The Council re-assembled at the Council Chamber, Fort St. George, at 11 a.m. on Thursday, the 10th day of March 1921, the Hon'ble Diwan Bahadur Sir P. RAJAGOPALA ACHARIYAR, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., President, presiding.

I

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

[*Order made by the President of the Madras Legislative Council under Standing Order No.* 15—

(1) Printed copies of the questions and answers to be put and given at a meeting of the Council shall be placed on the Council table an hour before the President takes his seat.

(2) The questions shall be put and answered in the following manner :—

The Secretary shall call the name of each interpellator in alphabetical order, specify the serial numbers of his questions, and make a sufficient pause to allow him or any other member a reasonable opportunity of rising in his place if he is desirous of asking a supplementary question. Supplementary questions must be put immediately after the principal questions to which they relate.]

Village-site in delta taluks of Guntur.

405 *Q.*—Rao Sahib P. C. ETHIRAJULU NAYUDU : To ask the Hon'ble the Minister for Local Self-Government whether the attention of the Government has been drawn to the fact that the existing village-site has been entirely built upon in the delta taluks of the Guntur district and that the ryots have been building houses in adjoining wet lands indiscriminately without proper streets and without taking any sanitary precautions.

A.—The answer is in the negative.

Appointment of Collector.

406 *Q.*—Rao Sahib P. C. ETHIRAJULU NAYUDU : To ask the Hon'ble the Home Member if it is a fact that one deputy collector holding the third rank in the third grade has been appointed as Collector in the vacancy caused by the retirement of M.R.Ry. Diwan Bahadur L. D. Swamikannu Pillai.

A.—The deputy collector who was appointed in the vacancy held the second place in the third grade.

Ryots and Public Works Department subordinate officials.

407 *Q.*—A. SUBBARAYUDU : To ask the Hon'ble the Member for Revenue to state whether any action has been taken upon the memorial of the Gōdāvari District Association to His Excellency the Governor in December 1919 regarding the ryots' grievances at the hands of the subordinate officials of the Public Works Department ; and, if so, to state the action taken.

A.—Orders on the subject have been passed in G.O. No. 194 W., dated 7th February 1921, which is being laid on the table.

Bifurcation of Kistna district.

408 *Q.*—Rao Sahib PRESINGE VENKATARANGAYYA : To ask the Hon'ble the Member for Revenue whether, in view of the formation of an Agency Commissionership in Northern Circars, the Government intend avoiding the bifurcation of the Kistna district altogether ; if not, to state from what date they intend putting the bifurcation into force.

A.—The matter is still under investigation.

II

Discussion on the Budget.

Mr. S. SRINIVASA AYYANGAR :—" Mr. President, I do not propose at this late hour of the discussion to say more than a few words on the principles, if any, underlying this budget. I wish to reserve my remarks to a more appropriate stage when I shall deal with some of the budget items in detail.

[Mr. S. Srinivasa Ayyangar] [10th March 1921

"At the outset, I must congratulate the Council on the fine instinctive sense of justice evinced by the members of this House on all sides. The Council has treated this budget as a non-party question and has offered a searching criticism from the point of view of representatives of the inhabitants of this Presidency. I do not propose to follow the example of the Council Secretary Mr. Ramaswami Mudaliyar and to advise the Ministry as to their duty and to advise the Opposition as to their duty. I must say that Mr. Simpson was not fair to the honourable members who criticised the budget when he said that he wanted the Indians to have greater courage and to have spoken well of the budget. Does Mr. Simpson really think that those who spoke against the budget spoke with any idea of attacking the Hon'ble the Finance Member personally? We all understand that the Finance Member's statement is the common production of the whole Government—Members and Ministers—and it is not the personal production nor does it express the personal policy of the Hon'ble Mr. Todhunter. Everybody who spoke on this budget spoke on each point merely on its merits and not with any desire merely to criticise the Hon'ble the Finance Member or anybody. I must say that my misgivings as regards what this budget would be when I sought election and entered this Council have been more than justified. I cannot agree with those honourable members who spoke perhaps formally that this was a disappointing budget because I expected only this kind of budget and no other. I was certainly disappointed and most agreeably disappointed by the way in which the Members of this Council have approached the budget and by the way in which they have tackled the very serious questions which underlie the budget. I do not think that inexperience has been shown in grappling with the many problems that this budget has presented. I need only refer in answer to Mr. A. Ramaswami Mudaliyar's remarks that there was an Opposition here which pelted the Hon'ble the Finance Member with figurative stones in connexion with this budget that I do not consider honourable members like Mr. Thangavelu Pillai or Mr. Shanmukham Chettiyar who made admirable speeches on the whole question could be regarded as belonging to the Opposition. Nor do I consider that other honourable members like Mr. A. P. Patro and Mr. Narasimha Raju who spoke on the budget can be treated as belonging to the Opposition. I think till this diarchy comes to an end the fine sense of justice which has characterised the proceedings of this Council will continue, that is to say, members will speak upon each question upon its own merits and there will be no such thing as any organized party. (Hear, hear). In order that there might be an Opposition there must be a party on the one side and that party must really be in power, but it does not appear that Mr. A. Ramaswami Mudaliyar can claim that he represents the views of any particular party. For I find many persons sitting on benches geographically opposite to me really speak much better than myself and quite as well as those who are sitting on the same benches as myself.

"Both the Hon'ble the Finance Member and Mr. A. Ramaswami Mudaliyar entered their own pleas, the former a vicarious one and the latter a personal plea. Mr. Ramaswami Mudaliyar stated that the Ministers who are entrusted with the new departments could not make any proposal which would be satisfactory to the public at large. I cannot accept this plea for the very simple reason that all the three Ministers have certainly been very active politicians and are well acquainted with public affairs and they have, I presume, their own proposals to make. When they accepted office they knew perfectly well what the country demanded of them and I therefore do not seriously consider the plea put forward by the Hon'ble the Finance Member or that put forward on behalf of the Ministers by Mr. Ramaswami Mudaliyar. I feel confident that the Ministers can evolve a policy of their own.

"Then it was stated that for the moment there must be continuity of policy and afterwards there will be great changes introduced. At any rate, that is how

I understood Mr. A. Ramaswami Mudaliyar who to a certain extent seems to have gone back upon the Finance Member's pronouncement that the Ministers were not going to disturb the continuity of policy. I was very glad to hear that the Ministers were going to allow various portions of the budget to be revised in the detailed debates that would ensue and that they are not committed to this budget completely. That is at any rate how I understood him.

"Turning from these preliminary observations I must say that I have got some courage and I should certainly stand by the Hon'ble Mr. Todhunter or by other persons if I felt that I was bound to stand by them; but by this budget I cannot stand and I feel that my duty compels me to state that it is really a most inadequate budget and that we cannot be satisfied with this kind of budget. We do not lay the blame upon this particular person or upon that particular person, but when we state the fact the blame will be apportioned by those persons who are concerned. I am not concerned to apportion it amongst them.

"There is one other point to be stated before I go into some of the general observations. The Hon'ble the Finance Member invited the House really to go in for retrenchment. I can heartily congratulate him when he wants that there should be retrenchment, that there should be economy right through the machine and I hope this promise of his will be kept and kept well as soon as possible. So far as promptness is concerned I think retrenchment can be effected even this year and we should like to have an earnest of the spirit which animated the Finance Member's statement. I hope the Finance Member and his colleagues would agree to this when the detailed discussion comes up. At the same time I do not think that the budget as presented really exemplifies that there has been the most minute scrutiny of every detailed item in search of economy as claimed by the Finance Member. The various speeches that were made by the honourable members showed that there has not been much of scrutiny. Several members suggested in powerful speeches that reduction could be had in various directions. I therefore cannot take the statement of the Finance Member as anything more than that of an advocate's statement. Nor can I be satisfied with the promise that was made that under the personal guidance of His Excellency the Governor explorations have to take place in search of economy. I do not like to say more upon this point beyond this, it is hardly right that His Excellency should be brought into this affair, for His Excellency should be above all parties and controversies. It could only be satisfactorily done by the appointment of a committee of the members of this House for the purpose of retrenchment and reform, for the purpose of undertaking the most minute scrutiny of every detailed item in search of economy. Then only shall we be satisfied in this House that there has been a real tackling of the problem of retrenchment. I do not know whether His Excellency agreed to it, but whether he agreed to do it or not I should certainly deprecate any such procedure and I do not like to say more upon that.

"Next turning to the question of Land Revenue I find that there is an increase and this is a matter which fills me with some little misgivings as to whether land revenue is not being levied at too high a rate. It appears to me that the increase in land revenue which has been emphasized as the most satisfactory feature of this programme is just the feature which ought to make us doubt the soundness of the land revenue policy pursued in this Presidency. I find that during these thirty years there had been an increase of about 58 per cent in the receipts while the expenditure had increased by 108 per cent. The progress in expenditure from 96 lakhs to 200 lakhs is a somewhat violent commentary upon the complacent remark that we have progressed from a revenue of 392 lakhs to 620 lakhs. I think that that administration is most satisfactory which leaves to private individuals much

of their landed income and which reduces the Government expenditure and Government control to the narrowest possible limits. I do not think that this land revenue will be properly administered until it becomes a transferred subject. Therefore I am particularly anxious that there should be legislation upon this subject as soon as possible. The Joint Parliamentary Committee promised that as soon as a statute relating to the settlement is placed upon the statute book it must become a transferred subject. I am therefore anxious that appropriate legislation on this subject should be brought up as soon as possible so that we may have the land revenue policy effectively brought under legislative control.

"Turning to Excise, I must say that the policy which has been pursued by the Government fills me with absolute dismay. I do not agree with the theory, if it is a theory drawn from the West, that the Government should have no scruples to increase the excise tax. It may be a sound western system under western conditions, but I think it is a very unsound policy if the common object of Government and of those who happen for the moment to criticise the Government is a policy of temperance or a policy of total prohibition. If that is so, it is impossible to imagine how you can derive any measure of satisfaction by an increase of revenue notwithstanding an increase in the duty. The fact that excise revenue has increased during the last thirty years from 121 lakhs to 556 lakhs or about 4½ times shows that it is certainly a matter which ought to engage the anxious attention of every one of us here. When we look at the increase in the duties we see that the increase in the revenue is double the increase in the duties. Whereas the increase is only about 115 per cent or from Rs. 5-2-4 to Rs. 11-2-0 during these thirty years the increase in revenue is 4½ times as much."

The Hon'ble Mr. C. G. TODHUNTER:—"Only one duty is instanced in that paragraph. The revenue is the revenue under all heads."

Mr. S. SRINIVASA AYYANGAR:—"I am taking only the figures as stated. If there were any qualifications they should have been accurately stated. Taking only the last two figures I find the excise revenue was 300·22 lakhs in 1911-12 whereas in 1921-22 it is 556·10 lakhs and that is an increase of over 80 per cent while the increase in the duty from 1911 to 1919 is an increase from Rs. 7-11-4 to Rs. 11-4-0, only just over 40 per cent. That again illustrates my position that the increase in consumption and in the waste of national wealth cannot be curtailed by these expedients. Experience tells us therefore that the policy which the Government has pursued apparently for the purpose of inducing the country to adopt a temperance creed, to reduce its consumption of liquor, is certainly not a sound policy. It is apt to have the reverse result and therefore the sooner we abandon this, the better. I quite appreciate the point of view which some practical men would naturally put forward. We have got a gold mine producing an income of 552 lakhs. To those who agree with me, to those whose endeavours are for total prohibition or for temperance and to those who want that the Government policy should be that the consumption of liquor throughout the country should be reduced, to those only I can make my remarks. To those who take the view that this is a revenue producing concern and therefore this must be encouraged, I really cannot give any very satisfactory answer except the only answer which might be scouted as that of an idealist, as that of a person who speaks from a very high moral and impracticable plane. I put that aside. I rather think this increase in the revenue really impoverishes the poorer people, for drunkenness cannot be cured and cannot be reduced by the means which the Government have till now adopted. I think that it is better to revert to the policy of cheaper duty so that those who are inveterate drunkards may not impoverish their families by wasting a large amount of family income in drink.

It is desirable that people should not satisfy their cravings at the expense of the family and of the general prosperity of the country. Every one knows that even from an economic point of view reduction of the liquor traffic will increase the economic efficiency of the country and the prosperity of the people and will augment the capacity of each rate-payer and tax-payer to pay more taxes and rates. That is an axiom which has been accepted in western countries and which, I hope, will be accepted by the present Government. Taking this position, I certainly think there is no room for the slightest satisfaction with the figures relating to land revenue or excise or the way in which these have been administered. In this budget discussion, I am not going to make any suggestion as to the way in which this should be done, because we are not here for the purpose of running this Government and the Government is not to be run by resolutions brought by non-official members like myself. The Government has to lay down its policy and we are here to criticise and help thereby the Government. Taking that view I do not propose to offer any of our detailed proposals to the Government.

"Then I turn at once to the question of expenditure. Turning first to education, which is naturally the subject on which, representing as I do the educated community throughout this Presidency belonging to all occupations, I feel most interested, I must say that the provision which is made for education is totally inadequate. It is nothing like what normal expansion demands that there should be. Putting aside for a moment elementary or primary education and taking secondary education which is really the backbone of all education, I find that only about 18¾ lakhs are budgetted under education transferred and over 9 lakhs are under education reserved. We know what it means. Education which is under the transferred department is given only 18 lakhs which is hardly sufficient for the purpose. A comprehensive reform of secondary education is the most urgent need of the country. That is the only thing which will give satisfaction to the community at large and that cannot be done without paying the teachers much better wages than they at present get. That cannot be done without giving very much greater aid to the various aided high schools throughout the country."

The Hon'ble the PRESIDENT :—"The Honourable Member has just passed his time limit. He can have five minutes more to wind up his speech."

Mr. S. SRINIVASA AYYANGAR :—"I consider that this secondary education should engage the most earnest attention of this Council and we must express our sense of dissatisfaction when we come to the detailed discussion in connexion with educational head. So far as University education is concerned, I agree that as the University stands at present no greater expenditure need be made in that direction. Without a further reorganization, the University is not going to function well. At the same time aiding aided colleges, increasing the pay of the collegiate professors and lecturers are necessary. But in the case of aided colleges, I should make the qualification that such increase in aid should only be made to colleges which accept the conscience clause.

"Now having done with education, I should like to associate myself with the admirable speech which Mr. Patro made in connexion with the totally inadequate provision that has been made in this budget for the industrial development of the country. I do not think that even if I have more time at my disposal I could have bettered his remarks.

"I equally think that the departments of Medicine, Public Health and Sanitation have not been properly provided for and that we should see to it that we bring pressure to bear upon the Government to provide more funds in these

directions. I have the deepest doubts as to the utility of the Department of Agriculture, of the Publicity Board, of the Labour Commissioner and the Agency Commissioner. I reserve my remarks upon these subjects for the proper time. While I plead for retrenchment, I should certainly and emphatically say that the non-gazetted services should get more adequate pay, at least the remuneration which has been recommended by the majority of the members of the new Salaries Committee and the elementary school teachers and the village officers should also get similar revision.

"As regards the question of the reduction of salaries all round in the general administration, I do not propose to inflict any very long speech at this stage; there will be an appropriate time for it and I shall be able to raise my voice, if it is heard at all, for the purpose of fixing three thousand rupees as the maximum limit which anybody can get. Of course, I do not make any distinction between one set of officials and another set of officials or between one community and another. I do really feel that it is wholly unnecessary for me to speak upon the many matters which I should like to have touched upon because I would be repeating what has been so well stated by the other members of the House. I must again congratulate the members of this Council who have pleaded for retrenchment right through this machine and who have scrutinized this budget so well and have brought their powerful reasoning to bear upon the proposals made by the Government and who have treated the whole question in the only spirit in which it ought to be treated, namely, for the benefit of the inhabitants of this Presidency, for the prosperity of the country at large and not for the interest at large of this party or that party."

Mr. S. T. SHANMUKHAM PILLAI:—"The budget before us is an important document, framed under conditions and circumstances quite abnormal which involved enormous amount of labour and difficulties as explained by the Hon'ble the Finance Member in paragraphs 1 and 2 of his memorandum. Such exceptional conditions and circumstances never existed before. A lot of redistribution of the heads of revenue and expenditure and alterations of the accounting heads had to be done. The time the Hon'ble the Finance Member had at his command was also short. In these circumstances, apparently the Hon'ble the Finance Member was not able to issue the financial statement for discussion at the Council before the presentation of the budget. It is also possible that in the hurried preparation of the budget, clerical errors and inaccuracies could have crept in. Despite these minor errors and inaccuracies which, in the circumstances, were unavoidable, the budget in all its details is quite complete, giving all the information for a critical review.

"In regard to the receipts and expenditure sides of the budget, the total estimated receipts for the budget year including the outstanding loans and advances plus a loan of 70 lakhs promised by the Government of India amount to 1,767 lakhs and adding to it the opening balance of 31 lakhs, the aggregate total of estimated receipts is 1,798 lakhs. After distributing the allotments under various heads of expenditure according to the needs, which amount to 1,753 lakhs, far in excess of the current year's figures, the budget closes with a surplus balance in reserve of 35 lakhs, that is, 4 lakhs in advance of the opening balance of the budget year. So far the budget may be said to be a prosperity budget. Every credit is due to the Hon'ble the Finance Member and it is a matter for congratulation.

"Then as regards the expenditure side of the budget, it is a question for the decision of the Council whether due economy has been exercised in regard to the grants and allotments proposed and whether all the requirements in the interests

of sound administration and of the promotion of the public welfare have been duly met. The closing surplus balance would seem rather chimerical, for it shall soon be absorbed in meeting the various contingencies that might arise in the course of the year.

"We see sufficient funds are not allotted for expenditure in connexion with the three most important matters of great public utility, viz.—

(1) Increase in the pay of the non-gazetted officers including teachers, copyists, typists and village officers.
(2) Sanitation and water-supply.
(3) Industries.

"The condition of life of non-gazetted officers is simply deplorable. A man getting a salary of Rs. 20 to 30 or 35 cannot maintain a family in these hard times of high prices ruling all markets. With due discretion and caution the recommendations made by the Salaries Committee may be adopted so far as they relate to the minimum starting pay. We want a lot of money for this purpose.

"Next as regards sanitation and water-supply, people in the up-country parts, especially the masses, live in the midst of filthy and unhealthy surroundings and in the black cotton soil, they have to go a long way, even one or two miles, to get a potful of drinking water. The allotment made in this direction is too insufficient and must be increased to a large extent.

"Then as regards the industries, agriculture is one of the chief industries which supports the bulk of the country's population. Agricultural prosperity is the backbone of the country's welfare. Any amount of money expended on agricultural improvements cannot be ill-spent. A large annual expenditure is incurred in maintaining the Agricultural College at Coimbatore and on agricultural farms opened and maintained at different centres. We do not want professors in the science. We want trained agricultural experts who will be able to open the eyes of the agricultural ryots to the new or improved methods of cultivation. For this purpose, all our efforts may be concentrated on a good portion of the expenditure restricted to the practical courses of instruction in the college, the scientific course being confined to the would-be professors of technical institutions and colleges. Then we want demonstration farms to be opened in as many centres as possible in each taluk and in each district for demonstration of the new and improved methods of cultivation. This also requires a lot of money. The sooner these farms are opened and set to work, the better for the improvement of agriculture and the betterment of the condition of the ryot population whose prosperity indeed is the prosperity of the Ruler.

"Next to agriculture, the textile (weaving) industry is the chief industry. What a man requires is food and raiment. While agriculture gives him his food, the textile or weaving industry gives him the clothing he wants. Both these industries are indispensable. The allotment proposed in this direction is rather meagre. In the southern parts of the Presidency people are not wanting to start ginning factories and spinning and weaving mills, if the Government be pleased to help them with a subsidy. A decent allotment must be set apart for the purpose. Mr. President, for all these we must find money. How to do it is the question? Among the various sources of the Provincial revenue, abkari is already in a tottering condition. People are beginning to understand that almost all the evils are springing out of drunkenness. The sooner the demon of drink is driven, the better it would be to the good of the people. The temperance associations started at various centres are pushing through propaganda work and may soon succeed in their efforts to stamp out the evil from the face of the country. The Government also in their own quiet and smooth way do the needful to accelerate the eradication

of the evil. Abkari revenue is thus a precarious source. The other minor sources too, such as stamps, forests, etc., cannot be counted upon as steady and permanent sources. They yield no good return for the money expended on them. Then the only lasting and permanent source of revenue is land revenue. It is also capable of expansion by extension of cultivation and irrigation. I mean to bring forward a separate resolution on the subject. For the present, the only alternative left for us to make money is by overhauling the machinery of Government and vigorously carrying out the process of pruning all overgrowth, undergrowth and parasitic outgrowth in all departments and in all grades of the service. The work in all departments must be simplified and unnecessary establishments weeded out. The extravagant pay and high salaries attached to offices, say from Rs. 200 and upwards, must be reduced and reasonable rates fixed. A thorough investigation must be made by a committee appointed by Government consisting of experienced officers and non-official members of the Council and the question solved with the least possible delay."

The Hon'ble the PRESIDENT:—"The Honourable Member has passed his time."

Mr. S. T. SHANMUKHAM PILLAI (*continuing*):—"I have done, Sir, and with a few words I shall close my speech. Brother members, to make the present measure of self-government a success, which, I hope, all will agree we must and we are bound to do in the interest of promoting the welfare of the country, we must all co-operate and push the work of reform in all directions in a spirit of union and good-will."

Mr. A. SUBBARAYUDU:—"Mr. President, whatever may be the merits or the demerits of the budget prepared by the Hon'ble the Finance Member, I have, as a representative of the ryots in this House, to condemn the attitude of the Hon'ble the Finance Member. I belong to the ryot class and my kith and kin are ryots.

"Judging from the Provincial revenue and its expenditure, I cannot but feel regret. Sir, it is quite evident from the budget figures that 90 per cent of the revenue is contributed by the ryots in general and by villagers in particular. Look at the land revenue of Rs. 6,20,00,000; who contributes this large amount? Look at the excise revenue of Rs. 5,56,00,000; is not 75 per cent of this revenue contributed by the villagers? So also with regard to stamps, and forest revenue. Again most of the revenue from registration, which is Rs. 33,00,000, is contributed by the ryots; so also the 89 lakhs of irrigation revenue. Sir, thus we see that more than 75 per cent of the Provincial income is the net outcome of the ryots' hard labour.

"Sir, I must ask the Hon'ble the Finance Member how are these poor ryots benefited by the present budget, excepting that they are not taxed more now than during the last thirty years for which I congratulate the Hon'ble the Finance Member.

"Now coming to the expenditure side, I cannot but feel that others are enjoying the fruits of the expense and sacrifice of the poor ryots. But I want that something should be done to the ryots who are the real source of strength to th finances of the Government.

"Sir, the Gōdāvari and Kistna districts are contributing a large part of the revenue of this Presidency and I see that in the budget no substantial provision is made for improvements in irrigation and agriculture. I see from the Memorandum at page 7, paragraph 15, that irrigation works are divided into two heads

according as they are productive, that is, as they are likely to pay more than a standard rate of interest on the capital invested on them, or protective, that is, likely to be effective in preventing the effects of a devastating famine. The history of the development of irrigation works in this Presidency is fairly well known to most members of the Council and it is too large a subject to be dealt with in a budget speech. One of the several regrets arising out of the budget for 1921–22 is the regret that it is not possible to commence the addition of another chapter in this history. The commencement of numerous works, both large and small, is under contemplation, but the restrictions of the resources for 1921–22, whether under the head of revenue or loans, have made it impossible for the Government to embark on any important new work. We see that the Hon'ble the Finance Member himself regrets that no provision could be made for substantial irrigation works. I don't see any reason why money should not be invested in productive works. I would even suggest that money should be borrowed when these works are likely to pay more than the rate of interest on Government's loans.

