The lowest tier of the Secretariat comprised the ministerial and ancillary personnel. The basic function of the first was two-fold.

(i) to pass the policies framed and the decisions taken at the officer level of the Secretariat in the approved forms of directives, instructions and orders to the Heads of the Departments and districts for guidance and implementation, and (ii) to put up data from the field officers for consideration of the Policy makers at the time of formulation of policies, prepare reports on the progress of action taken on them and problems cropping up in the process of implementation, to the Secretaries.

Thus, though not directly concerned with the making of policies and decisions, the ministerial establishment was an essential component of the Secretariat, in so far as it was a permanent repository of precedents and conventions on which depended continuity and propriety of the administrative policies. The facts and figures it collected and supplied provided sound and realistic basis of approach to problems for successful achievement of administrative objects. It linked thought with action, policies with execution.

The two-way function it had to perform was naturally complex in character beginning with simple and mechanical work such as docketing and copying in the lowest grade and with complicated task of putting all cases in their full and proper contents of past references and rules and regulations governing the issues involved, at the highest.
The Administrative executive was organized hierarchically. There were several levels. Each one was entrusted with one responsibility. At first, in 1874 there was no such organization. With the development of administration the machinery became complex.

All the members of the Secretariat establishment were indiscriminately designated as clerks, the only difference between the persons holding the posts being the difference in pay. The fixation of pay itself was determined by factors not essentially related to the nature and quality of the task to be performed.

It was only on 1 April 1903 i.e. 29 years after the constitution of the Secretariat an attempt was made at the classification of services on the basis of functions to be performed. To each class an academic qualifications and salary were assigned. This was done with a view to improve the efficiency of the service. But it should be said that in grading clerks no fixed principle was followed. So gradation was arbitrary. This is evident from the fact that on the eve of the formation of the province of Eastern Bengal and Assam the Chief Commissioner's Secretariat had as many as ten grades of clerks on pay ranging from Rs. 30 to 150 a month.

The number was reduced to six in October 1905 just after the formation of the new province. Simultaneously they were formally designated.

as assistants instead of clerks as formerly. The new name put them in the right perspective and brought out their functional position in the Secretariat, i.e. they assisted the officers to frame policies and make decisions. The first two grades called First and Second Grade assistants were Head Assistants who had supervisory function as an additional responsibility. In May 1906, this arrangement was slightly modified by transferring the second grade of 1905 to the purely clerical rank thus raising the number of grades to five. This also was not found satisfactory. There was yet another proposal recommending the reduction of grades into four.

This arrangement continued till March 14, 1913, when with the reversion of Assam to Chief Commissionership the approach was radically changed. The assistants were broadly divided into two compartments—the Upper Division and the Lower Division. The Upper Division was further divided into four grades and the Lower Division into five. We are not aware of any definite factor responsible for this division and gradation. Obviously the criterion among others must have been the nature of work. Presumably, the Lower Division assistants were allotted only the routine and mechanical duties while the Upper Division was entrusted with work requiring experience, knowledge and capacity for what is known as original work in office parlance.

4. Ibid.
5. Appointment A April 1908, No. 1-32 and Despatch No. 67, Calcutta 28 February 1907.
This presumption gains support from the fact that promotion in the hierarchy thus introduced was planned on the basis of length of service which also ensured continuity of incentive, gradual training in the complexities of the ministerial function and building up of a core with thorough drilling in and grasp over the rules, procedures, precedents and conventions of the Secretariat. The introduction of efficiency bar provided a system of check for permitting only the efficient to go up. The grading did not work effectively and had to be revised in 1924 and ultimately abolished, leaving the two broad divisions of Upper and Lower which continued till the end of 1947.

HEAD ASSISTANT

The highest post in the lower tier was that of the Head Assistant. The Head Assistant exercised a general supervision over the whole department, both in regard to the despatch of business and discipline. As the Chief ministerial head of the Department, it was his duty to see that the rules in the Manual and all office orders were strictly obeyed and to take notice of any dereliction of duty or impropriety of conduct on the part of any member of the Establishment of his department. He controlled the clerical establishment of the Department, their attendance and duties.

9. Ibid.
It was his responsibility that the routine work of the Department such as the maintenance of the Registers, records and indexes was properly carried out, that the periodical references, reports and accounts were prepared and punctually despatched.

The distribution of work within a department or a branch was left to the discretion of the Head Assistant who, however, reported to the Registrar for confirmation the specific duties assigned to each assistant. In addition to these duties, every assistant was bound to undertake, when the necessity arose, any other work which might be given to him by the Head Assistant. The Head Assistant and the Assistant in charge of Sections or Branches were responsible to see that an even flow of work, both new receipts and work, was maintained by the proper distribution of work among them assistants. They reported excess of work beyond the capacity of the staff under them, whenever necessary.

On receipt of papers from the officers in the Secretariat, the Head Assistant first had them stamped with the office date stamp, and after reading them carefully and punching the court fee stamps on petition if any, indicated, on the left corner of each receipt in red ink the name of the assistant who was to deal with the receipt and the date on which it was made over to him and then make them over to the Reference Clerk and Diarist concerned.

11. Finance (a) Audit 1940 No. 721-729.

The Head Assistant was responsible for endorsing in the prescribed form all important papers from Government of India to the Secretary of his Department for submission in advance to the Minister in charge and if necessary to the Governor for perusal before any action was taken in the office. It was his duty to satisfy himself personally each day that new receipts of the day were entered and made over to the dealing assistant concerned.

The Head Assistant was himself responsible for the completeness and accuracy of all notes on cases submitted by his assistants. His own note might briefly discuss the case and suggest order to be passed. If he was unable to accept a note by his assistant, he had the note rewritten in accordance with his order. Very often, to facilitate quick disposal of important cases, personal discussion between the Head Assistant and his subordinates were freely resorted to.

When the draft was finally approved, it was marked for 'Issue' by the Head Assistant with his initial and date. He would then pass it on to the dealing assistant who after making the necessary entries in the file Register, handed it over to the Reference Clerk for transmission to the Issue Branch.

15. Ibid Rule 45.
16. Ibid Rule 52
17. Ibid Rule 64
Grades and Scale.

In the old Assam Secretariat the Head Assistants were of two pay grades viz. 200-250 and Rs. 150-200. In the Eastern Bengal and Assam Secretariat also the Head Assistants were on two grades but with difference scales of Rs. 200-250 and Rs. 250-300. W.J. Reid, the Chief Secretary to the Government of Assam proposed that all the Head Assistants should have one scale of pay Rs. 250-300. The Government of India was pressed to accept a proposal to have the four posts of Head Assistants on one incremental scale of pay Rs. 250-10-300. The Government of India, however, did not agree and sanctioned two appointments on Rs. 250-300 and two on 200-250.

It was invidious that the Head Assistant of one Branch should draw Rs. 250-10-300, while another for the same amount of equally important work in another Branch, should get Rs. 200-250.

The Registrar took up the case for levelling up the pay of the Head Assistants in the Assam Secretariat when the Government of India lifted the ceiling on the total cost of Secretariat Establishment in 1915 and as the equalisation of the pay of all the four head assistants did not require reference to the Government of India.

It was accepted that the responsibility of all the Head Assistants was the same and so their pay also should be the same. On the retirement of the Head Assistant, Revenue Department, it was decided to recruit his successor from outside the Secretariat, and the Superintendent of the

office of the Commissioner, Surma Valley Division who was already drawing Rs.250 was appointed in the scale of Rs.250-10-300. This wholesome principle, however, was not followed in the case of another on personal grounds.

Thus the Assam Secretariat had two classes of Head Assistants one on Rs.250-10-300 and another on Rs.200-10-250.

Head Assistanship in the Assam Secretariat was not always filled up by promotion on the basis of seniority. When Upendra Mohan Sen, Head Assistant, Finance Department, went to the Bihar Secretariat, the post was advertised and Debendra Nath Bhattacharjee of the Central Provinces Secretariat was appointed.

It was considered at one time that the appointment of the Head Assistant, Finance Department, was highly technical could not be confined to the natives of Assam as required by the condition of domicile. In fact there was no application from the natives of Assam except one from a P.W.D. Accountant who was a native of Sylhet. Standing orders, however, required that the Chief Commissioner’s specific sanction to the appointment should be obtained by the Secretary. As no one in the Assam Secretariat was considered fit for promotion to Rs.250-10-300, the post was advertised and Surendra Chandra Datta, Assistant Superintendent Comptroller’s office, was appointed as the Head Assistant, Finance Department.

22. Finance B. December 1914 No. 80-95.
23. Finance B. December 1917 No.401-409
25. Finance B. December 1917 No.401-409.
26. Ibid.
Pay

In the other provinces the Head Assistants did not get pay less than that drawn by the Superintendent of the Local Account office. But the scale of pay of the Head Assistants in the Assam Secretariat was Rs. 300-370 in 1920, while the Superintendents in the Comptroller's office in Shillong was upto Rs. 450. The number of Superintendents in the Comptroller's office was 8, while in the Assam Secretariat there were only four. The Senior Superintendent of the Comptroller's office at Shillong had only 4 Assistants to control. The quality of work done by a Superintendent in the Comptroller's office was not more than that done by a Head Assistant in the Assam Secretariat. In a sense the Head Assistants in the Secretariat did more responsible work than a Superintendent in the Comptroller's office.

