would be no distinction between the Territorial and Auxiliary Forces. He regretted that 61 lakhs of rupees were spent annually on the Auxiliary Force which had no military value whatever, while the Territorial Force cost only Rs. 29 lakhs. Why not trust the Indian civil population and let them possess arms for defending themselves and their property, asked Dr. Moonje.

The motion to consider the Bill was then passed and the Bill was discussed clause by clause.

During the discussion, Mr. Mackworth Young informed Dr. Moonje that provision would be made by rules that boys between the ages of 16 and 18 be not liable for general military service.

Dr. Moonje proposed that the territorial force units should not be liable for military service outside India unless a cadet desired.

The Army secretary pointed out that no racial question was involved. It was purely a practical question. The motion was defeated by 38 votes against 48.

Dr. Moonje's suggestion for a statutory provision for an advisory committee to advise the Government in all matters relating to the Territorial Force was accepted by the Government amidst applause.

The Bill as amended was finally passed. The Auxiliary Force Bill as passed by the Council of State and amended by the select committee was passed.

INDIAN SUCCESSION BILL.

On the 22nd MARCH non-official bills were taken up by the house. The Swarajists were again absent. The Assembly passed without discussion Maulvi Mohamed Yakub's Bill amending the Indian Succession Act, which seeks to amend the law with a view to bring it in conformity with High Court rulings.

COASTAL TRAFFIC RESERVATION BILL.

The House next decided to circulate Mr. Sarabhai Haji's Bill to reserve the coastal traffic of India to Indian vessels.

SPECIAL MARRIAGE ACT (AMENDMENT) BILL.

Sir Hari Singh Gour moved that his Special Marriage Act (Amendment) Bill be referred to a select committee.

Sir Hari Singh traced the history of the measure and said that Sir Henry Maine in 1868 had suggested that the Council should provide a secular marriage law for all Indian subjects. Since then various attempts to provide the country with a civil marriage law had been made. His previous measure enacted in 1923 had legalized marriages between Hindus, Jains, Sikhs and Buddhists. His Bill before the House proposed to legalize matrimony irrespective of caste, colour or creed. Today the country suffered from territorial disability as the parties could marry under the British Civil Marriage Act outside the territorial waters of India. The Bill, if passed, would eliminate communalism from India and unite India into a nation.

Mr. Anwar-ul-Azim saw an attempt to tamper with his faith in the Bill and asked the House to leave the Mussalmans alone.

Mr. Yamin Khan held that the Bill provided a *via media* and was not anti-Islamic in nature. Razing the caste barriers to the ground and providing a way to unite two loving souls, irrespective of caste and creed, was regarded as high morality and a solution to Indian freedom. Akbar, a great nationalist, had set an example, but unfortunately caste-ridden India did not follow him then. He favoured circulation of the Bill.

Mr. Crerar, Home Member, moved for circulation of the Bill and assured the mover that the Government was not hostile to the Bill but had grave doubts whether the Bill would be effective in achieving the purpose of the author and whether the select committee could so entirely change the character of the Bill. Finally, the diversity of opinion shown in the House was bound to be reflected in the House and the specific communities concerned must be consulted.

Mr. Yakub thought the Bill was against the tenets of the Holy Koran as the Mussalmans were prohibited from marrying persons professing non-unitary religions. The Bill evaded the Islamic marriage law, though the issues of the parties would get the full benefit of the Muslim law of inheritance. He warned the Government against the consequences of the Bill.

Rai Sahib Harbilas Sarda quoted instances of Hindus marrying non-Hindu wives including that of Miss Miller in support of the Bill.

Sir Hari Singh Gour replying, requested the Government to expedite the circulation of the Bill and said that the proposed committee on Child Marriage Bill might also conduct this enquiry.

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CHILD MARRIAGE ACT

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The House accepted the motion for circulation of the Bill.

HINDU LAW OF INHERITANCE.

The House next agreed without discussion to pass Sir Hari Singh Gour's Bill which sought to revive the late Sir T. V. Seshagiri Iyer's Bill passed by the Assembly in 1923 which had lapsed in the Council of State. The Bill removes certain disabilities which exclude Hindu heirs from inheritance, such as congenital blindness, deafness, etc.

Sir Hari Singh Gour's Bill amending the Divorce Act and Mr. Joshi's Bill amending the Indian Penal Code to grant immunity to unregistered labour unions, which was at present enjoyed by registered unions only, were both circulated for eliciting public opinion after Mr. Crerar and Sir B. N. Mitra had stated that the Government had serious objections at present to the principles of the Bills.

DIVORCE FOR HINDU WIVES.

The House next allowed the introduction and circulation of Sir H. S. Gour's Bill which proposed to entitle a Hindu wife to secure dissolution of marriage in case of impotency, imbecility or serious or ulcerous leprosy of the husband.

Sir H. S. Gour said that the Bill would have the effect of merely restoring the old law laid down by Narad and Vashishtha in their Smritis.

SEAMEN'S RECRUITMENT.

Mr. Abdul Matin Chaudhury's Bill amending the Merchant Shipping Act to give effect to the Seamen's Recruitment Committee's proposal regarding recruitment of seamen was circulated.

LIFE ASSURANCE COMPANIES ACT.

Mr. Kelkar introduced a Bill to repeal section 33 of the Indian Life Assurance Companies Act for putting certain foreign life insurance companies doing business in India on a footing of equality with others by withdrawing the special facilities now granted to them under this section.

Sir H. S. Gour next moved a Bill to alter the order wherein certain heirs of a deceased Hindu dying intestate are entitled to succeed to his estate. This also is a revival of the late Sir T. V. Seshagiri Iyer's Bill, which the Assembly passed in 1923 but which lapsed in the Council of State.

The Bill was introduced, considered and passed by the House today without discussion. It lays down that son's daughter, daughter's daughter, sister and sister's son shall in the order so specified be entitled to rank in the order of succession next after father's father and before father's brother. The Assembly then adjourned till Monday.

CHILD MARRIAGE BILL.

On the 26th MARCH Mr. Harbilas Sarda moved that his Child Marriage Bill, as reported by the select committee, be recirculated for eliciting opinions thereon.

The Bill, as reported by the select committee, makes marriages below the age of 14 in the case of girls and below 18 in the case of boys of all communities punishable.

During the six months that the Bill was before the public, said Mr. Sarda, it had received almost unanimous support from all classes of society throughout the country. The select committee had dropped the clause relating to the invalidity of child marriages and had made it a penal measure. The Bill had been made applicable to all communities in India. He acknowledged the assistance given by the Home Member and the sympathetic attitude of the Government.

Mr. Crerar said the measure had the support of the Government as the Bill was on sound lines.

Mr. Acharya opposed recirculation and wanted its re-introduction as the Bill had been considerably altered by the select committee. He, representing a large and influential section of Sanatanists, was opposed to any measure which furthered social reform by penal legislation. The Government had no right to interfere in the religious customs of the people. If they did and disregarded the opinions of millions of people, the latter would revolt against the Government.

Maulvi Mahomed Yakub supported the Bill, the provisions of which he was glad applied to all communities. He said a large number of learned Hindus believed that this Bill did not interfere with their religious tenets.

THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

[NEW DELHI]

Mr. Yakub congratulated the mover on bringing forward the first social reform Bill in the Assembly and the Government on their attitude towards it.

Sir Hari Singh Gour said medical opinion agreed that about 80 per cent. of girls in this country did not attain puberty before the age of 14 years. Therefore the age limit recommended by the Bill was right. He did not agree with what Mr. Acharya had said. On the other hand he opined that legislation which would prevent infanticide and matricide would be received by the people with a chorus of applause. The motion was carried.

OTHER LEGISLATIVE BUSINESS.

Mr. Kelkar moved that his Bill to repeal the Caste Disabilities Removal Act of 1850 be circulated for eliciting opinions.

The object of the measure, said Mr. Kelkar, was that one who became an apostate should not be entitled to inherit his father's property.

Mr. Crerar, Home Member, characterised it as the most reactionary measure, but did not oppose the motion for circulation.

Sir Hari Singh Gour vigorously opposed circulation as an attempt to repeal an Act which safeguarded the rights of individuals and liberty of conscience and as bolting and barring against all reform movements in India. The Act was the only refreshing breeze from the West in the movement to protect Hinduism and the present Bill was a menace to it.

Mr. Kelkar said if any one wanted to leave his father's religion let him do so fully realizing the consequences. Inheritance by an apostate was opposed to Hindu as well as Mahomedan law.

The motion for circulation was lost by nine against 29 votes. The latter number included officials who had apparently been given freedom of the vote.

Mr. Kelkar's next motion was for consideration of his Bill to restrict the amount of interest recoverable from debtors.

Mr. Allison suggested withdrawal of the Bill in view of Maulvi Mahomed Yakub's identical Bill which had been circulated. Mr. Kelkar agreed.

AN AMENDMENT TO LIMITATION ACT

Mr. Kelkar's Bill to amend the Limitation Act of 1908 was circulated at the suggestion of the Home Member. The Assembly then adjourned.

THE CHITTAGONG PORT TRUST ACT.

The Assembly held its last sitting of the present session on the 27th MARCH.

On the motion of Sir George Rainy, the Bill amending the Chittagong Port Trust Act, as passed by the Council of State, was taken into consideration.

Mr. Amarnath Dutt moved an amendment to clause 4, enhancing the number of port commissioners by three of whom two would be from the Assembly representing the Chittagong division, and one additional member from the Chittagong Indian Merchants' Association.

This, said Mr. Dutt, was proposed with the object of protecting the Indian interests adequately.

Sir George Rainy said the amendment was unacceptable. Firstly, it would upset the arrangements arrived at between the secretary of the Commerce department and the local interests. Secondly, he doubted whether members elected by the Assembly would be the right kind of persons for the trust, which was a purely business body. The amendment was rejected.

The Bill as passed by the Council of State was passed.

THE MINES BILL.

Sir B. N. Mitra moved for consideration of the Mines Bill, as amended by the select committee. The Bill *inter alia* places a limit of 12 hours on the daily hours of work in Indian mines and combined with the previous legislation limiting the weekly hours of work is an improvement on the present position.

Mr. Joshi, who along with four others had attached a dissenting minute, moved an amendment urging that the maximum daily hours of work be eight instead of 12. He said it was admitted that in a large number of mines the workers did not work more than eight hours and, as they worked on a piece work system, they could fill three tubs even in six hours. Why, therefore, penalize them, particularly when

they had to work longer hours, because of the failure of the mine-owner to provide an enough number of tubs ?

Dewan Chaman Lal supported the amendment. He asked the House not to be a party to depriving the miners of a civilized standard of living. Constituted as the Government was he doubted whether even Christ or Buddha in their place would do better.

Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra recalled Mr. Joshi's speech in 1923 stating that the miners would not like any regulation restricting the daily hours of work. Though Mr. Joshi's outlook had widened, the miners' outlook had not widened to the same extent. At present a miner could work 24 hours in one day, because the restriction was on the total weekly hours. The restriction was thus the first step to regulate the daily hours of work.

The speaker particularly emphasized the habits of Indian miners, which could not be cured by legislation, namely, their unpunctuality. And as they were paid on a piece work system, the mine-owner paid them according to the outturn. The only result of forcing an eight hours' shift would be not to force the mine-owners to buy more tubs, which they could not afford with their small capital, but to make it impossible for the miner to earn his existing daily wages.

Mr. Joshi's amendment was rejected by 22 votes to 46.

Mr. Joshi next suggested that the daily period of work be limited to 10 hours.

Dewan Chaman Lal, supporting the amendment, objected to the measure being brought forward on the last day of the session when most of the members were absent.

Sir. B. N. Mitra said if a miner completed three tubs within a shorter period than 12 hours, nothing would prevent him from leaving the mine, but those who could not fill three tubs within 10 hours would be losers if the amendment were accepted. The motion was rejected.

Mr. Joshi moved an amendment to clause 3 omitting the shift system in mines.

Sr. B. N. Mitra said the amendment might lead to practical difficulties. It would also adversely affect a certain kind of workmen like enginemen.

Dewan Chaman Lal said what should be done by law should not be left to the vigilance of inspecting officers.

Mr. S. Lall was applauded when he rose to oppose the amendment in his maiden speech. He assured the labour representatives that the present provision would not enable the mine-owners to employ miners more than 12 hours a day.

The amendment was put to vote and lost, 19 voting for it and 40 against it.

The House rejected after another division Mr. Joshi's amendment to clause 1, urging that the Bill should take effect from the 1st April, 1929, instead of the 7th April, 1930. Sixteen voted for and 35 against the motion.

The mines Bill, as it had emerged from the select committee, was passed.

SUPPLEMENTARY DEMANDS.

The House then voted all the supplementary demands for grants.

Sir Basil Blackett moved the grant under 'Miscellaneous' which included a demand in respect of expenses incurred on the Simon Commission during the current year.

Pandit Motilal Nehru explained the position of his party. He said the Assembly had already on two previous occasions declared itself against the Commission and had refused to vote the demand proposed in the budget estimates. The demand for Rs 57,000 before the House represented money already spent on the Commission. It, therefore, stood on an entirely different footing. The decision of the House on this demand would not affect the previous vote. His party would take no part in the discussion or the voting of this grant and he was glad to hear the ruling of the Chair that questions of principle and policy did not arise on this vote.

Mr. Aney, on behalf of the Nationalists, enquired why the Government had brought it forward on the last day of the session. Did they wish to take advantage of the thinness of the House? He protested against this procedure.

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[NEW DELHI]

Maulvi Mahomed Yakub raised a point of order. A supplementary demand implied an original demand which was to be supplemented.

The President ruled that this was not necessarily so and a supplementary grant could be asked for expenditure for new services not foreseen at the moment.

Mr. Yakub next asked whether it was permissible for the Government to incur expenses for a purpose already rejected.

That President ruled that this money had been already spent.

Mr. Graham, Legislative secretary, said that supplementary demands were always taken at the end of the financial year and till then it was difficult to estimate them. Members had quite adequate notice as they were announced on March 19. If members did not choose to stay, it was not the business of the Government to make them stay.

The demand was put to the House and voted, without a division being challenged.

SICKNESS INSURANCE FOR WORKERS.

Sir B. N. Mitra moved a resolution that the draft conventions and recommendations adopted by the tenth International Labour Conference be not ratified and accepted. It had recommended medical relief and sickness insurance for workers in factories and mines, agriculturists and domestic servants, etc. The recommendations could not be given effect to owing to the migratory character of workmen, the existence of various systems of medicine in India and the indifference of many workmen to such proposals. The Government would, however, discuss the matter further and examine the question of introducing proposals in some acceptable form.

Mr. Joshi moved an amendment recommending the establishment of sickness insurance for workers in factories, mines and organised and large plantations. He said that even Japan, where labour was not so well organised as it was in India, had established sickness insurance.

Dewan Chaman Lal said that the scheme had been accepted by all the civilised countries of the world and was passed in the International Labour Conference by 97 votes against nine. He did not so much care for political Swaraj as for the betterment of the conditions of life of workers.

Sir B. N. Mitra said that Japan took five years to pass legislation on the question, although she was a far smaller country than India. He advised the House to wait till the matter was further considered with the local Governments, because eventually those Governments would have to foot the Bill.

The amendment was rejected and the resolution was passed. At quarter to five, the President announced the adjournment of the House *sine die*, amidst general cheering.

The Council of State.

The winter session of the Council of State commenced at New Delhi on the 1st FEBRUARY 1928. The President, Sir Henry Moncrieff-Smith at the outset referred in feeling terms to the deaths of Lala Sukhbir Sinha, Khan Bahadur Syed Alay Nabi and Dewan Tek Chand who, he said, were all his personal friends. Both Lala Sukhbir Sinha and Syed Alay Nabi were sober and moderate in the expression of their views. Diwan Tek Chand was connected with the Council since its inauguration.

The important business transacted today was the introduction by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief of two Bills amending the Territorial Force Act, 1920, and the Auxiliary Force Act, 1920, in accordance with the Government decision on the report of the Shea Committee.

Mr. Burdon introduced the Burma Salt Act Amendment Bill which was intended to relieve the Burma Government of the agency work of the Salt department and place it under the control of the central board of revenue.

On the 6th FEBRUARY Sir Geoffrey Corbett, introduced the Bill amending the Chittagong Port Act 1914.

AMENDMENT OF LIMITATION ACT.

On the motion of the Law Member, the House recommitted to the select committee the Bill to amend the Limitation Act, 1908.

Mr. Das explained that in the select committee considerable alterations were made, after which it was recirculated. A variety of opinions had been received, necessitating recommitment to the committee.

A POINT OF HINDU LAW.

There was a discussion on the next motion of the Law Member for further consideration of the Bill, as reported by the select committee of the House, providing that partitions and separations of interest among members of Hindu undivided families and other transactions among persons governed by Hindu law shall in certain cases be effected by written and registered instruments.

After discussion the motion for consideration was passed.

AMENDMENTS DEFEATED.

Mr. Chari then moved two amendments intended to give effect to the dissenting note of Mr. Ramdas Pantulu and Mr. Manmohandas Ramji, so as to exclude from the operation of the Bill transactions whereby a family can become divided in status, such as partial alienations of joint interest by one or more members of a coparcenary, etc.

Munshi Narayan Prasad Asthana supported the second amendment.

Both the amendments were rejected, the second by five votes against 81.

THIRD READING PASSED.

Mr. Chari finally opposed the passage of the Bill and twitted the Government for taking advantage of its majority in the Council to pass such controversial measures and hoped the tables would be turned against the Government in the Assembly in spite of the Swarajists' absence.

The third reading was agreed to by 18 votes against six. Many members remained neutral. The Council then adjourned.

IMPORT DUTY ON ARTIFICIAL GHEE.

On the 8th FEBRUARY the Council transacted non-official business. Lala Ram Saran Das moved that a 150 per cent. *advalorem* duty be levied on imports into this country of artificial ghee or any other similar vegetable products or compounds which have not been given a harmless permanent fast colouring excepting yellow shades to distinguish it from pure ghee and to avoid adulteration with it.

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[NEW DELHI]

Lala Ram Saran Das quoted the growing medical opinion which had declared that several diseases were due to people taking dangerous vegetable products in artificial ghee. The army authorities had refused to give artificial ghee to Indian soldiers on the ground that it did not contain vitamins. Why then should *vanaspathi* ghee be allowed to be imported and consumed by people, when they could get the animal product in some places at cheap rates?

Sir Maneckjee Dadabhoy was of opinion that the Government should direct an enquiry. He suggested an amendment urging on the Government the desirability of considering the question of an additional duty on imported ghee.

Sir Geoffrey Corbett objected to both the resolution and the amendment on principle because he pointed out that if they imposed a duty on imported products there must be a corresponding restriction on Indian manufactures. He, however, undertook to ask the local Governments to enquire into the question.

The amendment was defeated by 21 votes against 14 while the resolution itself was defeated by 12 votes against 21.

PUBLICATION OF CORRESPONDENCE RE. COMMISSION.

Sir Phiroze Sethna in asking for the publication of the correspondence regarding the appointment of the Simon Commission drew the attention of the Government to the anxiety of the public to know what part they had played in this question of absorbing interest. From the speeches of Lord Birkenhead and others it was clear that a voluminous and highly important correspondence had been passed between Lord Birkenhead on the one hand and Lord Reading and Lord Irwin on the other. Indians wanted to know if in this matter Lord Birkenhead had been imitating Lord Morley and keeping the members of the Executive Council of the Viceroy ignorant of the correspondence. Sir Phiroze Sethna said that any methods of secrecy should be deprecated. But so well kept was the secret of appointing the Commission in 1927 that the decision came to most people as a surprise. Lord Irwin's consultation with the leaders after the decisions had been arrived at regarding the procedure was like shutting the stable doors after the horse had bolted. However, all that they wanted to know was what attitude the Government of India adopted in the matter of appointing Indians on the Commission and whether the exclusion of Indians emanated from Delhi or Whitehall. Under the Reforms Act the responsibility for the time and measure of constitutional advance was jointly placed on the British Government of India. The question was to what extent and in what manner that responsibility had been discharged by the Government of India. Sir Phiroze Sethna wanted to know what opinions Mr. S. R. Das, the Law Member, gave on the question of a purely parliamentary Commission and what remedies the Government of India as a whole had suggested for easing the present tension.

GOVERNMENT'S OPPOSITION.

The hon. Mr. Haig, Home Secretary, opposed the resolution. He advised the Council to survey the position calmly and dispassionately. There was always curiosity in something which was kept under seal and it was only on special occasions, for special reasons, that Government disclosed anything in the nature of correspondence. As a businessman Sir Phiroze Sethna would recognize the reasonableness of the Government's suggestion that it was not always right to disclose a secret just in the same manner as Sir Phiroze Sethna would not like to disclose his business secrets. However, the reasons which led to the appointment of a parliamentary commission had been explained by the Viceroy in his statement and further explained by the Secretary of State, the Under-Secretary of State and also by the Prime Minister. Nothing further was to be gained in elucidating the position by publishing the correspondence. But Sir Phiroze Sethna wanted to know whether the Government of India was consulted and, if so, what their opinion was. That raised the question of the relations between the Government of India and the Secretary of State, and he (the speaker) declined to give an answer.

The resolution was defeated by nine votes against 21.

TERRITORIAL AND AUXILIARY FORCES.

On the 9th FEBRUARY the Council of State had a short sitting and that with a thin attendance, the Swarajists continuing to be absent. Within a space of 15

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S. AFRICAN LIQUOR BILL

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minutes two Bills, amending the Territorial Force Act and the Auxiliary Force Act, were taken into consideration and passed. No nonofficial spoke. The House then adjourned.

SOUTH AFRICAN LIQUOR BILL.

On the 13th FEBRUARY Sir Mahomad Habibullah announced that as a result of the representations made by the Government of India to the Union Government in South Africa, the latter had decided to withdraw that clause of the Liquor Bill which aimed at prohibiting the employment of Indians in the liquor industry. The announcement was received with loud applause.

Sir Mahomed expressed appreciation of the friendliness of the Union. He expressed his personal gratitude to the members of the Government of the Union for the generous manner in which they had dealt with this representation. Their decision was a sure guarantee of the continuance between India and South Africa of the friendly understanding established on the firm basis of the Capetown Agreement. Sir Mahomed also paid a tribute to the important part played by Mr. Sastri whose tact and persuasiveness had proved of the utmost value. (Loud cheers.)

APPOINTMENT OF TRADE COMMISSIONERS.

Sir Phiroze Sethna then moved a resolution urging the Government of India to consider the appointment of trade commissioners or commercial attaches in the colonies of the British Empire and in the countries of Europe and America in order to develop Indian trade and commerce with those colonies and countries, and that the new posts should be thrown open to Indians in the first instance. The mover pointed out that the development of trade and commerce in every country was bound up with its general prosperity. The increased revenue of a state tended to raise average income of its people and diminished unemployment. If India were to keep pace with other countries they could not afford to shelve the question any longer. He knew that even in the field of curios Japan had beaten because they did not send anything new. For this the Government was to be blamed. Considering the class of people who produced those articles it was the duty of the Government to point out to them the defects and explain to them what was wanted by the importing countries. If they had trade commissioners to guide their dealers and to explain to them all those points there would no doubt be a large and growing trade even in their handicraft. Because of the lack of propaganda they were losing ground. Sir Phiroze Sethna feared that their position would get even worse if they had not qualified men on the spot to guide their traders and merchants how best to retain those markets.