"The Gōdāvari anicut works were constructed and the canals were excavated half a century ago. Now there is a large demand for water-supply which the Public Works Department is not able to meet. This is a good source of revenue for Government and I do not see why the Hon'ble the Finance Member should not provide funds for such undertakings for the benefit of the ryots and also of Government. If my information is correct, the Gōdāvari irrigation works pay 18 per cent on the capital outlay and it is high time that the Government added to the chapter of such undertakings.

"The police administration is one of the heads of growing expenditure falling on the head of the rate-payers. Can this not be curtailed by proper scrutiny? I have my own misgivings about the work done by Circle Inspectors. The whole work is done by Sub-Inspectors and the staff of Circle Inspectors is an unnecessary step between the Sub-Inspectors and Deputy Superintendents. Therefore the establishment of Circle Inspectors can be done away with.

"Coming to Education, I am of opinion that the expenditure on University education should hereafter be curtailed in favour of secondary, technical and industrial education. Most of the graduates turned out by the University seek Government service and as Government service is not wide enough to provide berths for all the applicants, ways and means have to be devised for increasing the number of posts in that service. This is not a healthy sign. Also the manufacture of more and more lawyers every half year means more litigation ruining the ignorant ryots. This is again another unhealthy aspect of University education.

"Coming to the Public Works Department, I find that Government propose to spend 36 lakhs on the Public Works Department establishment. This is very deplorable. The amount of work turned out under the supervision of this department does not justify the vast expenditure on it. I see from the budget that a large number of subordinates in the temporary establishment are maintained from year to year which number ought to be susceptible of reduction.

"Now coming to the question of Industries, the Hon'ble the Finance Member has allotted a sum of 21 lakhs to Industries, which is a paltry sum considering the spirit of the times. If the Industries Department is worked on a commercial basis, as pointed out by the Hon'ble the Finance Member, I am sure the department will not only be self-supporting, but will also serve the purpose of developing industries on practical lines. I need here only mention that the Pencil Factory purchased by the Government and now re-sold to a private concern is yielding a good return on the capital. Likewise, Government can undertake to start so many paying

industries, borrowing money for the purpose if necessary. New industries can profitably be started in select areas; for example, industries connected with the coconut palm can be started in the Gōdāvari and Malabar districts. Another profitable industry is the salt refining industry which requires no complicated machinery. We get refined Liverpool salt for consumption in India. Any amount of salt can be manufactured and refined in this Presidency with her extensive sea coasts and the bright sun shining overhead. Another industry is the manufacture of rubber goods. Raw rubber is exported from this country to foreign countries and imported in the shape of manufactured goods for which we pay ten times the value of the raw rubber. The Government can start a model factory for manufacturing rubber goods such as tyres, belts, mattings, hoses, etc.

"The Madras Leather Institute is worked at a heavy cost and on merely educative basis. It is time that Government should pursue a different policy with the existing machinery of the Institute and the highly paid staff; it can be worked on a commercial basis with the aid of a number of workmen, while at the same time giving instructions to students in practice and theory. From the answer to my question No. 400 by the Hon'ble the Minister for Development, I find that the well-paid Industrial Chemist is sitting at the Indian Institute of Science at Bangalore to carry on research work for want of suitable laboratories in Madras. Cannot his knowledge be made useful for doing something practical which will help the industrial development?

"With these remarks, Sir, I resume my seat."

Mr. T. SIVASANKARAM PILLAI:—"Sir, the budget has been examined from several standpoints of view, from the point of view of the experienced administrator, from the point of view of a politician, from the point of view of the business man and from the point of view of the official. Now I beg your leave, Sir, to oppose this budget from the point of view of the ryot, or rather the voter on whose behalf I am here. It has occurred to more than one member why the Finance Member in his memorandum has instituted a comparison between the expenditure of 30 years ago and that of the present day. Perhaps he wants to measure the progress that has been accomplished during the past 30 years when the Government was in the hands of the bureaucracy. He wants perhaps to measure this progress by the increase in the revenue. He refers us to a time 30 years ago when the land revenue was only 300 and odd lakhs, and he brings us to the time when the revenue has increased to 6 crores and odd. He wants us to note that the bureaucracy has by its efforts brought us this progress and is leaving us at this stage. He wants us to treat this as a landmark in the march of events and in the change to the new Government that we are to have. The question is whether we ought to adopt this standard of increased expenditure and this is the question which we should examine now."

The Hon'ble Mr. C. G. TODHUNTER:—"May I say a word of personal explanation, Sir? I am quite willing that the Honourable gentleman should examine that standard. But I decline to have it fathered on me."

Mr. T. SIVASANKARAM PILLAI:—"I am not. I have much sympathy for the Finance Member. I know that he is not responsible for the shortcomings in the budget. I know that he is not responsible for the prospect of fresh taxation in the near future and for the increase in expenditure. After all he is one of the wheels of the administrative machinery. It is not the individual that I refer to, but the system of which he is only one of the representatives. The budget and the memorandum ask us to adopt the system of measuring progress by increase in expenditure. How far this principle can be adopted or whether it should be

replaced by a new one, we have to see. The first duty of a Government is to afford protection of property, life and liberty. The department that secures all three is the police. Let me state my standpoint of view. There is an increase of 10 lakhs of rupees in the expenditure on Police. What was the state of things 30 years ago and what is the state of things now? What was the expenditure 30 years ago and what is it now? What is the increase in expenditure now? The increase has gone up by tens of lakhs. We know that 30 years ago the Police department was corrupt. We know that cases used to be cooked up. The condition is the same now. But we want to increase the expenditure under this head by 10 lakhs. Whether any portion of these 10 lakhs is going to alter the old state of things, I have told the House. That is the point I wish to impress upon the House. If any portion of that amount is not going to remedy the defects, I respectfully ask this Council not to vote for the 10 lakhs of increase in expenditure.

"The next subject that I take up is Public Health. I want the House to note that so far as public health is concerned, there is no increased provision in the budget. The amount is the same. We have not been given any additional grants for distribution to local boards, for digging wells and for improving the sanitation of villages. True, the local boards have got certain powers of additional taxation. I am now placing myself in the position of an average tax-payer. Whether it is collected from me either as rates or as taxes, the burden is all the same to me. Now where am I? How does this budget benefit me from this point of view? We have got about 17 crores of rupees at our disposal. Out of these 17 crores, how much is set apart for the purposes mentioned above?

"Then let us take excise. It neutralises much of the benefit given by the Police by way of protection. There is an increase of 13 lakhs of rupees of expenditure under this head. The Government seems to think that I must drink and for this I am to pay 13 lakhs more. Why should I be made to drink and pay more; why should I be congratulated and why should the Government be congratulated because so much money is sought to be taken from me? My friend Mr. Ramaswami Mudaliyar was explaining yesterday that the excise revenue ought to be handed over to the Ministers and that no attempt should be made to preach temperance at this stage. But how does it concern me, whether it is handed over to the Ministers or not, my point is why should I be made to drink? (Laughter). When the toddy shop is taken away from me, I shall be in less need of protection and I shall be asked to pay less for protection and for other things. Now, what is the object of the Excise department? The object is, they say, to minimise consumption and to get the maximum revenue. The Government have been professing this policy and putting it in force for the last 30 years. Have they really minimised consumption? Is it not high time to change this policy? Ought we not to aim at the complete abolition of this department? If we now aim at its complete abolition, we may achieve our object in the course of a few years. We must make the beginning now. Is it necessary that we should have such a large establishment in order to protect our toddy trees? The Council may know that the owner of every toddy tree that dies has to pay a fine of Rs. 5 or 10. Is its life more precious than human life?"

The Hon'ble Mr. C. G. TODHUNTER:—"May I ask the Honourable Member what his authority is for the statement that a fine of Rs. 5 or 10 is imposed for every toddy tree that dies?"

Mr. T. SIVASANKARAM PILLAI:—"Yes. I will produce it when I get back home. We know a fine is imposed for every toddy tree that dies. I am surprised to find that the Hon'ble the Finance Member is not aware of this fact. It may

be stated that all this establishment is needed to prevent distillation and illicit traffic and for some similar purposes. But in spite of this there is leakage. Yesterday my friend Mr. Ranganatha Mudaliyar referred to instances of illicit traffic in liquor being the order of the day in some parts of the district. I subscribe most heartily to that view with a full sense of responsibility. I know an instance in my own district. Some time ago the Salt department knew that illicit distillation was going on. It addressed the revenue authorities and sent a circular to all Reddis to prevent it. If the Reddis are to prevent it, what are these officers and what are their establishment for? Then the Revenue authorities wrote back to say 'you have an establishment of your own and you should check it'. That means that the department is fully cognisant of the illicit distillation and of the illicit traffic in liquor going on on a large scale. In spite of this, there is an increase of 13 lakhs in expenditure provided for in the budget. Why I should be made to drink, I really cannot understand. Is this for my benefit, I ask? Does any part of the increase go to benefit the ryot?

"Then I come to medical relief. I can cite an instance from my own experience. There are only two dispensaries and one hospital in the taluk board with which I am connected. We have been asking for another dispensary for the last two years and we are not able to get the necessary sanction. The Government does not help us in our attempt to provide even an Ayurvedic dispensary. What part of the increase under this head goes to improve these matters? I should say that from the ryot's point of view the budget is very unsatisfactory.

"I come next to Primary Education. I do not want to take the time of the House by referring to the demands to improve the secondary education and university education. Coming as I do from the interior of the province, my first duty is to see to the improvement of primary education. Of late we have started a large number of primary schools. I must acknowledge with thanks the great effort that has been made for a decade in this direction. Scholars have increased by thousands. The depressed classes are being allowed to go to the same schools as the higher classes. All this is very good. But is the progress commensurate with the present needs of the country? Does it bear a fair proportion to the increase of expenditure in other branches which are less important in my (the ryot's) eyes? I refer to page 132 of the budget and invite the attention of the House to the provision made for primary education. Rupees. 26,25,000 is provided for primary education. This is nearly the same amount as was provided in the budget of 1920-21. Why is there no increase under this head? No doubt, a sum of 6 lakhs is put down under the head for expansion of elementary education and for meeting the cost of District Educational Councils. When are the local authorities going to get any part of these 6 lakhs? They must levy a tax. They must declare certain tracts subject to compulsory education and then in proportion to their earnings they must tax. Is it going to be done this year? I think it will take a long time before a tax like this is formally introduced. That means that we are to forego all progress this year.

"I then come to the subject of agriculture. What was the state of agriculture 30 years ago and what is its present state? What was the amount spent upon agriculture 30 years ago, and what is the amount spent now? I am not able to see from the memorandum what the figures were 30 years ago. Taking the figures of last year and this year, what do we find? At page 160 of the budget, against 'district works' we find that the budget estimate of last year, i.e., 1920-21, was Rs. 3,15,860 and the budget estimate of 1921-22 is Rs. 2,10,900. Why is there a reduction of expenditure under this head? Let us compare the

state of affairs 30 years ago with the present state. So far as I can see the same crops are now raised as were raised 30 years ago and the universal complaint is that the yield is becoming less and less. What is this due to? Has the agricultural department done anything all these ten years to introduce new crops, to demonstrate new ways of growing them, to show the ryot how to make economical improvements? No attempt has been made in these directions. How are we to justify this inaction? Of course I can go on quoting more instances, but I have no time for that. But I wish to point out that from the point of view of the agricultural ryot who toils from year's end to year's end, there is nothing cheering in the budget.

"Then there is the question of salaries. A very large amount has been provided under salaries. I feel satisfied after the explanation of Mr. Ramaswami Mudaliyar that the Finance Member is not at all responsible for the enhancement of salaries. Wages have been raised, and the salaries of the topmost officers have been raised. Therefore the clamour now is among non-gazetted officers and schoolmasters. What can the poor Finance Member do under these circumstances? The Government are taking work from an army of men who have to be provided for. But how does it help me, I ask? Again there are so many allowances granted—I think a catalogue of them was given the other day by my Honourable friend Mr. A. S. Krishna Rao. Are any allowances made to the poor ryots? Is there any provision for two cartloads of manure leaves or for free grazing permits for every half a dozen cattle? Is anything like that in prospect, I ask? I should welcome a budget which made provision for that. I hope the Hon'ble the Finance Member will be officially alive till next year to make these provisions. (Laughter.) It is said that His Excellency the Governor is going to apply the pruning knife to cut down establishment charges. That, I say, is taking away with the left hand what was given with the right. It is only recently that the Public Services Commission Report was given effect to. To proceed immediately after that to cut short all salaries would be a cruel irony. I know it requires a lot of courage to do it. The whole budget is an eye-opener to me. The wonder is that it contains so many details and not so few. I have learnt in these two or three days what would have otherwise taken me years to learn. The remarks made by several of the honourable members were very instructive and illuminating.

"One thing that suggests itself to me is this. I hope that His Excellency the Governor will be able to give in future at least three weeks' time after the presentation of the budget, for its discussion. We shall then be able to regulate criticism.

"If the budget is disappointing, as I have already submitted, it is not due to this officer or that officer, but perhaps to the freshness of outlook. We have come forward here with new ideas and with new responsibilities. From that point of view we say that the budget is defective. I hope we shall have strength given to us and sympathy given to us to alter matters and to judge things properly instead of judging them by a standard of increase in expenditure."

Diwan Bahadur Sir P. TYAGARAYA CHETTIYAR:—"Mr. President, Sir, it gives me a great pleasure to carefully attend to the speeches made here for the last two days and to-day on the budget. Every member of the Council has taken great interest in going through the budget and studying carefully and coming out so readily with his views. Sir, it makes me wonder how in these three days or four days they were able to do so much. The interest they take in the matter is surprising. I have been hearing carefully the several speeches made and every one has shown that there are weak points in the budget, that there are points where

money should be secured for important purposes and that there are points where economy can be shown. It gives me great pleasure to say—now that we are in the first reformed Council—that if we all put our shoulders to the wheel we will be able to do something substantial. Well, it is said that the budget contains a lot of additional posts, a lot of allowances and a lot of civil buildings. Now it is known and it is admitted by every one in this Council that we must make a move in the right direction and that is, in the way of improving agriculture, industries, education and sanitation, to do which it requires a large sum of money. Yesterday Dr. Gilbert Slater mentioned to us that if agriculture is not improved and that if industries are not developed, there is no chance of the Madras Presidency improving. I quite agree with him and I suppose every member of this Council admits that. But, however, he came down with a remedy—a remedy which he sees from his point of view, that is from the western point of view. He is a professor of Economics, but unfortunately his economics seems to have been studied not in India but elsewhere. He ought to have seen what India is when compared with the west when he said that some taxes should be increased. He said that in England the tax is so much and yet in India it is so little, that it stands no comparison and that it must be increased. But, Sir, I have to ask him whether he had studied Indian conditions just as he had studied the English conditions. In England every one is a rich man and a plentiful man. Even a labourer gets now about ten shillings a day. With such an amount of money in his hands, he can very well spend any amount of money in luxuries and can give a lot of money to the Government. But what is the condition in India? What is the average income of an Indian? Is it 8 shillings or 10 shillings a day? Or is it anything like that? The average income of the Indian is not enough to give him one meal a day and also provide him for his drink. It is not enough to keep him hand to mouth. Where can he get any money for paying taxes? That is the position of the Indian which my friend Dr. Slater has not considered. But, however, I have no quarrel with him. But I think there are ways of curtailing the expenses and saving money for the useful purposes that we want. Sir, I need not go into the details of the budget. But, however, I must say that in the budget there are several heads under which there is an increase in establishments. Now, what was it previously? Is it that those departments were not carried on satisfactorily and we wanted more men to be added to carry on the work? I say, Sir, that the time has come when a stop should be made to such increases and when we should look back and see that the establishment that we had already is enough. About the allowances I think my friend Mr. Krishna Rao has given a catalogue of them. Now I think time has opened the eyes of everybody here to consider that these allowances are a scandal.

"We are aware of the domestic economy practised in our homes. When we give a lump sum of money to the housewife for household expenditure, they manage affairs in such a clever way as to save some little in each item. With these small savings they are able, in course of time, to bedeck themselves with kammals and gold bangles. What happens when a marriage has to be performed for the son or the daughter? Every item of economy is practised. The lady does not keep up grand dress or jewellery. She saves every pice available. I say, Sir, that what domestic economy we have in our homes we should introduce in this Government and this Government ought to exercise that domestic economy. Again, we have to cut our suit according to the cloth. We have to take steps to see as everyone has admitted, that in this Government agriculture, industries, education and sanitation are improved at any cost. Sir, the time has come when the unnecessary expenses have to be stopped at least for some time until we will be able to get back the contribution of 384 lakhs. I think, Sir, that at the time of the grants

being passed it is open to us all to cut expenses here and there and see that some money is realised and spent for these purposes. I do not know what the view of the House is. Still, however, that is the direction in which we all ought to work and come to a decision (hear, hear) and show to the country that we as democratic members of the Legislative Council will be able to carry out everything in a democratic spirit (hear, hear) and satisfy ourselves."

Mr. A. M. MacDougall :—" Before the Great War ended, people in England were told that England would be made a land fit for heroes to live in. The discontent existing in England to-day is the result of taking too literally the reiteration of this phrase by politicians. I would ask the honourable members here to guard against anything like this happening in this country.

" We have started the Reform Scheme and many of the honourable members are making demands which cannot be met unless a great deal of money is forthcoming. A constant reiteration of those demands which are not likely to be fulfilled for years to come is more than useless and the non-realisation will serve only as a source of discontent throughout the country. I would ask the honourable members therefore to bestow their careful attention on the demands which they may make as regards the various improvements to the country, unless they are prepared to meet the bill and find the money.

" I am a new member to this Council, Mr President, but I have taken a considerable interest in the proceedings of the Council during the past years. In the past years I found that most honourable members commenced their speeches by congratulating the Hon'ble the Finance Member on the budget that he presented to them. But I am sorry that very few of us have done so this year. Either way, I would like to make that omission good by congratulating the Hon'ble the Finance Member on the budget he has placed before us. In a year of world stress when every country is looking eagerly for money and arranging to cover deficits, the Hon'ble the Finance Member asked them to meet a deficit of 30 lakhs and promised to use the pruning knife so that it may yield a surplus. Sir, I think he has to be congratulated on it Much has been said in this Council this session regarding the ill-paid non-gazetted officers and the high-paid gazetted officers. I think we ought to accept what the Hon'ble the Finance Member said early in his speech that His Excellency the Governor had promised to go through the establishments and cut down what was found unnecessary. In a business house, Sir, it often happens that when expenditure increases to such an extent that it cuts away all profit and when it is impossible to cut down expenditure the head of the business looks round to find a way in which he can bring his return to cover his expenditure and give him a profit. One way is he looks for increased efficiency. If he has to pay high salaries, he naturally expects to get a great deal of extra work. That is a point which I would recommend to the Hon'ble the Finance Member when he takes charge of the pruning knife.

" Another point which struck me was that many of the honourable members of this House could assist the Hon'ble the Finance Member in the use of the pruning knife by being a little more careful in the questions they ask and in the resolutions they move; for all these entail a great deal of work on the staff in looking up statistics which, when they are given, are generally cast aside as so much waste paper. I would ask the honourable members to take note of that and to make only those enquiries which are really of general interest and importance.

" Many of the honourable members have spoken on cutting down at once and doing away with the excise revenue. I was very pleased to hear my honourable

friend on the second bench making a great defence on behalf of excise. You cannot cut half your income without replacing it in some way. We have to consider both the social and economical sides.

"One honourable member yesterday instanced the case when on a shandy day in Ootacamund the country liquor shops were closed resulting in decreased consumption and implied that it was the loss of revenue to the Government which caused them to be reopened. So far as local conditions are concerned, I think that implication is not true. I was told a few weeks ago by the local people that the labourers in those places, before the shops were closed, used to go on Tuesday morning, make their purchases, drink in the afternoon and walk home. When the shops were closed, the labourer came in on the Monday afternoon, got drunk as best as he could, made his purchases on Tuesday and feeling thirsty he did not care to go back to work, but spent his time there and returned on Wednesday morning when the liquor shops were opened and he had had a drink. Instead of the employers' losing one day's work on account of the shops being open on Tuesday, the local reformers want the shop to be closed so that the employers might lose three days' work. Which of the two evils would we choose, loss of one day's work and loss of pay or loss of three days' work if we were officials? That is one point which ought to be taken into consideration when advising the Government to cut down the excise budget. I do not review the whole budget because I have not come prepared to do so. But I would draw the attention of the Hon'ble the Finance Member to one little thing in his speech. In page 11 of his memorandum, he says regarding industries: 'Hitherto it has been developed rapidly, but without adherence to any very clearly defined plans.'

"Now I do not think that I can accept the carrying on of a department without any clearly defined plan and I hope that the Hon'ble the Minister for Development will carry on the agricultural department in future on a well-defined basis. Much of the discussion over the Budget could have been avoided if the procedure of the House had allowed the Hon'ble the Ministers to follow the Hon'ble the Finance Member and given us the policy they intend to follow or how they propose to carry on the departmental administration or to spend the money entrusted to their care. If that had been done, it is possible that much of the discussion would have been avoided.

"In the course of the debate, many speakers have spoken about industrial and agricultural development, but with the exception of one no one had pointed out the way in which the Government should develop them. They made broad statements that the country should be developed industrially and agriculturally. One speaker this morning suggested that the Government should start one or two factories on a large scale, but I think it is impossible to do so. No Government can run a factory or industrial concern so successfully as a private trader. The duty of the Government as regards the development of industries is more or less to point out the way in which the country should be developed and to show that certain trades or certain industries can be run by private individuals at a profit. For instance, what has been done with regard to aluminium industry? It was started here first under Government control, but it was subsequently sold to a commercial concern which has at least paid one dividend of 135 per cent.

"One honourable member mentioned the Pencil Factory which I was glad to hear was running profitably. There is the Soap Factory which is being run in Calicut and which, I understand, had been started provisionally as a demonstration factory. There can be no objection to the Government starting demonstration

factories, but, as it has been proved, the factory can be run at a profit, I would suggest to the Hon'ble the Minister for Development to see if he cannot find some private individuals to take it up and run it.

"One other thing I notice is that no one has spoken about the capital invested by Government in these experimental measures. I am very pleased to see that the Finance Member has appointed the Committee now sitting with a view to establish a system of accounts that will show how much capital the Government have invested in experiments and how much return, if any, is being derived from the capital so invested. I congratulate the Hon'ble the Finance Member in his being able to show that this year's income from industries may come to nearly 7½ lakhs."