In 1920, the scale of pay of three Head Assistants was fixed at Rs. 300-14-370 while the remaining one continued on Rs. 250-300. This was mainly for the personal disqualification of the incumbent. The Government was not inclined even for a slight modification in the rate of increment in raising the pay to Rs. 300-15-375. The time scale was introduced on 1 April 1921.

The Finance Department was required to advise on all difficult financial questions referred to it by other departments, and under the existing practice it was the Head Assistant that was privately consulted in the first instance on financial matters. Further, the Head Assistant in the finance Department had special responsibility in the matter of preparation and presentation of Budget work, together with compilation of explanatory statement etc. Other Head Assistants were not required

27. Comptroller's office gradation list 1920.
28. Finance B. December 1920 No. 59-61
to do any class of original work and their responsibility was certainly less than that of the Head Assistant of the Head Assistant of the Finance Department.

In recognition of the exceptional responsibility and arduous nature of his duties, the Head Assistant, Finance Department, got a duty and not personal Allowance of Rs.50 from 1 of January 1922. The first recipient was Surendra Chandra Dutta. As the duty allowance does not occur in the Fundamental Rules, it was treated as special pay under Rule 9(25) (a) of the Fundamental Rules. A duty allowance for the Head Assistants obviously was a long necessity. In Bengal, the Second or even the Third man in the Department was given the Head Assistants allowance while put in charge of it. For, the Head of a Branch or Department must not only work himself, also gets work from his assistants. He must have control over them and enforce discipline in his Department.

In the Assam Secretariat, there had been an increase of work and responsibility of the Head Assistant. The Reforms of 1919 had considerably added both to the volume and the intricacy of the work. The abolition of the local Self-Government Department and the various functions and activities following the introduction of Dyarchy and the new financial rules imposed on the Finance Department, had considerably added to his work and responsibilities.

32. Finance B. April 1919 No. 95-101.
33. Finance B. March 1925 No. 862-871.
The Government ordered the revision of pay for the Head Assistants on 3 November 1924. With effect from 1 November 1924, a new scale of pay of Rs.250-15-400 for the Head Assistants was introduced. The Head Assistant, Finance Department continued to get the Duty Allowance of Rs.50 as before.

The scale of pay of the Head Assistants of the Assam Secretariat was thus revised from Rs.300-14-370 to Rs.250-15-400 with effect from 1 November 1924 and that of Head Assistant, Legislative Department from Rs.200-10-300 to Rs.200-12-320 with effect from 1 January 1925. His pay was raised in 1922 to Rs.200-10-300 with effect from 1 April 1922 when he was given a special pay of Rs.50 in view of specially arduous and responsible nature of his duties connected with Legislative Council. His total maximum pay was Rs.350 against Rs.370 of the other Head Assistants of the Secretariat at that time.

The duties and responsibilities of the Secretariat Head Assistants were greater than those of the Head Assistant in the Legislative Department. But there was no Under Secretary or Assistant Secretary in the latter. So the Secretary of the Legislative Department as Legal Remembrancer and Secretary to the Legislative Council had to lean more heavily on his Head Assistant than the other Secretaries.

34. Finance B. March 1925 No.862-871.
The prospects of promotion of the Head Assistants were very much limited. There was only one post of Registrar in Assam Secretariat (Civil) open to them. The Registrarship in the P.W.D. Secretariat was for the P.W.D. assistants till the amalgamation of both the Secretariats in 1933.

While the Central Provinces Secretariat had 3 Registrars against 8 Head Assistants, Bihar and Orissa had 4 Registrars for 8 Head Assistants and in Bengal there were 12 Head Assistants and 4 Registrars. The Assam Civil Secretariat there was only one Registrar against six Head Assistants in 1921.

The creation of an additional post of Registrar could improve the prospect of the Head Assistants of further advancement. But the Government did not agree to it. The number of Registrars was not increased in the Assam Secretariat at any time. Most of the Head Assistants had to retire at the age of 55 on meagre pension under Fundamental Rule 56(b) although in certain cases some of them were retained in service up to the age of 60 years. But further promotion to the Selection Grade or other prize posts were not given to officers on extension.

The highest post in the lower tier was that of the Head Assistant. In the provinces of Madras, Bombay, the Punjab, the United Provinces and the Government of India Secretariat the designation of Head Assistant was changed into Superintendent. In the United Provinces Secretariat the Superintendent was in charge of a Department establishment and was treated as a gazetted officer. So a Superintendent was different from and superior to a Head Assistant who was not in charge of any office. In the old Assam

41. Finance Audit B. March 1930 No. 982-994.
Secretariat, there used to be a Superintendent for the whole of the Secretariat office.

Introduction of the designation Superintendent in place of Head Assistant was discussed in 1929 and again in 1940 during the days of Sandukla Ministry and it was decided against any change as there was no advantage to be gained by it.

ASSISTANTS.

When the Chief Commissionership of Assam was created in 1874, the Bengal rates of graded pay, then generally in vogue, were adopted with some modifications. During 1908-1909, the ministerial officers' Committee was sent set up and on their recommendations, the graded rates of pay of the ministerial officers were revised to provide them with a living wage with a reasonable prospect of promotion to higher posts.

On the reconstitution of the Province of Assam in April 1912, the Assistants for the Assam Secretariat were selected from among the clerks of the Eastern Bengal and Assam Secretariat and were paid at which they were paid by the Eastern Bengal and Assam Government.

There were five grades of clerks in the Lower Division. The sanctioned number of clerks in 1917 in each grade of the Lower Division in the Assam Secretariat was as follows:

42. Finance Audit December 1940 No.1166-1176.
43. The Assam Pay Committee Report 1964, Page 8.
44. Finance B. August 1918, No. 243-248.
No. of Assistants:
9 on Rs. 50 forming 23 %
12 on Rs. 60 forming 30 %
8 on Rs. 70 forming 20 %
5 on Rs. 80 forming 13 %
5 on Rs. 100 forming 13 %

In the Secretariat the promotion was very slow and the rate of increments in most of the grades was only Rs. 10. Promotion in the Lower Division in the Assam Secretariat with the grades was almost blocked partly due to the fact that the assistants having personal allowance has been promoted in order to reduce their personal allowance and partly due to the fact that vacancies in the higher grades had been filled up by the recruitment of outsiders.

The grading of the Lower Division Assistants was not done on scientific basis because on the reconstitution of Assam as a separate province in 1912, a certain number of men, most of them drawing a certain rates of pay in the Eastern Bengal and Assam Secretariat had to be found places within a lumpsum allotted by the Government of India for expenditure on the Secretariat establishment. As the Government had to fit in men with higher pay in lower grades with Personal Allowances, some of the Secretariat assistants even after working their way to the higher grade found their pay the same as they were drawing years before.
A satisfactory solution was a time-scale with an annual increment. There were 4 grades in the Upper Division. They were as follows:

2 Assistants on Rs. 200 each
2 Assistants on Rs. 175 each.
5 Assistants on Rs. 150 each
5 Assistants on Rs. 125 each.

With effect from 1 April 1920 the time-scale system was introduced in the Assam Secretariat. At that time there were 15 Upper Division Assistants on Rs. 150-10-250 and 40 posts were sanctioned on Rs. 60-3-90 EB-4-130 in the Lower Division in the Assam Secretariat. There was an efficiency Bar at Rs. 90 in the Lower Division scale. Thus, the 1920 revision of pay resulted in considerable increase of about 25% in the pay scale which included 'grain compensation' and 'War Allowance.'

Having regard to the relative importance of the duties of the Secretariat clerks, it was an accepted principle that the rates of pay allowed to them should be higher than those prevailing in the offices of the Heads of Departments. Though the minimum was definitely higher, the 1920 scale of pay for the Lower Division Assistants of the Secretariat Rs. 60-3-90 EB-4-130, was distinctly lower to the scale of pay, Rs. 50-4-90 EB-4-150 fixed for the other offices in the matter of annual increments in the first stage and the maximum of the scale.

The opportunities for promotion being so few and far between an assistant in the Lower Division could scarcely expect to get into the Upper Division before reaching the top of his grade. He would thus ordinarily have spent 20 years of his service, or possibly more, before he found himself in a better

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found himself in a setter situation. In this way, one would require as long as 40 years to reach the maximum pay of Head Assistant as shown below:

**GRADES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grade</th>
<th>Minimum</th>
<th>Maximum</th>
<th>Years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>60-3-90</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>10 years</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90-4-130</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>10 years</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>150-10-250</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>10 years</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>250-10-300</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>5 years</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>300-14-370</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>5 years</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With effect from 1 January 1924, a new time-scale of pay was introduced.

The scales were divided in 1924 into 2 grades in each of the Upper Division and Lower Division with fixed number of appointments in each grade as follows:

**UPPER DIVISION**

- **A Grade**: Rs.150-8-190-10-250, 9 posts
- **B Grade**: Rs.150-8-190, 9 posts

**LOWER DIVISION**

- **A Grade**: Rs.60-3-90-5-140, 27 posts
- **B Grade**: Rs.60-3-90, 15 posts

The number of posts in the A Grade of the Upper Division was fixed on the principle that each Department must have one A Grade post except Finance Department to which 2 were allotted. The posts of Record Keeper, confidential clerk and the Bill clerk were placed in the A Grade on the ground that the incumbents of these posts had no prospects of promotion at all.

49. Finance B. June 1927 No. 607-615.

Secretariat posts were attractive because of the pay of the Upper Division which the clerks could aspire, though they must accept appointment in the Lower Division to begin with. A recruit to the Lower Division naturally expected and worked for a promotion to the Upper Division.