The resolution was adopted unanimously and the Council adjourned.

CHITTAGONG'S STATUS AS PORT.

On the 14th FEBRUARY the Council of State held another short sitting. Mr. E Burdon, Finance secretary, introduced the Bill to amend the Indian Securities Act, 1920, enabling a company to hold Government securities jointly with a private individual or another corporate body and which empowers the Government to pay the amount of the securities to the surviving joint holder in certain cases.

On the motion of Sir Geoffrey Corbet the Council referred to a select committee consisting of Sir Phiroze Sethna, Sir George Godfrey, Mr. Suhrawardy, Mr. De and Mr. Chari the Bill to amend the Chittagong Port Act, 1914, with instruction to report by March 31. The house then adjourned.

PROBLEM OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

On the 15th FEBRUARY defining the middle classes, while moving his resolution, Mr. Chari said that these included literary, quasi-literary and intellectual classes. Unemployment was a serious problem all over India and it was assuming serious dimensions. So far the central Government had done nothing to relieve unemployment. There had no doubt been attempts on the nonofficial side to solve the question, but he did not understand why the Government of Bengal found Mr. C. R. Das's scheme unacceptable.

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Referring to unemployment in England and other European countries, Mr. Chari pointed out that those countries had dependencies where they found employment for their unemployed, but India, being a dependency itself, had no scope in that direction. Moreover, the army and the navy were blocked to Indians. As a passing remark, he alluded to the unanimous recommendations of the Skeen Committee which, he said, had been turned down by the Secretary of State.

Concluding, he appealed to the Government to find out ways and tackle the problem which had begun to assume a political aspect.

Mr. Mc Watters, speaking on behalf of the Government, refused to accept the resolution. In 1926 there was a debate on this question in the Assembly, as a result of which the Government of India addressed various local Governments in May 1926. After quoting a few extracts from that letter, Mr. Mc Watters pointed out that some time before and immediately after that letter certain local Governments had taken action. Bengal, the Punjab, the United Provinces and Madras had appointed committees of enquiry, which fact itself showed that the provincial Governments were fully alive to the importance of the question so far as it lay in their power. Mr. Vernon had explained the difficulties as were gone into by the Madras committee, but, as that committee itself had stated, it lay in the hands of the public at large to effect a change in the outlook of the educated youngmen. The Government of India, as the largest employer, had done whatever it could; for example, Indianization of the services was proceeding apace. But that was not a panacea for the evil. They had, therefore, helped the provincial Governments to embark on their several schemes which would have the effect of relieving the situation; for example, the provincial Governments had been relieved of their annual contributions to the central Government, thereby enabling some provinces to proceed with *inter alia* their irrigation schemes which would add to the wealth of the people. However, the debate had served to focuss public attention on this important question, and he advised the mover to withdraw the resolution.

Mr. Chari pressed his motion, which was next put and rejected without a division.

PLEADERS AS CHIEF JUSTICES OF HIGH COURTS.

Sir Phiroze Sethna then moved his resolution urging the amendment of the Government of India Act so as to enable a High Court pleader to be appointed Chief Justice of a High Court. The mover traced the history of the motion and pointed out that it was a reminder to the Government to take steps in accordance with their acceptance of previous motions both in the Council of State and in the Assembly. Last year Mr. Haig had, in accepting the resolution of Mr. Ramdas Pantulu, said that the proposals involved the amendment of the Government of India Act in Parliament and that the Secretary of State could not commit himself as to the date owing to the exigencies of parliamentary business.

Sir Phiroze Sethna therefore withdrew the motion. The Council then adjourned.

BURMA SALT ACT (AMENDMENT) BILL.

On the 16th FEBRUARY the only business transacted in the Council of State, was the consideration and passage of the Bill amending the Burma Salt Act, 1917.

Mr. E. Burdon, Finance secretary, explained that it was proposed to relieve the Burma Government of administering their Salt department and to place it under the control of the Central Board of Revenue. The central Government had now to spend about Rs. 1,50,000 as their direct expenditure, but under the new system it would be increased to Rs. 1,70,000. It was, however, confidently hoped that the excess would be met by better administration.

THE RAILWAY BUDGET.

On the 20th FEBRUARY Sir Austen Hadow, presenting the Railway Budget, in the Council of State, announced a reduction of half a pie per mile on journeys of over 50 miles on the E. I. R., the N. W. R., and the G. P. R.; and a reduction of 15 per cent. in parcel and luggage rates. The year 1926-27 was a disappointing year, but 1927-28 had been a record year for traffic. The figures (revised estimates) for gross receipts and expenditure on the commercial lines of State railways

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[RESOLUTION ON SIMON COMMISSION

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were 103.5 crores and 90.67 crores, respectively. The contribution to general revenues will be 6.36 crores.

The budget estimates for 1928-29 provide for gross receipts of 103.19 crores and an expenditure of 92.55 crores.

The capital expenditure is expected to amount to 30 crores in 1927-28 and to 28 crores in 1928-29. Eight hundred miles are expected to be added to open millege in 1928-29.

SECURITIES ACT AMENDING BILL PASSED.

On the 21st FEBRUARY the Council of State held a short sitting. On the motion of Sir Mahomed Habibullah, the Council agreed to elect a panel of eight members from which the members of the Standing Committee to advise on questions relating to emigration in the Education Department, will be nominated.

The Council also passed the bill amending the Indian Securities Act of 1920.

RESOLUTION ON SIMON COMMISSION.

On the 22nd FEBRUARY the galleries were fairly crowded and the attendance also was fair when the Council reassembled with the agenda containing resolutions about the Simon Commission.

Sir Sankaran Nair did not move the resolution standing against his name, but gave an opportunity to Mr. Chari to move his resolution urging upon his Majesty's Government in connection with the Statutory Commission to form a committee from among the members of the Central Legislature with authority to carry on preliminary work and to collect materials to be placed before the Commission, to cooperate with the Commission in examining all witnesses in all provinces, to have access to all records that may be placed before the Commission, to review and supplement such evidence by requiring other witnesses to be examined and other records to be sent for and to report to the Central Legislature and also urging the Government to place the report of the Committee before Parliament for consideration along with the report of the Commission.

A POINT OF ORDER.

Mr. Ramdas Pantulu, raising a point of order, said that his Majesty's Government had nothing to do with the formation of a committee in the Central Legislature; and, secondly, since the Assembly had passed a no-confidence motion on the Simon Commission the Central Legislature could not be asked to appoint a committee.

The President held the motion in order, remarking that the House was not precluded to recommend the formation of a committee because the other House did not want the committee to be appointed. Sir Henry Moncrieff-Smith, however, realized the difficulty of Mr. Ramdas Pantulu, which could be solved when Sir Dadabhoy moved his amendment.

In moving his resolution, Mr. CHARI pointed out that India was divided into two camps on the question of the Statutory Commission and both of them were diametrically opposed to each other. Judging from a practical point of view, he was convinced that the right course for them was one of cooperation and not of non-cooperation. The decision to non-cooperate with the Commission was, to his mind, against Hindu religious teachings. The Gita enjoined on every Hindu to do his duty towards his country, unmindful of the consequences. History had told them that there were only two ways to achieve freedom, one of evolution and the other of revolution. Revolution as a practical proposition was impracticable under the existing conditions. Mr. Chari advised his countrymen to do their utmost by intelligent cooperation to obtain absolute control on Government and national activities. Even the Swarajists, he declared, had recognized the authority of the British Parliament to ratify the final agreement between India and England. They should, therefore, by cooperation on equal terms, try and convince the British public that they were fit for self-government. He opined that the issue was simply one of cooperation and not of non-cooperation. The burden of the speeches in the Assembly made by responsible leaders like Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Mr. Jayakar and Mr. Jinnah was that they wanted equal status for the joint committee with the Commission. But instead of pressing their claims they had unfortunately committed themselves to a policy of negation and inaction. The speaker

hoped that before long those rights would be granted to the joint committee. He appealed to the Government to recommend immediately the grant of equal terms, equal status and equal opportunities to the committee of the Legislature, and the committee should also be given the right to submit a separate report which should be given equal consideration and equal hearing by Parliament. He deplored that the Government had yet to come out with their plans when everything should have been settled and they should have proceeded to elect the committee. It was time for the Government to do their utmost for strengthening the hands of the co-operators. Concluding, he stated that his resolution put forward their minimum demands and he hoped the Government would promote cooperation by removing those embarrassing restrictions which were open to serious objections.

Sir Maneckjee DADABHOY moved an amendment, which he had freshly given notice of, urging upon the Government to take steps for the election of representatives from the Council of State to participate in the joint conference, according to the procedure set out by the chairman of the Commission in his letter of Feb 6, addressed to the Viceroy and the letter dated Feb. 10 to Sir Sankaran Nair.

At the outset Sir Maneckjee made it clear that he had the same goal as Mr. Chari, and while sympathizing with the feeling of those who were indignant at the non-inclusion of Indians in the Commission he asked them to consider whether non-cooperation would advance the country's interests. There was opposition when the Reforms were introduced in 1892 and the Minto-Morely reforms were proposed but Mr. Tilak and Mr. Gokhale, respectively, urged Indians to accept what was given and fight for more. And now in view of Sir John Simon's statement, which breathed a desire to be impartial and to have free conference, it would be suicidal to attempt to boycott and refuse to appoint a committee. The Commission had gone as far as it was possible, and for having elicited a further statement from Sir John Simon he congratulated Sir Sankaran Nair. The second statement offered a definite gain for the central committee working in cooperation with the provincial committees. If sitting as a separate body the Indian wing could not influence the Simon Commission then what was the use of crying that it must be boycotted on the ground that there were no Indians on the Commission itself? Let not India, out of mere temporary resentment and indignation spurn the great opportunity which Providence had placed in her hands. Let the opportunity be seized and let the representatives of Indian opinion cooperate with the Commission and place before it all the logic and all the facts and not skulk like schoolboys. The Assembly had refused to cooperate with the Commission on the alleged ground that India had been insulted. Where was the insult? If it was an insult, then that insult was in the Government of India Act under which the Reforms had worked all these years and Ministers had been working. It was nonsense to say that India was enjoying equal status with Britain. If India wanted Swaraj she must cooperate with Britain.

Dr. Ramarao, interrupting, said that India could not get Swaraj when they had men like Sir Maneckjee.

Sir Maneckjee warmed up and replied that he believed in getting Swaraj by evolution and by cooperation with Britain. (Cries: 'Question'.) India was not going to wrench reforms or Swaraj by the obstinate policy of opposition or revolution.

Sir Phiroze Sethna interrupted and asked: 'Where is revolution in the boycott?'

Sir Maneckjee.—Are you going to get Swaraj by making the British nation your enemy? This is the time for us to forget the mistakes of Britain in the present case, to bury the hatchet and work for the mutual benefit of Britain and India. Concluding, he appealed to Mr. Chari to accept his amendment.

ANOTHER POINT OF ORDER.

Munshi Narayana Prasad Asthana, Sir Arthur Froom and Mr. Ramadas Pantulu raised the question as to whether the Council would be allowed to discuss the principle of the appointment of the Commission or not. The President said that if the discussion of the constitution of the Commission was out of place then equally Dr. Ramarao's amendment would be out of place. The resolution and the mover's speech had not raised the principle of appointment of the Commission. The amend-

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ment too touched very little upon it. Therefore, the President advised that the House should not labour too much upon the principle of the appointment of the Commission but discuss the future.

Sir Sankaran NAIR advocated the appointment of the committee for several reasons. If it was possible to work along with the Commission and influence its decisions, let it do so ; otherwise let it work on parallel lines and submit its report separately. He for one was anxious to obtain for the committee some further powers, but he was glad to find that Sir John Simon had kept an open mind, if it would be shown to him that further powers were necessary—powers not covered in the discussions that had so far taken place. If India was to frame a constitution it would not be valid unless sanctioned by Parliament. This was not denied. Even a scheme, if prepared by Congressmen, must be submitted for final ratification by Parliament. That being the case, why should we not have a committee, which would have ample material to draw up a constitution ? Whether that constitution was accepted or not by Parliament he did not care, but at any rate India could have produced a constitution through a representative committee with which America and other civilized parts of the world could be faced. The posterity would see what the present generation had done for them. The claim of drafting a constitution was implied in the right of submitting a separate report. To throw away that opportunity was criminal. In the other House, Lala Lajpat Rai and others had suggested boycott, because they had no faith in the *bona fides* of those who appointed the Commission. Why should that charge be levelled when persons who appointed the Commission were not here to defend themselves ?

Mr. Ramdas Pantulu.—Their agents are here.

Sir Sankaran Nair continued, the second objection was that the Commission was ignorant of Indian conditions. That, in his opinion, was an argument for cooperation with the Commission, because the Indian wing could show the Commission's ignorance up.

Continuing Sir Sankaran Nair associated himself with the remarks of the depressed classes that influential Indians at present would not help them much. The work of Lala Lajpat Rai and the Arya Samaj in this behalf was an exception to the general mentality of the upper class Hindus which had made the depressed classes openly declare that they must have British rule for a long time to come.

Proceeding, Sir Sankaran Nair pleaded for equal status to be granted to the Indian joint committee. He would request Sir John Simon to go further and if the Government of India asked Sir John, the speaker was sure that the chairman of the Commission would do it. It was a mistake to hold *in camera* meetings and he knew the crux of the matter was that some Indian witnesses would not dare to make certain statements against Indian aspirations before Indian members.

Sir Pheroze SETHNA opposed the motion. After a decisive vote in the other place, he declared that he regarded it a solemn duty of all elected members of the Council, if they were true to themselves and their electorates, to vote against the resolution and the amendment under discussion. Constituted as the Council was, the Government could have everything their own way in this place.

Sir Dinshaw Wacha.—It is prejudice, prejudice, prejudice. (Laughter.)

Sir Pheroze retorted it was a fact. Much had been made out by the Government for the acceleration of the date of the appointment of the Statutory Commission, but the time was opportune, because the British Government realized the existence of communal tension in this country and from the Conservative standpoint they know their domination in home politics was likely to end before long. The exclusion of Indians was meant to take away from them the right of citizenship of the Empire and lowered them to the position of mere petitioners. If they took it lying down the Government would have no hesitation to resort to it again and again on similar subsequent occasions. It was tried to be made out that according to Sir John's statement the Indian colleagues would be given equal status, but all that he could say was that a person bereft of his senses only could admit that there was equality. Analysing the division in the Assembly, Sir Pheroze pointed out that a majority of Mahomedan elected members had voted against the Commission, which showed that the majority of Mussalmans in India was not favouring the Commission and its procedure. The professions of Britishers to govern India

for Indians was a tall talk. In reality the intention of the British was to hold the reins tighter and for their own benefit to keep India under subjection so long as they possibly could. He deplored that the Government did not see that by the methods they followed they were allowing the ground to slip under their very feet.

Mr. HAIG on behalf of the Government, made an impressive speech which he closed amidst cheers. He urged the Council to accept the amendment of Sir Maneckjee Dadabhoy which accepted the procedure put forward by the Commission and proceeded with the determination to utilize that machinery for accelerating the progress of the Reforms. No doubt at the beginning of every work matters of form loomed large, but as soon as people settled down to work these matters of form often receded. He trusted that the Council would accept the same course suggested by Sir M. B. Dadabhoy and thus give a lead to the great body of opinion which lay submerged at the moment under political clamour. Sir Sankaran Nair in his arresting speech had cogently put forward the reasons which should guide India in her own interests to cooperate with the Commission. In the interests of India, therefore, he (the speaker) appealed to the Council to come to a decision which would enable the Indian representatives to place before the Commission the aspirations of political India or of India as a whole. He did not say that the scheme devised by Parliament was the best that could have been devised, but it had provided for the very close participation of representative Indians in this vital enquiry. If an enquiry was to take place, as surely it must, then it was right that it must be conducted with the most intelligent and sympathetic understanding and provide for the closest contact between the different points of view here. In the Commission they had an epitome of the British people and it was proposed that there should be representatives of the Central Legislature which at the present stage of political development represented the interests of India. It was contemplated that these two sections should meet and deliberate day by day. Surely, political India had no reason to complain of such an arrangement.

Unfortunately, the Assembly had by a majority of six votes decided to have nothing to do with the Commission and Lala Lajpat Rai had declared that every vote thrown against his resolution was a vote against Swaraj. This led the speaker to wonder what was meant by that statement. Three thoughts occurred to him. One speaker in the Assembly openly hinted that what what would follow the resolution would be the methods of the revolver and bomb, or an invitation to a foreign country to come in and take the place of the British. Mr. Haig did not want to insult the intelligence or patriotism of the Council by dwelling on such a suggestion. The second thought was that by passing such a resolution there would be sufficient political pressure put upon the British Government to revise their scheme of the Commission's enquiry. He did not accept that reading as correct, and Mr. Haig reminded the Council that all the three parties of the British Parliament had agreed in accepting the scheme of the Commission. The third thought was that perhaps the Assembly thought that because their views had been disregarded therefore, they should have nothing to do with the Commission. Indians were proud and sensitive people and he believed that some Indians were genuinely hurt by the decision taken, but he thought that this resentment was very largely due to certain misapprehensions as to the functions of the committee of the Legislature. But those misapprehensions had been removed by the clear statement of Sir John Simon. Even in individual relations it was unwise to let passions dictate, but surely when they were dealing with the relationship of a great country they should hesitate before allowing their conduct to be dictated by any feelings of resentment. He asked how the boycott would help India.

Sir Phiroze Sethna interjected in reply to a similar query that it would at any rate prevent the repetition of the British Government's mistake in the exclusion of Indians from a commission. India was now at the cross-roads of her destiny, and was it suggested that there should be an unending series of reforms inquiries and was it not India's desire, as stated by the minority report of the Muddiman Committee, that her constitution should be placed on a permanent basis which was a reasonable proposition? Six party leaders of the Assembly had said that the action to be taken following the passing of the boycott resolution was to prepare a constitution

with the maximum measure of agreement and to work for its establishment. If that work was to be unconstitutional, he had no remarks to offer ; but if it was to be constitutional then how could they work otherwise than by putting their scheme before the great constitutional instrument which Parliament had now devised and which was now in operation? As Sir Sankaran Nair, with the wealth of his experience and the weight of his patriotism had stated that the committee could considerably influence the Commission's conclusions. Let it not be forgotten that there were serious communal differences, which manifestation, in his opinion, had a political basis and should yield only to political remedy. The most practical solution could be arrived at by representatives of Hindus and representatives of Musalmans sitting round with representatives of the British people and endeavouring to arrive at a genuine arrangement. Here, again, there was an opportunity for India to get out of the rut. It was an entire misreading of history to say that the Reforms of 1919 were given as a result of pressure on war-weary people. He said it was in a vivified moral atmosphere at the moment that the idea of advancing India received wide support. It had been asserted that there had been a stiffening of the British people of late. Was it not probably the reaction of a certain phenomena extant in India? Might it not be that the language of menace or the poison gas of distrust naturally reacted in a manner unfavourable to Indian aspirations? It was in the sincere and genuine hope that no such disaster would overtake the relations of the two people and the legitimate aspirations of Sane and patriotic Indians that he urged the Council to accept the amendment. (Applause)

Mr. KHAPARDE refused to believe that the present situation was so menacing and desperate as had been painted. It was the duty of every Indian to assist and explain to the Commission what they wanted and thus to influence the decision for the grant of a further instalment of reforms. Mr. Khaparde humoursly remarked that the patient would certainly suffer more if no medicine was given to him. Similarly no improvement could be made in any judicial case if a pleader withdrew prematurely, thinking that the judge had already made up his mind. The position of Indians had now improved considerably. Formerly they went in important enquiries as intruders, but today they were being invited as guests and they could do much more than they were able to do on previous occasions.

After a few more speeches the amendment was carried by 34 against 13. The House then adjourned.

On the 27th FEBRUARY Mr. Desikachari moved his resolution for the establishment of a Central College of Railway Engineering in India, with a view to stop the recruitment of non-Indians altogether, and to train and recruit in India all officers of Mechanical Engineering and Transportation services of the superior railway establishment.

Mr. Chari pointed out that the subject had been engaging the attention of the Government ever since the Reforms were introduced in India. The Assembly passed a resolution to this effect in 1922. Thereafter, the Government appointed a special officer to enquire into the matter. That officer, Mr. Coates, however, was averse to the establishment of such a College. Mr. Chari asserted that a Central College would attract a supply of students from a variety of classes and from all provinces. Now that the question of remodelling workshops was under consideration, the time was ripe for starting a Central College at a central place. Mr. Chari claimed that India provided a large field for recruitment to the railway services. Alluding to the question of cost, the speaker stated that the railways were quite well off financially. They could therefore easily set apart some money for the establishment of a college, without which their vast organisation would not be complete.

LALA RAMSARAN DAS'S AMENDMENT.

Lala Ramsaran Das moved an amendment seeking to substitute for the original resolution the following : "That substantial subsidies and grants-in-aid and proper facilities for practical training in the railway workshops, be given in the already existing mechanical Engineering Colleges in different provinces, and that their graduates be appointed to fill vacancies in the State Railways with a view to restrict

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the recruitment of non-Indians and to train and recruit in India officers of the mechanical services of the superior establishments of the Indian railways."

Lala Ramsaran Das stated that the object of both the motions was Indianisation of railways, and also the solution of the unemployment in the country. In 1926, Indians held only over 500 out of over 2,000 executive railway appointments. In the mechanical services, recruitment of Indians was nil. He, however, did not want unnecessary investment of capital on the establishment of a Central College. At present all the provinces had their own institutions on which millions of rupees had been spent. He therefore asked the Government to subsidise the existing institutions, and thus to enlarge their scope. They would thereby be also able to increase the number of Indians in the railway services. Concluding, Lala Ramsaran Das remarked that there was quite a large number of students in India who now wished to join the mechanical services.

Sir Geoffrey Corbett, on behalf of the Government, said he was fully aware that both Messrs Chari and Ramsarandas had the same object in view. There were two alternatives before the House, one the establishment of a college, and the second from Mr. Ramsaran Das for helping the existing provincial institutions. Sir Geoffrey however explained a third alternative which the Government had adopted; and he hoped the House would accept the Government scheme. The Government of India had published a resolution on 9th November last, setting forth their scheme, which he would repeat as neither Mr. Chari or Mr. Ramsarandas had referred to it and as it was possible that it might have missed their attention.

It had been decided to select ten candidates for the civil engineering services through a competitive examination conducted by the Public Services Commission. They would be appointed as probationers receiving practical training. They would learn transportation and other work at Chandausi, and later at Dehra Dun, where a school was now being built. Similarly, recruitment to mechanical engineering would be done by the Public Services Commission, each province supplying candidates according to the quota allotted. Practical training in this branch was considered to be of supreme importance. Candidates would be appointed as special class apprentices and would have to undergo seven years' training including a course at Shibpur in Bengal. They would then be sent to the United Kingdom to acquire higher knowledge of locomotives. 75 per cent Indianisation which was recommended by the Lee Commission and accepted by the Government, would be applied in both the cases. Sir Geoffrey pointed out that the scheme had been very carefully worked out. He agreed with Mr. Ramsaran Das that there was a desire among the educated classes in India for taking up mechanical engineering and he hoped that Indians would soon reach the 70 per cent quota allotted to them by the Lee Commission. The Government scheme had amply provided for the supply of Indian recruits.