Mr. C. NATESA MUDALIYAR:—"Sir, Mr. President, it was mentioned by the Honourable Member for University that there is no party in this Council. Let me assure the Council that the recent elections have shown that there was a struggle between a rising democracy and a thriving oligarchy; democracy eventually succeeded. It is the democratic party that is now in power. I thank His Excellency the Governor for having recognized this and for having formed the people's Ministry. Sir, I understand by budget nothing but making financial arrangements for the comforts of the tax-payers for the ensuing year. The tax-payer pays in coin and in return the Government undertakes to safeguard his interests, his agriculture through irrigation and other means, his industry, his person and property and above all his health. In this budget I am sorry to find no adequate provision is made for any of these items. The most important and the most indispensable for the tax-payer is health which is rather most inadequately provisioned for. One medical practitioner for every 22,000 of the population is deplorable indeed. We know how in villages our ryots and agriculturists, the real tax-payers, die helplessly in hundreds through epidemics and through various other diseases, which can be easily combated in the metropolis. There is one sub-assistant surgeon for a taluk who often goes on tour to various villages. Till his return his patients, however serious and however acute the diseases may be they are suffering from, are to take care of themselves or die in the meanwhile. That is the state of medical relief. Coming to maternity relief and child-welfare, horrible are the ways in which our women in labour die in the mufassal. The problem of checking infant mortality has been engaging the attention of sanitarians all over the world and the western countries are making rapid progress. In Madras we have just started, and I believe we are making slight progress. If in an unguarded moment the Corporation decides to discontinue the maintenance of child-welfare scheme, I request the Government to take up that important factor of public health. If the Corporation appeals for financial help, I request the Government to go to its rescue. This scarcity of medical help can be relieved by opening various medical schools and colleges in various parts of the Presidency always maintaining strict efficiency in these institutions. There is a suggestion made to abolish stipends to medical students, but I would rather suggest that these stipends may be converted into scholarships. In awarding these scholarships and in admitting the students to the various schools and colleges, I request the Government to observe strict proportionate communal representation.

"Sir, I will also request the Government to make a decided advance in making liberal grants for scholarships to women, so that ere long we will have at least one lady medical practitioner in charge of each taluk.

"Coming now to the Sanitary department, illiterate and uneducated our society as at present constituted is, the work of the sanitary department is an uphill one. The work of the sanitary department ought to be more educative than executive.

The spread of sanitary knowledge ought to be the aim of the sanitary department. I am for increasing the sanitary staff with adequate pay and, if possible, I request the Government to take into consideration the risk the sanitary subordinates undergo in exposing themselves to various epidemics and to have their lives insured.

"There was a suggestion made by an honourable member for whom I have great reverence that the office of the Sanitary Commissioner might be combined with that of the Surgeon-General, the reason adduced for that being a reduction of expenditure. I abhor the idea of stinting expenditure where health is concerned, for the economical value of a place depends upon its healthy condition. Another reason urged is that the post of Sanitary Commissioner was combined in the present Surgeon-General and nothing untoward has happened. Sir, those who know the energy, the enthusiasm and the organizing capacity of the present Surgeon-General can very well understand that three more such appointments can be combined in him. But we should look to the future, to his successors.

"Turning to my pet subject, the improvement of cheries as far as Madras is concerned, unless the cheries are reformed the city can never be sanitary. They are the nucleii of all infection. There were attempts made by the Corporation to make these filthy places filthier still by dumping crude rubbish consisting among other things of organic matter of highly putrefactive nature, fæcal matter to the extent of about 20 tons per day (i.e., for the whole city), to level up the low-lying marshy lands in the vicinity of the human habitations. The latrines in these cheries are merely enclosures with mud flooring with no water or drainage arrangements. They are merely slight improvements upon the primitive method of depositing any filth anywhere but only much less hygienical. Now by constant use made of these latrines for many years the flooring of these latrines is all of semi-solid consistency made up of urine, mud and fæcal matter."

The Hon'ble Sir Lionel Davidson :—"May I ask whether the condition of the latrines in the City of Madras is not primarily the concern of the Corporation?"

Mr. C. Natesa Mudaliyar :—"I made independent visits to these cheries and I also visited them in company with the Hon'ble Mr. Raja and Mr. Moir."

The Hon'ble the President :—"The point raised by the Hon'ble Sir Lionel Davidson is that these are matters not so much for the general discussion of this Council as for the Corporation of Madras. Nobody questions the accuracy of what the honourable member says or his authority to speak on these matters."

Mr. C. Natesa Mudaliyar :—"I only request the Government to give sufficient grants earmarking the same for the purpose of improving the cheries. I hope and I am sure that our medicine and sanitation are safe in the hands of the Honourable Minister.

"Now turning to the Agricultural department, reference was made to the work or rather to atrocities committed by this department. I am sorry that scientific instructions and explanations cannot be understood easily by us all. I admire how the plants are taken care of by the agricultural department and treated as are done with human beings. There is a great future to the agriculturist through the department. I am eagerly looking for the day when the Agricultural College at Coimbatore can be affiliated to the University of Madras and I hope the Hon'ble the Minister will hasten the accomplishing of it.

"Coming to the Police and the preservation of talaiyari system which was referred to by some of the honourable members, I am of opinion that the police staff should be increased in order to preserve peace and order in the land. The old talaiyari system should be continued. Coming down from time immemorial it has got advantages of its own.

10th March 1921] [Mr. C. Natesa Mudaliyar]

"Coming to the Education and the Judicial departments over which so much of the tax-payers' money is spent, I request the Government, in making the various appointments and even in admitting students to the various colleges, to adhere to strict proportionate communal representation. In the budget I find about Rs. 14,000 set apart for widows' scholarships. I request the Government to extend these to non-widows too or at least distribute these scholarships among widows of all castes and creeds giving them similar privileges and similar accommodations.

"Now, Sir, coming to the pay of the Honourable Ministers: if we really care for safeguarding the self-respect of the tax-payer whose representatives our Ministers are, their pay ought to be equal to the pay of the Executive Council Members with whom our Ministers sit in deliberation in the Cabinet. If the day comes for the reduction of the salaries of the Honourable Executive Council Members, then I would surely vote for the reduction of the pay of the Hon'ble the Ministers.

"In conclusion, I request the Government—whatever may be the departments whether transferred or reserved—always to take care to maintain strict proportional communal representation, having in view the interest of the tax-payer whose money goes to make the machinery of the Government move. Once more I thank His Excellency for having formed this Ministry and recognizing the interest of the people of the land."

Diwan Bahadur P. Kesava Pillai:—"Mr. President, I have been endeavouring to take rather a detached view as befitting your Deputy President of the debate that has been going on since yesterday. I may at once state that there has been criticism of a sort which might convey the impression that we do not show sufficient respect or gratitude to the members of the bureaucracy. One esteemed friend said yesterday that the criticism levelled at the bureaucracy in this House made him rather disappointed just as he was leaving this Council. He said that he was depressed, that it made him sad and that it almost unnerved him for the day's work. But I assured him that all that was meant was, as Mr. Sivasankaram Pillai stated, that there was a conscious awakening of the responsibilities of the members and that it was in no way meant to convey that the members had lost the respect and the great regard they used to have for the bureaucracy. The other day it was stated in England that the Civil Service had built up the Empire. This great compliment was paid to them at the banquet given to Lord Reading and we are all prepared to endorse it. We are here to testify as representatives of the people that in addition to the efficiency with which the administration has been carried on we expect at the present time a little more insight into the conditions of the people and also a little more sympathy with and widened outlook of the country's future; and we come here to try and help the bureaucracy in their endeavour to serve this country. It is a transitional period when the bureaucracy is sliding into an enlightened democracy. Of that, we have in evidence our seven Members of the Government, who are just like the mythological seven rishis, to help the Government in governing the country. Just now we have in a somewhat crude state of fusion the element of the bureaucracy, I mean the representatives of the bureaucracy, and the representatives of democracy. With this admixture we trust His Excellency the Governor will be able to carry on a sympathetic administration in order to benefit all the classes of people for whom the Government exists.

"Sir, we have heard of party spirit in this Council. I have heard the speeches on both sides, the speeches on the side of the so-called opposition and the speeches of leaders like Sir P. Tyagaraya Chetti. I do not find any discordant note in the views expressed by them regarding the administration. I do not think that there is any party. If there is any party at all, it will be the party dividing the loaves

and fishes of office and that must always exist. But as regards other matters, I do not believe that either on the side of the Ministry or on the side of the opposition there is any serious difference of opinion. We all want reform (hear, hear) in every branch of the administration. The other day, no doubt on a side-track debate, we lost that resolution about the separation of judicial from executive functions. We had been endeavouring to get that reformation for nearly three decades and more and we lost it on a side-track . . ."

The Hon'ble the PRESIDENT :—" That resolution having been disposed of, I really cannot for a period of one year to come permit any further debate on it."

Diwan Bahadur P. KESAVA PILLAI :—" I bow to your ruling, Sir. I was going to say that if the Hon'ble the Finance Member had been able to provide for the separation of judicial from executive functions, we could have gone back to our constituents and told them that we had achieved something for their benefit. We are in this predicament. We cannot address our constituents without giving them any hope of immediate reform in the direction they have been striving for. In that way the budget is disappointing. I thought that it was relevant in this way; when the Government was able to spend money for the increase of pay to Munsifs and Sub-Judges and pay additional salaries to many other bigger people and when they have been able to give duty allowances and other allowances, they might have provided for the separation of the judicial and executive functions. We thought that we were entitled to claim from the Hon'ble the Finance Member a serious consideration of this question so that we might go to our constituents and tell them that we have achieved something. The honourable member might perhaps have provided for the increase of pay to village officers. I do not know if he would accept the recommendation of the committee. But I can assure the House that it must be done at a very early date. I think I had the pleasure of taking the Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Muhammad Habib-ul-lah Sahib Bahadur to a village where we had the pleasure of meeting the village officer of that place drawing Rs. 5. Well, he was found in a wretchedly poor house; and of that sort of village officers we have in plenty. It is only a few people who are hereditary—I mean the hereditary officers who have got money and influence—who are contented with it and they spend any amount of money so that they may have power and influence in the village. But the generality of village officers are in a very very wretched condition. It is stated here in the memorandum at page 13, 'with salaries there have had to be raised also the travelling allowances of all classes of officers as those in force have been found not to meet the actual expenses of travelling, a fact which is apt to react upon the villager who supplies his carts at a fixed tariff which may be less than what he could secure by hiring them out for other purposes.' I am glad the Government are aware of this and I believe the Government are also aware that there are certain rates and fixed prices given to these village officers at which they have to supply rice and other articles to touring officers. I had to deal with this subject some years ago in the Legislative Council, and then I pointed out how the village officers were suffering."

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur MUHAMMAD HABIB-UL-LAH SAHIB Bahadur (*interrupting*) :—" I may at once deny that statement. Sir, there was no such schedule hung up in any village."

Diwan Bahadur P. KESAVA PILLAI :—" Well, I am glad that after the honourable member has taken charge it was abolished. But I know this much that when people go to villages they have to pay down at two annas a pound of this, four annas for a pound of that and so on. If the honourable member would like to have my statement confirmed, I can adduce evidence from the village

officers themselves. However that may be, I hope the Government will insist on their officers, when they are paying them adequate travelling allowances, to pay these village officers for articles supplied to them. I think that, in the august presence of my honourable friend Mr. Habib-ul-lah Sahib, that man made a statement that he had to give ghee, milk and curd to the touring officers and he got nothing for them. Of course the honourable member said that that was a matter for personal inquiry and that if he had demanded payment he would have been paid, and in that way he triumphed over me. But does he expect that the village officers will demand from touring officers payment for all articles supplied to them? If he expects them to demand payment, then I should think that the Hon'ble Mr. Habib-ul-lah has forgotten the nature of the people over whom he has control. Well, I am glad and I am grateful to the Government, and I agree in this respect that the Financial Member has done a public service in allowing more travelling allowances to officers, but I hope that more travelling allowance means regular and full payment to the village officials who supply these people. There is a good deal of scandal in which both Indians and Europeans are concerned. There is no doubt about it. I have known very many high-minded European officers who are very strict in this respect, and I have known very many high-minded Indian officers who are also strict in this respect; but sometimes there are European officials and Indian officials who seem to thrive on this unearned increment yielded by the village officers. They thrive upon it and this is known to the Government also. They cannot very well stop it. But I hope that this liberal allowance will induce the officers to abstain from demanding free supplies. There are many other things which I might emphasise, but unfortunately there is very little time.

"I would ask you to note, Sir, here are many items given under contributions for criminal settlements. You are making contributions of Rs. 33,000 and Rs. 10,000 and so on to the different settlements. We have no idea of what sort of work they do. For instance, you are giving every year Rs. 33,470 to the Kavali Settlement in the Nellore district. And then there are many other settlements mentioned here (page 183 of the Budget). I submit as a matter of personal knowledge in one or two cases, and as a matter of reliable information, that some of these settlements are not working properly. So far as Kavali is concerned, I should like to have some explanation from the Honourable Member in charge as to whether that settlement is working satisfactorily. I have seen a number of people from that settlement in the Vellore Central Jail, men, women and children, who were convicted for running away from that settlement. Why? The pity of the whole system is this. They are sent to jail, they are made to work there, and sent back to the same agency, that is to Kavali, and those people were bitterly complaining to the authorities, to the Superintendent of the jail, to the people that visited the jail and to the Jail Commission. I do not understand why money is so lavishly thrown on the settlements where these people are not properly treated. There is one other settlement—the Bhumanagadda Settlement in the Chittoor district. I do not know what the views of the Hon'ble Sir Lionel Davidson are. Well, from this settlement some of the very finest birds sally forth to other places and come back. It is not a very properly kept settlement. I do not know what steps the Government have taken in order to get their money's worth from these settlements, and I should like to have a little more information on this subject. I am not for abolishing them, but I am for taking them under Government management if possible. In spite of these contributions of money to different agencies, especially to the missionary bodies, these settlements have not been working properly. Except in one or two places, there have been reports of a very unsatisfactory state of things.

"There is another item to which I would refer, and that is the lunatic asylum. We have a lot of increase in the provision for lunatics. Has there been an increase of lunatics in Madras? It looks like it. I should like to have some explanation why there has been so much increase. Then, under the item of diet for patients, there is an increase of thousands and thousands of rupees. I should like to know why that increase has been found necessary. So far as the General Hospital is concerned, Sir, I made inquiries three years ago. They had a scale of diet at five annas for an Indian and ten annas for an European or Eurasian. They could not very well manage with five annas for the Indian and I am told that they tried to take allowances and it comes to ten annas or twelve annas for an Indian and Rs. 1-2-0 for the European or the Eurasian. Perhaps this accounts for the increase in the diet charges at the lunatic asylum."

The Hon'ble Sir LIONEL DAVIDSON (*interrupting*) :—"May I ask what is the increase to which the honourable member refers? There has been a decrease of Rs. 13,000 in the budget estimate as compared with the revised estimate for 1920-21."

Diwan Bahadur P. KESAVA PILLAI :—"I was referring to the Budget Estimate for 1920-21."

The Hon'ble Sir LIONEL DAVIDSON :—"Page 153 of the budget shows a decrease of Rs. 13,000 as compared with the revised estimate for 1920-21 which materially exceeded the budget figure owing to the increased cost in the current year."

Diwan Bahadur P. KESAVA PILLAI :—"Of course that refers only to diet."

The Hon'ble Sir LIONEL DAVIDSON :—"I understood, Sir, that the honourable member only referred to diet."

Diwan Bahadur P. KESAVA PILLAI :—"I did. There is an increase as stated in the budget, namely, Rs. 1,37,000 budget estimate for 1920-21, Rs. 1,63,000 revised estimate for 1920-21 and Rs. 1,50,000 in the present estimate; but when we add other items also it was Rs. 2,53,400 before and it is nearly Rs. 3 lakhs now."

The Hon'ble Sir LIONEL DAVIDSON :—"I think, Sir, if the honourable member refers to totals, he will find that there also there is a decrease of Rs. 10,000. The totals are respectively Rs. 3,09,000 in the revised estimate for 1920-21 and Rs. 2,90,300 in the budget estimate for 1921-22."

Diwan Bahadur P. KESAVA PILLAI :—"I apologise to the honourable member, but I only wish to know why there has been an increase of about Rs. 10,000."

The Hon'ble Sir LIONEL DAVIDSON :—"There was a decrease, Sir."

Diwan Bahadur P. KESAVA PILLAI :—"Oh, there has been a decrease of Rs. 10,000! What about the General Hospital? May I beg to know?"

The Hon'ble the PRESIDENT :—"The honourable member should go on with his speech. He cannot constantly ask the Member for Government for information. If the honourable member is not in order, the honourable member for Government is bound to stand up and correct him. The honourable member will now go on."

Diwan Bahadur P. KESAVA PILLAI (*continuing*) :—"I too wanted to avoid obstructions.

"As regards the other items, I do not want to take up the Council's time. My friend asked for grazing facilities for cattle. There was a reference to milk-supply. I believe Dr. Slater was referring to butter and milk. Something

must be done. The Government might provide free grazing, at least grazing at reasonable rates. The difficulty is that people, especially in the mufassal, are still suffering from hardships under the Forest Rules. A good deal of annoyance has been removed by the introduction of the panchayats, but even under the panchayat system contributions which are reasonable should alone be taken and they not calculated on the past income when the forest was under the departmental management. That scares away villagers from undertaking to carry on the forest panchayat system. I think the Honourable Member favourably considered that aspect of the question. If you want to get proper management of these village forests, they must not be burdened with a heavy contribution. A contribution is expected under this head, and I think, Sir, the Government must take into their consideration the utility of these forest panchayats. I think they have after all been useful, but they have not been given proper facilities for working.

"Then there is Excise. I do not want to traverse the ground taken by Mr. Ranganatha Mudaliyar and Mr. Sivasankaram Pillai. I may tell the Government that illicit distillation goes on in several districts and that is a notorious fact. I wonder the Government is not aware of this. I know as a matter of fact from reliable information that reached me from one respectable man that there are people who bid when the Government auction takes place for properly distilled arrack. Well, subsequently, some of those people get these shops managed by their own people and then they put to auction the sale of illicit arrack in the same shop. Some of the Members of the House seem to have some doubt about this. Suppose a man gets a Government shop for Rs. 10. The same man will have to put to sale the illicit arrack in his shop. But he does it quite differently. There is another man in charge of the illicit distillery operation who pays him Rs. 50 for the sale of the illicit arrack. In that way it is stated two or three people are making a considerable amount of money, but I think the Government have the proper means; if they depute a proper, independent and intelligent officer they will be able to find it out. This is a loss to the public. We have heard a good deal about the loss under Excise. Well, we should not speak against the excise revenue because it will be bringing loss of revenue to the Government. But I say this much; Government have to open their eyes and see that this illicit distillation does not take place and that the auctioning of shops for sale of illicit arrack does not take place. This has to be done by adopting vigorous measures. Of course, when people get much money by auctioning the right of sale of illicit arrack, they make a free use of the money to please all the people they come in contact with officials or non-officials, who may have it in their power to expose the traffic.

"I wanted to say one word in support of Mr. S. Srinivasa Ayyangar's suggestion that the duty on toddy may be reduced. So many people hold that toddy is something in the nature of food. The poor man consumes it, and I think that placing too much duty on that makes people poorer and, as my friend remarked, it makes only the poorer classes of the people pay in order to swell the coffers of the Government.

"I had some more remarks to make and I propose to make them at a later stage. I only wish that the Government will not take the remarks of the Members of the Legislative Council in any other than a friendly spirit. We offer them in a friendly spirit and we hope to help them in making the Government more agreeable and sympathetic to the man that pays."

Mr. P. SUBBARAYAN:—"Mr. President, the Hon'ble the Finance Member has had to confess in his opening remarks that this is only a 'carrying on' budget and that is what it is. People on the opposite side as well as on the bench behind

me have been accusing the Ministry that has just been formed of not having a policy. A policy is not a thing which you can hatch in the course of a night. If it were possible, I am sure my honourable friends the Ministers would have done it with the greatest pleasure; but that is not the consideration. The consideration is we have to bear in mind that they have only just taken charge of these departments and they have to look into the ideas that have been propounded by the Members of the bureaucracy who were in charge of these departments before. They cannot abolish all these things in a day. Next, I think my honourable friend, the Finance Member, regrets the Meston Award as any Member in this House. But that is a thing which has been done by Lord Meston's Committee and we have got to take it even though we may grumble against it. Naturally when other provinces make protests against the Meston Award, we may also make our protest. For instance, I remember a joint meeting that was held in Madras when the Meston Award was published over which my honourable friend, Mr. Simpson, presided and with one united voice the representatives of this Presidency sent a protest, but that protest was unfortunately in vain. But we have got also to consider this point. The Central Government is the system which administers the whole country and the Central Government must have, firstly, revenue to spend. It is the machine round which the whole system of Government in this country revolves. When such is the case, unless we are able to prop up the Central Government, the whole administration will have to come to an end. So for that reason, although I am not in accord with the Meston Award, I should point out to the members of this House that the Meston Award is the best that could have been done in the circumstances. Secondly, we have been hearing honourable members both on the opposite side and behind me protesting against new taxes. Well, it might not be the Hon'ble Mr. Todhunter to-morrow that might produce a budget. It might be Mr. Ramaswami. When such is the case, when we have got to carry on the machinery of Government, how are we to get on without new taxes. If we want a pattern of the new democracy as exists in the west, I am sure honourable members of this House must be prepared for new taxes. You cannot carry on an intricate system of democracy as obtains in the west without more funds. I should throw forward a suggestion in this instance. We have been hearing of the poor ryot all the time. I should like to ask honourable members both on this side of the House and opposite whether the poor ryot is the man who pays the land-tax. He is, I am sure, taxed to the full. On an acre of land, as my Honourable friend Mr. Ramachandra Rao pointed out yesterday, Government takes Rs. 2, 3, 4 and the ordinary landlord gets about Rs. 100. He is the man who is waxing fat on the tenant. It is not the Government. I should in this instance refer to the district of Tanjore over the resettlement of which my honourable friend Mr. Venkatarama Ayyar wasted a great deal of his eloquence. Well, if I remember right, the major portion of lands in the Tanjore district are in the hands of about a dozen persons. I would like to know whether they considered the effect that they produce on the poor tenant, the tiller of the soil, who is a helot who could be compared to the helots of Sparta, or the slaves of Athens. And I should also in this instance refer to Malabar. In Malabar, Mr. President, I am sure, Sir, this is a part of the country you know very well, in Malabar tenants are being rackrented, but who is the person who gains? It is not the Government. The Government in fact gets very little of it. It all goes into the pockets of the landlord. When such is the case, I do not see why members should pretend to represent the 10-rupee landholder in this Council who really represent what I should call the oligarchy of this country and should protest against new taxation. New taxation is bound to come. I should like to know . . . "

10th March 1921.] [Sriman Biswanath Das]

Sriman BISWANATH DAS (*interrupting*) :—" Sir, I rise to a point of order This is not a question of pretension ; we do represent the ryots." (*Hear, hear.*)

Mr. P. SUBBARAYAN (*continuing*) :—" I am afraid, Sir, it is only a matter of opinion. I should like to ask in this connexion the honourable member who rose to a point of order how many of the people who voted for him know what they were voting for."

Diwan Bahadur M. RAMACHANDRA RAO PANTULU :—" Sir, I rise to a point of order. I should like to know whether it is open to any honourable member to throw any aspersion on the representative character of this House."

The Hon'ble the PRESIDENT :—" I do not think he is throwing any aspersion upon the representative character of this House. He wanted to know from the Honourable Member for Ganjam whether his constituents knew what they were voting for. (*Laughter.*) It is perfectly open to the member for Ganjam to get up and say that all his constituents knew that. If he makes that assertion, the honourable member will proceed."

Sriman BISWANATH DAS :—" Certainly, Sir, I do assert."

The Hon'ble the PRESIDENT :—" I think the Honourable Member will accept it."

Mr. P. SUBBARAYAN (*continuing*) :—" I am glad to accept it, and I wish the honourable member knew a little more than what he knows in that respect.

" Next, we had a tirade by my honourable friend representing the University in this House against the high pay paid to members sitting on this bench. Well, if I may go into some private history, I should like to know what money the lawyers in the topmost of the profession are making in the law courts to-day.