With the introduction of the new pay scale in 1924, the prospect of promotion of the Lower Division assistants was seriously affected by two factors viz. that in the case of promotion to the Upper Division, he got an annual increment of Rs. 8 only instead of Rs. 10 admissible under the old scale, that he was placed in the Grade of Rs. 150-8-190 in the place of old scale of Rs. 150-10-250 and that the A grade posts in the Upper Division leading up to Rs. 250 being much fewer under the new arrangement, his chance of getting beyond Rs. 190 or reaching the maximum of Rs. 250 were greatly diminished.

The Lower Division clerkship of the Secretariat was not an independent unit. It was a part of the ministerial establishment of the Secretariat. Formerly a Lower Division Assistant could get promotion to the Upper Division without passing through grades and compartments in each division.

The Upper Division assistants were also adversely affected by this change of scale. But they were given option to retain the old scale in preference to the new.

The fixation of the period of average service in the various time scales was a complicated exercise. The Chief Secretary G.E. Semies, with the

51 Finance B. September 1926 No. 1-15.
approval of the Comptroller, calculated the average period of service in the various time-scales introduced in the Assam Secretariat in 1924 as follows:

Average number of years taken as average length of service in the scale.

**Lower Division Assistants:**
- Rs.60-3-90-4-130 (Old scale) ........ 20 years.
- Rs.60-3-90- B grade (New scale) ....... 10 years.
- Rs.60-3-90-5-140 A grade (New scale) .... 14 years.

**Upper Division Assistants:**
- Rs.150-10-250 (Old scale) ........ 17 years.
- Rs.150-8-190 B Grade (New scale) ....... 7 years.
- Rs.150-8-190-10-250 A Grade (New scale) ... 10 years.

In their calculations, the Government had assumed, as the Auditor-General directed, that the average official generation covered a period of 33 years & that in certain posts a certain number of assistants had to go through certain particular posts to reach the higher posts and in this way they calculated the number of years that had to be spent in those posts.

The pay scale of the Secretariat Establishment was revised again in 1928. The sanctioned scales which came into effect on 1 April 1928 were as follows:

- Head Assistants Rs.350-20-450.
- Upper Division Assistants Rs.150-15-225-EB-15-300
- Lower Division Assistants Rs.60-4-100-EB-5-150

52. Finance B. September 1926 No. 1-15.
53. Ibid
All duty allowances at that time drawn by the Secretariat ministerial officers continued. The A and B Grades within the Lower and Upper Division were abolished in 1928. The grievances of the Secretariat Assistants were thus removed.

In 1928, a further increase of 26.5% was granted for all categories of assistants in the Secretariat. But in 1931, following the country-wide economic depression, the Assam Government faced with acute financial crisis set up a Retrenchment Committee. Retrenchment meant lowering of time-scale. With effect from 1 January 1932, the pay scales were revised on the line of the suggestions made by the Retrenchment Committee. The pay of the ministerial officers was reduced by 7% by retrenchment.

In addition to the retrenchment of 1931-1933, there was a 10% emergency cut which affected the pay of all Government servants drawing over Rs.50 from 1 December 1931. This cut was reduced to 5% from 1 April 1933.

In the five years preceding 1920, the average price of paddy was a little below Rs.3 a maund, whereas in the five years prior to 1928, the average price was nearer Rs.4. During the economic depression in years of 1931-1934, the average price of paddy in Assam was only about Rs.2 a maund.

Living in colder climates is always more expensive as it requires more food, clothing, and fuel especially in winter. The Municipal taxation in Shillong was high and so also the house rent. All articles had to be brought
from the plains and therefore the cost of living was high.

Since the termination of the world war I, the pay of all classes of Government servants had been largely raised. The Secretariat Ministerial officers, owing to the policy of retrenchment and emergency cut in pay were not fully benefitted by the increase in pay which was granted prior to 1931.

In view of the disappointing nature of the provincial receipt for the early months of 1932, it was apprehended that at the end of 1932-33, there would be a deficit balance of about Rs. 36 lakhs, instead of Rs. 9 lakhs. At that time all officers drawing Rs. 50 or less were exempted from 10% emergency cut in pay. Here the Assam Government adopted the policy of the Government of India where the limit was Rs. 40.

The Indian pay (Temporary Abatements) Act 1931 provided that the pay cut should remain in force for 16 months or up to 31 March 1933. In December 1931, the 10% cut in pay was first imposed. The cut was reduced from 10% to 5% in April 1933, but was reimposed in April 1934. The Government decided however, on 11 February 1935, not to continue the emergency 5% cut beyond 31 March 1935.

War came in September 1939. There was rise in prices, Dearness Allowance and some other concessions were sanctioned in 1940.

59. Appointment B. September 1932 No. 60-62.
60. Appointment A September 1934 No. 7-37.
In 1945, the Assam Government sanctioned 17 percent of basic pay as Dearness Allowance to those drawing pay above Rs. 250 per month, at the same time maintaining the differentiation between those serving in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills and in the rest of Assam which had been observed hitherto. For those for whom the existing concessions already amounted to 7% or more of their pay, the Government decided to increase the cash Allowance by an extra rupee per month.

The Assam Government finally decided to set up a Pay Committee in 1947. The revised scales of pay for all categories of Government servants including those of the Secretariat came into operation from 1 April 1948.

The following statement will show the revised pay scales in the Secretariat and the percentage of increase and decrease in this respect on various occasions of pay revisions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Initial Pay</th>
<th>Final Pay</th>
<th>Increase/Decrease</th>
<th>1920 Revision</th>
<th>1928 Revision</th>
<th>1932 Revision</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Head Rs.</td>
<td>300-14-370</td>
<td>350-20-450</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>18.4</td>
<td>20</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>15-300</td>
<td>15-300</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.D.</td>
<td>60-3-90</td>
<td>60-4-100-5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>24.2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L.D.</td>
<td>130.</td>
<td>150.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

63. Order No. F. G. 25/43/344 dated 3 September 1945 by A. G. Patton, Secretary Finance and Revenue, Assam.

64. The Assam Pay Committee Report 1964.
APPRENTICESHIP.

In the early stages of British administration in Assam, Assamese were not available for employment in offices because education had not attained a standard high enough in Assam for the purpose. Therefore, sufficient number of persons qualified for service in the Government were not available. To get over this difficult situation some school boys were maintained on subsistence allowance in the Establishment of the Commissioner of Assam at Guwahati as a source of future recruitment. This plan of recruitment was not successful. For none of those apprentices qualified themselves to become a good clerk.

The Apprentice system as a source of recruitment for Secretariat clerkship came into existence in 1874. At first the apprentices were given a monthly allowance of Rs.8. Later four apprentices on Rs.20 were sanctioned. Mahendra Kumar Gupta, an illustrious Registrar of the Assam Secretariat, began his career as a paid apprentice.

Previous to April 1891, there were four apprentices three on Rs.8 each and one on Rs.7 a month. These four apprentices were absorbed as clerks two on Rs.25 each and two on Rs.20 each. With effect from April 1, 1891, again in November, 1893 four apprentices were appointed but on Rs.20 each. But in 1905 the apprenticeship was abolished.

68. Deposit Establishment June 1906. No. 1-17.
70. Revenue B. April 1909 No. 211.
... 181...

It does not appear that the posts of apprentices were permanent or substantive. Service in apprenticeship was not taken into account for pension under Article 372 of the Civil Service Regulations even though the incumbents were subsequently absorbed in the permanent cadre of clerks. The paid apprentices had to be on probation for a period of 2 years and were liable to removal either within or at the end of the period if found unsuitable. They did not have any right to any vacancy as outsiders were also free to apply. No educational qualifications were prescribed for the apprentices.

In the absence of any in-service training, the apprenticeship served to train the inexperienced in the Secretariat work. It also provided a pool to man leave vacancies. But it tended to encourage nepotism. Certain families monopolised these posts. Therefore, it limited the field of recruitment and consequently efficiency.

The Government of India proposed to retain the system of low paid probationer, but the Government of Assam was opposed to it because it led to totally unfit men without the requisite qualifications, training or aptitude, getting into the Secretariat service. Any half-educated youth who was on the spot was taken in and too often received a permanent appointment in the Secretariat.

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72. Ibid.
73. Home B.Misc.October 1882 No.201-203.
RECRUITMENT.

No. 489 of the Assam Executive Manual required that vacancies should be advertised. This rule was not followed invariably. Permanent vacancies need not be advertised in the Assam Gazette and newspapers. Temporary vacancies were not advertised.

The first appointments in the Secretariat were all temporary. In practice, recruitment for the Secretariat was made from a panel maintained in the Secretariat. This panel was prepared on the basis of recommendations made by the Commissioners of the Divisions and Deputy Commissioners of the districts. Candidates for Secretariat appointment could also register their names direct. But they had to apply whenever vacancies were advertised. When a vacancy became permanent it was not advertised. The clerks working in such vacancies were simply confirmed. Only seven permanent vacancies during the period 1916 to 1922 were advertised. There was reason for not advertising permanent vacancies. Under the existing rules, advertisement of all permanent vacancies was not obligatory. Persons working in temporary vacancies could be absorbed in permanent vacancies without advertisement.

To recruit qualified and able candidates for Secretariat Service, the usual practice was to request the Commissioners of Divisions to find out suitable candidates in their respective areas in consultation with the Deputy Commissioners of the districts and include them in the list to be submitted annually by them.