Lala Ramsaran Das then withdrew his amendment; but Mr. Chari pressed his resolution, which was rejected without a division.

CHITTAGONG PORT TRUST ACT.

On the 2nd MARCH the Commerce Secretary moved for the consideration of the House the select Committee's report on the Bill amending the Chittagong Port Act of 1914. Sir Geoffrey explained that the Select Committee had carefully examined the matter and considerably amended several clauses of the Bill. The election of Commissioners would take place before the expiry of two years. The new arrangements would avoid the situation whereunder the retiring Vice-Chairman might preside for a considerable period over a body largely composed of elected Commissioners, who had no share in his election as Vice-Chairman.

The Council passed the Bill and adjourned till 7th March.

INCOME-TAX AMENDMENT BILL.

On the 7th MARCH there was an interesting discussion on Mr. Burdon's motion for the consideration and passage of the Income-Tax Amendment Bill as passed by the Assembly after examination in the select committee. The Finance secretary made it clear that, if correctly understood, the Bill was really non-controversial, and

INCOME-TAX AMENDMENT BILL.

The Government had altered the Bill in the light of the criticism from the public and from the select committee. Clause (2) was to assert the essential fiscal principle that the local Government could not encroach on the spheres of taxation belonging to the central Government.

After reviewing the salient features of each clause of the Bill as passed, the Finance secretary pointed out that clause (7) was intended to place the foreigner in the same position as the resident in India with whom he is competing. Clause (8) legalized a longstanding and convenient practice, and clause (9) removed the anomaly whereby wealthy non-residents enjoyed, because they were residents, the privilege intended for people of small means.

Sir Maneckjee Dadabhoj opined that certain sections, instead of clearing up ambiguity, made matters worse confounded. If there was any difference between the local Government and the central Government as to the sphere of taxation why should the poor assessee suffer? In trying to assert the fiscal principle enunciated by the Finance secretary, Sir Maneckjee said, the Government should not lose sight of the fact that the public should be saved from double taxation.

Mr. Desikachari supported the motion for consideration of the Bill. He agreed with the Government that the amending Bill would clarify the present income-tax law, though personally he would like the whole of the old Act to be enquired into by a committee of the House, as urged by the resolution passed by the Council during the last session. In that case they could have an up-to-date Bill on the lines of the law in Great Britain. Mr. Chari criticized Sir M. Dadabhoj in the latter's remarks on clauses (2) and (7), but agreed with him that the Government should not be left to frame the rules under the Bill.

The Council accepted the motion to consider the Bill.

Before Major Akbar Khan moved his amendment to clause (2), Mr. Burdon drew the attention of the Chair that the amendment was not in order according to the standing orders, on the ground that the subject-matter of the amendment did not relate to the amending Bill.

The President held that the amendment was in order, which was ultimately moved. It sought for the exemption of the *chawkidars* in the N. W. F. Province and scavenging and house-taxes from income tax.

The mover held that in the N.-W. F. Province life and property were safeguarded by keeping armed *chawkidars* and the salaries paid to them should be reckoned as premium paid on insurance against risk and, therefore, should be exempted from income-tax assessment. In case *chawkidars* were not employed, there would be frequent looting in his province, which would lead to decrease in income and in the income-tax. Regarding the house and scavenging taxes, they were collected by zamindars for and on behalf of municipalities and, therefore, they should not be regarded as income and should not be taxed.

Mr. Burdon said that if *chawkidars* was paid for the purpose of guarding business premises, then it was admissible as a reduction. Even now the position as regards house-tax was also the same. The amendment was negatived.

Sir George Godfrey moved for the deletion of sub clause (b) of clause (2) by which the Government refused to allow as deduction the road cess paid to the local Government. He confined his remarks to the position as regards collieries and said that the Government proposal was wrong in principle and impossible in practice. He protested against the grabbing policy of the Government, which had suddenly arisen to the position that its spheres of taxation were being encroached by the provincial Government. The coal industry was passing through a critical stage in view of over-production and low prices of sale, and the Government had thought it right to add to the anxiety of the industry by the Bill, which attempted to squeeze more out of it for revenue purposes.

The amendment for the deletion of the sub-clause was lost by 31 votes against 21.

The discussion then centred round Mr. Gray's amendment altering clause (7) to the effect that in case of any person residing out of British

India all profits or gains accruing or arising to such person from any property in British India and all profits accruing in British India to such person from business transacted in British India be deemed to be income accruing in British India and be chargeable to income-tax in the name of the agent who shall be the assessee, and the profits arisen out of British India to such non-resident person be deemed to have accrued also in British India. Mr. Gray said that the object of the existing uncertainties which arose from sec. 42 and also to make the law more definite in regard to the assessment of profits arising from the import and export trade in India. The report of the select committee, he said, contemplated that rules were to be made limiting the action of income tax officers, but he felt that it left unduly wide powers in the hands of the income-tax authorities. The main uncertainty arose from the words 'business connections', for which he had substituted a more precise description. His second object was to relieve from liability to be taxed any profits which resulted in the case of exports from British India from the operations which took place after the goods left British India, and in the case of imports into British India, the profits which resulted from any operations before the goods had arrived in India. He opposed the taxation of profits resulting from the operations which took place outside British India, partly because it was impracticable and partly because it was inequitable.

No amendment having been made the Bill, as passed by the Assembly, was passed and the Council adjourned till the 9th MARCH when the Government of India's budget was subjected to a general discussion after which the House adjourned.

On the 12th MARCH, on the motion of Mr. Ernest Burdon, the Council of State passed the Bill amending the In-land Bonded Warehouses Act of 1896.

AN AIRCRAFT SCHOOL.

On the 13th MARCH Mr. Chari moved for the establishment of an aircraft school to give training to Indians. Though aviation, he said, was a recently developed science all countries were making rapid strides both in civil and military aviation. India should also make a beginning in right earnest in this direction to enable herself to take her proper share in this new development. The country was suitable for aviation owing to the long distances and constituted a junction for the Empire aerial routes. Even small countries like Chile and Belgium had schools to give training in aviation. Before companies in this country started work, they should have Indian youths fit to take up service. It was said that Indians had no sea sense but if work in this side was neglected it would be said that Indians had no air sense either. (Laughter.) Concluding, Mr. Chari stated that if the Government did not accept the proposal he would be convinced that they did not like Indians to get training to qualify for the Indian Air force.

Mr. Mc Watters, on behalf of the Government, admitted that Mr. Chari's researches on the subject of civil aviation left him unconvinced. He was unable to put forward a practical proposal. The questions they had to consider were whether it was possible at the present moment to found a school; what would be its cost and would the results be commensurate with the cost, and whether there would be employment for the products of that school? Pointing out the government policy on the subject, the Industries secretary said that in the budget there were a number of important proposals which dealt with the training of Indians in aviation. The first was for the training of ten Indians by way of scholarships in England. The Government contemplated an annual expenditure spread over a period of seven years of something over Rs. 2,00,000 for training ten Indians. When trained they would in the first instance serve under the Government for four years. They would be used for the staff of the director of Civil Aviation and as inspectors of aircraft and engines take charge of Government aerodromes and for the investigations of accidents, etc. The candidates would first have to go through a course of flying training at De Havilland Aircraft Company's flying school or some other school of the same standing. Flying training would be combined with ground training

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and a number of subjects at a factory connected with the company. Following this training would be a post-graduate course of instruction in aeronautics at the Imperial College of Science and Technology covering the subjects of aerodynamics, design, aircraft, material of aircraft, construction of aircraft, engine design, airships, air navigation and instruments, higher mathematics and meteorology. They would then receive six months' workshop training and then a prolonged course of practical training at Croydon. Such a training of high degree would be impossible in India where there were no ground organizations and workshops. As for schools, even in Germany, which Mr. Chari said was more advanced than other countries such schools had been set up by private companies and not by the Government. As for military aviation the Commander-in-Chief had announced that selected Indian youths would be admitted hereafter at Cranwell.

Mr. Mc Watters therefore, opposed the motion as the mover had not taken practical realities into consideration, but he optimistically hoped that civil aviation would develop in this country at no distant date.

Mr. Chari pressed his motion which, however, was rejected without division.

DELEGATIONS TO INTERNATIONAL BODIES.

Sir Phiroze Sethna moved that Indian delegations to the League of Nations and other international and imperial conferences be predominantly Indian and led by Indians. He traced the history of the resolution and said that the principle had been accepted by the Government on two previous occasions. It was strange that the Government had not acted upon it so far. It might be that the Government of India could find themselves helpless before the Secretary of State although the present position constitutionally was that when the Indian Legislature and the Government of India agreed the Government in England should not intervene. The mover demanded to know if the discrimination was based on the racial ground of the rulers and the ruled. Already the exclusion of Indians from the Statutory Commission had embittered the feelings of the Indian people. Even the moderate section had urged the Government against the adoption of the unwise and narrow-minded course.

AN AMENDMENT.

Mr. Suhrawardy moved an amendment deleting the demand that the delegations be led by Indians.

He said he was not actuated by the narrow feeling of nationality but believed in the brotherhood of man.

Mr. Haig, Home secretary, admitted that the scope of the resolution had been enlarged. At present the Government of India was a racial partnership in which the proportions were not fixed. The resolution would restrict the field of selection and would indicate that no European was capable of leading delegations. The present policy was based on efficiency. Wherever found possible Indians were selected, as for instance, the delegation to South Africa. In the case of the Imperial Conference the delegation was led by the Secretary of State who was responsible for the Indian administration. The Government was not unsympathetic but could not give any pledge.

The resolution was put to the vote and declared lost by 20 votes against 16, three members remaining neutral.

INDIAN LIMITATION ACT.

On the 14th MARCH the Council held a short sitting when on the motion of Mr. S. R. Das, Law Member, the House passed the Bill amending the Indian Limitation Act 1908, as reported by the select committee. The committee unanimously approved clause 2, which specifies that any property comprised in a Hindu, a Mahomedan or a Buddhist religious or charitable endowment be deemed property vested in a trust for a specific purpose, and the manager of the property be deemed a trustee thereof.

Two Swarajist members, Mr. Pantulu and Mr. Kumar Shanker Ray, however,

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dissented to clause 3 which dealt with the powers of successive managers to sue and the limitation of time upon bringing suits against their predecessors. Finally, the Swarajist members favoured the inclusion of Sikh and Jain endowments, doubting if the word 'Hindu' would comprehend them, specially having regard to the specific mention of Buddhist endowments. The committee points out there is no reference anywhere in the Limitation Act to Sikhs or Jains, and if they insert a reference, other provisions, referring to Hindus, might thereby lose application which they now have to Sikhs and Jains. The new articles are not substantive law, but merely impose limitations on suits to establish rights which arise under Hindu law. It has always been recognized that Sikhs and Jains are subject to Hindu law except in so far as they vary their customs. Referring to clause 3 the committee propose to put a definite limit of time upon bringing suits by managers to set aside the transfers made by their predecessors.

INDO-SOUTH AFRICAN AGREEMENT.

On the 19th MARCH Mr. Natesan (Madras) moved for the constitution of a special branch of the Secretariat with a secretary as head for dealing with questions relating to Indians overseas. Recalling the history of the subject Mr. Natesan said that at one time emigration was under the head 'Commerce', then under the Agriculture and Lands department and today under the Education, Health and Lands department which dealt a multitude of subjects. Today they were faced with the question whether it was not necessary to establish a separate secretariat for looking after the interests of 2,395,000 Indians overseas. Their question had been causing public anxiety in India for the last 20 years. He paid a tribute to the Government for entertaining identical views with the people on this subject but past experience warranted that steps should be taken in the direction of constitution of a special department to devote exclusive attention to this question.

Mr. Natesan, continuing, urged the publication of the annual reports on Indians Overseas and quoted Mr. Andrews who also advocated the establishment of such a secretariat. The question of expenditure, the speaker asserted, should not stand in their way in view of the importance of the subject.

Sir, Muhammad Habibullah, replying, said that the Government of India were always alive to the sense of responsibility in the matter. Instancing recent cases in this connection, Sir Muhammad referred to the Indo-South African Agreement which would be regarded as a landmark in the history of the relations of the two countries. (Applause.) The Union of South Africa had, at the instance of the Government of India, withdrawn clause 104 from the Liquor Bill, even after its second reading. The Government of Natal had asked for the association of Indian officers to investigate the question of the educational needs of the Indian community there, while in Ceylon and Malaya conditions of work for Indian labourers had been made easier and the Government of India's labours had resulted in the introduction of standard wages, providing a sufficient margin for savings, sickness, old age, maternity relief, and facilities for the education of labourers' children, etc.,

Continuing, the Education Member alluded to the position in East Africa where the Hilton-Young Commission were investigating. The Government of India has deputed Kunwar Maharaja Singh and Mr. Ewbank and there was proof that they both rendered very useful help, so much so that the East African Congress passed a resolution thanking the Government of India for the help rendered.

Mr. Natesan had forgotten to mention that since August, 1925, the Government had added one special officer so as to enable the permanent official to devote as much time as possible to the important overseas question.

Sir Muhammad Habibullah promised that as soon as the preoccupations of the legislative session were over he would consider the suggestion of Mr. Natesan sympathetically, trying to steer clear of false economy and avoiding extravagance as to the method of giving effect to the suggestion. Sir Muhammad Habibullah wanted discretion and appealed to the Council to trust him and assured the House that the trust would not be misplaced.

Mr. Natesan withdrew the resolution in view of the sympathetic reply of Sir Muhammad Habibullah, but pointed out that the special officer should be made

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permanent and that a special secretariat would cost only Rs. 30,000 which was a small fraction of Rs. 3,00,000 derived as emigration fees.

INCOME-TAX APPEALS.

Mr. P. C. Desikachari moved urging legislation with a view to the trial of objections to, and appeals against assessment by tribunals, presided over by judicial officers other than income-tax authorities. Explaining the present system, Mr. Chari condemned it as a travesty of justice and pleaded for a thorough overhauling on the lines of the English system. He referred to several recent judgments of High Courts in support of his resolution for impartial tribunals to adjudicate, between assesses and the income-tax authorities, who were interested parties.

Concluding, Mr. Chari declared, that the upper middle classes, not to speak of capitalists, were groaning under the crushing burden of the Income-tax department. He appealed in the name of British justice to impartially consider the motion.

Mr. Burdon, Finance secretary, strongly repudiated the charge that the Income tax department functioned in the interests of personal gain. It had been clearly laid down that collection of more revenue was not the ideal of the department. The Finance secretary also controverted the point of the Opposition that the income-tax authorities played the double part of judge as well as of defender. There was the right of appeal against the assistant commissioner on the point of law to the High Court, and even to the Privy Council. The department was thoroughly well qualified to carry on its duty.

Referring to the recent report made by Mr. Tottenham, member of the Central Board of Revenue, Mr. Burdon informed the House that the opinion of the Amritsar Merchants' Association and indeed, of the general commercial community was that the less they had to do with civil courts the better. He pointed out the inconvenience to parties caused by delays in the disposal of cases and increase in the expenses of assesses in the direction of lawyers' fees, etc. As among the objections to the proposal, he laid particular stress on the fact that during the pendency of appeals collection for taxes might be suspended resulting in loss to the revenue of Government. He endorsed Mr. Ram Saran Das's objection with regard to secrecy as to the income of the company or individual. The Finance secretary finally paid a tribute to the Central Board of Revenue for the improvements effected in the income-tax administration.

The resolution was lost by 11 votes against 19. The Council then adjourned.

INTERNATIONAL LABOUR CONFERENCE CONVENTION.

On the 20th MARCH Mr. Mc Watters, Industries Secretary, moved the Government resolution, urging that the draft conventions and recommendations of the tenth International Labour Conference be not ratified by the Governor-General-in-Council.

Mr. Mc Watters pointed out that the conference held in May and June last year had resolved that sickness insurance be made compulsory for the workers in industry and commerce and for domestic servants and for agricultural workers. It provided for cash benefit for any worker who fell sick for at least the first 26 week of incapacity and treatment by qualified medical men, the expenses to be met partly by the workers and partly by the employers. The Government of India, although their resolution was couched in negative terms, were by no means opposed to the principle underlying the conventions, but their difficulty was a practical one. The difficulty in this country was that agricultural labour was casual in nature, and there was absence in the districts of qualified medical men. It would be practically impossible in the agricultural areas to provide medical benefits. The Government therefore proposed to take steps only in consultation with the Local Governments who would shortly be addressed with a view to eliciting their opinion.

The motion was adopted and the Council adjourned.

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THE FINANCE BILL PASSED.

On the *22nd MARCH* Mr. Ernest Burdon, Finance Secretary, moved the consideration of the Finance Bill.

Mr. Burdon pointed out that there were no proposals for new taxation, and that the Council was only asked to continue the salt tax, postage, etc., as adopted last year. The Finance Secretary knew that the majority of the members of the Council favoured the proposals.

Seth Govindas, on behalf of the Congress Party, reserved the right to oppose the Finance Bill in the last stage as they could not pass the Bill as long as the present constitution was not changed.

MOTION FOR REDUCING SALT DUTY LOST.

Seth Govindas next moved for the reduction of the salt duty to eight annas per maund. He did not want to make a long speech, he said, because the subject had been discussed many times before. He asked the Government to accede to the wishes of the people.

Replying, Mr. Burdon said the merits and demerits of the salt tax had been exhaustively discussed. The duty had resulted in the remission of provincial contributions.

The amendment was negatived without a division.

MOTION FOR QUARTER ANNA POST CARD REJECTED.

Seth Govindas next proposed the reintroduction of the quarter anna post card.

Mr. Kumar Shanker Roy Choudhuri supporting, suggested that the Telegraph Department be separated from the Postal Department. The former was running at a loss, and thus there was a heavy burden on the tax-payer. As a result, the richer classes who mostly used telegraphs, were deriving benefit at the cost of the poor classes.

Mr. A. C. Mc Watters, replying, said that the Posts and Telegraphs Department was a public service agency, and not meant for the imposition of any tax.

Mr. G. A. Natesan held that reduction in postage would only benefit businessmen like himself, and not the poor people. He therefore opposed the motion.

A division was called, and the amendment was rejected by 28 votes against 9.

Lala Ramsarandas made an unsuccessful attempt to reduce the rates on parcels.

INCOME-TAX ON HINDU JOINT FAMILIES.

Mr. Kumar Shanker Roy Chowdhuri urged the modification of Schedule II to prevent income-tax from being levied on Hindu undivided families, and other unregistered associations of individuals.

Mr. Ernest Burdon said that the effect of the amendment would be that Hindu undivided families would not be taxed at all either on the joint income or on the income of the members received individually. The financial effects of the amendment would be great. Mr. Burdon also considered it unwise for the members to make such changes in the Finance Bill when the proper course would be to amend the income-tax law.

The motion was lost.

Seth Govindas urged that income-tax on individuals should be on income from Rs. 3,500 and above. His object was to give a much-needed relief to middle classes.

This amendment was also lost.

Lala Ramsarandas suggested the general lowering of the supertax, and sought to give relief to Hindu undivided families. His plea was that the Government had promised him last year that reduction of taxation would be seriously considered as soon as provincial contributions were abolished.

Mr. Burdon said the effect of the amendment would be to reduce revenue by 60 lakhs.



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Sir Manmohandas Ramjee wanted that the question of supertax should be tackled wholesale.

Major Akbar Khan wanted to know whether the tax would be lowered at all.

Sir Annamalai Chettiar supported the motion, as under the present system the richer classes had been more heavily taxed than others.

Sir Arthur Froom pleaded for the policy of "wait and see" till next year.

The motion was lost.

Mr. :Kumar Shanker Roy Choudhri suggested another amendment to the Supertax Schedule, which was also lost.

The Finance Bill as passed by the Assembly was then put to vote.

SETH GOVINDAS OPPOSES FINAL READING OF THE BILL.

Seth Govindas started the opposition to the passage of the Finance Bill.

Seth Govindas said he knew that the Council, constituted as it was, would not throw out the Bill, but even if it did, H. E. the Viceroy would exercise the power of superseding their wishes.

Sir Arthur Froom : Then why do it ?

Seth Govindas : We are doing it to record our protest against the unsatisfactory manner in which Indian demands are treated.

Sir Basil Blackett had taunted Pandit Motilal for the latter's helplessness to start a revolution, but Seth Govindas declared that non-payment of taxes and revolution would in course of time follow refusal of supplies. Englishmen did not change their policy until they were compelled to do so. They lost America, and had practically lost Ireland. They had lost Egypt, and they would undoubtedly lose India if they continued in their obstinacy. In olden days, the best days of England were considered the best days of the Indian people. To-day there was a fairly large section of Indians growing who thought the worst days for England would be the best days for India.

Proceeding, Seth Govindas declared that the British had been exploiting the country for the last 150 years, with the result that the people were not getting sufficient food to eat. Epidemics raged unchecked. On the other hand, the expenditure on civil servants had increased at the cost of poor Indians. He asserted that the depressed classes would soon realise that they could not benefit by a foreign Government. The speaker concluded that even if the present Government had been a good Government, it could be no substitute for Self-Government.

Mr. Kumar Sankar Roy Choudhury supported the rejection of the Bill.

SWARAJIST WALK-OUT.

The Swarajist left the Chamber when the President declared the Bill carried.

OTHER BILLS.

On Sir Geoffrey Corbett's motion, the Council passed the Merchant Shipping Bill as passed by the Assembly, thereby vesting in the Central Government control of Mercantile Navigation and at the same time providing for the transference of control to certain Local Governments, especially in the case of small ports.

Sir Geoffrey Corbett assured that commercial bodies would be consulted as to the constitution of the Advisory Committees.

Before the Bill was passed, the Commerce Secretary expressed thanks to the local Governments for their help in his enquiry, which led to the enactment of this law.

The two Tariff Bills were then passed.

The Commander in Chief's motion for acceptance by the Council of the amendments made by the Assembly to the Territorial Force Bill and the Auxiliary Force Bill, was passed without a discussion.

This disposed of the business for the session as far as the Council was concerned ; but the Council was adjourned provisionally till Wednesday the 28th. It did not meet that day as no amendments were made by the Assembly to the Chittagong Port Bill. Hence the Council adjourned *Sine die*.

The Bombay Legislative Council

THE GOVERNOR'S ADDRESS.

Addressing the budget session of the Bombay Legislative Council which opened on the 20th FEBRUARY 1928 H. E. the Governor of Bombay reviewed the important events of the past year.

After referring to the visit of the King of Afganistan, whom the presidency had had the honour of being the first to welcome on the start of his long and important foreign tour, His Excellency said that it was a matter of great regret that the agricultural season of the past year turned out even worse than had been expected. Part of the deficiency caused had been recouped in the present year but this increase had been discounted by the continued fall in the revenue from Excise and Stamps. The long continued depression in trade caused the Government much anxiety and they welcomed the signs of renewal of activity in the world trade.