" Next, Sir, I shall come to a point made by my honourable friend the Rev. Macphail about aided institutions. Well, I think aided institutions are well and good, but the Government in this country has been a paternal Government to this day, and as a paternal Government they ought to have model institutions like Government colleges in order to show what system of education. . . . "

Sriman BISWANATH DAS (*interrupting*) :—" Again Sir, I am sorry I have to rise to a point of order. Government now in this country is not a paternal Government. It is more or less a responsible Government. It is going to be a responsible Government."

The Hon'ble the PRESIDENT :—" There is not much difference between the two ".

Mr. P. SUBBARAYAN (*continuing*) :—" If the honourable member had only the patience to listen to me, Sir, he would have understood what I was talking about. I was saying that Government was to this day a paternal Government. Many of the members of this House think we have a democratic form of Government which I don't think we have. So, as a paternal Government they ought to have model colleges and model institutions which would be an example to aided institutions, and I think in many ways the Presidency College in spite of the expense that has been put on it, has justified its existence. I am quite in favour of aiding primary education and even secondary education. But collegiate education, I think, must come from private funds. But if Government are to aid such collegiate education, I hold such education must be given by the Government itself, and not by aided institutions, for the simple reason that even under the present form of Government, which is supposed to be representative of the people, it will be the people that will be supporting Government education. So

in that way also I should say that the Government colleges have justified their existence and ought to continue as long as Government is going to supply the wherewithal for University education. I should like to mention in this connexion the three lakhs grant for the Queen Mary's College which has been attacked by many members sitting on this side of the House.

"The Queen Mary's College is a necessary institution, an institution that is going to bring education to our homes. All this time we have been educating our men and not our women. We have been reading astronomy and thinking that the eclipse is a thing of astronomical observation. But the very man who studies this at the college, when he goes home, has to starve for the simple reason that the women believe that the snake Rahu is devouring the Moon or the Sun as the case may be. Unless we are going to bring enlightenment to our homes, there will not be much improvement in the progress of our country. I think that this Presidency owes a debt of gratitude to Lord Pentland for starting a college for women in this Presidency. I now come to the departments which are under the Minister for Local Self-Government. We had two doctors on the opposite side getting up and criticising that we have not got. . . ."

Diwan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao Pantulu :—"I rise to a point of order. It is not open to any honourable member to refer to the profession of members of this House."

Mr. P. Subbarayan :—"If it is so, I beg the honourable member's pardon. I mean my honourable friend Doctor Rama Rao who criticised that there are not enough funds provided for public health and medical departments."

The Hon'ble Sir Lionel Davidson :—"I am sorry for my interruption, Sir. But I request you to give a definite ruling on the specific issue raised by the Hon'ble Mr. Ramachandra Rao whether it is or is not out of order to 'refer to professional men'."

Diwan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao Pantulu :—"I hope to come, before you give a ruling, if necessary with references on the subject."

The Hon'ble the President :—"Well, we had better get the references first."

Mr. P. Subbarayan :—"It is criticised that there are not enough funds put forward for public health, sanitation and medicine. The Hon'ble the Minister has tried his best to get as much amount as he could. We are financially in a stringent stage and we have to get on with as much as we can get at the present. No doubt, we shall be able to show some improvement next year.

"With regard to the point raised by my friend Mr. Ramachandra Rao on the Financial Relations Committee, I should like only to say this: that the recommendations of the Committee are under the consideration of the Government and it is best we pass over this year before we put forward specific recommendations on the subject. I shall end as I began, that if we want a pattern of democracy as exists in the west we must be prepared to pay for it."

Rao Bahadur T. Balaji Rao Nayudu :—"Sir, I must at the outset congratulate the Hon'ble the Finance Member on his budget for two reasons. One is that he has not proposed any additional taxation and the other is that he has done what could in spite of the two difficulties in his way, viz., the Meston Award and the enhancement of salaries. We have heard enough from the Honourable Members of this House for the last 2½ or 3 days. They have pointed out where curtailments could be made and where increases are possible. I do not know whether any pleadings of ours at this stage will have any effect at all. I do not know if the Hon'ble the Finance Member or the Government will make up their

minds to revise the budget in such a way as to give additional funds to any department. But one thing the Council can do, as long as they have powers of voting, viz., to curtail expenditure which they consider unnecessary. So the chief points for settlement probably are the increase of salaries, temporary and additional establishments newly added, local allowances and the amounts to be spent on acquisition of lands and construction of buildings for the convenience of officers and offices and of a few select public institutions. I suppose that Government is experiencing a lot of practical difficulty in finding funds to finance the Development Department and the departments of Agriculture, Co-operation, Local Self-Government and so on. I do not see what justification there is for keeping on temporary establishments and for continuing allowances of various kinds which are not obligatory. As regards the increase of salaries, on which so much has been said by my colleagues, I think it is no fault of our Government, because the Secretary of State, in view of the Public Services Commission's Report, has ordered certain increases and, as has already more than once been stated in this House, it was, I think, meant by the Secretary of State rather in the interest of the country and in order to make more sure of the reform scheme being a success. I suppose he hastened to sanction the increase of salaries of the Imperial Service officers. When this was done, it became imperative to show that there was no difference meant between the European and the Indian Officers, and Government proceeded to raise the salaries of Indian Officers. All this having been done, now the non-gazetted officers have started a cry for increase of pay, partly on account of the rise in prices and partly in view of the precedent set by Government. But now the Government finds itself unable to raise their salaries and the salaries of the village officers. That is an item which ought to be looked into at once, because the weight of the machinery of the administration more or less rests on these officers who form the bulk of the administrative machinery. It has been said by the Hon'ble the Finance Member that His Excellency the Governor is going to investigate the question of making curtailments and reductions of establishments and so on. I thank His Excellency for the trouble he is going to take. But I do not think that the disposal of the matter from this point of view will satisfy the country. All over the country everybody, even the ordinary ryot who pays Rs. 3 tax, puts the question direct 'All our taxes are taken up and consumed by the salaries of officers. What are you going to do for us'? That being the feeling, I request the Government and His Excellency the Governor in particular, to take the assistance of a strong committee consisting of equal numbers of officials, non-officials and retired officials, in investigating the matter. The official wants extra expenditure, the non-official wants to reduce it, and the retired official who is not concerned with either, probably says what is proper. So the committee should consist of these three kinds of officials. Their report should be well considered, some kind of decision should be arrived at and a scheme should be framed so that there may be no further worry about the question of salaries at least for some ten years, until the reform scheme gets itself settled down. So much for salaries.

"As regards additional hands, a number of my friends has given lists of them and of additional appointments created and I do not think it is fair on my part to take up any more time of the Council in dealing with that subject again. A number of them has been newly created and if they had not been sanctioned, a large amount of money would have been available for urgent need. There is a provision of Rs. 120 thousands provided for temporary establishment in Divisional offices; a sum of 6·25 lakhs for temporary establishment in taluk offices; and a sum of 3·42 lakhs for the Settlement Department. Members of this

House may kindly remember that we carried a resolution recently that settlement operations should be put off until they are reduced to the form of legislation. That being so, the Settlement staff can very well be limited to the permanent establishment so that the operation portion of it may be taken up after the legislation is passed and the temporary establishment may now be dispensed with. Thus the provision for the Settlement Department should be less than what it was in previous years. But the figure 3·42 lakhs has been provided for temporary establishment. These three items alone which I have specifically drawn your attention to amount to over 10 lakhs.

"As regards the Agency divison one or two of my friends said that it was an unnecessary concern. I am unable to agree with them for this reason. I have had experience of the Agency of Ganjam, Gōdāvari and Vizagapatam districts in the course of my service. I know the people there are still in a savage condition. They are much worse off than our depressed classes or our backward classes. They require every sort of encouragement. In fact they deserve much greater attention than is paid to the depressed classes. In addition to ameliorating their condition, there is the chance of a good deal of very fertile land with unfailing water-supply being thrown open for cultivation and a lot of forest produce being made available for improving the trade and industries of the country. So the money proposed for expenditure on the Agency improvement is no waste. (*Hear, hear.*)

"Lastly, I request my brother Councillors to take combined and considered action in making up their minds as to what items should be voted against or voted for and what resolutions should be put up. In fact, I am of opinion that we ought to vote against all the items of new appointments, of temporary establishments and of allowances which can be avoided and save all that money for the departments in charge of the Ministers. We can very well afford to wait for a year or two—just to provide funds for other departments—without making improvements in civil buildings, acquisition of sites and so on.

"Then as regards the special departments of Agriculture, Industries and Co-operation I have got a few words to say. It is no doubt the case, as some Honourable Members have said, that the employment of expert officers is very good. But I am of opinion that stage has not come. There is no use in having a number of Directors and Deputy Directors and other officers when there are no funds wherewith to start industries in the country. The same is the case with the labouring and the depressed classes. The money given for practical purposes is one lakh and fifty thousand rupees, but the establishment charges in the labour department come to four lakhs and odd."

The Hon'ble Mr. K. Srinivasa Ayyangar :—"I am afraid there is a great deal of misapprehension with regard to this. We have given a lakh and fifty thusand not merely for a particular purpose. We have given a lakh of rupees for opening of schools and three lakhs for acquisition of sites. That is in our department. The criminal settlement is also in our department. That too is for the unfortunate."

Rao Bahadur T. Balaji Rao Nayudu :—"Then as regards Industries, what I wish to say is that they should start from the bottom and not from the top. Ordinary primary schools where something of agriculture and industry is taught should be started. Agricultural and Industrial schools should be started here and there in the Presidency and gradually the structure should be carried up. Finally there is the question of the employment of experts. The appointment of highly-paid officials just now is considered unnecessary and even if there

must be experts, let us have one or two who can regulate the whole administration of the Presidency instead of having a number of officers who have no experience of that department."

Mr. V. C. VELLINGIRI KAVANDAR :—"I wish to offer a few remarks, as I owe a duty to the electorate. Economy, says the Hon'ble the Finance Member in introducing the budget, will be the policy of the Government, and we are assured that it will go right through the machine of Government. As one in close touch with the district administration and as one belonging to the ryot class, I may indicate a few of the many directions in which thorough and drastic overhauling is imperative.

"Take the case of the Agricultural College. We have started with a huge and costly Research Institute of Agriculture with a staff of specialists, assistant professors and so forth. The practical advantage arising to the ryot from the maintenance of the institute or the necessity for such a large staff is yet to be demonstrated. The results of training at these institutions are also yet to be proved. The Department of Agriculture costs a huge sum of money. Its officers are hardly in touch with the ryots, and if at least the district officers were Indians moving about with some freedom of action and initiative, some advantages might possibly result to the ryot. There cannot be any uniform method of work in districts especially in agriculture which depends upon the ever-varying local conditions. My own opinion is that the Agricultural Department which is costing such a large sum of money and which is conducted in this top-heavy manner is not likely to be of very much use to the ryot in solving the problems of agriculture that confront him. Every year large sums of money are spent in the extension of buildings in a lavish way. I submit, Sir, even in countries highly advanced in agriculture, such as America, Denmark and Japan, I am told that this is not the case.

"I have been attending regularly the annual conferences held at the Agricultural College at Coimbatore, and I have yet to know what lessons can be learnt by the ordinary average ryot from this department. The Hon'ble the Finance Member spoke of the advantages to the tax-payer arising from the opening of the Department of Agriculture. I confess I am unable to understand the meaning of the statement. The tax-payer can well afford to forego the advantages he is now enjoying from these departments, viz., Agriculture, Agricultural Engineering, etc., and unless the method of their work is going to be radically changed, the money spent on the Agricultural College and the Agricultural Department is mere waste. The officers ought to take special care to study the agricultural condition and methods practised in the country and so adopt the department as to be really useful to the people. Not only is it possible to effect a drastic and thorough curtailment in these departments, but it is imperative and urgent. The money saved can well be utilised for the benefit of the ryots, such as improvement of pasture, irrigation, major and minor loans, improving communications, facilities of marketing produce, keeping crossing bulls at suitable centres and getting the ordinary implements of cultivation, all of which are urgently wanted and for which I request the Hon'ble the Finance Member to add funds as much as possible.

"Briefly to touch upon certain other matters connected with district administration, the departments are multiplying and making the work of administration not more smooth or more easy or more expeditious but causing greater delay, making it more cumbersome and bewildering. The Land Records Department of recent origin is an instance in point. This led to the creation of more officers.

There was no increase of work which called for it, and the money spent on keeping this department is in my humble opinion, mere waste, and the work done by this department can be carried on by the Survey and Settlement Department as was hitherto done. The Land Records Department as a Separate Department can be demonstrated to be an additional source of worry and trouble to the ryot. The karnams and the revenue inspectors whose pay and number have been increased can very well carry on the work without the costly superstructure of Tahsildars, Commissioners and Assistant Commissioners. The district officials who are now relieved of local fund work can easily do the necessary supervising work. It is possible again to effect a considerable reduction of officers drawing high salaries in the departments of Forest, Police and Public Works. There is such a multiplicity of mere office routine and correspondence work due to the existence of large number of departments, that a reduction without impairing the efficiency of the administration can be effected thereby saving stationery and avoiding delays. If the departments are lessened in number and if the officers go about and do real work instead of merely making notes on files of papers, the position will be improved. The sight of any officer going about on horseback has become a rare sight.

"I would earnestly urge on Government the necessity of immediately tackling the problem of retrenchment. A mere reduction in the number of peons and clerks offered in the memorandum is a mockery. The problem of retrenchment ought to be faced in quite a different spirit. I join in the protest against increased grants to gazetted officers. The increase ought to be rigorously withheld until financial conditions improve."

At this stage the Council rose for lunch.

The Council re-assembled at 2-45 p.m. after lunch.

The Hon'ble Diwan Bahadur A. SUBBARAYULU REDDIYAR :—"Sir, I wish to say a few words. The departments in my charge are Education, Excise, Public Works and Registration. As regards Education I am exceedingly thankful to the House for the universal sympathy that has been evinced in the case of education and for the desire they have expressed that I should be given more money for education. As regards Excise, the policy of the Government has long been maximum of revenue and minimum of consumption. I can assure the House that this will not be a mere formal statement of the policy. I assure the House that I am seeking to give full effect to it in the course of my administration of Excise. I take this opportunity of expressing my thanks to my Honourable friend Mr. Shanmukham Chettiyar for bringing to my notice that arrack and beer shops are ordered to be opened on market days and holidays. I promise to inquire into this matter early. As regards Public Works, I shall, to the extent I am concerned with them carefully consider what works can be postponed for the present. (Mr. Devadoss : hear, hear.) As regards Registration, I take it that the administration is all that can be desired to be, as no member has yet spoken anything against it."

The Hon'ble Mr. P. RAMARAYANINGAR :—"Mr. President, so much has been already said upon the budget presented by the Hon'ble Mr. Todhunter that at this stage it is unnecessary for me to prolong the discussion. However, as some of the remarks of the Honourable Members have a bearing upon the transferred subjects, particularly upon local self-government and public health, I think I had better intervene and say a few words by way of explanation. Sir, I feel deeply grateful to the honourable members who have shown an attitude of sympathy for transferred subjects and I am glad they have rightly appreciated the importance of local self-government and the public health of the province. These are the departments

which are in need of rapid expansion and without adequate funds at the disposal of the Minister I am afraid any such expansion will be an utter impossibility. Sir, the budget that has been presented has been characterized as a disappointing budget. I am not sure that it is a disappointing budget. It may be that it is not a prosperity budget, but I must say that the Honourable Member in charge of Finance has taken every care to make the budget as satisfactory as he could do under the circumstances. Like an expert tailor he has cut the coat according to the cloth. I am sure that when the revenues improve, every branch of the administration will receive due consideration by Government.

"Sir, so far as the subjects connected with my portfolio are concerned, I assure the honourable members that most of the principles involved in the recommendations of the Financial Relations Committee have been accepted by the Cabinet, and that as soon as the figures are worked out and funds are available, effect will be given to them. There have been some observations made by Dr. U. Rama Rao and Dr. C. B. Rama Rao regarding the relations of the Government departments to private medical practitioners. I quite agree with Dr. C. B. Rama Rao when he said that encouragement should be given to private enterprise engaged in the management of hospitals and I think the suggestion that private practitioners should be appointed as honorary physicians and surgeons in Government hospitals is a good idea and in fact some years back, an experiment was made in this direction but I may inform the House that it did not prove satisfactory. I hope we shall be able to give another trial so that these honorary physicians and surgeons may be satisfied Dr. U. Rama Rao suggested that the item of stipends to the students in medical. . . ."

Dr U. Rama Rao (*interrupting*):—"It is not I; it was Dr. C. B. Rama Rao."

The Hon'ble Mr. P. Ramarayaningar (*continuing*):—"It seems to be quite good idea, and we will take the earliest opportunity to give effect to it. On th whole, the discussion has been very good and very interesting and I am sure tha when the budget comes to be considered in detail there may be some reductions, and that when more funds are available, more money will also be allowed to several of these subjects." (A member: hear, hear.)

The Hon'ble Mr. K. Venkata Reddi Nayudu:—"Mr. President, I must join my honourable colleagues in thanking the honourable members of this House for the very good support they have given to the transferred subjects. Particularly am I more fortunate than my other friends because there is perhaps not one member of this Council who did not plead for improving the departments which I am in charge of, and that only shows how keenly alive this House is for the material progress of this country and how much of that material progress depends upon the industrial and agricultural development of this land. Criticism too has been levelled against the budget. I must say very fair criticism, indeed, and criticism is always welcome to us and if I may be permitted to add, it is more welcomed than mere advice. Even in the matter of criticism, perhaps we should have welcomed a kind of constructive criticism more than a mere destructive one. To the details of this criticism I shall presently revert. But there is one point which I may dispose of at this moment. Reference has been made to the party system and statements have been made that there is no party system in this House. If by that is meant that the minority party is prepared to merge itself in the majority party, no more thing would be more welcome to me. If on the other hand it is said that there is no party system at all, I am afraid it will be a poor commentary on the system of responsible Government that we have

received with such great applause. Responsible Government, I believe, involves the idea of party system. Those that criticise must be prepared in their turn to uphold the principles for which they plead, and must be prepared to put in practice all that they speak from the opposite benches. The Honourable Member for the University of Madras has told us that his function is mere criticism and everything constructive must be left to the Treasury benches. I am afraid I must take exception to that. Members of this House on that side or this side are as much responsible for constructive criticism as for destructive criticism. To those who pretend to ignore the existence of a majority party in this House, I may at once instance some cases in which the party policy has been given expression to by a number of my friends on this side. There is my friend Mr. Raja who wanted that the institution known as 'Widows Home' in Madras should be mended or ended. There is my friend, Mr. O. Tanikachalam Chettiyar, who wanted communal representation in the services of the country, the emancipation of the services from the domination of any one particular class. My friend Mr. Subbarayulu urged that elementary education, and industrial education should be encouraged even at the risk of reducing the amounts charged to University education, and with reference to secondary education that instead of young men being trained and equipped for the University education, they should be given vocational education and equipped for the life into which they will have to enter after their education. Then there are my friends Mr. Ramaswami Mudaliyar and Dr. Nafesan who have given expression to unmistakable indications of the policy which the party in power could claim. I wish to know whether it would be possible for my friends on the opposite bench to accept the principles so laid down or involved in their statements. If they did that, then there will not be any party in this House. After all one need not be ashamed of party system, so long as it is continued on right principles and so long as personal differences are allowed to sink in the public cause. I do not really see what disgrace or danger there is for a country if its politics are conducted on party system.

"Reference has already been made and we have constantly been advised for the last three days that, in view of the fact that we are representatives of the people, we should not be led away by the bureaucracy. I must at once tell the honourable members of this House that so far as it lies in our power we have been doing our best to secure as much funds as possible for the transferred subjects. To give only a single instance (I am referring to a point which has not been touched by any of the speakers that preceded me and which if I may disclose is a circumstance that occurred in the Cabinet) and that is that we pressed for a definite and increasing proportion of funds for the transferred subjects as compared with the reserved subjects. I suppose credit will be given for that aspect of it and we will be recognized as people's representatives and we are maintaining our position there in that light. But, Sir, if this suggestion that we should be more or less—".

Diwan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao Pantulu *(interrupting)* :—"May I ask, Sir, what is the proportion the Honourable Ministers contended for?"

The Hon'ble Rai Bahadur K. Venkata Reddi Nayudu:—"I will answer it in my own way when I come to deal with figures, if my honourable friend will have the patience till the end. Well, Sir, the people entrusted to our care are safe in our hands as far as possible. But if this invitation of our friends to us to be constantly at fight with our Honourable Colleagues in the Executive Council is intended to create a difference between us, I must at once repudiate the idea. I must also tell this House that we have had the best advice and the best assistance

that we can possibly expect from our colleagues on the executive side. They have been very conciliatory and have yielded in making their grants as far as it lay in their power. This year, everybody knows, is one of extreme stringency and strain and it was found very difficult to make both ends meet. There are certain obligatory items for which provision has to be made obligatorily and it is only when we come to deal with optional subjects that we can get anything like a share. Even in that I must inform the House that we have been very very fairly treated by our respected colleagues in the Cabinet. Only one more reference I have to make in this connexion and that is with reference to His Excellency the Governor. The portfolio which is now in my charge was until recently in His Excellency's hands. And I am glad to tell the House that His Excellency has promised that he will not only give his advice but also his help, whenever I require it (hear, hear). With his help and with the co-operation of this House we hope to justify the trust that is reposed in us.

"I will now turn to the criticisms that are levelled against the departments that are in my charge. These departments as honourable members are aware are three—Agriculture, Industries and Co-operation. All the three came in for their share of criticism. In the Agricultural department the criticism took three or four shapes, one of which made by my honourable friend opposite to me (Mr. Krishnan Nayar) was that the Agricultural department did not make an impression upon the public. The answer to that, Sir, consists in the fact that the Agricultural department has not yet learnt the art of advertising itself as others outside this House do. The department has been doing immense good but unfortunately it did not know how to show it to the world what all they have been doing. In this connexion, I may at once refer to the question of the Publicity Bureau to which reference has been made and if it is intended only for the purpose of giving an opportunity for the various departments of Government to show to the world what all work they have been doing, I would certainly advocate the continuance of that department. My friend Mr. Ramaswami Mudaliyar has given good reasons why that department should continue and I am sure the Honourable Member in charge will adduce more arguments to convince this House as to the necessity of that department. Then there was a complaint against agricultural experts. My friend from Coimbatore was telling us there was some trouble regarding the growing of betels in his own land."

Mr. C. V. Venkataramana Ayyangar *(interrupting)*:—"I never mentioned it. I said there was trouble in the neighbourhood of Coimbatore."

The Hon'ble Rai Bahadur K. Venkata Reddi Nayudu *(continuing)*:—"I am sorry I made a mistake. In the neighbourhood of Coimbatore there was some trouble about the growing of betels. An application was made to the Director of Industries. The Director of Industries naturally referred it to the expert. I really do not see what the point is in making the Agricultural Director responsible for it. The Director simply directs his department. It is the expert that will have to ascertain the nature of the disease and take steps to remove it. I am not sure whether that complaint reached the Government at all and I do not know how long ago this complaint to the Director was made.

"Then as regards cotton, complaint was made as regards what is known as the 'close period.' Scientists have discovered, experts have declared, that unless these crops are removed from the fields during August and September, the next crop will not be quite as good as it will be if the plants are removed at the proper season. August and September are considered to be best months. In answer to a question put by my honourable friend from Coimbatore behind me, I stated that the

two months were considered to be the best months for the purpose. He asked me if it would be possible to change those months to September and October. I referred the matter to experts. I was told again that as a matter of fact the real clearing would not come until the middle of August or perhaps even till the end of August, and that if it should be made September and October, there was the danger of these plants not being removed in the beginning of September, with the result that the next crop would not be as good as they should be under the existing rules. The existing rules have succeeded very well and the results so far obtained are very satisfactory and nothing has been shown to the contrary. I should therefore think there is no real point in the objection to the present 'close period'.