75. Appointment B. January 1922 No. 176-201.
76. Finance (Estab) December 1927 No. 992-1011.
77. Ibid.
The list was consulted by the Secretariat when vacancies occurred. The Deputy Commissioners were requested to furnish complete information of each candidate.

In 1921, the Commissioners of Divisions submitted a list to the Government. No action was taken on this list as there was no vacancy in the Secretariat. But the lists were retained in expectation that the Government would approve the Secretariat organization scheme so that it might recruit some outsiders for the Upper Division.

Since 1921, the Commissioners of Divisions prepared consolidated lists of candidates out of the lists furnished by the Deputy Commissioners and submitted them for clerkship in the Secretariat. The lists were no doubt consulted when appointments had to be made. Out of the 36 candidates recommended in 1921, only one from the Surma Valley and another from the Assam Valley were taken. It appeared scarcely worthwhile to trouble the Commissioners and the District officers to prepare long lists. They were therefore requested that only changes in the existing lists were to be communicated. The candidates were required to possess certain qualification educational, domicile and age. The minimum educational qualification was I.A. or I.Sc. and the candidates were to be domiciled in Assam and not more than 25 years of age, relaxable by five years in the case of those already in Government Service.

81. Finance B. April 1921 No. 55-59
84. Finance (Estub) B. December 1927. No. 992-1011.
Competitive examinations for clerkship in the Assam Secretariat were held from time to time and the successful candidates were kept on probation for two years. The examinations were not competitive in the real sense of the term. They were a preliminary test designed for elimination of the inferior candidates and therefore to lessen the number of candidates to be interviewed by the authorities. Therefore the result of the competitive examination was not the basis of selection of candidates for appointment.

The question of competitive examination for the Civil servants was discussed after 1919 and the Government was inclined towards selection as a method of recruitment subject to a qualifying test. This method would enable the Government to consider such factors as loyalty to the British Crown, character, tradition of service, family background.

Assam is extremely polyglot. The multiethnic character of Assam restricted the scope of full competitive test as a method of recruitment. The candidates could not be chosen by competitive test as a method of recruitment. The candidates could not be chosen by competitive examination because of the communal claims. The two valleys, Muslims and Hindus, the domiciled classes, Ahoms and finally Scheduled tribes and the Scheduled classes must get their fair share of appointments.

On the recommendation of Secretariat Procedure Committee 1919, a special staff Selection Board was created by the Government of India for the recruitment of the Central Secretariat staff. The selection was made by a qualifying examination and interview. No such formal Selection Board was

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85. Finance (Estab) B. December 1927 No. 992-1011
86. Appointment B. March 1930 No. 875.
appointed for the selection of the Assam Secretariat assistants. The competitive examination were held from time to time and the interviews were conducted by the Registrar under the order of the Chief Secretary.

The Assam Public Service Commission was created on 1 April 1937 with James Hazlett as its first Chairman.

The Public Service Commission was concerned with:

(i) Methods of recruitment and appointment.
(ii) Questions of promotions and transfer from one service to another.
(iii) Disciplinary cases.

The Assam Public Service Commission was consulted in respect of appointments to the Assam Secretariat service since 1937.

The recruitment to the Assam Secretariat cadre was made on the recommendations of the Public Service Commission which generally advertised vacancies. But it was not necessary to consult the Public Service Commission in respect of appointments to temporary post which were made for purposes connected with or arising out of war and had the concurrence of the Governor of Assam in his individual judgement.

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90. Finance (a) Audit B. June 1937 No. 29-29.
EDUCATIONAL QUALIFICATION.

The first organised attempt to prescribe educational qualifications for recruitment was made on December 20, 1882 when rules were published relating to the recruitment of clerks for all offices excepting that of the comptroller’s and the P.W.D. The rules were brought into force on April 1, 1883. What were the qualifications? A person eligible for promotion or appointment to clerkship on a salary of more than Rs. 40 a month must be able to read, write and speak both English and Assamese or Bengali unless certified by the appointing officers that such knowledge was not necessary.

Any person who held a certificate of having passed any university examination or Middle School Examination or Survey or Pleadership examination or having served as a paid clerk or registered apprentice for two years could be considered suitable for recruitment. He should pass a qualifying examination.

The examination was held in

(a) in English, reading, writing and speaking ... 30 marks.
(b) in Bengali or Assamese ... 30 marks.
(c) in Arithmetic ... 15 marks.
(d) in any two of the following, law, hand-writing or translation, Account keeping, Precis writing or Composition. ... 25 marks.

Additional marks up to 20 could be allowed to a son or grandson of a good retired or serving Government official, provided he had the requisite qualifications.

By Notification No. 82 dated March 24, 1885, the rules of 1882 were revised. The new rules came into effect from April 1, 1885. The rules provided that a candidate must have received a certificate of proficiency from a Government or Aided School. No one who had not at least studied in the First Class of a High School would be eligible for English clerkship and no one who had not at least passed the middle Vernacular Scholarship Examination could be considered for a vernacular clerkship. The system of examination was dispensed with.

The rules were amended in 1889. They required the candidates to produce a certificate of proficiency supported by marks obtained in each subject at the Test Examination from the Head Master of the school in which they studied.

In 1903, it was felt that education in Assam had made sufficient progress and that matriculates would be available for employment. It was decided to prescribe educational qualifications for admission to ministerial service as had been adopted in other provinces. In October 1903, it was declared that no person who had not passed the Entrance Examination of the Calcutta University or an examination of similar character could be appointed to a post carrying a salary of Rs. 30 a month or over without the previous sanction of the Chief Commissioner. In making promotions from amongst the ministerial staff in Government service, it was also decided to insist on educational qualifications.

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95. Home Proceedings November 1886.
98. Home Proceedings December 1903.
...188...

There were, however, no rules as such in the Assam Secretariat and there were no formally prescribed qualifications for it. It was only a convention to ask for high educational qualifications. When in the old Assam Secretariat, a system of paid apprenticeship was introduced, the educational qualifications prescribed for it were the passing of either of the F.A. or B.A. Examination.

Higher educational qualifications became the basis of higher salary in April 1903, by the order of the Chief Commissioner J. Bampfylde Fuller who insisted on the passing of the F.A. a condition for appointment on Rs. 60 or above and the passing of the B.A. a condition for appointment on Rs. 75 or over. Exceptions were however, permitted, on certain grounds.

Thus it became the accepted policy to recruit candidates who had better educational qualifications preferably graduates and undergraduates for Secretariat Service.

From 1912 onwards persons with better qualifications were recruited. But they were not the same for all communities. Bengalis of Sylhet were to be graduates; Intermediate was enough for the Assamese and Muslims and even matriculation only as special considerations for the Muslims in special cases.

103. Ibid.
During 1912-1919, the Assam Secretariat recruited 11 Graduates, and 7 I.As and 18 Matriculates.

The following figures show the educational qualifications of the Secretariat establishment in 1919 and the different regions and castes to which they belonged.

### Permanent Establishment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Matric or less</th>
<th>I.A. or more</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Assam Valley</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surma Valley</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hills</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>46</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>66 Plus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5 vacancies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High Caste Hindus</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brahma Samaj</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslim</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christian</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Armenists</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>46</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>66 Plus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5 vacancies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

106. Finance B. October 1919 No. 7.
In 1919, the total strength of the Assam Secretariat was 71. 46 of them were Matriculates or with less than that Examination. Most of these were taken from the old Eastern Bengal and Assam Secretariat and almost all the Khasi Typists and others of the Issue Department were under qualified.

It is regrettable that no educational qualification was laid down.

The Chief Commissioner Sir Nicholas Dodd Bantson-Bell ordered in 1919 that passing in Intermediate Arts or Science should be the minimum qualification except in the case of the hillmen, where matriculation was sufficient. It was made clear at the same time that this order did not prevent recruitment of any competent men irrespective of educational qualifications from a Muffassil office.

Rule 487 of the Assam Executive Manual was based on previous Government orders which insisted that matriculation should be the minimum qualification for recruitment for Government service. The orders on the subject were contained in para 487 of the Assam Executive Manual which originated from Sir Bampfylde Fuller's decisions. Since 1903, Assam had greatly advanced in education and the rise in pay sanctioned in 1920 (Rs. 60-3-0-4-130 for ordinary clerk) had removed much of the difficulties felt in old days in getting really qualified persons.

The P.W.D. Secretariat insisted on a Bachelor's degree. In almost all vacancies in 1915-1920 they recruited graduates. No standard had been however formally prescribed beyond that contained in para 487 of the Assam Executive Manual. There was an agreement on the question of raising the standard of educational qualification for appointment in both the civil and P.W.D. Secretariat. Except for the hillmen, no exception was made for any community. Experience showed that there was no dearth of qualified men from Muslim community. Subsequently rules were amended and it was laid down that except in the case of hillmen, no person who had not passed the I.A. or I.Sc. Examination of an Indian University should be eligible for permanent appointment as a correspondence clerk in the Secretariat Civil or P.W.D. For the hillmen the matriculation was the qualifying standard.

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110. Home A December 1903 No.1-5.
111. Note by Under Secretary P.W.D. F. Taylor dated 3-5-1920 Finance B. Sept. 1923 No. 782-800.
112. Note by Registrar M.K. Gupta dated 15-6-1923 Finance B. September 1923 No. 782-800.
113. Finance B. September 1923 No. 782-800.
Since 1921, this rule was enforced for permanent appointment in the
Secretariat in the case of veterans.