Passing on to many obligations to which the Government were definitely committed, such as the primary education scheme and the hospital scheme, His Excellency repeated what had been said so often in the past, that unless there was revision of the provincial settlement in favour of industrial provinces, he could see little hope of continued progress, to which this province was entitled. There was nothing more disheartening than having year after year to exclude or curtail necessary expenditure on services so essential to the educational and economic progress of the presidency, and he trusted that the day was not far distant when a fairer share of the revenues raised within the borders of the province, would be at their disposal.

His Excellency then dealt with the Gujerat floods, the Back Bay scheme, road development and aviation, and went on to answer some of the criticisms passed against the Statutory Commission. "I notice," he said "that resolutions are already before the Council, and I want the honourable members to realise at once that while it would have been possible for me to disallow such resolutions under the Legislative Council rules, I certainly do not propose to do so as I welcome the fullest discussion on a matter of such import to the future of India in general, and of the Presidency of Bombay in particular. In the first place, let me say that I appreciate the sincerity of those, many of whom have rendered and are still rendering public services to India and whose opinions must carry weight, who have publicly expressed their opinion that the Commission is unwelcome, because no Indian is a member of it. I notice that the question is often asked by them, and others whether there are no Indians fit to sit on such a Commission so vital to the interests of India. That, I venture to say, is a question which cannot be seriously addressed to anyone with any knowledge of India and of the work of Indian politicians and statesmen who have already shown their worth in so many spheres of public life and political activity. I would suggest that any such idea in considering the personnel of the Commission should be at once put on one side and that the appointment of the Commission should be considered from the strictly constitutional point of view."

After detailing the procedure to be adopted by the Commission, His Excellency observed :—I feel sure that the proposals offer the foundations of understanding on terms which could be acceptable to both sides. I, therefore, would urge those friends of mine who are of the opinion that the Commission should be boycotted, to reconsider the position which they have taken up in the interests of the country, of which they have done so much and for which they can do so much more."

Speaking with some experience of Parliament, His Excellency said if he admitted that India and her aspirations were misunderstood and were not fully realised by British politicians, he asked himself how much more would they be misunderstood if the representatives of all the three political parties in Britain, appointed with the full approval of respective leaders and the following of those parties, were handicapped in their work by the decision of the responsible Indian politicians to

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have nothing to do with their work. "At the risk of being personal in anything, I may say, I hope you will believe that I am one who sees for India a great future under the control of Indians, with such assistance as she desires from and which will be willingly given by Europeans, who have done so much to set her on the path of self-government. I am anxious, above all things, that the clock of progress shall not be set back, and that there shall be no unnecessary obstacle placed in the way to impede that progress. But I confess, that to my mind, any such action as is contemplated may retard the fulfilment of the natural aspirations of those with whom I am in close sympathy, and towards whose patriotic ambitions I have endeavoured in my time out here to give what encouragement lay in my power."

With his knowledge of Parliament, he was fully assured that no affront was intended to Indian sentiment, and His Excellency hoped that it was not too late for some mutual understanding to be arrived at.

SWARAJISTS' ABSTENTION

The Swarajists were absent in pursuance of the resolution adopted by them just before the session to keep out during the Governor's address and the presentation of the budget.

BUDGET PRESENTED

The Finance Member then introduced the Provincial budget statement for the year 1927-28.

It shows that the anticipated revenue deficit at the close of 1926-27 rose from Rs. 75 lakhs to Rs. 92 lakhs. The total revenue for 1928-29 is estimated at Rs. 1,526 lakhs and the total expenditure at Rs. 1,560 lakhs.

In estimating the revenue, it has been assumed that the Stamp and Court Fees Acts would be renewed and that a sum of Rs. 37 lakhs, being the provincial contribution still due to the Government of India, and included under expenditure, will be remitted this time in full.

Sir Chunilal Mehta, in his speech introducing the budget estimates, said that the year 1926-27 closed with a revenue deficit of 92 lakhs, the agricultural season turning out considerably worse than the unfavourable anticipations made at the budget time. Suspensions and remissions were freely given both in the Presidency proper and in Sind—the collection showing a drop of 56 lakhs in the current year. The damage done by floods to Kharif crops in Guzerat and Sind was serious. Resowing was necessary over a large area. Had the conditions not improved in Guzerat after the middle of August, the prospects would have been dark indeed. The damage to land due to silting had not turned out as serious or as extensive as was originally feared. 10 1/2 lakhs had been spent on free grants, and for advances. The Council had sanctioned 80 lakhs from the Famine Fund, and 63 lakhs from the balances. In addition, 3 1/2 lakhs were spent for repairing roads and buildings, and Rs. 2 1/2 lakhs on tanks and embankments.

TRIBUTE TO FLOOD RELIEF WORKERS

Speaking about the evidence of the self-sacrificing social work rendered by volunteer workers during and after Guzerat floods, Sir Chunilal said, "It must be a matter of intense satisfaction to Mahatma Gandhi, that his labours for the creation of a band of selfless workers to be pioneers of missionary social activities particularly in rural areas, have met with ample response; and that the volunteers mostly drawn from the Vidyapith should have acquitted themselves so creditably in the absence of their beloved leader, in the face of an unforeseen calamity. How the mantle was at once taken by Mr. Vallabhai Patel and with what energy he carried out the plan of work, is now well-known. These workers belong to the old school of "No-Changers"; and it is gratifying that they felt this was no time to oppose or keep aloof from the Government. I trust that their experience has not been unpleasant. Occasions of disagreement have been very few: and the officers who had striven zealously in the work of relief have welcomed the assistance, and have endeavoured as far as possible to meet the request of the unofficial workers. It is my sincere hope that the atmosphere for missionary service created by Mahatma Gandhi will be permanent, and that there will be many occasions, but not of this unfortunate character, for Government and non-officials, to work for a common

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purpose: for it is by this alone that the true interests of people can be properly served."

Continuing Sir Chunilal alluded to the decrease of revenue from Excise and Stamps, the latter due to the depression in trade. It was proposed to borrow 272 lakhs for Sukkur Barrage, and 77 lakhs for Development schemes next year. The total borrowing for the next year would amount to 4,235 lakhs.

DISCUSSION ON BUDGET

Next day, the 21st FEBRUARY, the Council discussed the Budget. Non-official Members took the entire day to themselves, and combined to deliver a strong attack on the administration.

A common target of attack was what was described as the progressive starvation of the transferred and nation-building departments, while the reserved half was absorbing more and more of the revenues. The deficit of 34 lakhs shown in the Budget, it was declared, did not represent the actual state of the Presidency's finances, unsatisfactory as it had been pronounced to be by the officials themselves. To that sum had to be added Rs. 30 lakhs under the head of "Famine Fund" which had not this year been provided, as also the deficit sum of about 42 lakhs' deficit in the Development Department.

The Development Department also came in for severe strictures at the hands of the members. The Government were however credited with having learnt much from the sad experience of the Back Bay, and with greater care in carrying out the Sukkur Barrage Works.

Mr. Lalji Naranji, one of the members who examined these works recently testified to this change for the better in the attitude of the administration, and expressed the hope that the Lloyd Barrage would not be attended with the same disappointing result as the Backbay scheme.

The question of the Statutory Commission was also introduced by some who warned the Finance Member against expecting, as he had done, any relief in the matter of financial stringency as a result of the labours of the Commission. There was not a single financier on that body which was the instrument of a nation, whose object was not the enrichment of India, but of themselves.

Questions like the Meston Award, it was asserted, were not likely to be tackled by the Commission. The Bombay Government were not going to get any better treatment from it, than from the Government of India.

Resentment was also expressed at the provision of Rs. 50,000 for Mr. Wadia, appointed Secretary of the Commission, before the House had had an opportunity of expressing its opinion.

Non-official criticisms of the budget proposals of which some more was heard on the next day, the 23rd FEBRUARY, were answered on behalf of the Government by the Minister for Local Self-Government, the Home Member and the Finance Secretary. Figures were quoted and compared to establish that on a subject like the Police, the Government were proposing to spend during the coming year over six lakhs less than in the pre-Reform days.

Under Education, Agriculture and other Transferred heads, expenditure was sought to be considerably increased.

The Minister for Local Self-Government assured the House that he himself and his colleagues on the Transferred side were trying to get more and more from the revenues, though they were not satisfied with the measure of success attending their efforts.

The Home Member declared that the expenditure on Police had been brought down to the lowest possible limit, and that no further reduction was practicable unless the nonofficial benches wanted the pay of constables to be reduced.

STATUS OF MINISTERS

"The Bombay Government have not examined the effects of the constitutional Reforms of 1919 on the efficiency of the administrative machine", said Sir Chunilal Mehta, Leader of the House, in reply to a question when the Council met again on the 23rd FEBRUARY.

Sir Chunilal refused to lay on the Council table all the statements or written evidence which they intended to present before the Statutory Commission under the Government of India Act. He admitted that Mr. N. J. Wadia had been appointed on special duty for the collection of materials to be placed before the Commission, and that the Government had issued instruction to Mr. Wadia as

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regards the questions on which materials were to be collected and the method he should adopt in collecting them. After these materials had been collected, the Government would lay down the policy.

The Leader of the House could not also comply with the request to place on the Council table the instructions issued to Mr. Wadia.

Other questions elicited information regarding the rights, privileges and official status of the Ministers and the Executive Council members.

Sir Chunilal Mehta declared that, generally speaking, the Ministers and Members of the Executive Council enjoyed the same rights and status, subject to the provisions of the Government of India Act and the relevant rules and to the differences arising therefrom in their constitutional position and responsibility to the Legislative Council.

The Ministers attempted to answer some of the criticisms against the administration of their portfolios.

The Excise Minister expressed his readiness to accept all reasonable suggestions, and invited the non-official members to point out mistakes.

Mr. K. F. Nariman interjected "And be prosecuted for it." (Laughter.)

Mr. Nariman joined in the discussion and made a deadset against the Development Department, whose activities, he affirmed, were the prime cause of the present state of the provincial finances. He also strongly criticised the official benches for not supplying the House with audit reports on the budget.

The House rose for the day after the reply of the Finance Member who made an impressive speech which ended with a distinctly optimistic note. He admitted that the Development Department was one of the causes of the present state of finances, but a more active cause was the Meston Settlement whereby the province was deprived of its legitimate revenues which could have gone to feed the nation-building departments. But, in spite of these handicaps, the province was as far away as possible from the despondent description given by the non-official side.

STAMP ACT AMENDMENT

On the 24th FEBRUARY, the Council discussed the Government Bill to amend the Indian Stamp (Bombay Amendment) Act of 1922. This Act was passed in 1922 to enhance the stamp fees in certain cases for the purpose of increasing the revenue. It was to remain in operation for four years, at the end of which its life was to be extended if the financial position rendered such extension necessary. Accordingly, it had been so extended during the last two years, each time for a year only. The result of six years' experience had, according to the Finance Member who moved the Bill to-day, proved the necessity of the retention of the revised scale under it. He requested the House to place the Act permanently on the statute book, and explained the necessity of such a source. Following consultations between the Central and Provincial governments a large majority of the latter had agreed to accept the Taxation Enquiry Committee's recommendation that revenue from non-judicial stamps should be handed over to the Central Government, who in return should give its share of the income-tax. In order to make this share of income-tax as big as possible, it was necessary to show that revenue from stamps was proportionately large and permanent.

NON-OFFICIAL OPPOSITION

That reasoning did not meet with the acceptance of a large section of the House who took the Government severely to task for not retrenching the expenditure to the extent that was possible, and declared that without any attempt at such retrenchment they were not prepared permanently to place any more moneys at the Government's disposal.

Eventually the Finance Member agreed to the extension of the Bill for a year. The House assented to this and passed the Bill by a large majority and then adjourned.

COURT FEES ACT AMENDMENT

On the 25th FEBRUARY two more money Bills were considered by the Bombay Council. The first Bill was to amend the Court Fees (Bombay Amendment) Act of 1926 passed as a revenue measure in that year to remain in operation for two years, at the end of which the desirability of its continuance was to be considered.

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The Finance Member introducing the Bill declared that the last two years' experience had proved the necessity of retention of the revised scale of court fees under the Bill, and said that it was desirable to make it permanent.

The proposal evoked a spirited opposition from a large section of non-officials, who repeated their arguments against giving any more money to Government as long as the latter had not cut down expenditure to the lowest possible limits. The Finance Member at the end of over two hours' discussion, announced Government's willingness to accept the tenure of the Bill for one year.

The House thereupon passed the Bill, after throwing out an amendment to refer it to a select committee.

LOANS TO NON-AGRICULTURISTS

The second Bill was designed to provide for the grant of loans by the Government to non-agriculturists for relief of distress. The Government's object as explained by the Revenue Member, who moved the Bill was to advance loans to persons to whom loans could not be granted under the Agriculturists' Loans Act 1884, and to provide that such loans should be recoverable expeditiously as arrears of land revenues without recourse to civil courts. It was also proposed to give a retrospective effect to the Bill so as to apply to the loans granted since August 1st 1927 for the relief of the distress caused by floods in Gujerat.

The House rose before the measure could be fully considered, but it was taken up on the next sitting day, *i.e.*, the 27th FEBRUARY when after further discussion it was passed.

SUPPLEMENTARY GRANTS.

Demands for supplementary grants then followed and a number of them were quickly voted till one for Rs. 34,450 under Excise was reached.

This provoked a keen debate, to which the Excise Minister made a reply explaining the Bombay Government's relations with certain neighbouring Indian States in the matter of Excise. Indian States whose Abkari administration, said the Minister, was managed by the Bombay Government were as a rule paid a provisional sum fixed with reference to the average revenue for the three years preceding the commencement of the current lease. This payment was subsequently adjusted with reference to the actual revenue realised. The amount of Rs. 30,450 demanded represented the excess in the current year. This arrangement between the Bombay Government and the States, the Minister further explained, was in furtherance of the Government's policy of prohibition. Under the arrangement, the States were forbidden to manufacture liquor so as to obviate the possibility of such liquor crossing the border into British India and lowering the price and thereby counteracting the effects of Bombay's policy of prohibition. It was in consideration of the fact that the States were deprived of the benefits of the manufacture of liquor in their borders that the Bombay Government agreed not to deduct from the amount payable to the States any charges for management.

The House finally passed the grant.

The next demand for Rs. 57,000 for the gain on liquor (the difference between the rate for supply of liquor charged to retail vendors and the cost to the Government) being handed over to States under the arrangement with them, came in for criticism from the non-official benches. It was contended that by following the policy of rationing in the presidency and paying larger and larger amounts to the States as a result of increasing consumption within their borders, the Bombay Government were losing both the revenue and the benefits of prohibition. The grant was eventually made.

VOTING ON BUDGET GRANTS.

The Bombay Development Department came in once again for considerable criticism at the hands of the Opposition members, when the Council reassembled on the 28th FEBRUARY to consider the budget grants.

Mr. K. F. Nariman moved a cut of Rs. 1,79,000 in the demand for 41,79,000 under "Suburban Development Schemes." Having decided to wind up the Development activities as a whole and having to some extent carried out the decision why, he asked, were the Government continuing that part of it relating to suburbs? The continuance of this section, he asserted, was a source of considerable hardship

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to the suburban residents. For instance, this department levied on them Re. 1 for 1000 gallons of water which it had purchased from the Municipality at annas five only.

Mr. Nariman's motion was strongly supported by non-official members who declared that the establishment charges could easily be reduced by the amount of the proposed cut.

The General Member replying to the debate, assured the House that the Government were seriously considering the abolition of the Development Department. The works would be taken over by the Revenue Secretariat and other departments. This would probably mean strengthening of these departments.

The General Member however announced that he would accept the cut if the Opposition would assure him that they were prepared to vote for a supplementary grant if necessity arose next year.

The motion for the cut was put to vote, and unanimously adopted.

Another cut of over 2 lakhs under the Development Department was moved by Mr. Nariman. In the course of the discussion on it, reference was made to the accident which overtook the dredger "Sir George Lloyd" about a year ago, resulting in its total breakdown.

The Secretary to the Department explained that the dispute between the Government and the Insurance Company over the liability had been settled and that the Company had agreed to pay the amount of Rs. 2,63,000 the estimated damage. On this assurance the motion was not pressed.

Moving a cut of Re. 1 in the total demand under the department, Mr. J. C. Swaminarayan raised a full-dress debate on the general policy of the department. It was pointed out by its supporters that the motion was intended as a censure not only on the department, but on the Government as a whole. It was asked what the Government had done after the disclosures in the Harvey-Nariman Case. What had they done to bring to book the officers of the department who had been proved in a court of law to be corrupt? What had they done to safeguard against recurrence of such instances of corruption in future?

Discussion had not concluded when the House rose.

MR. SWAMINARAYAN'S CENSURE MOTION

On the 29th FEBRUARY the House further discussed the censure motion moved by Mr. J. C. Swaminarayan in the shape of a token cut in the total demand under the Development department. A number of further charges against the department were again made, and it was declared that any number of departmental enquiries would not satisfy the House. For the good name of the Bombay Presidency and the Government, it was necessary that a non-official committee of the House should immediately be appointed to investigate the charges. If such a committee was agreed to by the Government, the purpose of the censure motion would have been served, and the Opposition would be prepared to withdraw it.

Immediately this compromise was suggested, the Government and the non-official whips became busy and brisk lobbying started between the two sides, with a view to come to an agreement on the committee and its personnel.

Mr. Lalji Narainji, Member, Public Accounts Committee, declared that even after all the revelations in the Backbay Libel Case, the Government were trying to prevent Mr. Harvey from appearing before the Committee when it wanted to examine him with regard to certain charges.

Replying to the debate, the mover of the cut said he agreed to the appointment of a non-official committee to inquire into the department. If the proposed committee were given sufficiently wide terms of reference, and allowed to enquire into the department from its inception and if the witnesses appearing before it were given full protection, he would accept it and withdraw his motion.

GOVERNMENT'S REPLY TO THE DEBATE

Sir Cowasji Jehangir (General Member) in reply to the debate on the Development Department narrated in brief the steps which the Government had taken since 1921 when allegations of corruption were first brought to the notice of the Government. He further said that twice the Government had appealed to Mr. Nariman "the only man in Bombay who could really throw some

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light on the affair" to assist the Government in getting at the truth, but he regretted Mr. Nariman had refused the offer.

Mr. Nariman :—State my reasons for refusal. Be fair to me.

The General Member :—Whatever may be your reasons you refused the offer. The only course left to the Government to find out the whole truth was to compel Mr. Nariman to vomit out the information in his possession by permitting Mr. Harvey to prosecute him in a court of law. The Government was actuated by no other intention in allowing the prosecution of Mr. Nariman, except that of getting at the truth. Was Government wrong in taking that step and was it not due to that prosecution that more disclosures had come to light than otherwise? The General Member concluded by accepting the non-official suggestion for an independent non-official committee to enquire into the whole affair and to advise the Government as to the future course of action. The members of the Committee would be Messrs. K. F. Nariman, Lalji Naranji, Hussein Bhoj Lalji and Moulvi Rafiuddin Ahmed. He said he could not accept more names as the Committee would be unwieldy; but at the suggestion of Mr. Pahalajani, he consented to Mr. K. M. Munshi's name being taken up.

As the non-official members were satisfied with this, Mr. Swaminarayan withdrew his motion. The House then adjourned.

GRANTS FOR IRRIGATION WORKS IN SIND

On the 1st MARCH three more cuts in the budget grants were considered by the Council. Two of them related to Irrigation works in Sind. The whole of the Sind block was united against the provision of Rs. 60,000 for construction of regulating gates. Their chief contention was that with the provision of such gates, regulation of water-supply would be placed in the hands of subordinate officers of Government. Sind zamindars, it was declared, were entirely opposed to such proceedings.

Considerable amusement was caused when a number of Swarajists expressed themselves against the cut, and were twitted with breach of their policy of uniform opposition to the Government. The House then rose for the day.

SUKKUR BARRAGE SCHEME

2nd MARCH. More than one member of the Council to-day stumbled over the word "cusec" and perpetrated some howlers in attempting to define it. The word was introduced in the course of the discussion on the motion for the omission of Rs. 60,000 provided for constructing regulating gates to the Kharias canal in Sind.

One member thought, to the great amusement of the House, that "cusec" was a unit of land measurement, while another fancied that it had something to do with Quebec.

One European member, in view of his difficulty suggested that an authoritative definition of the word should be given for the benefit of the members. This responsibility none seemed anxious to shoulder.

The President said perhaps the House could be enlightened by the General Member, who however assured the House that the Chief Engineer in charge was a better authority.

The Chief Engineer did not appear to be in a hurry to take the hint; and in the end the word went unexplained.

The general policy relating to the sales of Sukkur Barrage land was discussed for the rest of the day on a motion for a reduction of 10 lakhs in the demand for over 2½ crores under the head, Sukkur Barrage. The principal point to which much of the criticism from the Opposition benches was directed, was the proposal of the Government to sell 3 and half lakhs of acres of the Sukkur Barrage land to zamindars at a cost of 15 rupees per acre. This, it was argued, meant merely giving the whole land away for nothing, since the price of the land even at the present time, when the water-supply was uncertain, was nearly 200 rupees an acre, and the rate was certain to go up much higher when, with the completion of the Sukkur Barrage Project, a perennial water-supply would be assured.

This criticism was answered on behalf of the Government by a statement that the zamindars enjoyed certain rights, in consideration of which the Government had to give them land at a low rate. The revenue from the rest of the reclaimed land, it was also stated, would make up for whatever loss might accrue in this way.

Further discussion was adjourned till next day, the 3rd MARCH when

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it was argued that by the terms of the Government resolution of 1923 on the subject, such a large block of land was reserved, and not intended to be given away.

This contention was replied to by the Revenue and General Members, who stated that 3 and half lakhs of acres represented land which according to the system prevalent in Sind had been forfeited as it had lain fallow for a long time, but which had to be returned to the former owners as soon as they were in a position to pay assessment on it. It was this restoration which the Government proposed to carry out on the competition of the scheme. The proposals have been sanctioned by the House in 1923 and approved by the Secretary of State.

The cut of 10 lakhs under the Sukkur Barrage which provoked discussion, was finally thrown out.

THE UNEMPLOYMENT QUESTION

Mr. Nariman sought to raise a debate on the unemployment problem when the demand of Rs. 12,000 provided for European vagrants came up; but in view of the numerous point of order raised, the President suggested that Mr. Nariman and the Finance Member should privately consult each other, and come to an agreement on the advisability of raising a debate. The House then adjourned.

APPOINTMENT OF WATER-DIVINER

On the 5th MARCH the question of the appointment of a water diviner to the Government of Bombay, which from the beginning has been the subject of strong non-official opposition, was again raised. In the course of the debate on Government's famine relief policy, Rao Bahadur Kale asked if it was in order that the salary of Major Pogson, Water Diviner, was non-votable, while the appointment was temporary and provision for his staff was sanctioned year after year by vote of the House.

The Finance Member replying to the point read out the correspondence on the subject between the Government of Bombay and the Government of India, in the course of which the latter had definitely held that, as Major Pogson had formerly been an army officer, his salary was non-votable. In view of the constitutional difficulties of the question, the President reserved a ruling on the point.