"Then, Sir, the question was raised as regards the various new experts that were appointed. One point raised was that the department should be Indianized and that the European agency should have been replaced by the Indian agency. In the answer that I gave to that question at question time, I made it clear that it was the desire of the Government to Indianize the services as far as possible consistently with efficiency. That word 'efficiency' seems to have offended a friend of mine here, but certainly Government cannot dispense with efficiency. They will certainly assist as many Indians as possible. As a matter of fact, three Indians were recommended to the India Service quite recently and we are awaiting confirmation of their appointments by the Government of India. And if three appointments in one single year cannot satisfy the Honourable Members, I am afraid it will be beyond the scope of any Minister to promise more.

"Then, Sir, there was a suggestion that we should dispense with these agricultural experts and go on with the work of demonstration. I do not know what they should demonstrate unless it be the results of their experiments. Demonstration only means that we have to show to the people the result of what has been achieved by the experiments performed by our experts in the Agricultural department. There cannot be any demonstration without experts. Therefore it is a condition precedent, this necessary staff which must think out for themselves, work for themselves and work out laboriously in their laboratories and find out what manure is good for a particular field, what rotation is necessary for a particular crop, what seed would best serve a particular portion of the country. All these are questions that must be settled only after regular experimental work. If we should not have all these experiments, I do not know what the Government is expected to do in the Agricultural department.

"Then, Sir, I turn to Co-operation. Here again the trouble is about the services. I take it, Sir, that every member of this House is a co-operator in the sense that he believes in the efficacy of co-operation. I know for a fact that before this Council met there was a loud cry for the expansion of co-operative societies. Times out of number, in season and out of season, from their places in this very Legislative Council, from the platform and through the press, and in the various conferences that were held year after year in this country, I have known publicists and gentlemen of the type of the members of this Council incessantly pressing upon the Government to advance the cause of the agriculturists by opening co-operative credit societies or something of that kind. We were very often told about the poverty of the ryot; we were told about the proverbial indebtedness of the ryot; we were told that he required money for seedlings and for harvest expenses, not to speak of his family expenses for clothes, marriage, etc. For all that money is needed, and just at the time when Government have conceived of an extensive policy of co-operation, we find Honourable Members

here objecting to a few assistant registrars and inspectors of co-operation. How do they expect co-operation to go on without a regular staff ? Two suggestions have been made—one is that we should get on with honorary assistant registrars; and another is that we should have tahsildars instead of deputy collectors who are highly paid. Well, Sir, I must confess to a sense of disappointment in these suggestions. So far as honorary registrars are concerned, an attempt has already been made. We have at present forty honorary assistant registrars. But does any Honourable Member seriously think that the work of a paid officer can be done by any unpaid officer? The latter can be a very good supplement for the work that a paid assistant registrar can do. But he will not feel his responsibility because he will have his own vocations and cannot go from place to place as the others do. To think that the whole of the establishment could be dispensed with and honorary assistant registrars could be made to do the work is a thing which passes my comprehension. Now let us have an idea as to what the work now on hand is. Before mentioning this, I must tell the Honourable Members of this House one thing, and that is the scheme we are now putting in force was placed before the Council more than a year ago. Last year, I told the whole scheme that we are now putting in force, passed through the hands of the Finance Committee and was unanimously passed by the members without a single exception. Now what change has come in the country during the last twelve months I am unable to understand (Honourable Member interrupted). In other connexions the members who are fighting for agriculturists have advanced arguments in this very House and elsewhere which should make the very angels weep. Now let us see what Government are prepared to do in the interests of the agriculturists and ryots. It is expected that in the course of two years the number of co-operative societies would rise to 9,000 or 8,000. As a matter of fact, there were 3,458 societies on the day on which this scheme came into force, and by the end of June last year 1,456 societies were added. By the end of this June we expect to add 1,640 societies more. That will make 6,554 societies. By the end of June 1922 the scheme will be completed and we will have 2,271 societies more, thus making a total of 8,825 societies. Now is it seriously contended that these 8,000 and odd societies could be managed by an honorary agency? Take Tanjore and South Arcot for instance. They have got at present 800 societies under one assistant registrar and to confine that work to one officer is an impossibility which should be considered by all. Now we were told that the 9 assistant registrars we had were sufficient and that the addition of some 13 more, of whom 8 have already been appointed, is waste of money. I leave it to Honourable Members to say whether, in the light of these observations, they would stick to their former opinions.

"Now, Sir, the other point that was raised was that the tahsildars could be made to take up this work. I considered that aspect also. We are now in the infancy of this department and in such early days the work will have to be done by persons who have some experience in this direction. It is no ordinary task. It is constantly changing from being merely co-operative societies to agricultural societies. These societies are developed into trade co-operative societies and so on. Any amount of persuasive power will be necessary on the part of the officers in charge of these co-operative societies in bringing home to the villagers the need for joining them. Begging, entreating, persuading, preaching, tact, influence, status and position are all needed in prevailing upon ignorant villagers to join these societies and to work them satisfactorily. A capacity to organize and a power to control men are necessary qualifications in these officers.

[The Hon'ble Mr. K. Venkata Reddi Nayudu] [10th March 1921

"Now to expect us to do this kind of work through tahsildars only is asking us to do the impossible. No doubt in the fulness of time we will certainly do our best to substitute this paid agency by a non-official agency but at the very beginning of things, when we have to remove a number of obstacles in our way and when any amount of tact and personal influence are necessary, I should think the Honourable Members will see the reasonableness of the proposal to have deputy collectors in the place of tahsildars who are here proposed to take their place.

"Turning now, Sir, to the criticisms on the Industrial departments, my friend Mr. Patro thought that the soap factory, Madras and Madura Institutes and the Fisheries Bureau occupied the whole budget. I may tell him that the soap factory has been working at a great profit. We have facilities on the West Coast. We have any amount of cocoanut oil and we have got fish and fish oil which can be utilized for the purpose. As for the Madura and Madras Institutes, they are educational institutions more than anything else, and I have seen many an Honourable Member of this House pleading for industrial education. Honourable Members have asked us where is the necessity for this big staff and another Honourable Member asked whether we have got a distinct industrial policy. I will answer these two questions.

"As regards the first, it is true we have got a fairly highly paid agency in the districts and my honourable friend coming from the Kistna district naturally asked where was the necessity for these before the country is ready and organized. This reminds me of a proverb which is current in the Telugu country. A young man who was supposed to be mad went to the doctor. The doctor observed that his madness would be cured if he was married. But no man would give his daughter in marriage to him unless and until he was cured of his madness. Hence the proverb madness cannot be cured without marriage and marriage cannot be made without madness cured. This is, as the logicians say, arguing in a circle. We are called upon to state our policy of our industrial development. Honourable Members urged upon us the need for industrial development. Honourable Members believe that the regeneration of this country depends upon the regeneration of the industries of this land. When we are trying to make a beginning we are told where is the necessity for this district staff? I say those interested in the matter will be able to see that a good deal of investigation will have to be gone through. Industries cannot come into existence all of a sudden as the magic mango tree of the magician. The Indian magician can bring forth a tree and also fruit in a minute by planting the seed in your presence. But surely I think the Industrial department cannot perform that kind of magic. They will have to investigate things, see whether industries can be developed or not, whether there will be any profit or whether it will end in loss, whether any profit can really accrue from the business and whether the public will have adequate return for the money spent, and all these things require staff and time.

"Then, Sir, as to the question whether we have got a policy or not, I may say that this industrial policy cannot be evolved in a day, but honourable members will be glad to learn that we have a policy of our own. In fact, even the former Government had a policy of its own, but unfortunately that policy of the Government of Madras was not received with approval by that great man the Secretary of State, Lord Morley. His successor Lord Crewe however left them some scope for the development of industries in this province. The one principle that troubled Lord Morley was that the State cannot interfere with private enterprise, that if the State should launch upon large schemes of industries, it is possible that it may

come in competition with private enterprise and as such was contrary to the policy of his party in England, the Liberal Party of which Lord Morley had been a faithful parliamentary leader. But we in this country naturally expect something like a guiding hand, from the Government. I may tell my Honourable friends here that, as long as I remain in office, it shall be my humble duty and endeavour to see that Government lends its support in every possible way for the development of industries in this Presidency (hear, hear).

"The question of State aid has been raised by my Hon'ble friend Mr. Patro. As I told Honourable Members, the policy of Lord Morley was not in its favour; but still our Director of Industries, Mr. Campbell, has under his consideration, a scheme under which, if it is not possible to give direct State aid to industrial concerns, it would at least be able to create a system of loans on the lines on which agricultural loans are given to agriculturists in this country. That will help minor industries a good deal. I hope it will come up before the Government very soon and I am sure very sympathetic consideration will be paid to it and as soon as funds are available they will be placed at the disposal of those who are interested in industrial development on condition that they should return the money as soon as possible. My friend, Mr. Devadoss, asked that some money should have been set apart for scholarships. I may bring to his notice that on page 74 he will find an allotment of Rs. 32,000 for the purpose.

"As regards the general observation by the members of this House, that sufficient money had not been allotted for industrial purposes, I wish to draw their attention to pages 6 and 7 where it will be found that whereas under agriculture for instance only 19 lakhs were spent in 1919–20, they have provided for something like 31 and odd lakhs in this year. Under industries, whereas in 1919-20 only Rs. 13,74,000 were spent, 25 lakhs and odd are provided for in the ensuing year. In other words in two years the expenditure on industries has nearly doubled itself. If Honourable members will be so good to me during future years as to double their grants under this department, I think surely something really good can be achieved. I do not know how far the finances of the province will permit such large increments in the coming years, but I must be thankful to the Hon'ble the Finance Member and my Honourable Colleagues in the Cabinet for the great consideration they have shown to the departments placed under my charge.

"I have only to deal, Sir, with one or two points raised, I think, by my friend Mr. Sivasankaram Pillai who brought to the notice of this House that whereas in 1919–20 something like 3·12 lakhs were spent, this year it was proposed to spend only 2·10 lakhs on the district agricultural stations and district works. He would have noticed under the last item—district experimental cultivation, whereas something like 3·15 lakhs were provided last year, only 2·10 lakhs have been allotted for the current year. The reason is this. Much of the experimental work connected with new farms has already been done. For instance, in Manganallur where there has been an agricultural farm, all the rotational and manurial experiments were completed and during the next year, or the ensuing year, it is proposed to abolish that Manganallur farm and substitute it by what is known as an agricultural sub-station. Again, Sir, I may say that it is in accordance with the policy which my friend himself has suggested in this House by means of a question or resolution, namely, that instead of Government acquiring lands and carrying on experiments on the lands of the Government, it would be better if they take into confidence ryots who may be prepared to give their lands not merely for the purpose of experimenting, but also for the purpose of showing the results of experiments carried on already on the fields of the ryots at the cost perhaps of the ryots

concerned. In fact, that is the sort of demonstration which is now recommended by the Director of Agriculture and it will be pushed on. That therefore is an item which is to be regarded as an avoidable item and it has been rightly avoided with a view to save money to be used for other purposes.

"I have only to refer, Sir, to the question of the Fisheries department. Some criticism has been directed as to why so much money should be spent on the Fisheries department. I may at once bring it to the notice of the House that the Fisheries department has not been working at a loss. Perhaps it is the one department which can claim to be paying its expenses. In fact, there were years in which there was some profit and this year we are spending a few thousands because our pearl and chank fisheries at Tuticorin have suffered some losses owing to various causes. Fisheries have a good future before them. It is a fact that the real food supply from fishes is not being made to the country. With our vast sea coast and immense fish in the sea and in the inland rivers and tanks, Madras ought to be able not merely to supply all the fish food necessary for this province but also should be in a position to export it to foreign countries. We have exceedingly good facilities if only we move in the right direction to get all the necessary fish supply that we want and also more to export to other countries. If only Honourable Members would give us grants and allow us to spend the money, I can assure them that this department will secure more income and will supply food not merely to our country but to other countries as well."

Diwan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao Pantulu :—"May I ask the Honourable Member if he would be pleased—"

The Hon'ble Rai Bahadur K. Venkata Reddi Nayudu :—"I beg the Honourable Member's pardon. I will mention it."

Diwan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao Pantulu :—"My question is what is the proportion which the one part of Government has asked the other part to give to transferred subjects?"

The Hon'ble the President :—"Order, order. I do not think I can permit any discussion as to the correspondence between the two halves of the Government. I am bound to recognize the fact that according to the recommendations of the Standing Committee and the orders issued by the Viceroy and the Secretary of State, the Government is one whole so far as we are concerned. I will not allow any member or Minister to interpellate in regard to the relations between the two halves of the Government nor can I allow any member or Minister to answer or furnish that information."

Diwan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao Pantulu :—"May I say a word in explanation, Sir?"

The Hon'ble the President :—"In regard to what matter?"

Diwan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao Pantulu :—"I do not question your ruling, Sir. I only wish to state that I did not ask for anything more than what the Minister himself had offered to state."

The Hon'ble the President :—"I think it is probable that I am responsible for not having called the Minister to order when he proposed to give the House that information. But I think it must be distinctly understood by Honourable Members as well as by Ministers that we in this House have nothing to do with the mutual relations between the two halves of the Government. It must be considered as one whole, and hereafter if any member of the Cabinet offers to give any information in regard to the relations between the two halves or if any member of

this House asks for information on that subject, it will be my duty to rule the proposal or question to be out of order and to prohibit any such information being divulged or asked for."

The Hon'ble Mr. K. SRINIVASA AYYANGAR :—" Mr. President, I propose to offer only a very few remarks in reply to the general observations made concerning some of the departments of which I am now in charge, i.e., Civil Justice and the Labour department. As I said just now, I am going to make only a very few remarks concerning these departments generally."

Mr. K. GOPALAKRISHNAYYA :—" We are not able to hear the Honourable Member, Sir."

The Hon'ble the PRESIDENT :—" I am sure the Honourable Member will try to make himself heard. Of course the Honourable Members recognize the limitations imposed upon all the members by this hall which is not really amenable to any point of order."

The Hon'ble Mr. K. SRINIVASA AYYANGAR :—" I can assure the Honourable Members, when there is anything really useful to be heard, I shall raise my voice so that all may hear. I said I was going to offer only a few remarks concerning general criticisms, because I do not think that this is the time to justify particular grants which I shall ask the House to vote. When the time comes I expect to be able to support every rupee of expenditure which I want for those particular departments.

" Now, Sir, one Honourable Member offered some criticisms as regards the methods of recruitment to offices under civil justice. I consider a criticism of that sort as wholly irrelevant for budget purposes; for Brahman or non-Brahman both of them impartially draw their salaries and we as Government have got to provide funds in order to meet them. I pass that by.

" Another Hon'ble and learned friend of mine, Mr. S. Somasundaram Pillai if I remember right, asked that the expenditure in respect of all courts should be eliminated. He did not benefit us by his views as to the means by which these courts should cease to exist. If he thought that we should evolutionise into higher planes so that we can become perfected beings and that there be no quarrels in the land, then I may as well wait for that time to come and I hope I won't be here and there will be then no Government to answer.

" Another learned friend of mine Mr. Devadoss came to the lower regions and thought we may obtain relief by the institution of arbitration courts. I confess I admire his faith. I had some little experience of an arbitration court in Madras. That was in my callow days. A very enthusiastic attorney friend of mine of the Madras High Court sponsered an arbitration court in Madras. He got hold of a panel of eminent lawyers to be Judges. He threw in among them a learned professor, who is no more, apparently as a counterpoise to the mere lawyer. They managed to get hold of a case which they nourished for three long years. I have not been able to know what exactly became of that case. I believe the parties got dead tired. It is not for want of advertisement that it did not work, because I used to see a large board 'The Madras arbitration-court' planted in the marina for all passers-by to see and profit by. Subsequently the inscription changed into some Buddhist society and now I believe the premises are occupied by the widows' home.

" Mr. President, I have considerable experience of arbitration awards made either through courts or by private individuals. One would have imagined that those awards put an end to litigation. They only started fresh litigation in spite of prohibitions of appeals and revisions and gradually found their way to the distant shores of England and got themselves into His Majesty's Privy Council.

I am afraid we are not likely to derive much consolation by this notion of the institution of arbitration courts. May I with all respect make a suggestion to my honourable and learned friends here and my learned friends outside that they should, if possible, persuade their clients to a spirit of compromise; if they can do so, induce them if possible to more largely inscribe their transactions in writing; persuade them if possible to come to you before they begin a quarrel and after they start a quarrel if you can advise them and pursuade them to take the advice not to enter the field of litigation, it is then possible that the ever increasing volume of litigation which goes to courts may be put an end to. When that stage arrives, I for one would be extremely glad to abolish as many courts as possible. After all we must remember that the persons who go to courts pay for their game. They do not count on the general revenue. That is all I have to say in regard to Civil Justice.

"As regards the Labour department. I have been listening very carefully to the speeches of the Honourable Members and so far as I could judge it is not that they do not want the services now rendered by that department. They want it. The objection apparently is either to the department as a whole or with regard to the costliness of the establishment. I do not propose to enter into the details of that matter as I find that notice has been given by my honourable friend opposite to abolish the Labour department altogether."

Diwan Bahadur P. Kesava Pillai:—"I have modified that proposal by saying that the Labour department may be reduced."

The Hon'ble Mr. K. Srinivasa Ayyangar:—"At that time the House will have an opportunity to consider it. I need not deal with it at this stage. I want to draw attention at once to this. This is a new department and the department, as I know, has justified its existence by the solid good work which it has achieved till now. As I said I am not going to enter into details of the establishment or the staff. I shall deal with that when the occasion comes. But I want this House to remember this. It is a new department. At this stage it is organization and co-ordination that is important and not the actual amount of money to be spent. It is the method of spending money that is important at this stage. The head of the department has to come in contact with District Magistrates, District Superintendents of Police, District Medical officers and oftentimes he may have to overrule their opinions. In these circumstances the House will concede that we want a senior officer to be in charge as the head of the department. That is all I propose to say in justification of the general policy adopted by this Government in instituting a separate department for the purpose of doing work which a special department alone can possibly do.

"My friend opposite was curious to know what we did with the various sums shown at page 183 as payments to be made for the various criminal settlements. If he had turned to the next page he would have found what exactly we are going to do with the sum. He spoke with great appreciation of a first-class burglar who came out of a particular settlement. The idea of a criminal settlement and the object of managing it, is for the purpose of preventing that satisfaction, and to train the settlers to be useful citizens as we conventionally understand. The object of the Government is not to commit themselves to heavy expenditure which subsequently they may find embarrassing. It is their policy as far as possible to hand over these settlements to private agencies supplementing the absolutely necessary expenditure for supervision, on account of schools, in some cases by capitation grants for incapables. If the Honourable Members look into the Criminal Tribes Act they will find that these settlements are intended for tribes of whom a large number has been previously convicted. It is really reclamation that we are

attempting and in such a matter as that you may find in the beginning some trouble, and it is for the purpose of fighting it and bringing all these under control that we want a special department. I have dealt with the two departments.

"I have only one word to say with regard to the grant of Rs. 32,000, some thought it was thirty-two lakhs, for the University of Madras. With the permission of the Honourable the Minister who is in charge of the department inasmuch as I was connected with the club, I wish to offer a few words of explanation in regard to that. This club was started as a club for recreation of University students in Madras by Lord Pentland. The club was found to be so successful that there are now as many as 250 students who get excellent meals at a cost which is much less than what they would have to pay in hostels. There is no lodging. The idea was to afford lodging to as many students as we can put up there. An estimate was made and a portion of that estimate is intended to be spent this year. In connexion with this matter I may just remind this House of the obligation which the Government is under, under the University Regulations. They have to provide a hostel for college students in colleges provided and maintained by the Government. They cannot escape that obligation; the rule is a statutory rule. The University has been year after year pressing the Government to provide necessary hostel accommodation. This will to some extent relieve the obligation of the Government."

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur MUHAMMAD HABIB-UL-LAH SAHIB Bahadur :—"Mr. President, I will content myself at this stage by making very few observations in regard to some of the criticisms which I have heard some of the Honourable Members indulging in, in regard to the Land Revenue Department. I am happy to contemplate, Sir, that I do not realize a revenue—as it is the ill luck of my Honourable friend the Minister to do—which has been characterised as filthy revenue! On the other hand, I think land revenue has been the basis of administration in this province and it is a matter, I should imagine, of congratulation that it has shown such development during the last thirty years. If I had been told that this development during the thirty years has been occasioned by circumstances which should be condemned, I could very well sympathise with those who joined in that condemnation. But on the other hand, Sir, if facts are weighed in their scales, it will be evident that the development of land revenue during the last thirty years has, as far as possible, followed the development of all other resources, not only in this province but everywhere in the world. There are certain factors which, presumably, Honourable Members who criticised the development of land revenue did not care to take into consideration. I believe, it cannot be denied (and statistics will prove the fact) that the extent of land under cultivation thirty years ago, when the land revenue was no more than thirty and odd lakhs, no more continues to be the same extent of land under cultivation during the year which we are now discussing. Both under wet and dry cultivation, we have seen a tremendous development in the extent of land which has been brought under cultivation. We have noticed during the last thirty years considerable facilities afforded for the improvement of the drainage resources. We have seen great impetus given to advances to agriculturists; we have helped, as far as possible, the ryots by establishing Co-operative Credit Societies; we have relaxed the darkhast rules as far as possible; we have brought our influence to bear upon the villagers, both those who possess and those who do not possess lands, to extend cultivation by allowing them all facilities which it is within the power of Government to do, and all these have been, Sir, the contributory causes to the development of cultivation as a whole. It is, I think, absolutely the reverse of fact if we should take the same unalterable

denominator wherewith to divide the present total revenue and declare the resultant thereof at a far higher amount than that which would have been derived if the same denominator had divided the revenue of thirty years ago. I believe, I can convince the House, by a statement of the facts, that this development has been progressive. It has maintained, as I will be able to convince the House, more or less the same proportion which the progress of cultivation of the Madras Presidency has maintained. If the officers of this Presidency had neglected the opportunities afforded to them in improving their resources in the same proportion that cultivation justified, I should certainly think that the officers of the Madras Government had neglected their duties. I am only glad to see, Sir, that that has not been the case in this province. During the last thirty years, Honourable Members are aware, a number of districts were also re-settled and of course re-settlement is intended to rectify inequalities in the assessment. Wherever the assessments have been low, as compared with other districts under like conditions, or where the assessments have been higher than those in other districts under like conditions, it has been the duty of the Government, as far as possible, to bring about a common standard of equalisation; and these and various other causes have in general operated towards the development of land revenue resources of this province. And it is, I think, taking a rather pessimistic view of the affair to say that we have now almost reached the maximum limit of our land revenue and that in future we should shut the doors against admitting any single farthing of increase under that head. Nor is it I think, a correct attitude to adopt which one of the Honourable Members adopted, by characterising the present limit of land revenue as the 'oppressive limit.' I should therefore like to state that if at all there has been a development in land revenue it has not been brought about by any measures which may be regarded as either oppressive or objectionable; but that the land revenues development has proceeded on similar lines as those of other revenues and helped by certain causes which tend to swell the resources.