Even in 1927 there was no definite formal rules for Secretariat
service. The need was felt for such rules even though it was apprehended
that making of rules would mean an increase in the number of Sylhetis in
the Secretariat.

114. Government reply to Dalin Chandra Borth in the April Session of
Legislative Council in 1923. Finance B. December 1923 No. 782-800.

No. 1350-37.
Domicile was another consideration for Secretariat appointment.

In 1903, appointment to public services in Assam was restricted to residents and natives of Assam. The rule laying down a residential qualification for appointments in public service including secretariat service was contained in Rule 537 of the Assam Executive Manual. This rule was in substance based on Resolution No. 9890-915 dated 17th November 1903 which provided that, save with the previous sanction of the Chief Commissioner, appointments should be limited to the residents of Assam. It did not exclude persons who came to Assam and had made their home permanently in it. The rule restricted appointment to members of families of natives or domiciled in Assam.

It was by no means the Government's intention to treat as foreigners men who had come from outside and settled in Assam. A native of Assam must be taken to mean a person of whatever origin who had his permanent residence or owned lands or houses in Assam and would stay in Assam after superannuation.

A person who was not a native of Assam was deemed to be domiciled in the Province only when he had become the owner of a house or land in Assam and had already lived in that homestead for a period of ten years and intended to live there until he died. The Government made it clear

116. Appointment A May 1920 No. 25
117. Appointment A May 1920 No. 25
118. Home A February 1903 No. 37
119. Appointment B, December 1921 No. 759-761.
that in all advertisement or notices inviting applications for Government appointments, it should be stated that preference would be given to bona fide natives of Assam and domicile.

The Resolution No.3200-A dated 23rd April 1920 rule 307, page 10 of Assam Executive Manual and Rule 4(i) of Assam Civil Service Rules laid down the policy of Assam Government in regard to the domiciled community in Assam. The spread of education had rendered it unnecessary for the province to look beyond its own border for human material for its public services and the recruitment of these services from amongst those who belonged to Assam was thought expedient for giving effect to their birth right.

120. Appointment B.March 1933 No.929-950.
122. Circular No.2 A.P. dated December 9, 1933.
Even in 1894, the ministerial composition in the Assam Secretariat was Bengali with a few Assamese. There was only one Muslim, Musa Par Kasem and very few Khasis. It was however, felt that the Government patronage should be evenly distributed over all classes.

With the formation of the Province of Eastern Bengal and Assam in 1905, it became a definite policy of the Government to recruit some Muslims in the Secretariat. It was directed that in all offices, before making new appointments, officers must widely advertise vacancies. Muslim Associations, and other known Associations and educational officers should be informed so that they might put forward the names of suitable candidates from that community. In making selections from the lists of candidates thus prepared officers were required to make endeavour to recruit men from those classes in which their offices were deficient.

The number of Muslims in the Secretariat Service in 1907 was found to be negligible. It was therefore, decided that a serious efforts should be made to increase their number so as to bear a more reasonable proportion to the size of the community and to their ability and qualifications. But at the same time, the Government was conscious that it might affect the efficiency of the Secretariat and also a very poor gain to the Muslims if assistants were to be taken from that community only because they were Muslims though they were not duly qualified.

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124. Note by P.C. Lyan Chief Secretary dated 14th. November 1906 (Appointment A. April 1908 No. 1-32.)
126. Appointment A March 1908 Marked Volume.
In 1914, the Assam Secretariat establishment was composed of Hindus:- 43, Muslims:- 5, Khasis:- 10, others :- 8. Total — 66. In the P.W.D. Secretariat out of total 22 posts, Hindus were 15, Muslims 2, Khasis 3, and others 2.

In 1914, equitable communal representation in the Government service became the accepted policy, as stated in the circular No. 4A of 1914, dated 13th March 1914.

The Government’s intention was that all officers should consider which of the communities had less representation than that to which their number would entitle them and should, if qualified candidates were available, endeavour to give appointments to members of those communities.

It was a fact that there were more Bengali Hindus than Assamese or Muslims in the Secretariat. This was due to the fact since 1912, the Establishment of the Secretariat had assistants who had come from the former province of Eastern Bengal and Assam. It was not possible to dismiss them simply to make way for men of other communities. Every effort, however, had been made in accordance with the principle enunciated in the circular to secure a more even representation of each community in Assam. The following figures would show the progress in this direction.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Civil Secretariat 1912</th>
<th>Civil Secretariat 1917</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Permanent</td>
<td>Permanent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>66</strong></td>
<td><strong>73</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temporary</td>
<td>Temporary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>0</strong></td>
<td><strong>12</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>European or Anglo-Indian</td>
<td>European or Anglo-Indian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Permanent</td>
<td>Permanent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>3</strong></td>
<td><strong>5</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temporary</td>
<td>Temporary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>0</strong></td>
<td><strong>0</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1912</td>
<td>1917</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bengalis of Sylhet</td>
<td>Bengalis of Sylhet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Permanent</td>
<td>Permanent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>21</strong></td>
<td><strong>24</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temporary</td>
<td>Temporary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>0</strong></td>
<td><strong>4</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assamese other than Ahom</td>
<td>Assamese other than Ahom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Permanent</td>
<td>Permanent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>9</strong></td>
<td><strong>12</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temporary</td>
<td>Temporary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>3</strong></td>
<td><strong>3</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahom</td>
<td>Ahom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1</strong></td>
<td><strong>12</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslim from Surma Valley</td>
<td>Muslim from Surma Valley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2</strong></td>
<td><strong>2</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslim of Assam Valley</td>
<td>Muslim of Assam Valley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>3</strong></td>
<td><strong>4</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khasis</td>
<td>Khasis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>9</strong></td>
<td><strong>13</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Domicled</td>
<td>Non-domicled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bengalis</td>
<td>Bengalis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>16</strong></td>
<td><strong>12</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>Others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2</strong></td>
<td><strong>0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It appears that the Assam Government's Communal Table was based on distinction of race or nationality except in the case of Muslims. The Communities recognised for proportionate representation in appointments were (i) Assamese (ii) Muslims (iii) Bengali Hindus of Sylhet and Cachar (iv) Ahaps (v) Khasis (vi) Domiciled Bengali other than those of Sylhet and Cachar. The direct object of Assam Government's orders was to secure that these communities received the minimum number of appointments, calculated on the basis of their populations provided qualified candidates were available.

131. Appointment A July 1913 No.19421.
Appointment A September 1927 No.24-26.
In 1922, this was reflected in the following figures:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>No. of Appointment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>European and Anglo-Indian</td>
<td>2,667</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assamese other than Ahoms and Muslims</td>
<td>13,13,451</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>17.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bengalis of Sylhet and Cashar</td>
<td>10,43,362</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>14.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahoms</td>
<td>1,97,444</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslims</td>
<td>18,86,528</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>24.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khasis including Syntung</td>
<td>1,91,078</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other than Bengalis of Sylhet and Cashar</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

88 Vacancies.

134. Appointment B. January 1923 No. 176-201.
### Secretariat Employment 1922

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community</th>
<th>Number of Appointments to which Entitled in Terms of Population</th>
<th>Number of Appointments Actually Held</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bengali Hindus</td>
<td>14.8</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assamese Hindus</td>
<td>17.6</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahoms</td>
<td>2.64</td>
<td>Nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khasis</td>
<td>2.64</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muhammadans</td>
<td>24.64</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As the Muslims had been under represented the Government took steps to secure further representation from them where ever possible and as a consequence their number in the Assam Secretariat increased from 6 in 1916 to 12 in 1922.

The numerical strength of a Community in the Province is not, however, the sole consideration and should not by itself confer a claim to appointments. It is necessary that suitable candidates should be forthcoming. This difficulty persisted in respect of Muslims. Qualified Muslims candidates were not easily available. This difficulty tended to remedy itself with the spread of education. Qualified candidates from the minority communities were available in sufficient numbers in 1923.

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135. Finance A. August 1918 Marked Volume Page 152.
The following statement gives the particulars regarding appointment of Muslims.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total No.</th>
<th>Ho. of vacant</th>
<th>Ho. of appointmnt.</th>
<th>Ho. actually appointed to which Muslims entitled proportionately to the population.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1915-16</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>NIL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916-17</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1917-18</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1918-19</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1919-20</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920-21</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921-22</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Muslim figures generally increased and for this purpose a comparison between figures of 1915-16 and 1921-22 should do.

All communities except the Bengalis of Sylhet and Cachar, Assamese and Muslims were small, but none of them were formerly recognised or termed as minority communities in Assam. The Government of Assam did not recognise, till the Government of India Act of 1935, any caste subdivisions of the Hindus for the purpose of separate representation in the Government Services.

137. Appointment B. January 1923 No. 176-201.
ASSAMESE ELEMENT IN THE SECRETARIAT.

The orders contained in the Assam Administration Resolution of the 17th November 1903 regarding the residents of Assam had, in general, been observed. In Departments, in which the recruitment was provincial and not local, it was not possible to reserve special vacancies for the Assamese, but in those departments due attention had, in general been paid to the recruitment of fair proportion of them.

In the Eastern Bengal and Assam Secretariat, it was very difficult to get Assamese clerks to go to Dacca and still greater difficulty in keeping them after they had joined the Secretariat and they often tried to get appointment in the Assam Valley. The Secretariat therefore, hardly got an I.A. passed Assamese on Rs. 50 per month and even if one was available, he would leave the Secretariat in no time.