TRIBUTES TO LATE LORD SINHA

When the House met after tea, the President referred to the loss caused by the death of Lord Sinha. "We have lost," said the President, "an eminent lawyer and the first and foremost citizen of India, whose merits were recognised by the Home Government and the Government of India." All sections of the House associated themselves with the President's words, after which the Council adjourned.

THE BARDOLI SATYAGRAHA

On the 7th MARCH the President of the Council disallowed Mr. Swaminarayan's motion for the adjournment of the House to discuss the situation in Bardoli resulting from the breakdown of negotiations between the Government and the agriculturists there on the question of increased revenue assessment.

The President held that the matter was not of recent occurrence, since the assessment was enhanced in July last; and in his view there were no negotiations in the matter. He however suggested that the question could be brought up when the land revenue demands came for consideration. Priority might be asked and obtained for one of the several non-official resolutions tabled on the question.

WATER-DIVINER'S SALARY

The President also gave his ruling on the point of order questioning the propriety of classifying the salary of Major Pogson, water diviner of the Bombay Government, as non-votable. He pointed out that last year, during the course of the budget debate the question of Major Pogson's appointment arose. The reason had been given that Major Pogson was an Army Officer holding the King's Commission. The President assured the House that it had not been deprived of any privilege, because according to the agreement between the Government and Major Pogson, immediately the House disapproved of his appointment, his service would be terminated without notice to the Army Department.

DISCUSSION ON BUDGET

The token cut in the demand under Famine Relief, which evoked a discussion on Major Pogson's services, was thrown out.

INDUSTRIAL HOUSING SCHEME

Mr. Nariman moved the omission of the total demand for establishment under "Industrial Housing Scheme." The amount invested in the scheme, declared the mover, was 4 1/2 crores giving a return of about 3 1/2 lakhs annual rental, or hardly 1 per cent. Would the directors of any commercial concern dare to face the shareholders with such a balance-sheet? Mr. Nariman suggested that the only way to put an end to further losses under the scheme was to transfer all chawls to the Municipality, P. W. D. or railway, to find out other ways to dispose of them.

Supporting the motion, the representative of the Mill-owners' Association urged that the cotton-cess should proportionately be decreased. It might be possible, he thought, to induce the workers to occupy the vacant chawls in larger numbers, if the municipality insisted on the improvement of sanitary and other conditions. Further consideration was adjourned.

On the 8th MARCH replying to the debate on Mr. Nariman's motion the General Member stated that at the time of the inception of the scheme the House had been fully informed of the losses which had to be expected. In view of the crying need for the housing of the working classes, the scheme was agreed to. He had been informed that the supply was greater than the demand at present in the matter of housing, because no fewer than 1 1/2 lakhs of workmen had left Bombay since the completion of the chawls. He contended that the establishment charges were already reduced to a minimum.

Mr. Nariman's motion was put to vote and negatived.

Mr. Nariman then moved a censure motion against the Bombay Development Department and proceeded to make allegations of favouritism and corruption.

The representative of the Chamber of Commerce raised a point of order, asking if in view of the appointment of a non-official committee earlier in the session to inquire into the charges against the department, Mr. Nariman could deal with the matter and take up the time of the House.

The President ruled that the mover was in order, as he was speaking on a censure motion.

The General Member announced that the Government had made arrangements to ascertain the truth of Mr. Nariman's statement that some chawls built by one "favoured" contractor were smaller in dimension than the original plans.

The censure motion was put and lost, a large number of non-officials remaining neutral, as they appeared to think that having obtained a non-official committee to inquire into the allegations, the censure might be regarded as prejudging the issue.

VOTING UNDER DEMAND FOR GRANTS.

On the 9th MARCH a number of suggestions for improvement of roads in the Presidency were made in the course of the discussion on a cut under "Civil works."

It was proposed that all except trunk roads should be brought under the control of local boards and that the policy of road development should be co-ordinated by a central body, composed of representatives from the four divisions of the Presidency.

The Minister for local self-government, replying, pointed out that the central body demanded in the course of discussion was already present in the Road Board, which fully represented all parts of the presidency, and this organisation would consider the proposal of transfer of the control of roads to local bodies.

The cut was thrown out.

Discussion of the problem of unemployment was raised when a cut in the demand for the Labour Office came up.

Mr. Nariman, supporting the cut, pointed out that there was racial discrimination in the administration of the Vagrancy Act in the presidency. The benefits of the Act, he declared, went only to European vagrants, who were defined as Europeans born outside India, so that even Anglo-Indians were shut out.

Mr. Nariman assured the Government that Indians did not desire to make a grievance of discrimination in the matter of help for the helpless, but only insisted

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that similar assistance should be extended to Indians also. He suggested the starting of an organisation to act as a medium connecting the unemployed and the employers.

Other speakers proposed, as steps towards unemployment relief, the introduction of technical and industrial education, and the helping of small cottage industries. The Labour Office, it was pointed out, should also help in settling industrial disputes and suggesting labour legislation.

Further discussion was taken up on the next day, the 10th MARCH when the General Member, replying, said that what the Government could do to relieve unemployment was being done. The problem was one which related only to the Labour Office or any one department of the Government, but to all departments. Every enquiry on the question in India and abroad had resulted in discovery that middle class unemployment could only be remedied by changing prevailing system of education and by devoting greater attention to technical education. The motion for the cut under the Labour Office was put and defeated.

DISCUSSION ON GRANT FOR INDUSTRIES DEPARTMENT

The motion for the omission of the whole demand for the Industries Department, which followed, drew forth bitter criticism of the Government's policy in regard to indigenous industries.

The provision of one lakh of rupees for the department for the coming year was declared "shamefully inadequate" for the province. The representatives of the Indian Merchants' Chamber, the Mill-owners' Association and the Bombay Chamber of Commerce supported the cut, and strongly urged the abolition of the department unless adequate funds were provided to run it efficiently.

The Finance Member replied to the criticisms, and pleaded that the House should not agree to the destruction of the department, which it would be very difficult to revive afterwards. The smallness of the provision, he declared, was due to the financial stringency of the presidency, and to the persistent demand for retrenchment in season and out of season made by a section of non-officials. It was the result of this attitude, that the provision for the department which in 1924 exceeded two lakhs, had dwindled to 1½ lakh at present.

Further discussion was adjourned till the 12th MARCH when the Government were charged with starving the department and of ignoring the important recommendations of the Industrial Commission, especially, those relating to industrial survey, research and organisation of markets for local products. Instances were cited such as ground-nut oil, pulp, sugar, and match industry, which it was declared, had not been allowed to develop to the fullest extent.

The Home Member dramatically interrupted one non-official speaker, and declared with a bang on the table, that the statement, repeated times without number, that the thumbs of Bengal weavers were cut off in order to kill the industry, was absolutely unfounded.

The Minister in charge of the Department assured the House that during the year numerous inquiries would be conducted into the tanning and handloom industries, and immediately a Director of Industries was appointed, he would institute an industrial survey.

The Minister repudiated the charge of favouritism to the Swedish Match Syndicate and declared that virtual monopoly for softwood in the Presidency was secured by an Indian member of the House. The mover withdrew the cut and the house adjourned.

THE EDUCATION DEMAND

On the 13th MARCH the Government suffered the first defeat this session when the motion for a cut of Rs. 100 in the demand under Education was passed by 34 to 30 votes.

The object of the motion, as explained by the mover, a nominated representative of Labour, was to protest against the increase of fees in Government Colleges, and secondary schools in the presidency.

The cut was widely supported by non-officials, who contended that the increase would hamper the spread of education, especially among the poorer classes.

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Calling on the Government to play the game, and not try to evade a division by taking up the half hour before the fall of the guillotine, Mr. Nariman moved a token cut in the demand under the Revenue Department in order to draw the Government's attention to the Bardoli Satyagraha.

This motion, it may be remembered, was in accordance with the suggestion which the President made, while ruling out some days ago an adjournment motion on the same subject.

The mover declared that if the Government failed to take up the challenge, the verdict in and outside the House, would naturally and rightly go against them.

The Revenue Member said the Government would not take the verdict of the House, whatever it be, as the final word on the question, which had far-reaching issues.

The Secretary of the Department answered some press criticisms on the subject. The discussion was taken up to the time limit of five, when the motion was put and lost by 44 to 35 votes, the non-Brahmin block remaining neutral, and the Sindh Mussalmans supporting Government. All the remaining demands were guillotined.

GRANT FOR LIBEL CASE EXPENSES

On the 14th MARCH the General Member moved a supplementary demand of Rs. 60,800 to be paid according to the Government resolution to Mr. Harvey against whom Mr. Nariman had failed to prove the charge of deliberate alteration of indent for mild steel bars and corrupt and dishonest motives in order to profit the manufacturers.

Mr. Nariman raised a point of order arguing that the amount represented expenditure already incurred and should not therefore be subject to a supplementary demand. Mr. Nariman contended that the amount should have been provided in the current budget.

Replying, the Finance Secretary stated that the contingency arose after the judgment in the case in January 1927. It was the judgment that decided the issue for the purpose of the Finance Department.

The President accepted the latter argument and ruled that the demand was in order.

The General Member, speaking in support of the motion, narrated the circumstances leading to the launching of the prosecution and stated that the Magistrate held that Mr. Nariman had failed to prove a corrupt ulterior motive in the alteration of the Government resolution, the cost should be reimbursed to Mr. Harvey.

The principal argument on the non-official side against the motion was that Mr. Harvey had not been exonerated.

MR. NARIMAN OPPOSES THE MOTION

Mr. Nariman who spoke for over an hour and a half elaborated this argument. He first contended that his prosecution was not a *bond fide* one but intended to persecute a political opponent, and quoted in support of his contention from the Government letter inviting him to supply them with facts as regards the corruption in the Department. The Government explicitly stated in the letter that he had only to give them information and that responsibility to investigate and prove or disprove it would shift to an impartial tribunal which would be appointed. He accepted the invitation, and placed the facts before the Mears Committee. The Government went back on their word, and ordered his prosecution.

Referring to the charge brought against him, Mr. Nariman declared that the Magistrate held that there was no necessity at all for the large quantity of mild steel bars ordered by Mr. Harvey, but that a desire to profit the manufacturers to get commission, which were Mr. Nariman's inferences, might be one but not the only reason for Mr. Harvey's action. The Magistrate had also held that Mr. Harvey supplied false information to the General Member for answering interpellations in the Bombay Council regarding the ordering of mild steel bars. Mr. Harvey's action in placing the order locally had been censured by the Secretary of State, as it involved a loss of Rs. 4,6000. All these facts, Mr. Nariman declared, were sufficient to prove the enormity of Mr. Harvey's offence. But the speaker was in a position to make other charges against Mr. Harvey which had not been admitted by the

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Magistrate, as they were outside the charges relating to mild steel bars. Mr. Nariman proceeded to deal in detail with these other charges. First, Mr. Harvey's estimate was prepared by a "favoured" contractor, according to which some chawls built were actually small in dimensions than the original Government plans. Mr. Nariman challenged the Government to disprove by actual measurement even to-day the truth of his statement. As the speaker went on to refer to the other charges, the President intervened, and said he has been given sufficient latitude and should conclude his remarks in five minutes.

Mr. Nariman wanted half an hour more, and said no time limit could be fixed to speeches on supplementary demands.

The President declared that the conduct of the discussion was in his hands. He had the right to regulate it. He could not give more than five minutes.

Mr. Nariman bowed to the ruling under protest. It was not constitutional, he said, and added that he did not wish to speak further. The House then adjourned.

Next day, the 15th MARCH the Advocate-General explained the legal position regarding the cost of the Harvey-Nariman case. The Magistrate held that Mr. Nariman's plea of justification for the allegations had failed. It was useless to argue that a fact here or a fact there had been proved. The Advocate-General further contended that the Government resolution was based on the Government Servants' conduct rules and the Government had under them power to pay the whole cost themselves unconditionally. Besides it was the duty of every Government, even of a Swaraj Government, to protect its servants. (A voice: Not dishonest ones).

Mr. B. Petit, representative of the Mill-Owners' Association, speaking from the stand-point of a layman, declared that Mr. Harvey had not come out of the case quite innocent. To laymen it appeared that the Magistrate had found many allegations proved. To a layman, again, it was a puzzle to find that neither the complainant nor the defendant was found guilty. It was necessary therefore to clear up by a reference to the High Court the question who should bear the cost of the case.

Other non-official members opposed the motion and asked if the House would accept the suggestion of the Advocate-General that because the Government, in the exercise of its executive authority, issued the resolution, the legislature was bound to accept it as the last word. Another constitutional question realised was whether if a member of the House, in the discharge of his duties to his constituency, made allegations against the Government servants, the Government was justified in penalising him.

The General Member, who replied to the debate, had to face continuous interruptions and ironical cheers. Answering the argument that the Government ought to have obtained the previous consent of the House before sanctioning the prosecution, he declared that if that procedure was adopted on every occasion there would be no Government. The question of privilege did not arise in the present instance. Mr. Nariman was prosecuted not because he made allegations in the Council but because he made them outside before the Committee.

The demand for Harvey's cost Rs. 60,800 was put, and carried by 63 votes to 36, the Sindh Mussalmans solidly voting on Government side.

SIND FEEDER RAILWAY SCHEME

On the 16th MARCH after disposing of a few supplementary grants, the Council discussed the Government resolution moved by the Revenue Member recommending that the Governor-in-Council do accept the guarantee required by the Railway Board against loss in the working of the proposed Sind Feeder railway, the guarantee being Rs. 4 lakhs a year for the first five years after opening. Thereafter the actual loss in working would be subject to a maximum of Rs. 2 lakhs a year, these amounts being repaid by the Bombay Government with interest, should the line subsequently prove remunerative.

A number of objections were urged to the proposed railway. The first objection was that it would run parallel to the North Western railway for 130 miles at no point further than 15 miles away. The second objection was that the success of the proposed line of 162 miles, costing about 98 lakhs depended on the success of Sukkur barrage, which was, problematical. The third objection was that the time had come when railway construction and administration should be placed in charge of local boards and not in the hands of the Railway Board. Lastly it was

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declared that in view of the proposal for the separation of Sind, the railway scheme should be undertaken by the Bombay Government.

The Revenue Member drew attention to the effect the projects would have in greatly enhancing the market value of unoccupied land served by the railway. This, he declared, should be the most important consideration.

The resolution was passed. The House then proceeded to elect the Finance Committee and the Railway Advisory Committee and then adjourned.

UNIVERSITY BILL CONTROVERSY

The tussle over the Bombay University Bill began afresh on the 19th MARCH when the Council held its last meeting of the Session.

The Legal Remembrancer moved an amendment in the form of an additional sub-clause to the clause relating to the appointment of Visitor.

By this provision, the giving of the power of veto to the Visitor, which had been ruled out on a previous debate was sought to be reintroduced with a slight verbal change.

Points of order were raised against the amendment, which according to the opposition, meant reintroduction by means of a legal quibble, of the principle which had been ruled out. The Opposition also contended that the power of veto in the hands of Visitors, went against the principle underlying the bill, which was to democratise the administration of the university.

The President held that the amendment was in order.

The next move of the Opposition was to propose the adjournment of further consideration of the bill till next session. But the proposition was put to vote and lost, and then an unexpected development occurred.

Ten members headed by Mr. Nariman walked out as a protest against the ruling of the Chair, which, Mr. Nariman said, before leaving the House, would be contested by him and others before the High Court.

After the walk-out of Mr. Nariman's party, the Bombay University Bill had a safe passage. The House passed the bill as amended, and proceeded to consider non-official bills. But by agreement with the non-official members the session was prorogued on the understanding that one day would be added to the non-official days of the next session to make up the loss.

The Madras Legislative Council

The first session of the Madras Legislative Council for the year 1928 met at Madras on the 29th JANUARY 1928 at 11 a.m. Galleries were fairly crowded testifying to the importance of the first meeting of the Council after the Congress. Almost all members belonging to the Independent Party and Government benches were present while on the opposition side, when the meeting commenced, about 25 Congressmen attended and after a few members including Mr. Warren and Dewan Bahadur Kesava Pillai were sworn in, the Swarajists left the house in a body. The Justice Party members were present in a fairly large proportion. The newly formed party under Mr. Muthiah Mudaliar's leadership was also present and occupied a separate block.

One or two references were made in the council to the absence of the largest party. When Sir C. P. Ramasawmy Aiyer moved for an additional grant Mr. Ramachandra Reddi asked the Law member to postpone this demand to March as one third of the house was not present. The Law member replied that he did not care whether they attended or not.

Before the Council met the Congress Party members held a meeting in the lobby room when the amendment asking to express want of confidence in the Commission was incorporated and the amended resolution to be moved. The resolution was be the same as that moved in the C. P. Council and the Congressmen asked for adjournment of every other business till this was considered.

Interpellations did not occupy more than half an hour as all the questions—there were quite a large number on the agenda—of the Swarajists were simply called and no supplementary questions were raised.

After interpellations the Law Member moved that the house do record its profound grief and sense of loss at the death of Sir P. Rajagopalachari. He referred to the great qualities of the first President of the Reformed Legislative Council and paid tributes to his tact and courtesy. Other representative speakers associated themselves with the remarks of the Law Member and the resolution was passed all standing.

Then the House proceeded to discuss demands for grants. In all nine demands were passed by the house, three of them for excess grants and the rest for supplementary grants.

After passing the demands for grants the Hon. T. E. Moir, moved that the report of the Public Accounts Committee on audit and appropriation accounts of the Madras Government for 1925-26 be taken into consideration. A lengthy discussion took place on this motion, Messrs. Krishnan Nair, Gopala Menon and Saldanha and Sir Patro taking part in it. While Mr. Gopala Menon was speaking the President left the chair and Dr. Muthulakshmi Ammal, Dy. President occupied it. Mr. Saldanha in his speech referred to the councils as a rump parliament. At 1-40 p. m. the House adjourned for lunch.

Reassembling after lunch the Council resumed discussion on the report of the Public Accounts Committee. None of the Congressmen entered the chamber though many of them could be seen outside in the verandah. The motion was put to vote after the Hon. Mr. Moir had replied and was carried. The Madras Marriage Validation Bill of 1927 was then passed into law after suspending the Standing Order to refer the Bill to a Select Committee. The bill to further amend the Madras Children's Act was referred to a select committee. The Government Bill to amend the Madras Village Police Regulation of 1816 was then moved to be read in the Council. After discussion a division was taken and 19 voted for and 33 against and the motion was declared lost. The Council then adjourned for the day.

On the 24th JANUARY the Council met in an atmosphere of eager expectancy and the galleries were filled in view of the fact that the resolution tabled in the name of Mr. G. Harisarvotham Rao, expressing disapproval of the Statutory Commission, was coming up to-day for discussion. As yesterday, the Government

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and ministerialist benches were full and on the opposition benches only a few members of the Justice and the newly formed Nationalist Party were present.

Interpellations were quickly disposed of as there was none of importance. One standing in the name of Mr. Biswanathdas (Swarajist) asked whether the Government had any correspondence with the Central Government regarding either the personnel or the work of the Statutory Commission and whether the Madras Government objected to the exclusion of Indians from the Commission. The answer was in the negative to both the questions.

Asked by Mr. C. Gopala Menon, the Law Member said the Government do not propose to introduce any legislation to invest the Commissioner of Police with greater powers to deal with the evil of prostitution and brothels. But the Government would not oppose the introduction of any private Bill to the effect. Amendments to Standing Orders were then considered and were referred to a Select Committee.

Non-official bills were then considered and a bill of Mahomed Schamnad to amend the Malabar Hills Act was referred to the Select Committee.

Leave was granted to Mr. Saldanha to introduce his Bill to amend the Madras District Municipalities Act.

The Council next passed, after discussion, the motion of Mr. Soundara Pandyanadar recommending reduction of interest on agricultural loans advanced to ryots from 7½ to 5 per cent. Mr. Saldanha moved that a representative committee of officials and non-officials should be appointed to investigate into the problem of physical education and to submit definite proposals for improvement of physical education.

The Chief Minister said that he himself contemplated the appointment of such committee and to make physical education compulsory in all schools. He agreed to the motion which was carried. Mr. Srinivasa moved that in the place of the staff of the District Labour officers should be appointed officials of the rank of Deputy Collectors in order to accelerate the progress of ameliorative works. The motion was adopted.

Lengthy discussion then took place on the motion recommending that the Government of India should be requested to impose suitable duties on indigenous manures exported from India in view of the importance of indigenous manures for agricultural development of the country. The Finance Member said that the scientific and financial aspect of the question should be considered before passing such a motion. Such duty might adversely affect the ryot.

Mr. Ranganatha Mudaliar, Minister for Development, wanted the mover to withdraw the motion in view of the fact that the Royal Commission itself might refer to these questions in their report. He said that the Government of India did not take up the question for the very same reason. The motion was then withdrawn. The House after considering resolutions of minor importance adjourned for lunch.

The House began after lunch with a thin attendance, their being not even a quorum and the bell was rung. The Congress bloc as usual was empty. Discussion was resumed on the resolution of the Zamindar of Gollepalli to investigate the schemes of high flood channels. It was pressed to a division and lost. Dr. Muthalkshmi's motion asking for a liberal grant to the Women's Home of Service was passed by a majority.

BOYCOTT OF THE SIMON COMMISSION

When the Council re-assembled after lunch there was a change in the atmosphere of the Council. Galleries were crowded to their utmost capacity and the Swarajists could be seen in larger numbers walking in corridors. His Excellency the Governor was present in his box watching the proceedings.

The President called upon Mr. Harisarvothama Rao to move his motion and the whole body of Congressmen trooped in. "Swaraj is my birthright and I shall have it", began Mr. Rao quoting the words of Lokmanya Tilak in moving his resolution. The smallest of nations were allowed freedom to determine constitutions for themselves. Even in the British Empire constitutions of different countries like Australia and Canada were framed by themselves and the British Government only accepted those constitutions. But on the other hand we are asked to submit meekly to a constitution that will be framed by the British. No nation can prosper under a constitution given by another country. The Commission was flung on us

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on the belief that India is incapable of composing her differences. Our voice can be shifted if government so chooses, he concluded, but it would be doing great injustice to the future of world peace, injustice to the good of the world itself."

The resolution ran as follows :—

"That this Council recommends to the Government that they do convey to His Excellency the Viceroy and his Majesty's Government the resentment of this Council at the appointment of the Statutory Commission and that they do advise His Majesty to abolish the constituted Commission and order the institution of a representative Round Table Conference to be composed of delegates elected by the elected members of all the Legislatures of India"

Mr. Bashir Ahmed seconded the resolution in a forceful speech. He said that we would forget all our differences in fear of this insult. We, all of us, he said, amidst cries of hear, hear, Hindu, Christian or Mahomedan stand as one to-day. There was not even a single honest Muslim who would submit to this Commission though there could be everywhere toadies and timeservers.

He asked Lord Birkenhead to dispel all ideas of weakness in our ranks. We realise that the Hindus cannot wrest Swaraj without the Muslims and the non-Muslims cannot attain it without the help of the Hindus.

Mr. Sami Venkatachalam Chetty, leader of the Congress party then moved his amendment :—

"The Governor-in-Council be pleased to convey to the Viceroy and His Majesty's Government that this Council has no confidence in and will have nothing to do with the Statutory Commission."