"Some doubts were, I think, expressed by one or two Honourable Members who represent Bellary and Anantapur as to whether the executive, which gave a distinct promise the other day of having accepted the resolution which had been brought up in regard to the re-settlement of Bellary and Anantapur districts, had carried out its promise at all. I may assure the Members of the districts of Bellary and Anantapur that inasmuch as I have definitely accepted that resolution on behalf of the Government, no credit whatsoever has been taken in the revenues of next year on account of the re-settlements in these two districts."

Mr. A. Ranganatha Mudaliyar (*interrupting*):—"Will the Honourable Member be pleased to accept this from the current fasli?"

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Muhammad Habib-ul-lah Sahib Bahadur (*continuing*):—"It would gladden his heart, I am sure, to know that even in the year 1921–22 no credit whatever has been taken on the receipt side. There is a good deal of criticism in regard to the ratio which the collection staff bears to the total revenue of the provinces. I should certainly think, Sir, that the principle which Honourable Members have adopted for the purpose of determining the proportion between the total cost of the land revenue establishment and the total land revenue, is, if I may say so, erroneous. I think, a few Honourable Members have asked very pointedly, 'if you wish to realize a revenue of 620 lakhs and you spend 200 lakhs or nearly 33 per cent of the total revenue for collection, is that what you call economic collection?' I might at once tell them that they have unfortunately looked at the whole situation from a wrong standpoint. I do not know whether the proposed costing account, about which Mr. Patro made so much of yesterday, would enable us to

get correct figures under each particular main head and sub-head; but all that I would urge at this present moment very vehemently would be that it is absolutely wrong to say that the total expenditure of 200 lakhs should be regarded as the cost wholly and entirely due to the collection staff which was responsible for the collection of 620 lakhs. The whole of the staff covered by this expenditure is that shown under Land Revenue establishment. But most of us, I think, are familiar with other institutions which exist in this land and which are also tax-collecting institutions. Most of us here, I think, have in our own turn served or are still serving in these various public bodies which are responsible for tax gathering. I would ask Honourable Members whether in trying to arrive at the percentage on the staff for collection, they would, if I give them the instance of the Madura municipality, include the cost of the paid chairman, the clerical establishment and that of the outdoor collection staff together to represent the cost of the collection establishment! I believe the principle on which these proportions are fixed is to take only the cost of the staff wholly and solely devoted for the purposes of collection work and for the purpose of obtaining a correct idea as to what exact staff should be taken to the head of collection, I would merely invite the attention of Honourable Members to the very useful note which the Hon'ble the Finance Member has prepared for our information and I would ask them merely to look at page 6 of that statement from which it would appear abundantly clear that the only items which can be taken as representing the estalbishment responsible for the collection of land revenue costs no more than 74·12 lakhs. I have, in the calculation of these details, deliberately excluded—and I maintain I am right in that exclusion—all the imperial services and provincial services, for I think every one of us is aware of the fact that the imperial and the provincial services are not there merely for the purpose of checking the chittas and adangals of the village officers but they are there also for the transaction of a thousand and one other multifarious duties pertaining to various departments of administration under their charge. It will be certainly unfair that the total cost of these establishments should also be debited against the collection establishments. That being so, our province cannot be charged with having maintained anything like a very costly establishment. But my honourable friend has merely taken into account the 620 lakhs as the total revenue collected by my village officials. But, I might assure the House that that does not represent the total collection. If Honourable Members only refer to page 10 of the budget they will find that the amount collected is no less than 701 lakhs, out of which a portion has to be credited to the drainage works and irrigation. So, theretore, to spend 78 lakhs for a total realisation of 701 lakhs is not extravagant, nor does it represent 33 per cent of the total receipts.

"Then, Sir, a few remarks have been made as regards the directions in which the cost of the Revenue Department could be considerably reduced or minimised. One Honourable Member was good enough to suggest that we might club up districts together or divisions together and thereby reduce the number of district and divisional charges. And I suppose one other Honourable Member who was vehement about the abolition of civil courts, as to which he has had an answer from my Hon'ble Colleague the Law member, suggested that we might abolish all the personal assistants to Collectors, abolish the Board of Revenue, abolish the Divisional Officers and what not. But I might at once....."

Mr. M. D. Devadoss:—"I rise to a point of order. I said that they might be reduced and not abolished."

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur MUHAMMAD HABIB-UL-LAH SAHIB Bahadur (*continuing*) :—" I might at once say, Sir, that the clamour from the public standpoint until now has been for the creation of more facilities to enable them to approach their district officers at less inconvenience to themselves than before. We have often had, I believe, representations from the public at large for reducing the charges of district and Divisional Officers, so that they might be more accessible to them, so that they might go to them more expeditiously and at less expense if there was any official work which took them to their courts or cutcheries. And I have also heard very often of the creation of additional District Courts, of additional Sub-Courts and additional Munsif's Courts, all these obviously with an aim to create conveniences and facilities to the public who resort to these public places. If we are now told that we have reached a stage when the parties should be prepared to put themselves to any amount of inconvenience, if the Presidency is reduced from 26 districts which it constitutes at present into something like 10 or 15 districts, I am afraid, Sir, that that will not be a reform acceptable to the public, nor could the Government guarantee anything like efficient administration by having one officer at the head of a much larger and unwieldy area. As regards the personal assistants to the Collectors, the matter is receiving the attention of the Government from time to time and wherever the Government feel that there is no necessity for continuing any personal assistant, the Government are not slow to abolish the post from time to time. And I think the Honourable Member who spoke about it is aware that it was quite recently that the posts of two personal assistants have been ordered to be abolished.

" As regards the Board, Sir, it is premature for me to say anything at this moment, for it was only the other day that the House discussed the question dealing with it and we have eventually come to the conclusion that a committee be appointed to consider the advisability, not of abolishing the Board of Revenue, but of substituting such other agencies as may be found practicable.

" My friend Mr. Raja suggested that out of 12 lakhs that have been provided as grants to agriculturists a sum of 2 lakhs may be ear-marked for the benefit of the depressed classes. All that I might tell him at this juncture would be that the claims of the depressed classes, not only in this matter but in every other matter which comes up before the Government for consideration, are always very sympathetically considered, and now I think they may take courage from the fact that they are in the hands of no less a champion and advocate than my friend on the right (Mr. K. Srinivasa Ayyangar). And if they feel that they would want 2 lakhs, I think the Honourable Member would be prepared to consider their claims sympathetically.

" One other matter which was referred to was the improvement of the pay and prospects of village officers. I think it would be rather premature for me to enter into the discussion on this question, for we know that it was only the other day that a committee of this House was appointed for the purpose of considering this question along with the claims of non-gazetted officers. We have their interim report which will be considered shortly. We are not yet in a position to know what the final recommendations of that committee will be but all that I feel justified at the present moment to state would be that I have considered this question of the village munsifs and the village headmen as carefully as I can and have formulated some ideas about them and I have also asked some of them to meet me in private ; and with the consultation which I am hoping to have with them I am confident, Sir, that some satisfactory solution may be arrived at.

"Of course, a very great matter of interest for this country, side by side with the improvement of land, is the creation of facilities for irrigation. I can appreciate the sentiments which have prompted some of the Honourable Members of this House who drew our attention to the need—nay the urgent need—there is for the development of irrigation. Let me assure some of the Honourable Members who seem to have an idea in their minds that our irrigation schemes are paying us so handsomely as 18 per cent, that it is not so; that the highest rate of interest that we have been able to realise was never more than 6¾ per cent. But that does not prevent us from launching into further schemes of utility from the standpoint of irrigation. On the nine crores that we have invested on the irrigation projects we have not been able to realise. . . ."

The ZAMINDAR OF MANDASA:—"Is it 6½ per cent always on the average or is it in respect of any particular work?"

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur MUHAMMAD HABIB-UL-LAH SAHIB Bahadur:—"I had already spoken on the 9 crores total expediture in the whole Presidency and we have not been able to realise more than 6½ per cent. It will be seen that even in the next year's budget, which my Hon'ble Colleague the Finance Member has very aptly characterised as 'carrying on' budget, that we intended to 'carry on' the irrigation work as well. For we have made a sufficient provision from out of the loan account, about 12¾ lakhs or so and I can assure the House that every useful irrigation scheme will receive our best and warmest consideration."

The Hon'ble the PRESIDENT:—"Before we proceed further the Hon'ble the Finance Member will perhaps be good enough to give us some idea as to the time that he will require so that we may adjust the work before us."

The Hon'ble Mr. C. G. TODHUNTER:—"I will try and keep myself within the limit of twenty minutes."

The Hon'ble the PRESIDENT:—"I presume the Hon'ble the Home Member will also require not more than twenty minutes?"

The Hon'ble Sir LIONEL DAVIDSON:—"Not more, Sir."

The Hon'ble the PRESIDENT:—"I think we had better now allow one or two more Honourable non-official Members to have their say on the understanding that they should do so in five minutes each."

Rao Bahadur C. VENKATARANGA REDDI Garu:—"Mr. President, I will deal only with certain special items of the budget. Most of the increased expenditure goes towards the salaries of the high officials which during the last one or two years have increased enormously. Then again I submit all this expenditure has been going on to the detriment of the agriculturists and the masses to whom more money should be allotted because they are the persons who are giving the greater part of the money. So, I submit that these charges require close scrutiny and investigation by a committee of officials and non-officials which should be appointed to investigate and thoroughly overhaul the administrative machinery of the Government.

"A word or two, Mr. President, as regards the village headmen. That subject, I submit, has not been dealt with by any of the honourable members. Non-gazetted services were considered but not the village headmen. Their confrére, the karnam, has had an increase but when the village headmen asked for an increase, they were always confronted with the answer that they were honorary workers. I submit, Sir, the Government is only shirking its responsibility in this matter.

Even if we look at the figures, the extra expenditure will, I think, come only to 15 to 20 lakhs. It is an amount which is worth spending on a class which is hard-worked but which is much neglected. The village headmen as honorary workers were previously getting more income: they were getting what was called 'merai' that is grain from the villagers; that merai system has now been abolished. Then they used to get a salary of 5 or 6 rupees and even then they were not considered to be honorary, but, when they ask for an increase of pay above the pittance that they are now getting, they are told 'You are honorary and the pittance of five rupees is only an honorarium, so you do not deserve to get any more'. I must warn the Government that they are committing a grave blunder. I must also warn the Government of the risk of not satisfying those people who are really the foundation of the whole administration.

"Then again, Sir, a word or two as regards the sub-registrars. The sub-registrars, I may submit, are just perhaps in the same boat, in the same status as the head accountants. The head accountants' pay has now been fixed at Rs. 100. Most of the sub-registrars are graduates and those who have been in the service for more than 20 or 23 years are now getting Rs. 150. In the first grade I hear there are about 25 or 30 sub-registrars whose services according to the figures given to me are 23 years and more. These sub-registrars of 23 years' service and more are only getting Rs. 150. Their condition also is very pitiable and I hope the Government will give it due consideration."

Mr. B. MUNISWAMI NAYUDU :—" Mr. President, Sir, I am extremely thankful to you for allowing me this opportunity to address the Council. I must submit to you, Sir, that the budget, as presented, is not at all satisfactory and certainly am not one of those who can congratulate the Hon'ble the Finance Minister on this matter. It is not a case in which for the first time after the Reform Scheme, the Government knew what its resources were and the way in which they might be improved. Though the 'Montford' scheme was issued in April 1920 it was ready as early in December 1919. Every one of those schemes by which the organisation of the establishment and their pay were revised were all given effect to in the course of the last nine months. It is stated now that this was done in pursuance of schemes previously arranged. And I had expected the Hon'ble the Finance Member to have studied well the funds in hand before giving effect to the schemes and to have considered the possibilities. To give effect to the schemes in the first instance and then to say to the Council that we have to pass them is to reverse the normal procedure.

"This Council wants more money in the interests of the tax-payers for the expansion of Elementary Education and the Hon'ble Member for Finance will remember that according to the form of the budget the grants are to be sanctioned by this Council for expenditure. While the Member for Finance is anxious to see to his services and to their reorganization, we are equally anxious with regard to the provision for adding to the local bodies. The Honourable Member has not quite understood the resources of the local bodies and even if all the resources of the local bodies as provided in the Local Boards Act and the Elementary Education Act were availed of fully, there is no chance of expanding elementary education. Sir, the Hon'ble Member for Finance has told us practically that the 8·9 lakhs grant in aid of local bodies for aiding the capitation allowance of Rs. 4 per head to the elementary teachers may not be continued next year, and assuming that the 1/4 anna cess leviable under the Elementary Education Act is imposed, it will not bring more than 1/64th of 720 lakhs of the revenue budgeted for this year. That will come to about 11 lakhs. This 11 lakhs will, therefore,

be absorbed in paying the elementary school teachers and the further 1/4 anna taxation authorized by the Local Boards Act will hardly be sufficient to give the teachers the increased salaries recommended by the Salaries Committee. It is therefore absolutely necessary that a larger provision must be made in aid of the local bodies. A sum of 6 lakhs is set apart for expansion of elementary education and for constituting district education councils. Sir, let me state with all respect that the district education councils will serve no useful purpose except that of replacing the Director of Public Instruction in distributing the grants. Sir, I submit that a provision of at least 25 lakhs should be made for the expansion of elementary education and I wish it were made obligatory as in the case of Famine Insurance Grants."

"I may conclude, Sir, with the wish that the 6 lakhs allotted for elementary education should be spent irrespective of whether the cess is levied under the Elementary Education Act or not.

Mr. P. T. RAJAN:—"Sir, yesterday when Mr. Simpson made his speech, he opened it with the following Biblical quotation:—

'Woe unto you whom all men shall praise you.'

"Strange to say, immediately after that he was very bitter and loud in his complaint that the Indian section of the House did not congratulate the Hon'ble Member for Finance on his budget. Mr. Simpson ought to know, Sir, that the front bench, as a whole, is certainly responsible for the budget. Sir, there is no question of racial distinction or difference and I resent his remark very much. I know, Sir, the task of the Hon'ble the Finance Member is a thankless one because whenever we want any improvements he puts his hands deep into our pockets, and then we are angry and disappointed.

"Talking about congratulations, surely, Sir, the Hon'ble Member for Finance would not be content with congratulations and compliments, but what he wants is hard cash to carry on his 'carrying on' budget. Sir, if we members do not damn the front bench or the treasury bench with faint praises, it is because of our fear lest they damn us with a heavier taxation next year. However, I must thank the Hon'ble Member for Finance for this non-deficit budget and people, if pay they must, would not mind paying provided they got their money's worth.

"Sir, I would not waste the time of the House as all the previous speakers have touched on all the important items in the budget. There is one point which I would like to bring to the notice of this House with your permission. The Honourable Member for the University of Madras told us this morning that there was no party in this House. I say, Sir, that there does exist a party in this House, but it does not exist merely for loaves and fishes as was pointed out by Mr. Kesava Pillai this morning. This remark, coming as it did from him, caused me extreme surprise. This party, Sir, exists to support the Government whenever it looks after the interests of the people and to oppose the Government when it goes against their interests. With these remarks I wish to resume my seat."

The Hon'ble Sir LIONEL DAVIDSON:—"Sir, the department under my control, which has come in for most criticism, I think, is the Forest department. I wish that in that respect I had met with the same sympathetic consideration as my Hon'ble Colleague Mr. Venkata Reddi, the Minister for Development. Surely, Sir, there are few departments in Southern India which come more directly under the general name of 'Development' than the Forest department. The main difference as compared with Industries is that in the case of the Forest

department the State has already at its disposal immensely valuable assets capable of development to an extent which it is impossible to describe in simple language. In paragraph 13 of the Financial memorandum, my Hon'ble Colleague Mr. Todhunter has drawn pointed attention to the remarkable change in our forest policy since the war came to a close, and elsewhere he has indicated that the revenues derived from the Forest department are necessarily to a large extent in the nature of interest on capital investments. Now, Sir, it is a feature of capital investments for development in the case of all large businesses that the returns may not immediately come into the hands of the investor. It is not wise to expect an immediate receipt when you are developing the capital of your property. Now, during the period of the war there was enforced economy in the Forest department. Most of the expenditure during those years was devoted to mere conservation. When the war came to a close, we were fortunately able to find funds for the creation of the appointment of an expert head of the department and we placed in charge of it as Chief Conservator an officer of the experience of Mr. Stephen Cox. That had been a long crying need—an expert at the head of the department capable of unifying and co-ordinating its operations and at the same time competent to work out the general lines of schemes for future development. I may here remark in passing that I think it was hardly fair to our late colleague, Mr. Cox, that he should have been referred to by one member of this House as regardless of the interests of the Indian officers of his department and as concerning himself solely with the position of the European officers. No one who knows Mr. Cox—as I do—no one who has served on the same Legislative Council with him, as many others present here to-day have done, would for a moment suggest that Mr. Cox was guilty of any such unfairness.

"Now about a year ago, Mr. Cox, before he had been in charge of the department very long, found it forced upon his attention that development could not be adequately supervised and conducted without additions to the superior staff. He drew up therefore proposals for the appointment of two additional Forest Conservators. In justifying these proposals he sent up to Government a detailed statement indicating the lines upon which forest development might be expected to proceed in this Presidency. I won't read the whole of that statement—time does not permit me—but I should like to refer to the main outlines of it.

"Mr. Cox drew attention to the fact that in the Northern Circle enormous areas of salt forests, covering some 200 or 300 square miles in Goomsur, are as yet unworked—one of his officers has drawn up working-plans for the development of these forests: further south, in Vizagapatam, Gōdāvari and the Agency tracts, there are other enormous areas undeveloped and unprotected: in the Upper Gōdāvari again there are valuable teak forests which have yet to be opened up: in Kurnool, the Nallamalai forests cover a huge area, the proper management of which presents very great difficulties, sufficient in themselves to occupy a whole-time Conservator: there has been much failure in the past, due to want of proper staff, to conserve the valuable forests in the Cuddapah district: further south again, there are wide opportunities for development in the sandal-bearing tracts of the Javadi hills, in the ever-green forests of Tinnevelly and the large areas of forest reserves in the Madura district: on the West Coast, in South Kanara we have recently had tentative proposals from one of the Conservators for the re-stocking and intensive treatment of an area of 420,000 acres in one district alone: there are also enormous possibilities of opening up the ever-green forests in Malabar, a problem which has already been tackled with results which will, I hope, yield a large revenue in the near future in consequence of contracts on a big scale for the supply of timber to the Kolar Gold Fields.

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" Here, I may mention that the possibilities of the ever-green forests form one of the discoveries brought home to the Forest Department by the activities pressed upon us during the war when every possible effort had to be made to comply with military demands for timber, and particularly with the insistent requirements of Mesopotamia. It used to be thought that, with the exception of one or two items, the timbers of ever-green forests were of no practical commercial value. That idea, owing to expert research and owing to the application of improved methods of timber extraction, has been completely dissipated, and we now hope, thanks to the employment of expert officers, to develop large revenues from the ever-green forests, particularly in Malabar and also, as I have mentioned, in Tinnevelly.

" The Government were fully satisfied that Mr. Cox's request for the addition of two Conservators was a well-grounded proposal, and when it was sent up to the Government of India, I think about a year ago, we pressed for sanction for the two appointments with effect from last October. The Government of India and the Secretary of State did not give us as quite early an answer as we desired, but they did ultimately accept the view that the cost involved was trivial in comparison with the advantages of the scheme. The sanction was received, I think, in January, and the officers were appointed in the same month or early in February.

" Other steps in the direction of development of our valuable forest assets have been the employment of a special Forest Engineer and of another special officer to deal with the question of the utilization of forest produce. The Forest Engineer is an essential pre-requisite to the framing of adequate schemes for the opening up of communications. The Forest Utilization Officer is at the present moment employed on the actual extraction of timber from the Chenat Nayar forests, where he is doing, I understand, most admirable work.

" I do not wish this House for a moment to think that, because the surplus expected during the coming year has comparatively speaking dwindled to a small figure, the Government are not administering the Forest Department with due discretion and due regard to future development. It has occurred to me to ask myself why the critics of the department did not take a little more trouble to make themselves acquainted with its recent administration. If they had read the last administration report of the department with only a little degree of care and applied their intelligence to draw a moral from that report, they must have been struck by paragraph 34 dealing with the question of finance, in which the Chief Conservator brings out that during the decade ending with 1919–20, the Forest Department yielded an aggregate surplus of nearly a crore and a half. Mr. Cox then continues—

" 'The absorption of such large yearly surpluses, while so much of the forests remain either in an undeveloped or in an unprotected and degraded condition, is a matter of serious concern. There appears to be ample justification not only for spending larger sums on remunerative works of development but still more on protection and conservancy by which to preserve the vast areas of forests such as the Nallamalai forests (2,360 square miles) from destruction.'

" It is not only a question of developing what we have but also of the preservation of areas which we have neglected in the past.

" One particular point of attack relates to the provision of allotments for the construction of residences for the Conservator at Salem and for the District Forest Officer at Cuddapah. I should like to say that these two proposals are merely part of a much larger programme. The Government look on it as their duty to provide houses for those officers who cannot, owing to local circumstances, obtain houses

on rent. This is a matter to which pointed attention was drawn in the budget debate last year by the Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Ahmad Tambi Marakkayar, who referred to 'the increasing influx into towns' and the growing difficulty of 'securing decent and sanitary residential accommodation,' a difficulty especially marked in the case of Government officers 'whom house-owners are in most cases unwilling to oblige.' I do not propose to say anything more on this subject, for the Hon'ble Mr. Todhunter will, I understand, deal with the case of Coimbatore which is a much stronger one, though Cuddapah with its past health record is particularly in need of assistance in this respect.

"Another critic, the Hon'ble Mr. Krishna Nayar, I think, took exception to the item of Rs. 1,24,000 at page 51 of the budget estimates. He seemed to think that this was a random lump provision. I may assure him that it is nothing of the sort. We do not want the budget estimate, which already covers upwards of a hundred pages, to run into thousands of pages, but if all the details which go to make up the provisions under minor sub-heads were incorporated in the budget we should certainly run into thousands of pages. The particulars of this forest item are roughly as follows :—It is made up of details distributed over all the forest circles, the chief part being the cost of temporary watchers in the various districts. Other items also come under this sub-head, viz., (*g*) Other works shown under 'VIII. Organization, improvement and extension of forests'. The sub-head includes all general forest work such as fencing and enclosing, thinning, pruning, clipping and girdling useless trees, cutting creepers and formation of minor tanks and reservoirs in forests. All these items have been carefully worked out by the district officers. So the sum of Rs. 1,24,000 is not a random lump provision.

"I hardly think, Sir, it is necessary for me to expatiate further on the question of the need for expenditure on highly-paid officers. Superior direction is essential, if assets such as those of the Forest Department are to be worked on an intelligent plan. The aggregate amount of salaries and allowances to the Imperial and Provincial Services comes, I see from the details of the budget, to about one-seventh of the total expenditure. After what I have said, I clearly cannot subscribe to the proposition put forward by one member that it is only more rangers who are necessary since they form the backbone of the department and may be trusted to carry on the work. It is not the fact, however, that we have neglected the question of increasing the number of rangers. Under a reorganization scheme sanctioned two or three years ago, additions to that grade in the establishment have been in progress, but owing to financial restraints we have been able to add only one-third of the number in each year.

"I turn next, Sir, to the Administration of Justice and to the Agency. In respect of the Administration of Justice, I need only refer to the suggestion that economy might be effected by replacing stipendiary magistrates by honorary magistrates. A good deal, Sir, has already been done in the way of employing benches of honorary magistrates. But it has often been our experience that it is necessary to invoke the services of stipendiary officers to preside over such benches. We have found it still more difficult to find honorary magistrates who are both capable of sitting singly and possess the leisure and the inclination to do so. So far we have not succeeded in getting many such.