In 1893, out of the total of 55 assistants in the Assam Secretariat only 7 were natives of the Assam Valley. Of them 1 had passed the Entrance and 2 F.A. Examination. Of the Bengalis 10 had passed the Entrance and 1 the F.A., 1 was a B.A. and 1 was a B.L. Of the natives of Sylhet, a Bengali speaking district of Assam, 4 had passed the Entrance examination, 4 F.A. 1 was a B.A. and one was an M.A.

In the P.W.D. Secretariat only 5 were Assamese out of total number of 16 Assistants. Of the Assamese 1 had passed the Entrance, of the Bengalis 3 had passed the Entrance. Of the 'Others' one had passed the Entrance.

138. Appointment B. October 1911 No. 129.
139. Appointment B. October 1911 No. 128-130.
140. Finance B. September 1913. No. 358-376.
141. Home Proceeding July 1894.
Grand Total Of The Whole Province.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total Strength</th>
<th>1,091</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Assamese</td>
<td>422</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bengalis other than</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sylhetics</td>
<td>298</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sylhetics</td>
<td>321</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natives of Cachar</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Bengali Speaking</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>district of Assam)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assamese B.A.</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.A.</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entrance Examina-</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>tion</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bengalis other</td>
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<tr>
<td>than Sylhetics</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.L.</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.A.</td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>F.A.</td>
<td>285</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entrance</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Sylhetics B.A.</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>M.A.</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.A.</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entrance</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natives of Cachar</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entrance</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the Assam Valley itself a very large number of posts were held by the non-Assamese. Although the Government had an abundant desire to recruit Assamese in preference to the others, the Assamese were reluctant to leave their native Valley for service in Shillong. They were as a rule happier and better off in their own native districts and while they had in their own areas field of Government employment it hardly seemed necessary for them to go elsewhere.

142. Note by B.C. Allen officiating Secretary dated 24th January 1911. Appointment B. October 1911 No. 128-130.
The following statement will show the total number of ministerial appointment in the Civil and P.W.D. Secretariats of the Province of Eastern Bengal and Assam in 1910-11 and the number thereof held by Assamese.

**Civil Secretariat.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Department</th>
<th>Total No. of Appointments</th>
<th>Number of Appointments held by Assam.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chief Secretary's Dept.</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finance and Municipal Deptt.</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Revenue and General Dept.</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.W.D.Secretariat</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appointments Total</td>
<td>173</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Clerks in the Secretariat and how they were distributed community wise in 1915.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Department</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Bengalis</th>
<th>Guriasion</th>
<th>Assamese</th>
<th>Khasi</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appointment</td>
<td></td>
<td>(Bengalis)(Sylhet)(Assamese)(Khasi)</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Department</td>
<td>Department</td>
<td>Municipal</td>
<td>Revenue</td>
<td>Finance</td>
<td>Recording</td>
<td>Record</td>
</tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Department</td>
<td>Municipal</td>
<td>Revenue</td>
<td>Finance</td>
<td>Recording</td>
<td>Record</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

143. Appointment B. October 1911 No. 128-130.
144. Finance B. July 1915 No. 315.
145. Ibid.

Of the 26 posts in 1915, 2 were Assamese and 6 from Sylhet and the rest were Bengalis, Manipuris and Up Country men.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Division</th>
<th>Assamese</th>
<th>Khasi</th>
<th>Bengalis</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Eurasian</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Appointment</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Municipal</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Revenue</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finance</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Record</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recording</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Issue</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td><strong>13</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In 1915, the Record Room staff consisted of 3 Bengalis, 4 Assamese and 2 Khasis and the Issue Branch had 2 Bengalis, 1 Assamese and 5 Khasis. The Recording Section had 3 Bengalis, 1 European, 1 Assamese and 1 Khasi.

There was in 1915, only one Assamese clerk, U. Rahman in the Upper Division of the Secretariat. It was an exception to find competent Assamese clerks in the Lower Grades. It was an accepted principle that promotion to the Upper Division should be on merit.

The main point is that there were not sufficient members of Assamese clerks in the Secretariat. The Assam Administration was not responsible for this. The office as it stood in 1915, was transferred wholesale from Dacca to Shillong after the reformation of the province of Assam in 1912.

There were altogether 68 clerks in the Assam Secretariat of which the number of Assamese and Khasis was very small.

The following statements show the Assamese element in the Secretariats Civil as well as P.W. D.

### CIVIL SECRETARIAT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Permanent</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Assamese</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bengalis</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khasis</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Temporary</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Assamese</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bengalis</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khasis</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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146. Ibid.
147. Ibid.
148. Ibid.
In 1934, the Government of India recommended the reservation of a certain percentage of direct appointments to redress communal inequalities. The Assam Government already fixed the percentage of appointments to which the Assamese were entitled on population basis. No provincial Government services were exclusively reserved for the natives or domiciled people in Assam. But no appointment was ordinarily given to a man who was not a native of or domiciled in Assam. Special care was taken by the Assam Government to give Government jobs including Secretariat appointments to the children of the soil provided they possessed the necessary qualifications.

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151. Assam Govt. circular No. 2 A.P. dated December 9, 1933.
With the approval of the Secretary of State for India, the Government of India announced the grant of certain concessions in respect of age and seniority and preferential treatment in Civil appointment to those who had rendered war services. Persons already in Government service were assured that their appointments would be reserved for them without any loss of lien or seniority. In the case of persons not in Government service, the Government gave no pledge or promise of subsequent civil employment. But Circular 8A dated 7th September 1918 promised help to the Veterans.

The Government of Assam did not prescribe any hard and fast rules so far as educational qualification was concerned for the Veterans but allowed them a limited degree of concession. For example, a candidate with war service who could show that he had completed the Matriculation course was eligible for appointment for which the prescribed minimum qualification was passing of Matriculation. But this was subject to the qualification that there must be no injustice to the claims of persons already in Government service who had no opportunity to render military service. These orders did not affect the standing instructions regarding the preferential claims to appointment of natives of Assam nor the claims of Muslims to a definite share of appointments.

The assurance to war candidates was to a great extent fulfilled. But few of those who had returned were qualified for superior clerical employment and the terms of the inferior service under the Government did not appear to attract them.

152 Resolution No. 1099 dated 8th/21st August 1919, Govt. of India.
153 Finance B June 1919 marked Volume Page 45.
154 Appointment A December 1919 Marked Volume.
155 Finance A June 1919 Marked Volume Page 45
Four temporary typists from the Assam Secretariat were allowed to go on military service. They retained their lien and seniority under the order of the Government.

In 1920, there were 5 vacancies reserved for veterans. They were given preferences in respect of permanent post and confirmation. The Government confirmed a good many war candidates of little or no education as assistants in the Assam Secretariat. Two such assistants were on Rs. 60-130. With a view to get routine assistants on reduced scale of pay, four of the vacant posts were converted into posts on Rs. 30-2-50.

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Probation, Confirmation and Promotion.

Usually the ministerial recruits to the Secretariat service were on probation for 2 years before being confirmed at the lowest scale of the Lower Division assistant. Promotion from that grade depended on merit, length of service and the existence of vacancies in the higher grade. There was no rule fixing any period of probation for officers, but it had been the convention in the Secretariat that it was about six months.

For the promotion within the Lower Division, the quality of performance was taken into account. The principle was laid down in paragraph 62 of the Report of Ministerial officers' Committee. If the work was below 'ordinary good and honest' efforts promotion was stopped until the requisite standard was attained.

Promotion to a grade above Rs. 100 was by selection and an undeserving assistant could not hope for it. The promotion in the lower grades was usually by seniority.

Communal and regional factors were taken into account in the matter of confirmation and promotion. The Registrar recommended in 1922 for confirmation in the Lower Division four vacancies, 1 Sylhet Bengali Hindu, 1 Assamese Hindu and 2 Muslims. The Government accepted the recommendations. Long temporary service did not entitle the assistants to be confirmed. The Secretariat assistants knew that the Registrar would not recommend their confirmation unless they proved their worth by their work.

158. Finance (Estab) December 1927 No. 992-1011.
159. Home Appointment March 1938 No. 177.
162. Ibid.
163. Finance Estab. B. September 1922 No. 71-76.
A Bengal Government order of 1861 provided for the maintenance of a character-book quite distinct from the service book. The Government of India had also referred to the character-book. Under Rule 119, page 24 of Secretariat office, one was kept in the Assam Secretariat.

The entries in the character Rolls indicated notably good or bad work done by the Assistants, in the latter case, adverse remark in the Rolls replaced punishment by fining which the Government wanted to discourage. The character rolls were kept as a part of the service book and the two records were kept together in charge of the Registrar of the Secretariat.

As the Secretariat ministerial establishment was an amalgamated one, vacancies occurring in it were not considered department-wise. The Secretariat was one whole unit for this purpose and the claims of all senior temporary assistants were considered subject to qualifications and to the claims created by war service or consideration of communal representation. All vacancies in the Secretariat were filled on this principle.

171. Ibid.
SPECIAL APPOINTMENTS.

In the grading of assistants specially in the Upper Divisions two posts were treated on special considerations on account of the peculiar nature of their duties.