He remarked that this Commission had given an impetus to the national spirit as much as the Jallianwalla Bagh. Lord Birkenhead had pinned his faith in our disunion when he appointed this Commission. We question the right of any other country to determine our constitution. Addressing the waiverers he said "you would gain nothing by standing aloof from us. To the depressed classes he would say that they would be given importance and patted on the back by the government because of boycott. He hoped that the depressed classes would realise their true interests.

Mr. C. V. Venkataramana Iyengar seconded the amendment. He asked Britain to keep her promise to give India Self-Government. The Government thought that Madras and Punjab could be cajoled into co-operation. That is why the Commission's first visit had been programmed from southeast and to northwest end. He appealed to all not to let down the reputation of Madras. He also wanted all other amendments weakening the effect of boycott to be withdrawn.

Mr. T. C. Srinivasa Iyengar, Independent Party, moved an amendment to the amendment of the Congress Party that the words "as at present constituted" be added at the end of the Congress amendment. He said while it would in no way lessen the effect it would secure co-operation of all section of the house. It was duly seconded and supported by Mr. Ramanatha Goluka (nominated member) who in a much applauded speech said it is not we that are unfit for reforms but reforms are unfit for us. The House then adjourned.

On the 25th JANUARY keen public interest was evinced when the Council resumed debate on the Swarajist motion of no-confidence in the Simon Commission. Galleries were fully packed.

Mr. A. B. Shetti (Ministerialist) who in the course of his speech was several times called to order drew attention to the remarkable unanimity among all parties on the question of boycotting the Commission.

Mr. R. Srinivasa Iyengar (Swarajist) declared that Mr. T. C. Srinivasa Iyengar's addendum, namely, Commission as at present constituted, was meaningless as they had only one Commission as at present before them and that one none wanted.

Sir Norman Marjoribanks, Reforms Member, opined that the amendment added nothing so original. The amendment and the words as at present constituted did not add anything at all.

Mr. T. C. Srinivasa Iyengar's amendment was then put to vote and carried by fortyfive votes against twentyfour, three ministers being neutral as also the Europeans and some of the Swarajists and Justicites while officials voted against en bloc.

THE JUSTICITE AMENDMENT

Dewan Bahadur Krishnan Nair (Justicite) moved his party amendment as a substitute to the amended motion :—

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In lines 2 to 7 for the words "the resentment of this council Legislatures of India," substitute the words "that this council is of opinion that in the official announcement of the appointment of the Royal Commission, the status and functions of the Committee of the Legislatures are not clearly defined and that unless an authoritative declaration is made giving the committees of the legislature an effective voice in the shaping of the decisions of the Commission at all important stages this Council cannot co-operate with the work of the Commission".

The mover declared that his party unlike others was prepared to co-operate with the Commission under certain conditions explained in the amendment. What was wanted was an authoritative declaration giving the Legislative Committees an effective voice in shaping the Commission's decisions at all important stages including examining and cross-examining of witnesses besides the power to discuss evidence, oral and documentary with the Commission. Rao Bahadur Ellappa Chetti seconded.

Mr. S. Arpudswami Udayadar (Ministerialist) moved an amendment to the Justicite amendment substituting the expression of dissatisfaction with the constitution of the Commission and the word "unless" instead of "until".

The Zemindar of Seitur, Chief Whip of Ministerialist party seconded the Justicite amendment. Mr. Saldanha opposed Mr. Udayadar's amendment.

Mr. Udayadar's amendment was put and lost by thirtyone votes against 29.

The Hon'ble Mr. Ranganathan and the Hon'ble Mr. Arogiaswami Mudaliar and the Congress nationalists voted for the amendment while the Chief Minister remained neutral as before but officials, Europeans, Swarajists and a section of justicites voted against the amendment.

Mr. Satyamurti declared that the Justicite amendment asked for is impossible. Did Mr. Krishnan Nair believe after reading Lord Birkenhead's utterances that they were going to change the function of Committees? He drew attention to Lord Birkenhead's statement that the Parliament's authority was exclusive. After reading extracts from the Lords' and Commons' debates on the question Mr. Satyamurti went on to say that the ex-Labour Premier wanted to treat the Indians less than school children when he wanted the Legislative Committee's report to be submitted to the Assembly. Mr. Satyamurti held that the original motion as amended by Mr. T. C. Srinivasa Iyengar was comprehensive enough and ought to be supported by all respectable Indians. He pleaded that the House should fall in a line with the national Congress, the Moslem League, the Liberal League and the Trade Union Congress.

Mr. Viswanath Das (Swarajist) also opposed the Justicite amendment.

Diwan Bahadur Kumaraswami Reddiar (Justicite) justified his party amendment although he (speaker) had originally expressed views similar to those of Mr. Satyamurti. The Swarajist amendment to his mind made no definite criticism while Mr. Krishnan Nair's made clear proposals.

Mr. Krishnan Nair's amendment was put and lost by 42 against 20, Government and Ministers and Europeans remaining neutral and Swarajists against one Justicite voted against his party.

Swami Venkatachallam Chetti's amendment as amended by Mr. T. C. Srinivasa Iyengar (viz.), expression of opinion that the Commission as at present constituted did not command the confidence of the Council and that therefore the Council would have nothing to do with it, was put to vote and carried by 64 against 28 votes. Dr. Subbarayan, Europeans and the Government voted against while the second and third Ministers and the Raja of Panagal and Sir A. P. Patro were among neutrals. The Council then adjourned for lunch.

The Council met again at 2-30 to continue discussion on the amended motion of Swami Venkatachallam Chetti. The following is the amended form of the motion that came up for discussion: "That this Council recommends to the Government that they be pleased to convey to His Excellency the Viceroy and His Majesty's Government that this Council has no confidence in, and will have nothing to do with the Commission as it is at present constituted."

Mr. C. N. Muthuranga Mudaliar supporting appealed to the Chief Minister that as a Congressman he should stand by the Congress mandate. Mr. N. Swaran, nominated member for the Depressed Classes, opposing the motion said that his community supported the Commission not in any spirit of opposition to the Caste Hindus but to present their case to the Commission.

What is your case? interjected Mr. Satyamurti.

Our case is that we have been treated as worse than animals by our own countrymen.

What are the Englishmen doing you now? put Mr. M. Bashir Ahmed,

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Mr. Abdul Hamid Khan asked whether it was proper for one community to harp upon domestic differences when the whole country was insulted.

There were lively interruptions from Congress Benches when Mr. Slater (official) defended the position of the depressed classes.

Mr. P. Anjangulu, Swarajist, moved for a closure. The President ruled it out of order and called upon the Finance Member to speak on the motion. Mr. Moir very vehemently defended the position taken up by members of the depressed classes.

Mr. Satyamurthy then rose amidst tense silence and replied point by point to the Hon. Moir's speech. "Indians have learnt that salvation for them lies in their own hands. So also he hoped the Adi-dravidas would discover likewise. The British Govt. have done nothing to uplift them. Their salvation would be assured the moment they refuse to co-operate with the Commission. Continuing, he said no nation under British dominance had gained self-determination, except at the point of bayonet. Referring to the charge levelled by the Finance Member he said that it was Govt. which was trifling with them and not they.

In conclusion he said: We challenge this Govt to do its worst.

Lord Birkenhead has asked whether we would allow the British army or navy to be withdrawn. If that proposition had been put to us before a round table conference, it would have been a different matter. But since it is made in that insolent way we accept his challenge. We want the army and navy to be called of. India has no enemies in the world. All are friends. It is only Great Britain that has innumerable foes. Her name is stinking in the nostrils of almost all countries in the world."

The visitors in the President's gallery having applauded the President had it cleared.

Resuming his interrupted speech Mr. Satyamurthy said: "Acceptance of the Commission means accepting of political slavery. Why should we voluntarily enslave ourselves in the Commission which wants to enslave use."

The motion was put to vote and carried amidst cries of Bande Mataram by 61 against 28 votes. The Development Minister and the Excise Minister were neutral, while the Chief Minister was absent at the time of voting. The officials and Europeans en bloc voted against the resolution. The Council then adjourned to the 27th February.

On the 27th FEBRUARY, after questions being answered, the Zemindar of Gollapalli introduced the Jaggampeta A. and D. Estates impartible bill and the motion was carried. After the motion was carried, he moved that the Bill be taken into consideration and it also was carried. Then he moved that the Bill be passed into law and it was also carried. Though the Swarajists attended the meeting they did not take any part in the proceedings.

Mr. Maneckavelu Nayakar next moved a resolution recommending the Government that all local fund toll gates in the presidency be abolished from the next official year and it was duly seconded. Dr. Subbarayan, the Chief Minister, in reply to Mr. Maneckavelu Nayakar's resolution narrated the financial difficulties that would arise if toll gates were abolished and assured the mover that the question will be considered and appealed to the mover to withdraw the resolution. Accordingly the resolution was withdrawn.

Mr. B. Ramchandra Reddy moved a resolution recommending the Government that orders be passed that no building devoted for religious worship should be extended or brought into existence newly without the previous sanction of the District Magistrate.

Mr. Abdul Hye moved an amendment that after religious worship "other than Mahomedan mosques" should be inserted but his amendment was lost since there was no secondor.

Mr. Apudasami Adayer moved an amendment to insert "other than Christian Churches" and when it was put to the vote it was lost.

The original motion of Mr. Ramchandra Reddy was then considered and passed. BUDGET FOR 1928-29.

Sir John Simon and other members of the Statutory Commission were in the distinguished visitors' gallery when the Council re-assembled on the 28th FEBRUARY to hear the Finance Member on the Budget estimates. Swarajist benches were again empty with the exception of the Council Nationalist Party led by Mr. Muthiah Mudaliar who were in their seats.

H. E. the Governor was present in his box when the Finance Member presented

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the Budget. In course of his speech the Hon'ble Mr. T. E. Moir said: "There is an opening balance in the revenue account of 312.58 lakhs, the revenue receipts amounting to Rs. 1697.33 lakhs and the total revenue expenditure of 1747.53 lakhs, the excess expenditure will be met by drawing upon our opening balances to the extent of Rs. 50.20 lakhs. This with a small investment of 3.33 lakhs, to which I have already referred, will leave us with a closing balance in the revenue account of Rs. 239.05 lakhs at the end of the year 1928-29. Under Capital and Debt Heads we shall be borrowing an additional sum of Rs. 145 lakhs; but if from this is deducted the amount of 45.66 lakhs for repayment of the previous loans the net addition to our liabilities will be Rs. 99.34 lakhs. A matter of great importance will be the final and complete remission of Rs. 48.73 lakhs being the balance of provincial contribution. Should that event happen in 1928-29, it will add a similar sum to recurring revenues. But it is an item which has no potential growth and will admit of additional expenditure to that amount and no further. At most, items will allow of certain fixed and exhaustive additions to expenditure recurring and non-recurring. They already exist as revenues and only admit of being diverted to other purposes. The adjusted revenue has increased from Rs. 1587 lakhs in 1920-1921 to an anticipated figure of Rs. 1742.53 lakhs in 1928-29, an average increase of Rs. 19.43 lakhs a year. This however includes increased revenue derived from alterations in stamp duties and court fees brought into force in 1922-23 and future annual increase on the basis of existing revenue cannot be pitched at a higher figure than accepted liabilities which have not yet attained their full development. The existing establishments demand an additional provision each year under incremental scales and pension charges. It has of recent years been impossible to frame definite programmes owing to uncertainties and fluctuations of our revenues. As a result the allotment of funds for these purpose has been somewhat haphazard. The time has, in my opinion, come where deficiencies should be definitely ascertained and minimum annual allotments provided to enable programmes of construction to be carried out. If such a process of rationing were enforced, departments would be compelled more carefully to consider comparative urgency of competing proposals. They would at the same time be in much better position to determine the allotment of available funds between replacements and needed improvements to our existing equipment and proposals for new adventures and this would, I think, tend to revive that financial sense which, I fear, has been considerably weakened under temporarily affluent circumstances to which remission of our provincial contribution has given rise in this respect. I am at present not in a position to do more than indicate roughly suggestions which will, I trust, be fully explored before another budget is placed before the Legislative Council.

GENERAL DISCUSSION OF THE BUDGET.

On the 1st MARCH the Council reassembled for general discussion of budget. There was thin attendance. Dewan Bahadur M. Krishna Nair (Justicite) welcomed the remission of provincial contribution and stressed the need for land revenue settlement bill and separation of judicial and executive functions.

Dewan Bahadur P. Kesava Pillai deplored the inadequate provision for rural water supply and education of depressed classes and pleaded for increasing facilities to submerged classes smarting under social tyranny.

Criticising the budget non-official members deplored the inadequacy of the provision for rural reconstruction work, educational facilities for women and depressed classes and urged reduction of taxation and opening of experimental farms.

Mr. B. Munuswami Naidu and Mr. B. Ramachandra Reddi, Justicites, pleaded for a definite enunciation of policy by Government as regards communalism in services.

THE NO-CONFIDENCE MOTION.

Swami Venkatachallam Chetty, leader of the Opposition, tabled the following resolution: This Council has no confidence in the Honble the Chief Minister, Dr. Subbarayan. The object of bringing the no-confidence motion in the Chief Minister was due to the fact that the Minister flouted the verdict of the House by co-operating with the Simon Commission.

On the 2nd MARCH when Swami Venkatachallam Chetty moved the motion only 36 members supported him. Among them 26 were Congress men and of

the rest 6 were Independent and 4 Justices including the Raja of Panagal and Sir Patro. So the motion was defeated.

As soon as the Council refused the permission to move the no-confidence resolution the Swarajists walked out of the Council chamber.

The House then discussed the budget for the ensuing year as presented to the House. Messrs. Naganna Gowd and Parthasarathy Aiyengar criticised the budget. As soon as Mr. Parthasarathy Aiyengar's speech was over, the President called upon Mr. Guavaram Pillai to speak, but when he found that Mr. Guavaram Pillai was reading from a manuscript paper, he said: "I allowed only the depressed class representatives to read from manuscript papers. In your case, I cannot allow it. So Mr. Guavaram Pillai discontinued his speech and Mr. Dorai Raja followed him.

Replying to the budget criticisms the Law Member quoted facts and figures to disprove the allegation that one particular community monopolised the appointments in the Services. He pointed out that the only solution which could help the other communities to get their due share in the Services was education.

Adverting to Mettur, the Law Member averred that it was not meant to benefit a particular district but the whole province.

Turning to the Pykara scheme, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer said that it had the approval of a well known expert in Major Howard and he had no doubt that the scheme would result in benefitting South India.

Replying to the debate Mr. T. E. Moir, Finance Member, congratulated Sir Basil Blackett and welcomed the abolition of provincial contributions. He declared that the Madras Budget was not a deficit budget in the real sense of the word. He paid a tribute to the enterprise and enthusiasm of Sir P. C. Ramaswami Iyer in connection with the Pykara and Mettur schemes. The Council then adjourned till March 13.

MINISTERS' STATEMENT ON RESIGNATION.

On the 13th MARCH Mr. A. Ranganatha Mudaliar and Mr. Arogyaswami Mudaliar, ex-Ministers, who took their seats on the extreme back of ministerial benches, with the permission of the Chair made statements explaining reasons which led to their resignations.

Amidst constant cheering and cries of "hear, hear" from the Swarajist benches, Dewan Bahadur R. H. Arogyaswami Mudaliar explained the circumstances of his resignation. In course of his extempore speech he said that owing to various causes a misunderstanding arose between him and the Chief Minister, Dr. Subbarayan and the Statutory Commission was one of the causes. Continuing he said:—

"As soon as the appointment of the Commission was announced Dr. Subbarayan issued a statement without consulting the party. This led to a misunderstanding among the party members. Later on, the party decided to treat the Commission as a non-Party issue with regard to voting. Then followed the resolution of the Council that it will not co-operate with the Commission as at present constituted.

"After the boycott resolution was passed by the Council Dr. Subbarayan pretended to resign and so Dr. Subbarayan met the Governor and handed over his resignation letter. But he was asked to wait for some time more by the Governor.

"After some time, I had an interview with His Excellency the Governor. His Excellency told me that those who acted against the Commission acted against the Government. I did not accept that view. I did not resign my ministership at once, because I thought that His Excellency's opinion was wrong and I hoped that he would revise his opinion on the above matter soon.

"The next incident which followed is the No-confidence motion on Dr. Subbarayan. This was brought by the leader of the Congress Party but that motion was lost since it was not able to command the full support of the Independent and Nationalist Party. The No-confidence motion made no mention of the Simon issue. After this resolution was defeated His Excellency again considered that those who voted for the boycott motion acted against the Government.

"After this resolution was defeated myself and my colleague Mr. Ranganathan Mudaliar had an interview with the Governor and finding his opinion not changed I thought I should not remain in office any longer since I considered that this was an insult to this House (hear, hear from the Swarajists). The failure of the No-confidence motion on Dr. Subbarayan does not mean that the Council has revised its opinion regarding the Simon Commission boycott but the Council still sticks to its former opinion. So, I appeal that no member of this House should accept-

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ministership in the future. Many who accepted it feel disgusted (opposition cheers). What sign is there that the future reforms should have power so that it may not be possible for any Government to turn out any ministry which acts according to the mandate of the Council (hear, hear from the opposition side.)

President: Let the Hon'ble member explain the reasons which led to his resignation and let him not advise the Council about the future.

After his speech was over the President said: Let us have statements from Dr. Subbarayan and Mr. Ranganathan.

Sami Venkatachalam: Let us hear Mr. Ranganathan first and Dr. Subbarayan next.

MR. MUDALIAR'S STATEMENT.

Mr. A. Ranganathan Mudaliar pointed out at the outset that only upon a mandate from the House that any member would be entitled to occupy the post and this principle was the justification for reforms of 1911. Recalling the circumstances of formation of the Independent Ministry he stated that the reason why he carried on in office, despite weak position of the party in the Council, was that he knew that he had the support of the House for his policy. After reiterating his principle that as a reflector of views and wishes of the House and as its mouth-piece he had the right and duty to resign if he failed to reflect the fundamental wishes of the House, Mr. Ranganathan referred to the boycott resolution and observed that the feeling of resentment against the Commission was universal and testified by the Legislative Council's verdict. He opined that the constitutional procedure for Dr. Subbarayan in the face of the Council's resolution for boycott was resignation, but it was not adopted and this was a negation of the principles of responsible Government. Mr. Ranganathan declared that he had made plain to His Excellency and the public his determination to respect the wishes of the House on the Simon boycott. He asked amidst cheers: What is the good of my being a popular Minister, if I did not represent the popular view in the Government. Nor did co-operation or non-co-operation with the Commission interfere upto the date I resigned with the discharge of my duties?"

He next cited the example of the C. P. Ministers who after the vote against the Commission continued in office. "I fully believe I did not resign a day too early."

Proceeding he observed that to his mind the Simon Commission was the only issue which could determine at the moment the relation between the Ministers and the Council. Mr. Ranganathan declared, "I believe agreement or disagreement between the Council and the Ministry on the Simon question was of fundamental importance and I venture to believe that whatever our differences in regard to other matters on the point of the Commission we are one. ("Hear, hear"). It is because of this I considered it my duty to resign and to come back to you and ask you to uphold the honour of the House and the country."

Referring to the resignation consequent on the Governor's interpretation, Mr. Mudaliar asserted that as long as the Ministers were not allowed to act in the matter of the boycott resolution with the Council it would not be possible to form any Ministry, for he maintained that it was better that Diarchy should go than that those administering it and those entrusted with the duty and privilege of representing the views of the Council should in reality misrepresent them. (Hear, hear and cheers from the Swarajist benches).

Concluding he paid a tribute to the Governor, Viscount Goschen and observed that if there was a Governor willing to make the Reforms a success and under whom they could have been made a success, it was he, but the opportunity was lost. (Applause).

THE CHIEF MINISTER'S STATEMENT.

Dr. Subbarayan, replying on behalf of the Government, was received amidst cries of "Oh, oh" from the Swarajists. He declared that on his recommendation H. E. the Governor accepted two gentlemen just spoken as Ministers (Oh, oh). A short while ago the speaker represented to His Excellency differences that had arisen between himself and his colleagues and that he could not work with them. The Governor discussed the matter with the ex-Ministers as a result of which they preferred resignation. "As I am aware the No-confidence motion against me had failed" Dr. Subbarayan was saying when the opposition loudly dissented.

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Dr. Subbarayan: I maintain it had failed, for it did not get the necessary support. (European cheers and Swarajist cries of "Oh, oh.")

The President: I request the House to listen with patience to the sole Minister.

The Chief Minister: If friends opposite hit me, I mean to hit back (Laughter and European cheers).

Continuing Dr. Subbarayan said that his Excellency had no option except to accept the resignation.

Mr. R. Mallaya: On your recommendation?

Dr. Subbarayan, continuing, said the Simon Commission was a reserved subject under the Diarchy. It was a surprise to the speaker to read from the press that his colleagues intended resignation. Moreover, he was unaware if the ex-Ministers had obtained his Excellency's permission to publish the resignation letter.

Referring to joint responsibility the speaker said that it was an open secret that his two colleagues had invited the Deputy leader of the opposition for Counsel.

Dr. Mallaya: Did not Mr. Satyamurti hold you before. (Laughter).

Proceeding, the Minister asked for the meaning of the two Ministers issuing the press statements a month after the Commission debate and immediately prior to the No-confidence motion against himself. Did not these cut across the ideas of joint responsibility? "If the member for Bellary (Mr. Ranganatham) had any differences with me he should have straightaway gone to the Governor and told him that he could not work in the Ministry of which I was the chief." (Swarajist laughter and ironical cheers).

Proceeding the Chief Minister referred to the Congress Party which went back on professions of joint responsibility and tabled no-confidence against him. The charge of breaking the joint responsibility should be raised at the other doors.

ECHO OF HARTAL DAY DISTURBANCES

Mr. A. Y. G. Campbell, Law Member, (to whose rising to make the motion for supplementary demands there were objections from Mr. Harisarvotam Rao, who wanted to know who the Law Member was and was told by the President that Mr. Campbell was) successfully obtained several supplementary grants.

Mr. Oosman, Police Member, moved a supplementary police grant of Rs. 3 lakhs and odd to make good the extra expenditure caused by a cut of five lakhs in the current budget.

Mr. Kaleswara Rao moved a cut of Rs. 100 to protest against the needless police precautions on the Simon Commission's visit.

Mr. Basheer Ahmad in a vehement speech condemned what he called the police inefficiency in allowing the peaceful citizens to be assaulted on the Hartal day by the ruffians.

Dr. Mallaya also severely criticised the police firing on the High Court mob on the Hartal day. Dr. Mallaya told the House that those assaulted were specially picked-out people who were Swarajists and wanted Swaraj. What were the police doing, he would ask? What had Government done to compensate the victims of police inefficiency? Were Government going to send them to Andamans for voluntary colonisation?