"Under the present method of budget arrangement, which I understand is likely to come in for further examination, the Agency division is classified under Administration of Justice, though of course the duties discharged by the Agency Commissioner and his assistants relate as much to General Administration as to Criminal and Civil Justice. Here again, Sir, I should like to claim a little of the

sympathy which has been given, firstly, to the Hon'ble Mr. Venkata Reddi in the matter of development, and secondly in a greater measure to the Hon'ble Mr. K. Srinivasa Ayyangar in respect of his advocacy of the depressed classes. As for development, I pointed out earlier what scope there is for development in the Agency forests when dealing with the Forest Department. It has long been known that the Agency tracts contain very valuable resources which have been locked up because of their inaccessibility. It is also well known that the hill tribes inhabiting the Agency are backward. I think it would be difficult to find any section of the community whose claims in this respect compare favourably with theirs, for in regard to education and social advancement they are undeniably and deplorably backward.

"Now there is nothing novel about the question of converting into one charge these Agency tracts hitherto managed in their odd moments by officers charged also with responsible posts in the plains divisions of the three districts of Ganjām, Vizagapatam and Gōdāvari. It has long been contemplated that they should be brought together into one homogeneous whole because of the resemblance between the country and the people in the three sets of Agency tracts. The idea dates back, as I find from the correspondence on the subject, so far as the year 1836. When the Reforms became a practical proposition, it was clearly a convenient time to take up the question of revising the administrative arrangements in the Agency tracts so as to bring them, if possible, into one homogeneous group. Another factor which dictated the same policy was the very great improvement in transport and communications during the past ten years. That, Sir, is briefly the origin of the proposal to create the Agency division. The Government did not act hastily in the matter. In February of last year they convened a special conference of officers possessing long experience of these tracts when the issue was discussed personally with His Excellency the Governor and my Hon'ble colleague, Mr. Todhunter, who was then in charge of the Agency portfolio. This discussion extended over several days and was, I think, subsequently followed by a further discussion in Ootacamund a few months later. At the original discussion there were present Mr. Paddison, Mr. Harris, Mr. Stephen Cox, Mr. Macmichael, Mr. Henderson, Mr. Duff and Mr. Hilton Brown, all officers whose knowledge of the Agency is extensive. They unanimously agreed that it was desirable to create a single Agency division. As to the cost of this measure, it has been stated in paragraph 17 of the Finance Memorandum that the recurring extra cost amounts to only half a lakh. I venture to think that this half a lakh may in the near future be further reduced by the abolition of personal assistants to the Collectors of Vizagapatam, Ganjām and possibly also Gōdāvari – an issue which I understand is under examination, though I cannot prophesy with certainty what the result will be. The critic whom I have now in mind spoke of the extra cost as 1½ lakhs. The additional lakh is non-recurring and relates merely to expenditure on tents. The fact is that the tents which are supplied to the officers in the plains are far too heavy to be used in the Agency hills and it is therefore necessary to ensure that the tents in use shall be light and readily portable. The tents purchased will be retained for the use of the successors of the present Agency officers when they go on transfer; hence the need for initial supply at the cost of Government.

"I need say no more about Agency affairs, Sir, except once more to emphasize at the obligation that lies upon the Government to discharge their duty towards those lamentably backward classes, the hill tribes of the Agency tracts.

"With regard to the Police Department, the usual criticism is put forward that the expenditure is increasing by leaps and bounds. I do not propose to go into that at all in detail because it is a subject which I examined at great length myself in this

Council in May 1918 and because only last year the Hon'ble Mr. A. R. Knapp brought my examination up to date. Since then there has of course been a substantial increase in expenditure, but I think I am right in saying that this is due to additions to salaries sanctioned as the minimum—I should rather say less than the minimum—considered requisite by those best qualified to judge and justified by the reasons which have necessitated similar increases of salaries in the other departments of the administration. There is also one point which I need mention in this connexion, namely, that it is important for Members to remember that of the total police budget about 30 lakhs relates to the talaiyaris who are borne on the village establishment and are not members of the regular police staff.

"With reference to the attack that has been made in two quarters on the department of Criminal Intelligence I should like formally to reiterate my repudiation of the statement that the Criminal Intelligence Department officers exist 'only to shadow and annoy responsible persons'. A contradiction of that libellous statement has been made on this side of the House by Mr. Tanikachala Chettiyar, I think, who remarked that law-abiding persons have very little reason to complain against the Criminal Intelligence Department. I would not myself go so far as to say that their existence has never caused annoyance to respectable persons. But I feel sure that there have been very few such cases. For five years it has been my duty, either as Chief Secretary or as Member in charge of the Judicial Department, to investigate complaints of that description which have been pressed up to the stage of the Government. I can only recall two or three such complaints in those five years. The impression I have gathered not only from those complaints but from complaints I have seen in the press is that they usually originate in the fact that respectable persons are not always careful enough about their company. They associate sometimes too closely with others whom it is necessary in the interests of the general community to watch as a preventive measure (laughter). I want to say this seriously. Gentlemen of this House are well aware that there are evil influences abroad in the land and that emissaries of the Bolshevik type and of a revolutionary and anarchical character work in secret channels. Such classes of persons must be watched. That is one arduous responsibility and often a dangerous duty of the Criminal Intelligence Department. They have other duties to discharge as well and men who face their duties and discharge them capably and with credit are entitled to be exempt from the wholesale disparagement meted out to them by gentlemen who, when they get on their feet, are, I think, liable to be carried away by their feelings.

"It has been suggested, Sir, that the reader sub-inspectors attached to the higher police officers might with advantage be replaced by clerks. That is a suggestion I made some time ago, and it is now under consideration. The reader sub-inspector is however a creation specially recommended by the Police Commission and when the Government of Madras proposed some years ago to abolish these posts the Government of India interfered and expressly ordered their restoration. We now contemplate further correspondence with the Government of India in regard to the matter and propose fully to investigate the question of abolishing the reader sub-inspectors and replacing them by clerks.

"Criticism has also been directed to the system of Circle Police Inspectors by an Honourable Member, to whom I should like to repeat the invitation I made in respect of the Forest Department, i.e., that he would do well before launching out on criticism, to read the administration report of the department he criticises. If he had only read the latest Police Administration Report, he would have seen a categorical statement on this point which occurs in two places in that report. I will read the first reference to it:—'The experimental scheme of working without

Circle Inspectors in the three districts of Trichinopoly, Kurnool and Coimbatore proved an entire failure and was abandoned, the *status quo ante* being restored in those districts'.

"This very suggestion, Sir, which the Honourable Member has asked us to investigate, was thus in fact investigated and submitted to a practical trial with the results that I have mentioned. It has been proved that the Circle Inspector is an essential link in the police organization.

"I wish to mention only one point in regard to education. An astounding figure has been given by Mr. Biswanath Das in regard to the average cost of European education as compared with that of Indian education. I would ask him to go a little more carefully into the details of the Public Instruction Report. I would refer him to Table No. 23 of the supplemental statistics forming Volume II of the report, wherein he will find materials for a comparison more just than one based on the process of dividing aggregate figures of cost by average numbers of pupils. He will also find a further information regarding the respective cost of European and Indian education in the other supplemental tables."

Sriman Biswanath Das:—"I shall be glad to be corrected, Sir."

The Hon'ble Sir Lionel Davidson:—"I shall be glad to show the figures to which I refer separately to the Honourable Member."

The Hon'ble the President:—"I have no doubt that the Honourable Member will explain the matter to him correctly."

The Hon'ble Sir Lionel Davidson:—"I propose now, Sir, to come to the last point which has been entrusted to me for comment by the Hon'ble Mr. Todhunter. This relates to the criticism of the establishment charges of the Public Works Department by Mr. Ramalingam Chettiyar. This is not a matter now under my control, but it so happens that I specially investigated the issue two years ago when it was subjected to similar criticism by Mr. Ranga Achariyar. A special note was prepared on that occasion by the Chief Engineer of which I shall be very glad to give Mr. Ramalingam Chettiyar a copy, if he wants it. Since then, the figures then worked out have been brought up to date by the Finance Department. There has, of course, been some rise in establishment charges owing to recent increases in the pay of the Public Works services. But if account is taken of the total expenditure on all works including irrigation works, the percentage of expenditure for three years works out as follows:—

		per cent.	
For 1919-20	... ...	21	
,, 1920-21	... ...	23·1	(Revised estimate)
,, 1921-22	... ...	25·8	(Budget estimate)

"It is therefore not something approaching 40 per cent as was suggested. The apparent cheapness in the case of the local fund engineering staff is in fact fallacious. The chief reason is that the principal outlay for which a District Board Engineer is responsible relates to the broken stone and gravel employed on repairs to roads the cost of which is very high relatively to the establishment employed. In the case of the Public Works Department much more expensive establishments are necessary to deal with large irrigation and building works. The House must also remember that, when very large Local Fund Engineering works come along, it is the custom of local bodies to invite the Public Works Department to carry them into execution, for instance, in the matter of drainage and water-supply works. Another point is that the local fund engineering staff has no superior

direction and control of its own such as exists in the Public Works Department. How is that defect to be remedied? It is remedied, Sir, by asking the Public Works Department to scrutinize the more difficult estimates of the Local Fund Engineer; and the Superintending Engineers have recently, I believe, appointed statutory inspectors of local fund works under the amended legislation of last year.

"Another factor is that the Public Works Department establishment charges should not be compared merely to works outlay, since the figures given do not take into account the cost of maintaining irrigation works and buildings or the labour of scrutinizing estimates for other departments and preparing estimates for schemes which are not actually carried into execution. There are instances in which highly-paid Public Works Department officers are employed for months and sometimes even for years on working out estimates which are ultimately found to be impossible of execution. That is especially the case in regard to irrigation scheme.

"I come now, Sir, with many apologies, to the last remark I have to make. The same critic suggested that the Public Works Department should be altogether replaced by the local fund engineering agency, and he invited us to investigate this suggestion. May I say, Sir, that he is rather late in the day. A similar suggestion was made by the Public Works Department Reorganization Committee and was referred to the Government of Madras by the Government of India in July 1918. Much noting and correspondence passed in connexion with the examination of this question, and resulted finally in a letter to the Government of India, which I do not propose to read; nor will I attempt a summary of it because the chain of arguments would lose materially in force if a hasty summary of them were put before this Council. But I can assure you, Sir—in fact it is a matter within your own personal knowledge—that a most thorough examination was made of that issue, with the result that the proposal was found to involve an altogether impracticable change in system."

The Hon'ble Mr. C. G. TODHUNTER: —"Mr. President, the text which Mr. Simpson has proposed is a very appropriate one for the volume of sermons that have been discharged upon my devoted head 'Woe unto you when all men shall speak well of you'. That is what happened to me this time last year when I came before this House with much the same figures as I have now, and it has been woe unto me now, not because there has been any very great change in the figures, though of course it is true we have come within the orbit of an economic storm that has affected the whole world. The real new fact, I think, is that there has been a change in the angle of vision. As Mr. Sivasankaram Pillai has said, there has been brought to bear a freshness of outlook upon the problems of Government, or, as Mr. Kesava Pillai has put it, the spectacles of efficiency have been corrected by the lens of sympathy.

"And when I compare the reception which was given to the budget of last year with that which has been given this year to a budget containing very much the same figures I am irresistibly reminded of a story which I heard many years ago of two old Irish women who were watching a clergyman feeding the birds in Phoenix Park in Dublin. The first of them said to the other 'Look at him now, feeding his crumbs to the birds. Ah! The dear old creature.' But the second turning on her said 'What are you talking about, that is not our priest; that is the Protestant.' The angle of vision at once changed, and the first with a gesture of disgust said 'Oh! the silly old fool.' Now, I came before this House last year with certain figures relating to the years 1919, 1920 and 1921 and the House

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with one accord rose up and called me 'a dear old creature'. It makes me blush to recall some of the compliments that were poured upon me, but I will read just one to the House. 'I congratulate Your Excellency's Government on the budget, which presents a lucid marshalling of a complicated array of facts and figures, a prudent and liberal expenditure, a scheme of productive and equitable taxation, a skilful adjustment of resources to the ever-increasing needs of public administration.' I come before the House again with much the same figures and the House with few exceptions has risen up to call me a 'silly old fool', if they do not imply that I am a knave as well.

"Now let me make myself clear about these figures again. The position that faced us this time last year was this: our expenditure for 1918–19 had been 865 lakhs and for 1919–20, 982 lakhs. We anticipated in 1921–22 to have available between 1,300 and 1,400 lakhs. (Our present estimate is 1,316.) We had 200 lakhs in hand and the question before us was whether we should draw a portion of that 200 lakhs so as to carry on our expenditure in a steady progress from the 982 of 1919–20 to the 1,300 to 1,400 lakhs of 1921–22, or whether we should continue on the 982 lakh basis for another year so that we should have for 1921–22 something between 1,500 and 1,600 lakhs, a sum which would inevitably have excited the cupidity of other Governments. We decided to spend the money and we drew on balances a sum of 175 lakhs, thus making our progress for the four years as follows:—865 lakhs in 1918–19, 982 in 1919–20, 1,150 in 1920–21 and 1,316 in 1921–22. And here I would venture to claim as one supporter of the policy which we adopted the Hon'ble Mr. Siva Rao, who said in his budget speech that the drawing on balances was a satisfactory feature of the budget.

"I insist upon these figures because memories are short. The House is now finding fault with me because 1,316 lakhs is not nearly enough to meet its demands. It is only a year ago that a distinguished publicist of this city was giving evidence before the Meston Committee in the following terms:—

"'He deprecated throwing at once on the heads of Provincial Governments so sudden and huge increase of resources resulting from the new scheme of separate heads, especially in Madras whose Government has throughout shown an incapacity to utilize grants and has piled up balances. They cannot be held to be ready for spending the sum immediately in an efficient manner for the benefit of the taxpayer'.

"I think we have had another instance of short memories to-day. The Hon'ble Mr. Krishna Rao has made a slashing indictment of our financial policy on the score of the difference between the rate of expenditure in the last two years and those for a period that preceded them. Has he forgotten that there has been a war, and that in the preceding period every sort of expenditure was starved, while the two years that he selects for comparison with it were the two years in which we began to make up leeway after the stagnation of the war period?

"I have referred above to the great change that may be effected by a change in the point of view, and as this debate has been punctuated by differences in points of view, I should like to give the Council a few instances before I pass on. I have been subjected to criticism in several directions because I gave the House figures by decades instead of the usual Chief Secretary's memorandum, and various motives have been attributed to me, such as the glorification of the bureaucracy or an intention to camouflage in this way the poverty of the budget. Now I should have thought that it would be quite obvious that, with the complete change of our whole financial relations with the Government of India, it was not possible in a series of brief explanatory memoranda to indicate the changes that have taken

place under detailed heads as between this year and the last, and in casting about for an alternative I selected one which had been pressed upon this House in years past. The Hon'ble Mr. Ranga Achari was conspicuous in his advocacy of a series of figures for decades, and I hope I may say that at least the Honourable Member for the University has found these figures useful to him in giving him materials for his attack upon the Government. Perhaps I may also claim some part of the credit for the fact that Mr. Sivasankaram Pillai declared he had learnt more in three days in this Council than he could have learnt in three years. Another interesting instance of the change in point of view is in respect of the closing of liquor shops. We are now accused of closing them in pursuance of a Machiavellian design to increase the auction fees and increase consumption. Yet it was not long ago that the reduction in the number of liquor shops was pressed upon us as a most important plank in the temperance platform. Again, with regard to the operation of the 55 years' rule, we are told, as regards the Assistant Registrars of Co-operative Societies, that some gentlemen who are now nearing the time of their retirement are perfectly useless and are simply marking time. On the other hand, it has been pressed upon us from several quarters that we should make arrangements to keep men in India even after 55 as though 55 was the age when they are most fitted for work. Mr. Ramaswami Mudaliyar has dealt with the inconsistency shown in respect of the Public Services Commission, in connexion with which the House first pressed us to bring the recommendations into force and now finds fault with us for having done so. The same is the case in connexion with the salaries, an increase of which was the chief matter under discussion last month, while now the chief criticism of the budget is the excessive amount paid in salaries. Similarly with lump allotments. If we provide them we are blamed and yet, honourable members come forward to ask why they are not provided, for instance, in the case of ayurvedic medicine. We are blamed because in years past we accumulated balances, we are blamed now because we have begun to spend them. It has been said of the Labour Commissioner that he is a perfectly useless officer with no work whatever to do, and yet the chief criticism of this office has hitherto been that Government have loaded upon one unfortunate man far more than any one officer can possibly undertake. A good deal of criticism has been levelled at us on the basis of a comparison between the pay of officers and the amounts they spend, as though, for instance, it was wrong to employ a doctor unless he was going to dispense medicines to the value of his salary. In direct contravention of this, Mr. Sasibhushana Rath comes forward and says that he does not mind our employing a staff for the Agency, but that, if we give them any money with which to carry on their work, he will vote against the allotment. Most striking of all is the difference of view entertained in regard to the talaiyaris. One honourable gentleman has told us that the talaiyaris are useful only to gather grass or firewood for the officers with whom they are brought into relation, while Mr. Sarabha Reddi, on the other hand, has come forward with an Utopian scheme whereunder the talaiyari is to be the vaccinator, policeman and exciseman and in fact is to combine the bulk of the functions of the Government in his person. When I consider all these disconcerting points of view I am thankful that, in the words of the poet, 'We are seven,' and I can assure honourable gentlemen that it is hard enough to make a budget to suit the views of seven and that if we had to reconcile the views of the other 120 as well, it would be impossible to prepare a budget at all.

"Coming now to the proposals for new expenditure, I should like to say that the Finance Member is not, as he is sometimes pictured, a hard-hearted monster whose only delight is in wielding the pruning knife, but that he has a very real sympathy

for expenditure and a very human desire sometimes to take a hand in the spending of money himself. And this is the case with many of the schemes which have been put forward to-day. Under Education I have a very real sympathy for the desire for the extension of primary education, and I am glad to have had Mr. Sivasankaram Pillai's testimony to the substantial progress that has been made in this respect during the past ten years. I have likewise much sympathy with the plea which Mr. Macphail has urged on behalf of the aided secondary schools. I have less sympathy with the general demand that has been made, without details, for an increase in the expenditure on University education and was glad to see that faithfully dealt with by the Member for the University and by Mr. Subbarayudu. Under the head of Medical, again, I have very much sympathy with the list of demands put forward by Dr. U. Rama Rao, though I must admit that, for a mere Finance Member, it was a staggering catalogue. He wants more medical men, more medical schools, more dispensaries, more special hospitals, more children's hospitals, more lady doctors, a medical college for women, more sanitary inspectors, more medical inspection of schools, more care of infants, more money for housing, more midwives, more compounders, more vaccinators, more health propaganda, more ayurveda. I would add only one item to his catalogue and that is more arithmetic. He proposes to provide for all these things by abolishing the Indian Medical Service, which he says costs us three lakhs, replacing it at half the cost and so saving five lakhs of rupees."

Rao Sahib U. Rama Rao (*intervening*):—"I said that five lakhs should come out of the other expenses."

The Hon'ble Mr. C. G. Todhunter (*continuing*):—"I am very glad to be assured that I have misunderstood the honourable doctor's arithmetic and that he does not make up his prescriptions on that basis. I will only say that I noted his figures very carefully at the time and confirmed them by a reference to my honourable colleague on my left.

"I am similarly very much in sympathy with the demand that has been made for more money for industries and agriculture, but I will not deal with these in detail since that has already been done by the Hon'ble the Minister for Development, who has incidentally, I think, shown how little he stands in need of the abundant sympathy that has been poured down upon him and how very well able he is to take care of himself. I have however noted under this head for reply a question of Mr. Sivasankaram Pillai's as to what we were spending on the Agricultural Department 30 years ago. The answer is that the department only commenced its operations in 1905–06 when its expenditure was three lakhs, and that it has since risen to 32 lakhs. I should like to add here that, while advocating all wise expenditure under these heads, I do ask the House to take to heart Dr. Slater's advice, which may be put into a sentence, namely, that we must learn before we can teach. I think that it is a simple fact which was largely responsible for the failure of the amateur agricultural associations which have been cited in criticism of the operations of the Agricultural Department. And just as it is useless to attempt to demonstrate agricultural improvement until you have first satisfied yourself by experiments, so it is useless to try to set down industrial schools in every village and try to teach industries out of text-books. To teach industries you must have workshops, and until you have got them it is not possible to go on spreading the schools.

"But it is vain to go on discussing the ways in which we could spend money if we had it. I will only say that the Government have ready in hand to be put into force at once when funds can be found schemes to the amount of 160 lakhs which have been cut out of the budget.

[The Hon'ble Mr. C. G. Todhunter] [10th March 1921

"To turn now to the question of resources, which, it has been truly said, can be improved by an addition to our receipts or by a reduction in the expenditure. As regards receipts I don't think the case is quite so desperate as it has been made out to be. Under the head of Land Revenue Mr. Siva Rao has challenged the provision for an increase in receipts next year which he assumes must be due to our having ignored the recommendations of this Council to suspend resettlement, while Mr. Ranganatha Mudaliyar, drawing upon his own experience in the past, charges us with having deliberately fudged the receipt heads in order to show a higher expenditure. In view of these serious charges, I think I must trouble the Council with details of the increase in receipts. I may say that, though we have by no means decided to accept the resolution regarding resettlements, there is no provision in the budget for receipts on account of settlements on which orders have not yet been passed. The increase in the estimate is made up as follows:—

	LAKHS.
Resettlement of certain taluks in South Arcot	1·91
Expansion of cultivation and irrigation	3·83
Collection of suspended revenue of the current year ...	8·31
Smaller season remission in next year	8·46
Arrear collections	3·00

"As regards the increase in charges to which Mr. S. Srinivasa Ayyangar has drawn so much attention, I should like to say that a very great part of them is due to the increase given to the village officers and servants, of whom he has constituted himself a special champion.

"As regards the future, I would like to call attention to Dr. Slater's calculation that every anna of expenditure by the Agricultural Department is bringing in a return of one rupee in the income of the ryot. And here I would express a hope that honourable gentlemen who are contemplating legislation for laying down the principles of Land Revenue Settlement will not adopt the view of Mr. Patro that the chief principle to be laid down is that there is to be no increase in the land revenue. I must also take exception to the statement made by the same gentleman that the ryot really gets no share of the very large increase in the sale-proceeds of agricultural produce because he has to pay so much more for articles which he himself buys. In this connexion I should like to read a short extract from the report of Rao Sahib Venkatanarayana Nayudu on the resettlement of the Bellary and Anantapur districts:—

"'A ryot's holding is thus practically self-contained. Even a fairly well-to-do ryot with a family of half-a-dozen members would rarely spend more than a couple of rupees at the weekly shandy for the necessaries which he does not produce. This is why the present abnormal rise in prices of almost all commodities throughout the world has not disturbed his equanimity. On the other hand, he hails the situation, as the produce he is able to spare is enriching him beyond all expectations. The clothing of an average rustic is of the coarsest kind and very often woven locally on the looms in or around the village with yarn spun by women at home, a payment of from 4 to 6 pies (formerly it was only 2 pies) being made the weaver for every cubit of sheeting woven."

Mr. A. Ranganatha Mudaliyar (*interrupting*):—"May I say that it has been taken exception to by the deputation to the Revenue Member?"

The Hon'ble Mr. C. G. Todhunter (*continuing*):—"I am quite prepared to agree that the deputation found it necessary to challenge a statement which must have been exceedingly damaging to their case.