(i) Confidential clerk:

The Government sanctioned in 1928 the conversion of one of the Upper Division posts on Rs.150-8-190-10-250 included in the ministerial establishment of the Assam Secretariat into a special post outside the General Cadre on a time scale pay of Rs.150-10-250-15-400. It was to be held by the Assistant in charge of the Confidential Section of the Secretariat. He was directly attached to the Chief Secretary.

(ii) Bill Clerk.

Since the formation of the province of Eastern Bengal and Assam, assistants seldom got their pay on the first of the month and arrear salaries were allowed to accumulate for months together. With the separation and formation of Secretariat Departments it was no longer necessary for the pay bills of the whole Secretariat to be drawn in the Financial Department. Separation, it was felt, would afford relief to the Cashier of the Secretariat. The preparation, cashing etc. of bills would take, no doubt the whole time of the Bill clerk. But it would remove the serious inconveniences.

172. Finance (a) B. March 1930 No. 835-840.
173. Deposit A. September 1908. No. 28.
It was decided therefore that separate acquittance rolls would be prepared for the Chief Secretary's and Judicial Secretary's Departments by the Bill Clerk, but the actual drawing of the bills for the Departments and their distribution would be the charge of one assistant in each Department.

The Registrar was made responsible in this respect. From September 1910, there were 5 bills prepared for the Secretariat Establishment (i) General list (ii) Appointment Department (iii) General Department (iv) Financial Department and (v) Secretariat Hill Establishment.

The Bill clerk with his responsibilities in money matters was in the A Grade in the Upper Division as it was considered that he should have a rate of pay as would place him above temptation. There were orders that the Finance Department having special experience should keep control over the bills.

174. Ibid.
175. Finance B. July 1911 No.111-128.
176. Deposit A September 1908 No.28.
TEMPORARY CLERKS.

Excluding the men against permanent vacancies the Assam Secretariat had in 1937 between 10 to 12 clerks always employed against purely leave vacancies. The existence of temporary men with years of service in the Secretariat was not in the interest of discipline. Further any candidate who was on the spot was taken irrespective of qualifications and too often such incumbents ultimately received permanent appointments. This was responsible for inefficiency. Again, a temporary post was from its very definition in the Fundamental Rules, a definite post created for a definite time for a definite purpose. The yearly extension of temporary posts year after year was illogical and irregular. It created a sense of insecurity in them.

In theory temporary appointments were always to be made with due regard to communal representation and the most efficient candidates locally available were to be selected. But in practice advertisements in papers, Gazette and by notices in the districts were of no use as by the time this was done the temporary appointment would cease to exist. Because of communal representation, Muslim and Assamese temporary clerks were given preference and were confirmed in permanent vacancies. This accounted for the large number of Bengali Hindus in the temporary list. There was no provision of leave vacancies in the Assam Secretariat. Temporary men were entertained against such leave vacancies under orders passed about 1915.

177. Finance A July 1912 No. 1-3.
178. Note by the Registrar M.K. Gupta dated 1.2.27. Finance B. September 1927. No. 836.
Some of the temporary assistants practically constituted a kind of leave reserve. They were employed against leave vacancies. This was unsatisfactory. There should have been a regular leave reserve included in the office establishment itself or probationers to act in leave vacancies.

After the Secretariat reorganization in 1927 the Government sanctioned the creation of a leave Reserve at 10 percent of the Secretariat ministerial strength, excluding the Stenographers. The 9 new posts so created formed a part of the General Cadre of the Secretariat with effect from 1 August 1927.

Some of the Temporary assistants were confirmed on the ground of their long and continued service and good work.

In the Assam Secretariat the assistants generally began service at the lowest possible scale. Since 1893, in Assam, a clerk was taken directly to what was known as the Upper Division or on higher pay. The direct appointment of outsiders to the Upper Division appointments, although provided for in the Government orders was not generally made.

The temporary appointees in the Assam Secretariat were not entitled to any special privileges in the matter of leave and increments, which however, accrued to the temporary assistants serving the Comptroller's office at Shillong. The temporary assistants in the office of the Comptroller automatically became entitled to an increment of Rs. 6 on completion of one year's continuous service irrespective of whether they were entertained against leave or permanent vacancies.

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160. Finance B. September 1927 No. 836.
161. Ibid.
164. Finance B. September 1927 No. 1553-1572.
Leave was freely given and lien retained in the case of temporary appointments, but without pay or on such pay as could be given after the paying the substitute. The Assam Government restricted the initial pay to the minimum of the scale at the time of confirmation of temporary or officiating Government servants.

The orders deeming the counting of temporary or officiating services towards increments were passed and put in operation with a view to effect all round economy when the financial condition of the Government was not sound. But its continuance even in 1926-1927, when the state of provincial finances had considerably improved, involved an annual recurring loss to temporary assistants with long temporary or officiating service to their credit so far as the usual annual increments were concerned.

According to Assam Government's orders, officiating services previous to 1 October 1925, did not count in calculating the initial pay; assistants therefore suffered loss in money and service by the non-recognition of their officiating service previous to October 1925. The Fundamental Rule 32 was quite clear. Under this rule, temporary or officiating members of the office were entitled to draw increments of pay as they fell due even before they were confirmed. So the Assam Government ultimately agreed to admit the officiating services for increment of pay. The restriction regarding the counting of temporary service in a temporary post having similar duties and

185. Finance B. September 1927 No. 1553-1572.
187. Finance B. September 1927 No. 2063-2064.
188. Finance B. September 1927 No. 2063-2064.
the same rate of pay as the permanent post was removed with effect from 189
18 March 1930.

Promotion to Executive Post.

In exercise of the powers conferred by Rule 3 and 4 of the Civil Services (Governor's Province) Delegation Rules, 1926, promulgated by the Government of India in the Home Department Notification No. F-178/9/II/24 dated 1 April 1926 the Governor of Assam made rules regulating the method of recruitment, conditions of service, pay, pension, allowances of the Assam Civil Service. The appointments to the Assam Civil Service were made prior to the Government of India Act 1935, by the Governor in Council, after consulting a permanent selection board consisting of two Commissioners and four non-official members nominated by the Governor. Appointments were made from time to time by the Governor in Council by promotion from Assam Junior Civil Service and other Government services. Although Rule 3 and 4, Assam Civil Service and Assam Junior Service Rules allowed promotion to these services from all Government services, promotion to the Assam Civil Service was, however, ordinarily restricted as a matter of practice to subordinate Deputy Collectors.

The Governor Sir Egbert Laurie Lucas Hammond and his predecessors in office had expressed themselves against promoting elderly ministerial officers to the Assam Civil Service, though there was no order barring it.

189. Finance (Audit) B. March 1932 No. 718-721.
190. Appointment B. June 1930 No. 300-301.
As regards promotion to Assam Junior Civil Service, the Government issued instructions to the Commissioners and Heads of Departments to submit recommendations for such promotions whenever they wanted to make any, but those orders were not circulated in respect of Secretariat ministerial officers.

Assam Secretariat Ministerial Officers Association had repeatedly passed resolutions asking for the reservation of a percentage of the total number of appointments for promotion from the Assam Secretariat Service to the Assam Civil Service cadre (Senior and Junior).

It was recognised that it was possible though not probable that there might be a ministerial officer whom it might be useful to promote to work as Subordinate Deputy Collectors. The Heads of the Departments were told that they might send up names of officers whom they could recommend for promotions. The deserving assistants of the Assam Secretariat should have similar outlets and promotions at least to the Assam Junior Civil Service.

With a view to attract better educated persons to the Ministerial staff of the Secretariat and to offer them incentive for meritorious work suggestion was made to recruit one of the Under Secretaries if a deserving person was available for the Assam Civil Service. Such an officer would be more economical than a senior Extra Assistant Commissioner and might often be more efficient because of his knowledge of the Secretariat work.

193. Appointment B. June 1930 No. 300-301.
194. Resolution passed on 11th March 1930 by Assam Secretariat Ministerial Officers Association. Held at Quinton Memorial Hall, Shillong.
195. Note by the Governor of Assam Laurio Lucas Hammond dated 29.4.1930 (Appointment B. June 1930 No. 300-301).
It is true that nobody has a claim to a post on the ground of seniority alone. Merit, personality, initiative and working efficiency should also be considered for promotion to higher responsibility.

The Secretariat Service did not provide adequate opportunities for promotions as in other services under the Government. Just as promotions were made from the Subordinate to the Provincial Executive Services, Assistants of the Secretariat should have been made eligible for similar promotion. In the past such promotions were given and had proved eminently successful. Chandra Nath Nandi, Jogesh Chandra Chatterjee, Sarvananda Das, Satyan Charan Das, Abhaya Sankar Guha, Dina Nath Das and Radha Kanta Handique adorned the Provincial Executive Service with credit to themselves and to the Assam Secretariat to which they once belonged. On their efficiency and devotion to duty depended to a great extent the success of British administration in Eastern India.

The Ministerial staff of Assam was divided under three categories.

(i) District level staff.
(ii) Ministerial staff in the offices of Heads of Departments at Shillong.
(iii) Secretariat Ministerial staff.

It had been argued that as ministerial staff performed similar functions, they should be grouped in one category; the Shillong ministerial officers' Association demanded equalisation of pay on the ground that the nature of work and responsibility of the clerks in all offices whether it was in the

the Heads of Department, district offices or the Secretariat were, to all intents and purposes, the same. We cannot agree with this contention.

The standard of work done in the Secretariat was higher than that of other officers under the Assam Government. In view of its high standard of work and responsibility compared with offices of the Heads of Departments, it had better scales of pay. Also, since the constitution of Assam Public Service Commission, the recruitment to the Secretariat Service had always been through the Public Service Commission by competition.