Diwan Bahadur Krishnan Nair (Justice) held that, although it was not the intention of hartal organisers to molest the people it was Government's primary duty to protect peaceful citizens. The speaker recalled the rowdism and hurt to Brahmans, especially innocent Brahmans. (Laughter). Government were certainly to blame for inaction on February 3, but how could they be blamed for learning the lesson and taking the necessary precaution? The speaker thought that the Swarajists' speeches on the floor of the House provided the strongest argument favouring the demand.

Mr. R. Srinivasa Iyengar (Swarajist), supporting the motion characterised the armed police patrol as an insult to peaceful citizens.

Swami Venkatachalam Chetti, leader of the Opposition, remarked that the throwing of stones and eggs and the burning of effigies were things they learnt from Europe. The disturbances on the Hartal day were the acts of rowdies. To counteract a small disturbance, the Government drafted a large force of armoured cars to terrify the people. He enquired if that was complimentary to the Commission.

The Hon'ble Mr. Mahomed Oosman (Police member) replying said that special police was drafted to afford a sense of protection and security amidst shouts of "withdraw police." The Members declared that those who spoke at the Beach were

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responsible for the disorders. It was said that police was brought to protect the Simon Commission. They desired no protection whatever. ("Oh, oh!") They were welcomed by the people. (Oh!)

MR. SATYAMURTHI'S CHALLENGE.

Mr Satyamurthi challenged the Police Member to repeat elsewhere his charge that the opposition members incited the rowdies at the Beach meetings to defy the police. (A voice; He dare not). He recalled the incidents of the hartal day and complained of indifference of police under whose very nose, he declared, stonethrowing was resorted to. He asserted that at least on two occasions the police aided and abetted the disorders or the rowdies were sure that they had the police behind to back them. There was no disorder on the day of the Simon Commission's arrival at Madras because the rowdies who were backed on previous occasions failed to get the backing. He asked Government to appoint an honest and representative Commission to enquire into the disorders and unless they had done so people would believe that the police was out to break the boycott movement. Non-official Europeans, he said, were the real Government who dictated everybody and to the Simon Commission he desired to make it known that the Opposition members should be the real rulers and would not rest till they were so. (Hear, hear). He appealed to all sections to vote for the amendment.

Sir James Simpson remarked that the speeches of the Opposition members were themselves a justification of police precautions on the Hartal day. The city was given over to mob law and police-cum leaders were unable to control the forces they had set in motion. "We are the rulers of India for, after all, trade, commerce and agriculture must have a predominant voice in the Government." But, added Sir James, Law and Order must be maintained as there were forces that were dangerous.

The Finance Member opposed the motion which was rejected by 58 votes against 72, the ex-Ministers, the Justices and the Muthia Mudaliar group voting with Government. The original grant was agreed to. After a number of other demands the Council adjourned.

On the 14th MARCH Mr. Ranganathan Mudaliar gave a statement in reply to Dr. Subbarayan's attack on him that he was connected with the no-confidence motion brought against Dr. Subbarayan, leader of the House.

Sir R. E. Marjoribanks objected to such statements that it would raise another debate.

The President ruled that the statement was permissible as it intended to vindicate him from the allegation made by Dr. Subbarayan. Mr. Mudaliar then stated that he himself and Mr. Arogyaswamy Mudaliar tried their best to dissuade their friends from the idea of the no-confidence motion. Dr. Subbarayan, rose on a point of personal explanation, but he was ruled out of order.

VOTING ON BUDGET GRANTS.

The House then commenced voting on Budget Grants. The Government sustained a defeat on a motion of cut moved by Mr. Basheer Ahmed, Swarajist, on the first demand for a grant under Land Revenue. The demand was for Rs. 260.36 lakhs and the cut was for Rs. .00.

In moving his motion Mr. Basheer Ahmed criticised the settlement policy of the Government. He referred to the futility of repeated appeals to the Government to bring land revenue under the control of the Legislative Council. It had been the fixed policy of the Government, so far at least as the Ryotwari lands were concerned, to fix 50 per cent of the net produce as State demand. He referred to the hardship of the cultivators and regretted that as Mahatmaji had pointed out land revenue had become a close preserve of the Government.

Mr. Harisarvottam Rao, a Swarajist, declared that if no taxation without representation was the rule of the Indian bureaucracy he deprecated the policy of the Government in grinding down the Riots.

The Revenue Member and the Finance Member pointed out that under the present constitution land revenue was in the reserved half and that until the present constitution was changed to a great idea they could not see how the position could be changed. Further safeguard in this matter was due to the fact that land revenue was the principal source of the revenue.

Mr. Satyamurti declared that the doctrine laid down by the Government members was the most dangerous one and he asked why then should reserved grants be placed before the House were advised to be restored by the Governor.

He concluded with a warning to the Government to give adequate relief to the poor agriculturist by placing land revenue settlement on a statutory basis.

After Mr. Kaleswar Rao, another Swarajist, had spoken the motion was put to vote and declared carried by 4 votes against 20. Mr. Ranganathan, ex-minister and Sir Patro of the Justice Party voted for the motion.

Five more reduction token motions of Rs. 100 each were also moved in the Council under the general head Land Revenue by the non-officials and all of them carried. The sub-heads to which the cuts related were expenses for the Revenue Board, General Administration, Districts Administration charges and others. A cut under Administration charges was moved by Mr. Sivaraj, a nominated member and strongly supported by the Swarajists it was carried. The demand as a whole under the Land Revenue reduced by Rs. 600 for six cut motions was then put to vote and passed. The Council then adjourned.

On the 16th MARCH Messrs. S. Muthiah Mudaliar and M. R. Sethurathnam Iyer were introduced to the Governor at 1 p.m. in the Secretariat where they took the oath of allegiance. Mr. Muthiah Mudaliar was made the second Minister and Mr. Iyer the third Minister. Excise was placed in charge of Mr. Muthiah Mudaliar and Development with Mr. Sethurathnam Iyer.

Amidst cries of "shame" and "traitors" from the Swarajist benches the new Ministers took their seats next to the Chief Minister at 3 p.m. in the afternoon in the Council and the President had to call the House to order before commencing the proceedings.

METTUR PROJECT CRITICISED

On the 17th MARCH the attendance in the Council was sparse when it reassembled to resume the voting on the budget demands. The appointment Committee of the Council to enquire into the working of the Mettur Scheme with a view to economy was urged by a token motion on demand under irrigation. The non-official speakers complained of the frequent changes in estimates and the alleged extravagance and pointed out that the Government would do well to avoid another backbay bungle.

Sir Norman Marjoribanks defended the Government policy and paid a tribute to Sir Ramaswami Iyer for his energy and enthusiasm in connection with the Mettur Scheme.

Dewan Bahadur R. N. Arogyaswami Mudaliar pointed out that the question whether the cement be preserved to lime in the construction of the dam was never referred to the India Government's experts. Government sustained a defeat over this token cut the House dividing, 46 votes for and 25 against it. Justices and Swarajists voted once for the motion while three Ministers remained neutral, although the Hon'ble Muthiah Mudaliar had spoken in support of the irrigation and the demand was agreed to.

PROVINCIAL AUTONOMY

An interesting debate then ensued over a token cut motion allotment for the Private Secretary when the question of further constitutional reforms was raised. The grant of provincial autonomy for Madras with adequate safeguards for minorities' rights was urged by several speakers who pointed out that Madras was ripe for autonomy. Mr. Parthasharatri Iyengar (Ministerialist) characterised the present ministers as no ministers in the real sense of the term and deplored the recent political developments. Dyarchy, he added, should go.

Mr. B. Munuswami Pillai (Depressed Classes) opined there would be no further reforms till the high caste people changed their mentality. Mr. R. Srinivasam (Depressed Classes) while proclaiming the desire for Home Rule admitted that Indians were united for the same.

Sir Norman Marjoribanks, leader of the House, pointed out that the Madras Government had no power to change the constitution.

Mr. Satyamurthi observed that the Justice Party achieved two political points, one, joint responsibility and the second, about leaders of parties being summoned to take office. Both these points have been destroyed during the week. He twitted Ministers

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about the sanctity of election pledges and pleaded for understanding and tolerance among communities. He referred to the Simon Commission and observed till its departure. Treasury Benches would shed crocodile tears for the welfare of depressed classes with 'never yet'. The latter will give evidence against reforms. Concluding he reiterated the Congress demand for complete responsible Government.

Dewan Bahadur Kumarswami Reddiar (Justicite) declared that his party will be neutral. He pointed out that his party were not in need of praise from Swarajist quarter and added they were ready for the test and that their action in the coming week would be in accord with their previous professions and declared principles. While proclaiming the determination to insist on provincial autonomy he explained that the reason for neutrality was that by effecting a cut in the private secretary allotment they believed they could get no nearer of provincial autonomy.

Mr. N. Sivaraj (Ministerialist) deplored the narrow outlook of the opposition members who under the cloak of patriotism dubbed as cynics their honest political opponents, thus stifling freedom of opinion. He added that he and the people of his class did not feel like Indians and it was up to the opposition to make them feel otherwise.

Sir James Simpson declared that he and those on his bench were for provincial autonomy but the cut was so unreal that they would vote against it.

Mr. T. E. Moir, Finance Member, opined that the Swarajist Deputy Leader was himself the greatest obstacle in the way of working the machinery of the Government and invited Swarajists to help the framing of future constitution of India and placing the same before the Simon Commission. The token motion was by leave withdrawn. The Council then adjourned.

On the 19th MARCH prominent members of the Independent Party including the two ex-Ministers were seen sitting in the opposition bloc when the Council resumed discussion on grants. Sir N. Marjoribanks moved a demand for grant of rupees 3.17 lakhs for general administration.

Mr. Basheer Ahmed moving a cut urged the necessity of more space being made available in the Council office. He pointed out that parties in the Council had increased but there were not as many rooms as party leaders and other office-bearers. The cut motion was however withdrawn on an assurance from the Government member that the matter would be looked into.

Another cut was moved by Mr. Saldanha to discuss inadequate accoustic arrangements in the Council. Mr. Hameed Khan pleaded for better arrangements, especially for the benefit of press representatives and on the assurance of the consideration of all practical suggestions the motion was withdrawn.

Under head legislative bodies Mr. S. N. Dorairaja, nominated member, moved a token cut to raise the question of Swarajist absence from the Council. Mr. Satyamurthi raised a point of order that the budget motions being intended to influence, or censure the policy or action of the Executive Government he doubted whether the motion could be moved to criticise the non-official members of the House. The President asked Mr. Dorairaja how his motion could be connected with the administrative policy of the Government and said that the budget motions were intended to criticise the administrative side of the Government.

Mr. Dorairaja said the Swarajists only wasted Government's money and that it was only from the administrative point of view that he wanted to criticise the Swarajists' non-attendance. The President ruled the motion out of order.

Mr. D. Narayana Razu (Congress) then moved a cut to discuss the question of giving postal concessions to members, and on the leader of the House stating that he would suggest that certain amount of money should be set apart for defraying the expenses of the correspondence of members the motion was withdrawn.

Speaking on another cut moved by the Swarajists raising the question of introduction of adult suffrage Swami Sahajananda (Depressed Classes nominated) bitterly complained that nominated members were responsible only to official members to whom they owe their nomination, but did not represent their own community. He pointed as instance that his heart was burning when he voted for the excise grant. The cut was carried and the demand with the cut was then granted.

The Council then negatived a Swarajist token motion urging the transfer of forests to the Transferred Departments and carrying out the Muddiman Committee's majority recommendations. By 44 votes against 20 the Council effected a token cut censuring the neglect of the provincial Governments in not pressing on the India Government the need for a separate Andhra Province. 29 remained neutral including

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all Ministers. The Council rejected Mr. Basheer Ahmed's token motion raising constitutional propriety of Government in changing a voted into a non-voted item and vice versa. The Council then adjourned.

On the 20th MARCH the cut motion moved on the Ministers Salaries by Mr. C. V. Venkatraman Iyengar was lost by 46 against 69 votes. Demand under general Administration and the Ministers' Salaries was then put to the vote and declared carried. All the Swarajists voted enbloc in favour of the cut motion while almost all the Justicites with the exception of the Rajah of Panagal and Sir Patro voted against. Amongst the Independent Nationalists two Ex-Ministers, Messrs. Ranganath Mudaliar and Arogyaswamy Mudaliar and two nominated members voted against. This surprise in their ranks was the vote of Mr. C. Gopala Menon who was expected to vote for the cut motion but voted against. The House then rose.

On the 21st MARCH criticism was directed against treatment of political prisoners and general jail policy, non-official speakers pointing out it was most unsatisfactory.

The Hon. Mr. A. Y. G. Campbell, Law Member, replying maintained that jail conditions were satisfactory and progress was considerable. He denied that the Neill statue prisoners were treated cruelly and added prison conditions in Madras were far advanced than elsewhere.

The Home Member emphasised that Government was carrying out the Cardew Committee's recommendations. The token motion of censure on jail policy was negatived. The demand under jail was agreed to.

Khadi uniform for the police was urged by Mr. Bhaktavatalu (Swarajist) who raised the question by a token out on the Police Budget and declared that the seven and a half lakhs spent on police clothing should go to Indians.

Mr. Harisarvotham Rao, explaining the economic aspect, declared that the Government Industrial Weaving Institutes could manufacture sufficient Khadi clothing, thereby adding to production and lessening cost.

Mr. R. Srinivasa Iyengar observed that his economic considerations would partially relieve the unemployment distress.

Mr. A. Ranganatha Mudaliar, ex-Minister, suggested that Government should keep a department for purchasing Indian articles, thus encouraging indigenous industries.

Mr. Abbas Ali (Ministerialist) opposed, characterising the motion as unpractical, and declared that Khadi introduction meant a political resolution. Moreover, Khadi was uneconomic. The speaker added amid laughter and ironical cheers that under the khadi tyranny he himself had to wear khadi at least for election purposes.

Mr. Satyamurti ridiculed Mr. Abbas Ali and declared that Government was bound to support indigenous industries. The Corporation was now encouraging khadi according to a previous resolution.

The Hon. Mr. Oosman, replying, explained why khadi could not be used. Khadi was uncomfortable and unpopular. Moreover, it was the political symbol of one party. Similarly, another party the next day might dictate weaving as its political symbol.

Sir James Simpson regretted that he could not support the motion because Khadi was too dear to a poor Scotsman like himself who was not an American millionaire. He suggested Indian cloth instead of khadi.

The motion was carried by 38 votes against 21. Most of the nominated Members, Europeans, Swarajists and Independents voted for the motion, while the "Justicites" and Ministers remained neutral. The Council then adjourned.

On the 23rd MARCH on the motion of the Law Member the Council granted Rs. 33,000 for ports and pilotage. Dr. Subbarayan, Chief Minister, then moved for a grant of Rs. 55,009 and odd for provincial museum. Mr. Saldanha moved a cut to criticise the Government's indifference to the importance of the exhibits of the industrial products. Several members laid stress on the necessity of establishing a museum with industrial exhibits for industrial development. The motion was lost and the whole demand was then carried.

The demand of the Education Minister for Rs. 181.74 lakhs roused a long discussion on the policy of the Government regarding the primary and secondary education and also on their apathy to industrial education.

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"Close down the law college for a time and utilize the saving for establishing vocational schools" was the suggestion made by Mr. Gangadar Siva, nominated member, when the Council resumed discussion on Mr. Harisavothamarao's cut motion on education demand. Speakers criticised the policy of the Government in regard to secondary education and pointed out that it was of no material benefits to boys. Educational policy must be so devised as to impart industrial education and solve the problem of unemployment.

Mr. Biswanath Dass pointed out that, in spite of the Reforms and existence of the ministry for seven years in control of education, the increase in the percentage of literacy was 1.5, from 4.5 to 6 per cent. Continuing, he said if education was to be spread elementary education must not be entrusted to local bodies.

Mr. Narayana Raju referred to the necessity of giving text books in elementary schools a distinct national touch as the present text books were unsuited for Indian boys in respect of their political future.

Mr. Satyamurthi referred to the pathetic dimensions to which unemployment had swelled up, lots of graduates being ready to take up jobs at nominal salaries.

The cut motion was lost by 23 against 42, the Rajah of Panagal and Mr. Patro voting against. The whole demand was then carried. The Council then adjourned.

On the 26th MARCH the practice of allowing Government medical officers to carry on private practice and Government's apathy to indigenous system of medicine were subjected to criticism. The Minister for Public Health moved for a grant of Rs. 77.07 lakhs on medical establishments. Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar moved a cut to discuss frequent transfer of medical officers which leads to considerable expenditure. Member after member drew attention to the unadvisability of subjecting medical officers to the inconvenience of frequent transfers. Another cut motion was moved by Mr. A. B. Shetty to discuss the desirability of preventing medical officers of Government from having private practice. Mr. Mallaya in course of the debate surveyed the attitude of the medical staff to the general public to searching criticism and enumerated cases of indifference of officers to the general public and caring only for private practice.

Mr. Moir, Finance Member, referred in indignant language to references made by Dr. Mallaya to the lapses of members of his own profession and spoke on parliamentary traditions.

Mr. Satyamurthi retorted if the Finance Member was a monitor to dictate to the House.

Mr. Moir rose to a point of order and said that if he had been out of order, the President would have ruled it out.

Mr. Satyamurthi remarked that it was no point of order. Mr. Moir did not know what a point of order was. He was laying down a new parliamentary etiquette that members should, before making a reference in the House, give notice of 24 hours to Government.

Mr. Moir replied that he never intended that officers on whom an attack was made should be present. He only said that sufficient notice should be given of those changes so that ministers might investigate the matter and defend officers.

Mr. Harisavothama Rao moved another cut to discuss the need for greater encouragement to indigenous medicines and the need for making more provision for rural dispensaries. He said it was Government tenderness to the I. M. S. men which was against showing any sympathy for the indigenous system.

The Minister said the Government was giving encouragement and instanced the School of the Indian Medicine where research in indigenous medicines was carried on in Calcutta and assured that a similar institute would be started in Madras itself if students who might be trained at the Government School of Indian Medicine showed their capacity for it. Regarding rural dispensaries the provision made last year had been exhausted but more earnest work should be done in the current year. The cut motion was lost by 27 against 21. The whole demand was carried when the Council rose for lunch.

Re-assembling after lunch, the Council rejected a number of cuts moved for the demand of Rs. 4567 lakhs under 'public health' and after passing the demand rose for the day.

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MOTION ON MARRIAGE AGE

On the 27th MARCH the Ladies' galleries in the Council Chamber were filled with lady social reform workers eager to listen to the discussion on the motion of Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddi that the Council recommends to the Government that they may be pleased to communicate to the Government of India that in the opinion of this House the legislation raising the marriageable age of boys and girls at least to 21 and 16 years respectively is necessary. There was an interesting discussion and Dr. Reddi painted a vivid picture of the evils of early marriage. In the interests of the future generation she wanted the age to be raised. If India was to progress reform in this direction was necessary.

Sir Patro said that it was not desirable to allow the Government to intervene in social matters.

The Law member said that it was not desirable to pass the legislation. Conditions were improving and in course of the last few years the number of prosecution for offences against the already existing legislation were becoming less and less. It was more a matter for the social reform workers.

The Government was sympathetic but did not think it wise to interfere. Mr. Moir also expressed similar views. The motion was put to vote and carried.

There was on the agenda a number of bills to amend the Andhra University Act, but the consideration was adjourned till the next session on an agreement between the prominent members of all parties.

The resolution for the suppression of brothels and control of immoral traffic could not be moved as the mover was not present.

Other resolutions were uninteresting, one relating to the pay of Munshis and Pandits which was withdrawn. The Council then rose for lunch.

Reassembling after lunch the Council proceeded to the other resolutions on the agenda. After ten minutes the necessary quorum had to be invited by the President's bell. While discussion was proceeding on the motion that a committee should be appointed to enquire into the economic conditions of agriculturists in the Bellary district Mr. Saldanha repeatedly drew the attention of the President to the absence of the Minister for Development. But the President remarked that when the Congress party members were absent, Mr. Saldanha who belonged to the Congress party should not find fault with members of the treasury bench for their absence. He also pointed out that the Development Minister had no connection with the subject under discussion.

Sir Patro opposed the formation of a committee and said that instead of appointing a committee Government should give water to ryots tax free.

The Revenue Member, Major Banks said that there was no use appointing a committee. As for tax free water he said that with better financial conditions of this year Government would be able to carry out their irrigation schemes.

The motion to appoint a committee for enquiry into the economic conditions for the Bellary district ryots was lost. The resolution of Mr. Chetty that independent medical practitioners should be appointed to take charge of physical training and medical inspection in schools was withdrawn after discussion. The Council then rose for the day.

VOTING ON FRESH DEMANDS.

On the 28th MARCH supplementary demands were sanctioned under the Veterinary service and for Cinchona plantations. The Law Member then moved for a further grant of Rs. 1,26,000 for certain experiments to be carried in Annamalai forests. Mr. S. Satyamurti raised a point of order that there was no provision in the Government of India Act for such further demands. He also said there was no such practice in any other provincial council. He argued that further demands could only be for new expenses and not for those which could not have been anticipated before preparation of the budget. He also questioned whether the Governor can allot days for further demand as he liked.

The President in ruling the demand in order said that the same point had been raised on previous occasions and that a practice prevalent from the introduction of the Reforms could not be easily upset. The further demands were only on new matters.

The Council then rose for lunch after rejecting the motion for adjourning consideration of the demand to the next session of the Council by 27 against 48.

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ADJOURNMENT MOTION LOST.

On re-assembling after lunch the Council had to clear a large number of further demands and the sitting had to be carried. Frequent polls were claimed by the Swarajists. Then at five the Swarajists brought forward a motion that further business should be adjourned till next day. Sami Venkatachalam Chetty said they had other business. Dr. Subbarayan said if the Swarajists did not use obstructive tactics they could have disposed of more work. The House should sit till 6 or 6-30 in order to go through every agenda. Then Mr. Satyamurthi said that in putting up such heavy agenda of further demands the opposition was not consulted, but was completely ignored. He wanted that further consideration should be adjourned.

The motion to adjourn discussion was lost by 21 against 31. Sami Venkatachalam Chetty followed by other Swarajists then walked out. The sitting continued till 6-30, only four or five demands being over for the next day.

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On the 30th MARCH, question time in the Council was the stormiest on record when Mr. Satyamurthy questioned eliciting information about instructions for preparing materials for the Commission which occupied 40 minutes.

The first question which raised heat in the House was that of Mr. Parasuram Rao who asked whether Mr. Slater, Labour Commissioner publicly rebuked Mr. Ramjee Rao, a nominated member, for remaining neutral on the occasion of voting on the Ministers' salaries and whether there are any rules enunciating the voting of the nominated member, and if a nominated member voted against, whether he can continue as member of the House and whether Mr. Slater and other members have been in the habit of canvassing votes of the nominated members and if so, under what authority?

Sir Majoribanks replied that Government are not aware of any such action on the part of Mr. Slater. There are no rules of prescribing the voting of nominated members nor was the Government aware of the habit of Government canvassing votes from the nominated members as was suggested by the Hon'ble Member. But however he said that the Govt are not precluded from seeking support from any section of the House.

Mr. Mallaya in a supplementary question asked whether it was open for Mr. Slater to coax or compel nominated members. The question was ruled out.

Another Swarajist member asked why cannot Mr. Slater enter the House Sir, though he is standing on the verandah.