10th March 1921] [The Hon'ble Mr. C. G. Todhunter]

"To turn now to Excise, the bulk of the arguments that have been addressed to the House against the excise revenue has been based on the old theory that an increasing revenue must mean increasing consumption. That idea has so often been exploded that I don't think it really is necessary to go into it again. I would only ask honourable members who wish to examine whether consumption is increasing or not to look at the figures of consumption and not at the figures of revenue.

"A much more cogent criticism of our policy is that which has been supplied by three members from the Ceded Districts who say that they are prepared to give me chapter and verse for the statement that wholesale illicit distillation is going on in their districts with the knowledge of the excise authorities. I must say that, though I was aware that illicit distillation was going on, their statements in this respect have been a revelation to me. But what after all do these statements prove? Do they not show that we have gone too far in our endeavour to reduce consumption by increasing prices; and when such widespread malpractices are brought to our notice, what cure have we except to increase the staff? I have not ignored the other alternative suggested by the Honourable Member for the University. He says that if we charge less for the drink, the drinker will spend less and take the balance of his money to his wife and family. I am afraid that that statement is based upon an inadequate knowledge of human nature.

Mr. S. SRINIVASA AYYANGAR (*interrupting*):—That is my experience of Indian human nature?"

The Hon'ble the PRESIDENT:—"Of drinking Indian human nature (laughter.)"

The Hon'ble Mr. C. G. TODHUNTER (*continuing*):—"I regret to say, Sir, that my experience of drinking human nature does not coincide with the Honourable Member's, and I think I may claim to have some considerable knowledge of it as I have probably visited more liquor shops in the different provinces of India than any officer now in service. My experience is that the confirmed drunkard will not quit drinking with money in his pocket.

"A similar proposal is that made by Mr. Kesava Pillai that we should reduce the tree-tax on the ground that toddy is a nourishing drink and hardly intoxicating. I am surprised that a gentleman of his age should make such a proposition. This is the proposition that was made in all innocence by Mr. W. S. Caine, M.P., nearly 40 years ago when he said that toddy was 'little stronger than home-made ginger beer.' I will only say that exhaustive analyses show that its average strength is about 90° under-proof, or about the same strength as light beer. As regards its effect, I would like to read a short extract from the report made by Sir Charles Bedford who was put on special duty for the purpose—

'*Tari* contained bulk for bulk nearly the same proportion of fusel oil as country spirits of 60° under-proof, that is, nearly four times as much in proportion to the alcohol contained. There was present—in some samples in great excess—a much larger acidity, which is a fruitful cause of indigestion, diarrhœa, dysentery and rheumatism. Its nutritive elements consisted on the average of 2·76 grains per cent albuminoids and 2·2 grains per cent sugars. . . . . When it is taken in large quantities, the percentage of some of the impurities consumed is very much greater than it would be if the same amount of alcohol were taken in the shape of spirit, and the nutritive qualities are of little advantage to the consumer who drinks in order to get drunk, while the bulk of the *tari* tends to his detriment. In the words of the Commissioner of Abkāri, Bombay, "the confirmed toddy drinker soaks. He becomes bloated and lethargic, while the drinker of country

spirit has his glass or two now and then and is soon done with it." There is, moreover, a large body of medical evidence to show that considerable injury results from the drinking of stale *tari*, which is described not only as a powerful intoxicant, but also, doubtless on account of its acid properties, as being highly productive of gout."

Mr. KESAVA PILLAI (*interrupting*) :—"It is from the abkāri doctor not the temperance doctor."

The Hon'ble Mr. C. G. TODHUNTER (*continuing*) :—"I shall be glad, if the Honourable Member desires it, to look up the medical evidence which was taken by the committee and forward it to him.

"There remains the proposal of total prohibition, as to which I would only say this, that, in view of the condition of the country, as instanced by the members from the Ceded Districts, it is clear that we cannot stop consumption even of illicit spirit. How then are we going to prohibit all consumption of any sort? I put it to the House that this would not only involve the loss of 5½ crores of our excise revenue, but would also necessitate our entertaining an enormous staff to enforce the prohibition law. There is one query in connexion with this question of excise which I regret I am quite unable to answer. Mr. Sivasankaram Pillai has repeatedly asked the House 'Why I should be made to drink?' I am quite unable to suggest any reason why he should drink if he does not wish to.

"It is refreshing to turn from these somewhat unpracticable suggestions to the robust common sense of an experienced administrator as instanced by Diwan Bahadur Krishnan Nayar's statement that, so long as men persist in drinking, there is no reason why Government should not make revenue out of the drink habit.

"As regards the possibilities of development of our resources under the head of Industries, Mr. MacDougall has dealt faithfully with the proposition that we should run our factories for profit. I should only like to refer here to the suggestion of Mr. Das, which he claimed to have taken from the report of the Industries Commission, that we should improve our revenue from fisheries by copying the example of Bengal. If the honourable gentleman would kindly read the report again, he would find that the suggestion of the Industries Commission was, not that Madras should copy the example of Bengal, but, if anything, that Bengal should copy the example of Madras. I will give a short quotation in proof of this :—

'The Bengal Department of Fisheries, which was till recently under the control of the Director of Agriculture, has at its disposal an amount less than a quarter of that expended in Madras. . . . The impression left on the Commission was that the department was seriously in need of staff and funds and that little satisfactory progress was likely on existing lines.'

'We are very decidedly of opinion that the development of fisheries in Bengal should be taken up fully and energetically and that the executive staff of the department should be considerably improved and strengthened.'

"Under the head of Stamps I should thank Mr. Somasundaram Pillai for his epigrammatic description of this as a self-imposed taxation and I will only add that I hope the people will go on imposing it on themselves and will not take the advice of my Honourable Colleague the Law Member and close the courts.

"Lastly, as regards possibilities of new taxation, I would invite the attention of the House to a suggestion of Dr. Slater's, not because the Government have any present intention of acting upon it, but because I think it shows that the expansion of our resources is not so impossible a matter as it has been suggested to be. His

proposal was that we should impose an excise upon tobacco. Now, in a House which contains so many advocates of legislation to prevent smoking by children, surely a tax that would be a check on this bad habit generally would not be such a very unpopular tax. And again, with regard to the statement that any further taxation would bring about disturbance or revolution, may I ask whether there has been any manifestation of dislike of this tax in the well-administered state of Travancore which has now imposed it for many years past?

"I now come to the possibility of finding money for development by savings out of the present budget. And here I regret to say that the great majority of the proposals that have been made under this head prove to be quite illusory when they are examined. Some members content themselves with the statement that money can be easily found, that it must be found somehow or, in the illuminating phrase of Mr. Seshagiri Rao, that the budget can 'be adjusted accordingly.' Others content themselves with applauding the suggestions of their predecessors. The Honourable Member for the University refers to the fine speeches of the gentlemen that have gone before him. The Hon'ble Mr. Balaji Rao Nayudu refers to the numerous new appointments, the abolition of which has been proposed by his friends. In neither case is there anything whatever of a definite nature that I can take hold of. Mr. Tangavelu Pillai certainly named a figure. He told us 'that we could easily save over 70 lakhs' but he did not give us any indication how we can save 8 annas. Mr. Narasimhacharlu got a little nearer practical politics by suggesting the doubling up of districts and the abolition of some of the police stations. I do not know whether he was serious when he made that suggestion."

Rai Bahadur T. M. NARASIMHACHARLU (*interrupting*):—"I was really serious, Sir, when I made the suggestion."

The Hon'ble Mr. C. G. TODHUNTER (*continuing*):—"If he really was so, may I ask whether he has considered the increasing complexity of the administration, the numerous new Acts which have to be administered by the district officers, the proposals that have been made in this debate for casting upon the general administration much of the work now done by the specialists, and on the magisterial side the necessity there is for being ever on the alert to cope with organized disorder? Has he considered the fact that the number of our district officers as compared with the northern provinces is only as 5 to 8? Was he aware when he pressed the abolition of police stations that we can never even move one without being bombarded by petitions from the villagers concerned?

"It is refreshing to turn from suggestions of this sort to the more practical suggestions of reduction of the number of talaiyaris, of the substitution of clerks for reader sub-inspectors of police, of the abolition of stipends paid to the medical students and the reduction of the number of personal assistants to Collectors, and of the re-examination of the working of the Land Records department. These are proposals which, I am sure, my Honourable Colleagues will be only too glad to examine.

"The other proposals which have been made to the House fall under two heads, first the abolition of every sort of supervising officer and second the stopping of all expenditure on bricks and mortar. Now, as regards the higher officers, we have of course all read the remarks of a certain learned judge to the effect that it was a mere chance whether a man became a clerk or a Judge of the High Court and that therefore their salaries ought to be pooled accordingly. But I did not expect that anybody had taken that seriously, nor did I expect to hear a proposal made in this House that we should pay the judge and his sarishtadar

the same pay because they did the same quality of work. In fact I think there was a great deal that would not bear examination in the suggestion made that there should be at least equality between the pay of a superior officer and that of all the officers working under him. It must be obvious that there can be no relation between the pay of an expert officer who works with a small establishment and his staff any more than in the case of an officer in charge of a large industrial department who may have the handling of hundreds of subordinates. There is little more to be said for the suggestion that we should abolish all inspectors of schools and entrust the inspection to local bodies. I have always been under the impression that education was a learned profession. We have been pressed on all sides to increase the provision for training, and is it seriously contended that, when we have done that, we should place these trained officers under the inspection and control of persons who are themselves untrained? I have already referred to the proposal for the abolition of the I.M.S., and my Honourable Colleague in charge of the Development departments has dealt with that for the abolition of the post of Assistant Directors of Industries. We are pressed almost in one breath to push on with the industrial survey of the districts and to abolish the men who are appointed for the conduct of the survey.

"I now come to the question of allowances, and here I must express my regret that the Hon'ble Sir P. Tyagaraya Chettiyar, taking his cue from Mr. Krishna Rao, has gone the length of saying that the allowances given are a scandal. The bulk of the attack has been upon what are called 'duty' allowances, and we have been asked why a man should be given an allowance for doing his duty. Let me explain to the House that 'duty allowance' is a technical term adopted by the Government of India for an allowance given on account of increased responsibility or for hard work, which entitles to pension, in contradistinction to a 'local allowance' which is given on account of the unhealthiness of or expense of living in a particular locality. Now let me take a few instances of these duty allowances. We give a clerk, who adds to his ordinary qualifications the special qualification of shorthand, a duty allowance when he is employed as a shorthand writer in addition to his other work. Are Honourable Members going to say that this is a scandal? Again we have made a new arrangement under which, instead of paying revenue inspectors a fixed sum, we are going to send out clerks to do the revenue inspectors' work, paying them an additional sum of Rs. 10 while they are so employed and kept constantly travelling. Is there any scandal in that? Again when doctors are placed in situations of danger, such as in charge of cholera parties or leprosy hospitals, they are given an allowance Is there any scandal in that? On the other hand, in the case which has been cited of the Labour Commissioner, the refusal of an allowance would be a penalty. We can hardly select a man to do special work and then inflict a penalty upon him for doing it, which is what would be the case if we brought a man from a comparatively cheap district where his touring was comparatively pleasant to the more expensive life of headquarters with touring incessantly by train. If the Council are going to deny us the right to give allowances in these circumstances, then we cannot get the most competent officers to fill the offices for which they are required. Again, objection has been taken to local allowances and the particular case of a Wynad allowance has been cited. Well, I will only ask the Honourable Member who made that criticism whether he would be prepared to exchange his present place of residence for the feverish and expensive Wynad and receive no compensation for that exchange? While on the subject of allowances, I should like to say that there is in force in the

Secretariat a rule that no allowance is to be granted without the concurrence of the Finance Member, and I can assure this House that the still, small voice of the Finance Department makes itself very insistently heard upon this subject, so much so that I feel sure that my Honourable Colleagues would be glad if the small voice could be for ever stilled.

"Again we have been subjected to attack on the subject of lump allotments. Here too I would say that the still, small voice has been very vocal, and that a severe analysis has resulted in cutting out every lump allotment that could possibly be said to be objectionable. I have already called attention to the strict provisions on this subject of the Devolution Rules, and if my recollection serves me right the only cases of lump allotments left in the budget are cases in which we have the whole of the details ready, but have not been able to put them into the budget because we have not yet received the formal sanction of the Secretary of State, and we do not wish to create disappointment by publishing proposals which might not be approved. The principal attack on this head came from an honourable gentleman who has lately been connected with the administration of Travancore, and thinking that I might find inspiration for a better way from the budget of that model State, I looked to see how similar situations were dealt with in Travancore. But alas, I was doomed to disappointment. I will not read the full list of lump allotments that I found, but I will read two. First of all I find that for the development of industries a lump allotment of Rs. 40,000 has been made and another lump allotment of Rs. 49,000 for the development of agriculture. I am glad to say that there is nothing in the Madras budget which compares with these.

"I now come to the question of bricks and mortar. I need hardly remind the House of what has already been said, namely, that the proposals that have gone into the budget have only gone in as a result of a very rigid selection. But in spite of that there seems to be an idea abroad that we are recklessly spending money on palatial residences for our officers all over the Presidency. And I was glad when Dr. U. Rama Rao gave the House a concrete instance of the Government's apparently reckless behaviour in this respect. He stated that we had built for the Executive Engineer in Tinnevelly at Palamcottah a house for Rs. 50,000 which we were letting him at a rent of only Rs. 50 a month. This statement aroused my financial instincts and at once I telephoned over to find out how such a thing had been allowed to occur. The reply is that the cost of the Executive Engineer's house is Rs. 14,838 and that the rent charged upon it Rs. 63 a month or 5 per cent of the cost.

Rao Sahib U. Rama Rao (*interrupting*):—"I myself have seen the house. The building must have been constructed long ago."

The Hon'ble Mr. C. G. Todhunter (*continuing*):—"I shall be very glad to communicate to the Public Works Department the Honourable Member's testimony to the cheapness of their building inasmuch as he estimates at Rs. 50,000 the value of a house which they built for less than Rs. 15,000.

"I now come to the case of Coimbatore, on which much stress has been laid. I would ask Members of the House and particularly Members who come from that district whether they are aware of the facts of that case. The Collector of that district has been ejected after due notice from his house and has no place to live in. The Deputy Inspector-General of Police, after a search for a place to live in in Coimbatore, has had to move his residence to Coonoor. The District Judge has had recently to try his landlord for his life. Now, I do ask the House to consider whether this is a state of affairs which they wish to continue in respect of the

chief officers of the district. I appeal to the example of the railways, banks and firms who all make it a point to see that their men are properly housed. I appeal to the example of other provinces in some of which all officers down to the rank of Tahsildar are properly housed."

Sriman BISWANATH DAS (*interrupting*) :—"Are we to understand that the houses that are constructed pay us 5 per cent or that the quarters that are supplied to officers pay the Government an income of 5 per cent?"

The Hon'ble Mr. C. G. TODHUNTER (*continuing*) :—"The cost of a house for any officer for whom quarters are provided is based upon a careful calculation with reference to the pay of the officer, and rent is charged upon the cost of the house subject to a maximum, which is 10 per cent of the pay of the officer living in it. Of course if honourable gentlemen have been under the impression that we give these houses to officers rent free, that puts an altogether different aspect on the question. But this is really a business question, and I do ask Honourable Members to look upon it in that light and not to attempt to make the position of our men worse than the position of men in other provinces. I would ask the House to look upon the erection of houses in Madras from a business point of view. What are the circumstances? There is in Madras a very great congestion and scarcity of bungalows. There are a number of Government officers who have to live here. There are very few of these who manage at present to have a house to themselves. There is great necessity for building by anybody who can build. Government have excellent sites upon their hands. They can secure loan money on terms as favourable as anybody else and they have officers to house. If they were merely a private company it would be good business to build houses out of loan money on the sites which they have available and recover the interest by the rent they charge. Being employers of people who need houses it is all the more necessary for them to embark upon such an undertaking, and as the Government are vitally concerned in the relief of congestion, there is a third reason for doing so. Again I do ask Honourable Members to look upon this as a business concern and not as if Government were trying to spend the taxpayers' money for the benefit of their employees. There is one more building project to which I wish to refer and that is the Government Press. The Hon'ble Mr. Devadoss has objected to our spending money on rebuilding the Government Press buildings at Mint Street. Well, I would only ask him to come with me one morning and see the state of the existing building and I am perfectly certain that he would withdraw his objection.

"The question of the percentage of the cost of the staff to the amount spent by it has already been dealt with by my Honourable Colleague, Sir Lionel Davidson, and I will only add one word more to what he has said and that is that, if this House insist upon the cutting out of all provision for the expenditure of money, they must of course be prepared for the percentage borne by the cost of the staff to the money they spend to be largely increased. The actual percentage borne to our whole revenue by our expenditure on bricks and mortar is only 5 per cent, and if we deduct from the calculation the money which is to be taken from borrowed funds, it is less than that.

"I had intended to deal with the question of salaries, but Mr. Ramaswami Mudaliyar has very kindly saved me from the necessity of so doing. I should like, however, to thank the committee which has just sat for one very illuminating phrase. They say that the complaints of the non-gazetted officers are 'as much comparative as intrinsic'. That, I think, is a very true description of the situation, but I would add to it that the comparison made does not really hold,

since, as Mr. Ramaswami Mudaliyar has explained, the circumstances under which the increase has come to be given are altogether different. I should like to say one more word in this connexion and that is with reference to the comparison by percentages. Numerous comparisons have been made in the course of the debate based upon the reply to a question regarding the total cost of the services. Now, that total cost includes, as is obvious from the question, the whole pay of all the men employed whether at the beginning or at the end of the period selected. A percentage based upon the relation borne by the one figure to the other entirely ignores the fact that in some services more men are now employed and in some perhaps less and thus is entirely fallacious. To tell the truth, it is very difficult to arrive at anything like a fair comparison between one service and another by means of percentages. While a comparison of total cost is fallacious, comparison of the increases given to individual officers is hardly less so. I thought I had arrived at a solution by taking the actual cost on given dates of all the officers employed and dividing the total thus arrived at by the number of officers and then comparing the average pay of officers so secured. Even this is not altogether satisfactory because, if one of the periods taken is a period in which recruitment was active and another a period in which recruitment was slack, you may get a result which shows a radical change in the average pay although there was no change in the sanctioned cadre. Still it is so far the most satisfactory plan I have been able to devise. I have given the House two instances of comparisons made on this basis in the case of the Land Revenue department and the Police and I think it is significant that in the fifty speeches that have been made, most of them concerning themselves with salaries, there has been no single criticism addressed to these tables.

"I hope what I have said will suffice to show the House, first of all that as regards our resources our condition is not so desperate as they think, secondly, that as regards the reduction of our expenditure, there is no concrete proposal before this House that would effect such a change as would set free the money they require. There remains the question of a root and branch inquiry. Now, I would venture to remind the House that, whereas the whole House has been singing a great chorus of retrenchment for the last three days, the still, small voice of the Finance Department has been trying to set the tune for that chorus at intervals during the past year. But as Mr. Simpson has said, it has been a case of 'Woe unto you when all men shall speak well of you'. This time last year there was a motion on the paper for an inquiry into economies and I was going to welcome the mover of that resolution as an ally and a brother, but, alas, all men spoke well of my budget and the resolution was never moved. A motion of the same sort was tabled in July and I took the opportunity of warning the House then that the question before them was not one of cutting off a return here and there or the elimination of a few clerks, but the revision root and branch of the whole system. I pointed out to the House, what I pointed out to them last month, that the whole of our system of administration is built upon meticulous detail which it has only been possible to carry through with the aid of a very efficient and a very cheap subordinate staff, that we were, as I put it last month, in the position of a manufacturer who has built up a business on the basis of some element in his process, whether it be coal or raw material or labour, which was extraordinarily cheap, and finds himself by the doubling of the price of that element unable to carry on. Mr. Tanickachalam Chetti says that the resolutions urging economy were pressed last February. I venture to correct him. I pressed to have these resolutions taken up with the inquiry into salaries. The demand for extra expenditure was pressed, but the resolutions demanding economy

were postponed. Not only that. We asked the Salaries Committee in the most express terms, if they were proposing more expenditure than we had provided for, to say how the money was to be found: and what is the result? The only reply given is that 'any further budget allotments which may be necessitated can be easily adjusted later'. And now that the matter has been discussed in this meeting for the last three days, what is the solution that has been recommended? To return to my simile of the manufacturer whose processes cannot be carried on because of the increase in the cost of coal or raw material or labour, the only proposal that I find Honourable Members make for relieving his difficulties is that he should dismiss his managing agents, get rid of his foremen and practically let the machines run themselves. I therefore welcome as an ally our old friend Mr. Ramachandra Rao who has come forward with a practical proposal, namely, the institution of a Finance Committee, to examine all proposals for expenditure and see what real economies can be made. I have been at some pains, having regard to the fact that the need for root and branch economies seems to be very much greater in England than here, to see what they have been doing there in the matter, and I am bound to say that the result of an examination of their many committees has not been altogether encouraging. There is of course the Select Committee on National Expenditure, at a debate of one of whose reports it was said recently that in respect of one department they had examined only 3 per cent of the expenditure and that if they examined at the same rate the remaining 97 per cent it would take them the rest of their lifetime. The Leader of the House in summing up the debate said: 'We set the Committee up to help the Government to save expense and they have not succeeded in so doing'. Then there is the Committee on Estimates, of which it has been said that the bogey of Parliamentary criticism was really a check on Ministers, but that now that this bogey has materialized into a committee which cannot get a quorum to meet, that check has disappeared. Then there is the Committee on Public Accounts of which it has been said that it is an excellent regularity machine, but that after the lapse of half a century of committees in England the economy machine is still to seek. Lastly there are the new committees just established, consisting of one Member of Parliament, one business man and one member of the department concerned, whose business it is to overhaul the detailed working of the departments one by one. Great hopes have been placed on these committees and I am waiting anxiously to see some report of how they are working. But there is one point that I should like to mention in respect of them all as being important to this House, namely, that in appointing every one of them care has been taken to exclude all questions of policy from their consideration. The view is taken that policy is a question for the Government and the House, and if we decide that what we need is a root and branch change of policy, then that is a matter which we must thresh out for ourselves and cannot delegate to any committee.

"I had proposed here in order to show honourable gentlemen that we are in earnest in the matter of taking up a root and branch reform, to read certain extracts from the orders that we issued to heads of departments after the debate I have referred to in last July but, as I have long exceeded my time, I will refrain from doing so. I will only ask the House to take it from me that we have the matter very much at heart.

"To sum up, Sir, I hope I have shown that, though the task of recasting our systems on a cheaper basis is going to be no easy one, it is not a task beyond the capacity of this Government and this House; that though we may perhaps not expect our revenue to expand so rapidly as it has done in the past, our

resources are by no means at an end ; that this budget has not rightly been called a deficit budget, and that the Hon'ble Mr. Devadoss is quite wrong when he calls it a budget of despair, that he is quite wrong if he would give to the new-born Government, as the wife of Phineas gave to her new-born son, the despairing name of Ichabod, ' because the glory has departed from Israel '.

Diwan Bahadur R. VENKATARATNAM NAYUDU (*Chairman*) :—" Now the House is to adjourn till 11 o'clock to-morrow morning. The President has asked me to announce the following as the agenda,—First will come questions and answers; secondly, the Hon'ble Mr Venkata Reddi Nayudu's Bill will be introduced. The third item is the report of the Select Committee on amendments to Standing Orders. The fourth is resolutions. I am desired by the Hon'ble the President to express the hope that the House will be able to get through all this business to-morrow."

The Council then adjourned to 11 a.m. the next day.

L. D. SWAMIKANNU,
Secretary to the Legislative Council.

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