Further, the nature of work was not similar. The Secretariat was responsible for the initiation of proposals for their examination from the broader point of view. Therefore, it must be admitted that the nature of work of the Assistants was more responsible than that of the Heads of Departments. Therefore payment of a higher salary to the Secretariat staff was justifiable.

Nowhere in India it would be found that the Secretariat assistants and assistants of the offices of the Heads of Departments had equal scales of pay. The higher scales of pay for the Secretariat assistants were always recommended in consideration of the more responsible and higher standard of work by the Secretariat assistants.

SUPERANNUATION AND LEAVE.

Under Article 459 of the Civil Service Regulations, Assam Government had the power to require an officer to retire at the age of 55, but reasons for enforcing the rule were required to be recorded but not communicated to the officer concerned. It was further enjoined that the rule was to be enforced.

198. Meeting of the Shillong Ministerial Officers Association held on 18th and 19th March 1939.
199. Finance (a) Audit B. June 1940 No. 721-729.
with discretion in order to avoid depriving the Government of the experience of really efficient officers.

The rule did not cause any administrative inconvenience, either by embarrassing the Government in cases in which it was desired to retire an officer at 55, or by causing blocks in promotion or in any way in the Secretariat. Extension, whenever necessary was given in cases of all categories of officers in the Secretariat.

The total amount of casual leave allowed during a year to an assistant in the Secretariat for any reason except sickness was limited to ten days which could be exceeded by the Secretary's special sanction. In the case of absence from office for periods not exceeding ten days at a time on account of sickness, the total amount of casual leave to be allowed during the year including casual leave for reasons other than sickness might be extended to twenty-one days. In addition the assistant were entitled to other regular leave such as privilege leave, furlough or leave on medical certificate. The combination of casual leave with any other kind of leave was not allowed. It was also laid down that Gazetted holidays falling within or in continuation of usual leaves were to be treated as leave and not holidays.

201. Assam Secretariat Proceedings Finance A December 1915 Marked Volume.
202. Letter No. 6382 F dated 22 October 1915 from A.W. Botham Second Secretary Assam to the Govt. of India, Finance Deptt.
LIMITATIONS TO RECRUITMENT

The regulations made by the Civil service Commission under the Orders-in-Council dated 22 July 1920 laid down that all posts in the Civil Services in India to which appointments were made in the U.K. other than those posts for which women might be specially recruited, were reserved to men.

The policy of the Government of India was that while women should not be employed in services which involved service in the field or which called for considerable power of physical endurance for example Forest Service, there was no reason why women should not be employed in suitable posts in other departments such as Education and research posts. In pursuance of this policy, the Government of India selected in 1934 a woman to carry out research on the genetics of sugar cane.

The Provincial Governments were required under Section 275 of the Government of India Act 1935 to specify the services and posts under them to which persons would not be disqualified for being appointed by reasons of their sex.

In Assam there were no statutory prohibition and no specific Government orders on the subject. Yet women were not employed in certain fields. The Indian Education service was organised into two branches—men and women's branches; but this was not the case in the Provincial and subordinate
Educational Services. Lady Sub-Assistant Surgeons were not however included in the Cadre of Assam Medical Service (Junior).

In November 1918, one Miss Roy a Khesi Lady was appointed as a temporary Typist in the Secretariat in connection with the work of Labour Corps, Recruitment and Publicity Bureau. She was the first woman to work in the Assam Secretariat. But her service was dispensed with, with effect from 16th March 1919 as the work in connection with Labour Corps etc. considerably diminished.

The second woman to work in the Assam Secretariat was Mrs. Scott, wife of the Finance Member W. L. Scott of the Governor's Executive Council, 1935. She was for a time Assistant Secretary under the Chief Secretary but the papers about her appointment had been destroyed.

There was no restriction on the appointment of women in the Secretariat at any time.

206 Appointment B. September 1936 No. 175-198.
208 Appointment B. September 1936 No. 175-198.
UNIONISM IN SERVICE.

Union in Public Service was absent for a long time because trade unionism in it was frowned upon by the authorities. While individual representation for the improvement of his service condition was permitted, collective action was deliberately discouraged. Till 1920, there was no unionism in public services.

The first service association organised in Assam was the Assam Branch of the Indian Civil Service Association established in 1921 immediately after the introduction of Reforms of 1919. The interests of the I.C.S. officers were affected by Reforms. To protest their interests, the I.C.S. officers formed an association of their own.

The Assam Branch of the Indian Civil Service Association tried to keep its grip over the Assam Secretariat by receiving all the officers' posts to the I.C.S. The post of the Under Secretary in the Departments under the Chief Secretary was not statutorily reserved for the I.C.S. Cadre in 1930 though it was actually filled by the I.C.S. Officers in succession on the ground of the nature of the political duties involved. Sir William Morris, the Governor in 1927 declined to throw the post of Under Secretary in the Department under the Chief Secretary to the Provincial Civil Service.

When Sir Laurie Lucas Hammond, the Governor of Assam issued order confirming Siddewar Gohain of the Assam Civil Service as an Under Secretary in the Departments under the Chief Secretary in 1931, the Honorary Secretary of the Assam Branch of the Indian Civil Service Association, C.S. Mullan, immediately protested against it.

210 Ibid.
211 Appointment B. September 1931 No. 42-45
212 Appointment B. September 1927 No. 402-406.
213 Appointment B. September 1931 No. 42-45.
The Assam Civil Service Association was formed in 1922. The Assam Secretariat Ministerial Association was organised next year and recognised in 1927, by the Assam Government. The Shillong Ministerial Officers Association was recognised in 1926.

The membership of the Assam Secretariat Ministerial officers was confined to the non-gazetted ministerial staff generally. It was essentially an economic movement. According to the terms and conditions of its recognition by the Assam Government, and under the rules in force then, the activities and functions of Ministerial Officers Association were limited to the sphere of development of its members condition of service, avenues of prospects, safeguard of rights and privileges, improvement of living and working conditions.

The first Session of the Assam Secretariat Ministerial officers Conference was held on the 28 June 1928 in the Quinton Memorial Hall, Shillong under the Presidency of Promode Chandra Datta, formerly Executive Councillor and Minister of the Assam Government. Sasi Bhushan Barna was the Secretary of the Association.

The second session was held on 17 June 1929 under the Presidency of Kailash Chandra Das who was formerly an assistant in the old Assam Secretariat but later rose to the position of Assistant Secretary to the Government of Bihar and Orissa. Jatindra Chandra Choudhuri was the Secretary of the

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Association. Dinesh Chandra Das was the Chairman for the first two terms of
the Association. The Managing Committee for 1929-30 had Surendra Chandra Datta,
late Assistant Secretary to the Assam Government, as its Chairman. Kamini Kumar
Gupta was the Assistant Secretary. During the years from 1932 to 1943 the
Association achieved considerable result towards the welfare of its members
by way of security of service emoluments and other allowances including free
ration during the war years.

The need for the formation of a Association for the menials officers
in Shillong was felt in 1928. On 29 November 1928, Fagunram Das Kalita, Prasanna
Kumar Das, Hoghuram Kalita, Kusul Ram Kalita, Debendra N. Deb, Uday Ch. Sen, Mathura
Nath Das, Shagaban Lal and Rajani Kanta Das of various Government offices in
Shillong prayed to the Chief Secretary G. E. Soames for permission to form an
Association. The principal objects of the Association were (a) To safeguard
the rights and interest of the Duftaries, Chaprasis and Jamaders (b) To promote
harmony among them (c) To facilitate moral, material and social progress of
its superiors by a strict conscientious and loyal discharge of duties (e) To
encourage and if funds permitted, to provide means for the proper education
and upkeep of the children of its members (g) The Association was secular
and non-political.

The above objects were proposed to be gained in the following manner:-
(a) by enlisting the support and sympathy of the Government (b) by respect­
fully representing to proper authorities the grievances and claims of its
members (c) by periodical meetings of the members of the Association.

(d) and by such other constitutional means as were essential or conducive to the elevation of the status of the members of the Association.

The Assam Government granted recognition to the Khasi and Jaintia Hills Dufttries and Chaprais Association. The Association was required to address the Assistant Secretary to the Government in the Finance Department through the Registrar of the Assam Secretariat.

The Government Rules did not prohibit the formation of any Association for lawful purposes by its servants. The Surma Valley Peons Union was also recognised by the Government. There was an apprehension that an Association of the Peons at the Head quarters of the Government would be a source of constant trouble, for it would open the way to menials always coming up to Government for increase of their pay. But in view of the precedent and as well as the fact that in Bengal there were similar Associations the Government could not refuse recognition. It was however apprehended that it might be exploited by political parties. So Government prohibited the election of outsiders to the Executive Committee of the menial servants Association.

We have so far reviewed personnel administration in the Civil Secretariat. What are our conclusion? First, the Assam Secretariat by and large recruited efficient men and women. There was no large scale favouritism and nepotism.

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220. Letter No. 5045 F on 15.7.1929.
There was no pillaging and plundering of the public treasury by the payment of liberal salaries. Second, the scales of pay were reasonably sound. They were reviewed from time to time when the purchasing power of rupee declined. Third, opportunities for promotion were not adequate. Several who entered the Secretariat as an assistant did not reach the top - Registrar. Finally, the conditions of service were reasonable in the context of social conditions then prevailing.