President: That is no supplementary question.

Then came Mr. Satyamurthy's question asking each of the three Ministers, (A) whether they had given or propose to give instructions to departments under their control for preparation of any case of materials for presentation to or consideration by the Simon Commission (B) if so, why the Minister proposes to act in contravention of the vote of the House.

Dr. Subbarayan, Chief Minister, began by saying that the Ministers had to do with the preparation of materials for the consideration of the Commission.

Mr. Satyamurthy: May I ask whether the Ministers through their departments had anything to do with the preparation of any evidence?

Dr. Subbarayan: Yes, They have, because the Government of India by a letter asked the Madras Govt. to supply information to the Commission. My friend evidently knows the Devolution rules.

Mr. Satyamurthy: The Devolution Rules simply ask the Govt. of Madras to give information to the India Govt. I ask whether the Minister may permit his department to prepare evidence.

Dr. Subbarayan: That matter has not arisen.

Mr. Satyamurthy: I am asking whether in view of the previous statement of the Minister that he cannot prevent his dept. from preparing evidence he changed and keeps an open mind.

Dr. Subbarayan: It does not mean anything of the kind.

Mr. Satyamurthy: Does he propose to instruct his departments

Dr. Subbarayan: That will be considered.

Mr. Satyamurthy: I take it he means that he has as a constitutional Minister to prevent his department.

Dr. Subbarayan: It does not mean anything of the kind.

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Mr. Satyamurthy: Then the Minister will certainly allow the department to prepare evidence.

Dr. Subbarayan: Yes Sir.

Mr. Satyamurthy: (Amidst laughter) It would have saved time if that answer had come earlier. Mr. Satyamurthy asked the reasons for the Minister proposing to act in defiance of the verdict of the Council.

Dr. Subbarayan: According to Devolution Rule 5.

Mr. Satyamurthy: That rule refers only to returns to the Govt. of India. How does it refer either expressly or impliedly to the Royal Commission and cast upon the Minister's duty of preparing evidence?

Dr. Subbarayan: The Governor General has asked us for a particular information.

Mr. Satyamurthy: Does the Minister then feel that he has no discretion in the matter and is bound to carry orders of the Governor-General in Council and that if he had discretion he would decide otherwise?

Dr. Subbarayan: It does not follow.

Mr. Satyamurthy: Apart from Devolution Rules may I take it that the Minister is acting on his own responsibility. Whether the materials now being prepared are for the submission to the Governor General in Council?

Dr. Subbarayan: Yes, Sir.

Mr. Satyamurthy: Are they supplied to both the Commission and the India Government?

Dr. Subbarayan: I cannot say.

Mr. Satyamurthy: Has the Minister issued any instructions?

Dr. Subbarayan: No instructions have been issued.

Mr. Satyamurthy: Have not the departments been asked to prepare evidence?

Dr. Subbarayan: Not by the Ministers.

Mr. Satyamurthy: Then by whom?

Dr. Subbarayan: Notice.

Mr. Basheer Ahamed, Swarajist: Is the Minister going to act according to the letter of the Govt. or according to the vote of the House?

Dr. Subbarayan: As long as Ministers are members of the Govt. of Madras they are bound to supply the information which the Govt. of India require.

Mr. Baktavatsalu: Does that mean that Dr. Subbarayan has nothing to do with the House or its vote?

Dr. Subbarayan: I never said anything of that kind.

Mr. Satyamurthy: Does the Hon'ble Minister consider there is inconsistency in his position as Minister responsible to the House and as member of the Govt. If he feels so, why has he chosen to act up to Devolution Rule 5 and not the vote of the House?

Dr. Subbarayan: I never thought they were inconsistent.

Mr. T. C. Srinivasa Iyengar: In view of his obligation as Minister what did he do to advise His Excellency the Governor with regard to giving effect to the resolution of the House?

Dr. Subbarayan: I cannot answer the question.

Mr. Hamid Khan: May I point out that a similar resolution arose in the C. P. and Ministers there did not give preference to Devolution Rule over the vote of the House?

Dr. Subbarayan: I have nothing to do with the action of the Ministers in the C. P.

Mr. Anjanayelu: May I know if the Minister is aware that the vote of this House is binding upon him and his colleagues?

Dr. Subbarayan: I am not aware (Laughter.)

The Minister for Public Health, the Hon'ble Mr. S. Muthaya Mudaliar in his turn read a typewritten reply. He said that Ministers have nothing to do with the preparation of materials.

Mr. Satyamurthy: Does not the Minister feel that his (Muthaya Mudaliar's) vote on the Commission "As at present constituted" is inconsistent with making his department prepare evidence?

The Minister: The question is not on a matter of fact, but calls for opinion, hence it does not arise.

Mr. Satyamurthy: It is the President who should rule, not for a Minister to say that.

The President said the question did not call for opinion.

The Minister: I don't see any inconsistency.

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Mr. Satyamurthy : By allowing departments to prepare evidence is he carrying out the vote of the House including his own vote in favour of the boycott ?

The Minister : The chief Minister has already answered that no instructions have been issued.

Mr. Satyamurthy : Is he aware that the departments under him are now engaged in preparing evidence ?

The Minister : Notice.

Mr. Satyamurthy : If he is called upon, will he countermand that order ?

The Minister : It is a matter for the future.

Mr. T. C. Srinivasa Aiyengar : I want to know, Sir, if he sticks to his views then expressed by his vote, or has he changed it ?

Minister : The opinions which I then expressed and which I now express are, according to time, not inconsistent.

Mr. Anjaneyalu : May I know whether the second Minister made any statement to any body that he has changed his views ?

Minister : That is a matter which I am afraid I cannot divulge.

(Voices: why ?)

Mr. Satyamurthy : May I ask him categorically whether he did, or did not tell somebody (I am not prepared to reveal the name) that he undertook not to oppose the Commission ?

Minister : It is a question which is confidential between His Excellency the Governor and myself.

When the third Minister also read out his typewritten reply it was 12 and interpellations were over and amidst the laughter of the House Mr. Sethurathnam resumed his seat. Just at that time Mr. Slater, Labour Commissioner entered the Chamber and Sami Venkatachallam asked permission of the President as a special case to put questions to him regarding the pressure on the nominated member. The President with the consent of the leader of the House fixed three in the afternoon for it and then passed on to other items on the agenda. After passing some demands the Council rose for lunch at one.

When the Council reassembled at three Mr. Slater was not present. He came in only at 3-40 when the House was considering some demands, amidst the laughter from the opposition benches. Swami Venkatachalam drew the attention of the President to Mr. Slater's presence but the President said they could not put question at that time. After carrying four or 5 demand the Council was prorogued.

The Bengal Legislative Council

The autumn session of the Bengal Council met at Calcutta on the 7th *FEBRUARY* 1928. The Swarajist benches were empty, although about eight or nine Swarajists including Mr. Naliniranjan Sircar, the Chief Whip of the party were to be seen in the lobby, just before the meeting commenced.

The President intimated to Mr. Jitendralal Bannerjee, who had given notice of an adjournment motion to discuss the hartal disturbances in Calcutta, that His Excellency the Governor, who was out of Calcutta had granted the necessary permission of the admission of the motion. Mr. Bannerjee however decided not to move the adjournment motion in view of the non-attendance of the Swarajists, thereby rendering it impossible to get the necessary thirty members to support him in asking for leave to move the motion.

The President next gave his ruling as to the procedure to be followed in connection with supplementary questions. He said that when notice was asked for, and a member could not give a reply, then it would be treated as a fresh question, and it might be answered at that session or at the next session.

Two official bills were introduced and circulated to elicit non-official opinion. The first bill was the Bengal Village Self-Government Bill introduced by Sir Provash Mitter. The bill authorised the Union Boards to combine to open dispensaries, cattle infirmaries and primary schools.

The Bengal Medical Bill was introduced by the Hon. Moberly. The object of the bill was to make the Council of Medical Registration more representative. The Council then adjourned.

On the 9th *FEBRUARY* there were 52 members present at the opening of the sitting, but as the business proceeded, the House became thinner and thinner till after an hour, the Council had to be adjourned for want of quorum. Swarajists, excepting Mr. Jitendralal Bannerjee and two others, did not attend the Council.

At question-time Mr. Jitendralal and Moulvis Kader Bux and Ekramul Haq (non-Swarajists), put a number of supplementary questions.

There were four non-official bills, three of which fell owing to non-attendance of the movers. Mr. Jitendralal Bannerjee formally introduced his Bill to amend the Bengal Agricultural and Sanitary Improvement Act.

Only one resolution was moved. This was Mr. K. C. Ray Chowdhury's motion urging the Government to put Linotype operators in the Government Press on the permanent grade in regard to pay. After the mover finished his speech, Treasury Benches became empty, and there was want of quorum and so the Council adjourned.

On the 10th *FEBRUARY* a complaint was made by Mr. Abdul Karim regarding the adjournment of the House the previous day, after only one hour's sitting for want of quorum.

Mr. Karim stated that, accustomed as he was to the Council of State atmosphere, which was different, it seemed to him most regrettable that they should proceed in this manner. Members of the House, specially old people like himself, attend at considerable inconvenience, to do some useful work, and not for the sake of mere fun. But, if the Council work was adjourned in the way it was done on Thursday, he thought that it was most unfair.

The President: "I think the best thing for you is to appeal to the members. If they do not turn up, I cannot conduct business."

Mr. Karim: "When I was a member of the Council of State, one day the Leader of the House was absent, and he was taken to task by Sir Alexander Muddiman, the then President. But here yesterday we found that even the Leader of the House, not to speak of the Ministers, was away."

President: "I quite appreciate that. But I cannot take notice of such things unless sufficient grounds are put forward."

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Mr. J. L. Bannerjee : "Is it not the duty of a Government member at least to be present?"

President : "It is not for me to say that."

Only three resolutions were discussed, one of which moved by Mr. K. C. Roy Choudhury, Labour Member the previous day, urging the Government to make timescale Lino-operators permanent, was carried in spite of Government opposition.

When the President asked Mr. Jitendralal Bannerjee, the only Swarajist present in the Council, to move the resolution that stood in his name, expressing indignation of the House at the constitution of the Simon Commission, Mr. Bannerjee said ironically "With your permission, I do not want to move this resolution. I find that members of my party are not conspicuous by their presence. Presumably, they are satisfied with the constitution of the Commission."

The Council then adjourned till the 20th instant for want of quorum.

THE BUDGET FOR 1928-29

On the 20th FEBRUARY Swarajists were absent from the Council as usual. Sir John Simon and the members of the Commission were present, but they left before the budget was presented. Attendance was thin. The Hon'ble Mr. A. Marr presenting a deficit budget, in the course of his maiden budget speech, regretted exceedingly that it was not a more satisfactory document. The actuals of the year 1926-27 exhibited a close approximation to the revised estimates of last year.

Turning to the current year, the Finance Member said, a year ago they estimated that their revenue for the year 1927-28 would amount to Rs. 10,71,89,000. Against this, they put the revised estimate at Rs. 10,76,61,000, an increase of nearly five lakhs.

Speaking of the year 1928-29, he said for the revenue side the budget figure for ordinary revenue had been put at Rs. 10,92,61,000. 'Before we can compare this figure with those of the previous years, we must deduct Rs. 8,46,000 on account of the new method of accounting. We thus arrive at a net figure of Rs. 10,84,15,000 as compared with the actuals of Rs. 10,50,60,000 for the year 1926-27 and a revised estimate of Rs. 10,76,61,000 for 1927-28, that is to say our budget figure is 7,54,000 higher than our revised estimate for the current year.

Under loan heads, we have provided for the taking of a loan of 39 lakhs from the Government of India. This sum is for the purpose of financing next year's programme on the following schemes:—Damodar Canal Project, new Council Chamber, Bally Bridge, improvement to Chittagong Port and the Bakreswar Irrigation Project.

Coming to the expenditure for 1928-29 the Finance Member said: "The expenditure which we have provided for in 1928-29 excluding expenditure outside revenue account but including the repayment of advances from the Provincial Loans Fund amounts to Rs. 11,84,51,000, as compared with the current year's budget figure of Rs. 11,13,30,000, and the revised estimate of Rs. 11,99,22,000. Our anticipated expenditure therefore is Rs. 75,29,000 in excess of the revised estimate for the current year, and Rs. 91,90,000 over and above our estimated receipts. I must mention here, however, that the excess of Rs. 75,29,000 includes an item of Rs. 54,47,000 as our contribution to the Government of India. Of the balance, an amount totalling Rs. 8,45,000 is due to changes in classification and a sum amounting to Rs. 16,16,000 is for expenditure. In arriving at the expenditure figures, we have estimated the actual expenditure as closely as we possibly can, and have rigorously excluded all unauthorised items, and of course non-recurring expenditure. When the members of this House come to examine the budget estimates in detail, they will find that we have adhered very closely to the revised estimates for the current year and that we have allowed little variation.

Concluding the Finance Member said he realised that this was an unsatisfactory budget which did justice to no department, and thought that nobody would hold the Ministers or Members responsible for that position. Finally he referred to the Meston Settlement and the vigorous protest of the Bengal Government and said: "We are again addressing the Government of India reiterating our protests against the present financial settlement and our claims for its complete revision. In all probability the question of total revision of the financial settlement will be left to be examined by the Reforms Commission. The members of the Commission are now in India for their preliminary survey of

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the position. They will not go into details until the next cold weather, but when that time comes and when the Government of Bengal put their case before the Commission, one of the most important points they will urge is that the financial settlement was wrong, and treated Bengal most unfairly. It was largely owing to the shortness of funds that the working of the reformed constitution in Bengal has been hampered and that the Ministers have found it so difficult to carry on.

The Government of Bengal will put in the forefront their case—a claim for a complete revision of the financial settlement, at any rate so far as Bengal is concerned; and unless that is done, I am convinced that all parties in the province will be unanimous in thinking that the successful working of the new Constitution will be impossible in Bengal, however good that constitution may be in other ways.

The Council then adjourned till the 29th February.

On the 29th FEBRUARY the general discussion of Bengal's deficit budget commenced with a small attendance of members. The Swarajist benches, which were occupied by a dozen members of the party, when the proceedings opened, were deserted after a little while. It was understood that the members left to attend the party meeting in the after-noon to discuss the "no-confidence" motion against the ministry.

The trend of the non-official criticisms of the budget was a strong emphasis of the precarious state of provincial finances, which was attributed to the Meston Settlement.

According to one member, one of the direct consequences of the Meston Settlement and the resultant financial stringency, was that the Ministers had not the wherewithal to launch any large scheme in the nation-building departments.

Moulvi Abdul Karim said that the Reforms had proved to be an apple of discord. Those who had lived in peace and amity for centuries were now cutting each others throat. They complained that only a small sum was allotted to the nation-building departments, while large sums had been given to the police. They suggested that money should be found for the improvement of education, sanitation and agriculture.

After one and a half hours' sitting, the flow of manuscript eloquence was abruptly stopped for want of quorum.

On the 1st MARCH, the house re-assembling, the President said:

"I came across a paragraph in to-day's *Statesman* which I think I should read to you, for its writer presumptuously pre-supposed my decision with regard to a matter in which you are vitally interested. He drifted away from his responsibility, to invent reasons for such a decision. The attempt in my opinion should not be allowed to go uncondemned. The paragraph runs thus: 'Under the rules the President may or may not allow the discussion of the motion to-day, and the chances are that he will defer the date till the vacant seats have been filled.' I was really shocked, for I could hardly believe that *The Statesman* could actually be led away from the truth by gossip-mongers; and I think it is clearly my duty to give a piece of friendly advice to the editor, namely, that he should exercise more rigorous control over irresponsible contributors."

The galleries were crowded in the expectation that the Swarajists would bring in a censure motion on the Ministers. Some 20 Swarajists headed by Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose were seen sitting in the lobby, and a few went inside the Chamber. But as their number was not large, the motion was not brought.

General discussion of the budget was continued, and eight non-official members took part. Speeches were on the same line as yesterday. Official members did not rise to reply, and the Council was adjourned till the 12th March.

VOTING ON BUDGET GRANTS

On the 12th MARCH the Swarajists attended to take part in the voting on grants.

At the outset, the Raja of Santosh, President of the Council, referred to the death of Lord Sinha of Raipur, who was a member of the Council from 1913-16

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and also a member of the Executive Council, and said that Lord Sinha made history in 1917, when as an Indian he took part in the momentous deliberations of the War Council and the War-Cabinet which prepared the ground for the foundation of international liberty and peace. Now that Lord Sinha was dead, said the President, in handling the problems of the hour, it was the duty of every Indian to assimilate in his every-day existence the lessons of his life.

The President was authorised to send a condolence message to Lady Sinha in her bereavement.

DEMAND FOR TENANCY LEGISLATION

The Government's conduct in connection with Tenancy Legislation was severely censured when by the combined strength of the Swarajists, non-official Europeans and Moslems, a token cut of Re. 1 in the demand for 4,743,000 under Land Revenue was carried by 76 to 29 amidst applause.

Initiating the discussion, Mr. J. L. Banerjee referred to the inordinate delay in not introducing the Bengal Tenancy Amendment Act, and observed that if nothing was done early a mass conflagration might begin which would involve not only the zamindars but also the Government.

Twitting the Maharaja of Nadia, Mr. Banerjee said, that being a landlord the Maharaja was in an anomalous position. He was sitting entrenched behind a solid mass of landlordism, with a landlord to the right of him (meaning Nawab Nawab Ali Choudhury), a landlord to the left of him (meaning Sir P. C. Mittra), and if he might be permitted to say a landlord in front of him (meaning the chair (Laughter)).

The President: Do you think, Mr. Banerjee, landlords are incapable of rising to the occasion?

The excise policy of the Government came in for criticism on the motion of Mr. Akhil Dutta, for refusal of the Demand for Rs. 72,000 (superintendence), which was lost and the house adjourned.

On the 14th MARCH two motions reducing demands were discussed and in both the Government sustained defeat.

Under Irrigation a motion reducing the demand for Rs. 1,36,500 by Rs. 100 was carried.

The next demand related to General Administration and referred to a demand for Rs. 22,000 under the head Executive Council. There were two motions, one entirely refusing the demand and the other reducing it by Rs. 100.

The mover of the first motion, Mr. Akhilechandra Dutta (Swarajist), declared that Dyarchy was unworkable. He said that his object was to raise a constitutional issue. It had been pointed out several times by ex-Ministers and ex-Executive Councillors that dyarchy was not only objectionable but unworkable. Even Lord Lytton at the time of his departure had remarked that efficient government under the present system was impossible. "We want the Bengal Government to tell the Simon Commission that the people are not only opposed to it, but we want the Government to say to them that dyarchy must go and a unitary system of Government responsible to the legislature must be introduced."

In reply the Home Member remarked that it was unfair to ask the Government to say to the Commission that they were not wanted. If Mr. Dutta and his Swarajist friends wanted a change of the government, surely his eloquence would be much better received by the Commission than through the imperfect agency of the Government. He suggested that the Swarajists should reconsider their attitude towards the Commission: and if they wanted the system of Government to be changed, they must enter their protest before the Commission itself. Eventually Mr. Dutta's motion was lost.

Moving a cut of Rs. 100 in the demand for Rs. 22,000 under the head "Executive Council," Mr. Naliniranjan Sarkar said that it was high time that there should be an end to the present system of Government. The attitude of the Government and their promises regarding the interness were sickening. The Executive Council was a negation of the essential principles of Government. They should no longer live under the dispensation of the Executive Council.

Mr. S. C. Basu (Swarajist from Burdwan) raised an interesting question that the appointment of more than one executive councillor was ultra vires under the rules. The Act made provision for one executive councillor; and said the executive councillors might be appointed under rules to be made thereafter. No Such rules

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had been made, and therefore anything outside the rules could not come within the budget; and the existence of more than one executive councillor was unconstitutional.

Mr. Moberly replying said that section 47 (3) of the Government of India Act laid down that provision might be made by the rules under the Act as to the qualifications to be required. To the best of his knowledge, no such rules had been made, and no such special qualifications were required. (Ironical Swarajist cheers).

The motion of Mr. Sarkar was carried by 51 votes to 50. The House adjourned.

On the 15th MARCH the Government sustained another defeat over the Kulkati issue, when a cut of Rs. 100 in the demand of the Home Member for the Executive Council was adopted by 61 to 43 votes, amidst non-official cheers.

The House reiterated its desire to have an open non-official enquiry into the Kulkati firing, as well as into the conduct of Mr. Blandy, the District Magistrate.

Swarajists headed by Mr. Sen Gupta supported the motion, to settle once for all whether the firing was justified or not. Mr. Travers, on behalf of non-official Europeans, was for a departmental enquiry.

The Home Member, while replying, was heckled by the Swarajists and supporters of the motion.

MINISTER'S SALARIES

At 4-30 Mr. Akhil Chandra Dutt moved that the demand of Rs. 146,000 under the head "Ministers" be refused.

Mr. Dutt said that during the last 8 years on no single occasion had the Ministers voted with the people. They had always sided with the Government, whether in the matter of repressive legislation or in regard to the treatment of political prisoners. They were obstructing progress. The sooner the Dyarchy under which they thrived was killed, the better it would be for all concerned.

Proceedings were lively and the speakers opposing the motion were greeted with ironical cheers from the Swarajists.

Mr. J. L. Banerjee, in supporting the motion, said that the Government refused to profit by past experience. Had not Bengal pronounced the doom of Dyarchy in unmistakable terms?

Representing non-official Europeans, Mr. Travers said that Dyarchy was capable of doing social good, and it was on that ground that they would support the Ministers.

Mr. Bejoy Krishna Bose criticised the Ministers as flouting the public opinion.

Referring to Sir P. C. Mitter, he said that Sir P. C. Mitter was not a true Liberal; otherwise he could not have gone against the Liberal Party in the matter of the Statutory Commission. Mr. Bose had not finished when the Council adjourned.

Next day, the 16th MARCH Mr. Bose, resuming his speech, said that the Ministers had no power to lay down any policy. Mr. Bose asked whether the Education Minister had the support of the Moslem community behind him.

Mr. Abdul Karim, though not enamoured of dyarchy, thought that some useful work might be done provided the right men were put into office. He would vote for the Ministers' salaries because the mandate of his constituency was to co-operate with the Government.

M. T. E. James said that they should not consider personalities. In spite of its defects, dyarchy was responsible for some good measures. The Swarajists could not point to any such achievement. (Ironical cheers from Swarajists). Dyarchy gave them the Calcutta Municipal Act but for which the Swarajists would not be as strong to-day as they were. (Renewed ironical cheers.)

Mr. Sarat C. Bose, speaking ironically, said that he would like to add one more achievement to the list of achievements of the Ministers who worked dyarchy during the first three years. This, he was sure, would add a feather to the cap of the present Minister, who was then the Minister of Education (meaning Sir Provash). In his evidence before the Muddiman Committee, in reply to a question by the Maharaja of Burdwan as to why no progress was made regarding the Calcutta University, although their party was in power, Sir P. C. Mitter had said that it was the interference of the Chancellor that placed Sir Provash in the greatest difficulty. Mr. Sarat Bose remarked that the House would agree that this was the best achievement to the credit of the Minister. (Ironical Swarajist cheers).