

Wednesday, 16th February, 1927

**THE
COUNCIL OF STATE DEBATES**

VOLUME I, 1927

(8th February 1927 to 29th March 1927)

**THIRD SESSION
OF THE
SECOND COUNCIL OF STATE, 1927**



CALCUTTA : GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
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CONTENTS.

	Pages.
Tuesday, 8th February, 1927—	
Members Sworn	1
Messages from His Excellency the Governor General	2
Committee on Petitions	2
Questions and Answers	3-20
Bills passed by the Legislative Assembly laid on the Table	20
Message from the Legislative Assembly	20
Governor General's Assent to Bills	21
Agreement between the United Kingdom and Estonia <i>re</i> Tonnage Measurement of Merchant Ships	21
Report of the Committee appointed to inquire into the privileges and status of Members of the Council of State	21
Congratulations to the Honourable Sir John Bell	22
Provident Funds (Amendment) Bill—Introduced	22-23
Bengal Tenancy (Amendment) Bill—Introduced	23
Madras Salt (Amendment) Bill—Introduced	23
Statement of Business	23-24
Wednesday, 9th February, 1927—	
Member Sworn	25
Questions and Answers	25-26
Resolution <i>re</i> Prohibition of alcoholic liquors in Local Administrations under the direct control of the Gov- ernment of India—Adopted as amended	26-49
Resolution <i>re</i> Formation of a Central Road Development Fund—Adopted as amended	49-59
Resolution <i>re</i> Abstention of Official Members from Voting on Non-Official Bills and Resolutions—Negatived	59-73
Resolution <i>re</i> Separation of the Post and Telegraph Depart- ments—Negatived	73-77
Resolution <i>re</i> Reduction of Railway Fares for Third Class Passengers—Negatived	77-80
Friday, 11th February, 1927—	
Member Sworn	81
Indian Lighthouse Bill—Introduced	81
Bengal Tenancy (Amendment) Bill—Passed	81-82
Provident Funds (Amendment) Bill—Passed	82-83
Indian Limitation (Amendment) Bill—Passed	84-87
Indian Registration (Amendment) Bill—Passed	87
Madras Salt (Amendment) Bill—Passed	88-89

	Pages.
Monday, 14th February, 1927—	
Questions and Answers	91-97
Resolution <i>re</i> Appointment of High Court Vakils as permanent Chief Justices of High Courts—Withdrawn by leave of the Council	97-102
Resolution <i>re</i> Transfer of the Poona District Headquarters from Poona to Secunderabad—Negatived	102-106
Resolution <i>re</i> Reduction of Postal Rates—Discussion Adjourned	105-111
Resolution <i>re</i> Amendment of the Indian Income-tax Act—Adopted as amended	112-124
Resolution <i>re</i> Provision of Intermediate Class Accommodation on the South Indian Railway—Negatived	124-130
Tuesday, 15th February, 1927—	
Questions and Answers	131-135
Motion <i>re</i> Election of a Panel for the Standing Committee on Emigration—Adopted	135
Motion <i>re</i> Election of a Panel for the Standing Committee to advise on subjects in the Department of Industries and Labour—Adopted	135
Motion <i>re</i> Election of a Panel for the Central Advisory Council for Railways—Adopted	135-136
Hindu Family Transactions Bill—Motion to refer to Select Committee adopted	136
Indian Lighthouse Bill—Motion to refer to Joint Committee adopted	136-141
Indian Forest Bill—Passed as amended	141-148
Wednesday, 16th February, 1927—	
Questions and Answers	149-155
Bill passed by the Legislative Assembly laid on the table	156
Resolution <i>re</i> Constitution of a Separate Self-Governing Andhra Province—Negatived	156-174
Resolution <i>re</i> Railway Bridge over the Netravathi River—Withdrawn by leave of the Council	175-179
Resolution <i>re</i> Interest on Deposits in Postal Savings Banks and Government Securities belonging to Mussalmans—Adopted	179-184
Friday, 18th February, 1927—	
Member Sworn	185
Message from His Excellency the Governor General	185
The Railway Budget for 1927-28	185-202
Election of the panel from which nominations to the Standing Committee on Emigration are to be made	202-203
Election of the panel from which nominations to the Standing Committee for the Department of Industries and Labour are to be made	203
Nominations for the panel for the Central Advisory Committee for Railways	203

	Pages.
Monday, 21st February, 1927—	
Member Sworn	205
Postponement of Questions	205
Statement <i>re</i> Settlement reached at the Conference recently held in South Africa	205-210
General Discussion of the Railway Budget	211-245
Tuesday, 22nd February, 1927—	
Member Sworn	247
Questions and Answers	247-251
Bill passed by the Legislative Assembly laid on the table	251-252
Resolution <i>re</i> Amendment of the Court-fees Act—Negotiated	252-259
Motion <i>re</i> Appreciation of the results achieved by the Government of India Delegation to South Africa	259
Resolution <i>re</i> Removal of restrictions imposed on Medical Practitioners in regard to the dispensing of Opium—Withdrawn by leave of the Council	260-264
Societies Registration (Amendment) Bill—Passed as amended	264-265
Election of a Panel for the Central Advisory Council for Railways	266
Election of a Panel for the Standing Committee for the Department of Commerce—Adopted	266
Wednesday, 23rd February, 1927—	
Member Sworn	267
Result of the Election to the Panel for the Central Advisory Council for Railways	267
Motion <i>re</i> Appreciation of the results achieved by the Government of India Delegation to South Africa—Adopted	267-292
Thursday, 24th February, 1927—	
Resolution <i>re</i> Reduction of Agricultural Indebtedness—Adopted	292-313
Election to the Panel for the Standing Committee attached to the Commerce Department	313
Statement of Business	313
Monday, 28th February, 1927—	
Member Sworn	315
Questions and Answers	315-316
The Budget for 1927-28	316-328
Tuesday, 1st March, 1927—	
Questions and Answers	329-330
Statement laid on the Table	330
Repealing and Amending Bill—Introduced	330
Sea Customs (Amendment) Bill—Introduced	331
Steel Industry (Protection) Bill—Passed	331-391

Thursday, 3rd March, 1927—

Resolution <i>re</i> Opening of new Railway Stations between Madras and Arkonam—Negatived	...	...	...	383-400
Resolution <i>re</i> Management and upkeep of Fish-curing Yards in the Madras Presidency—Adopted	...	...	...	401-406

Saturday, 5th March, 1927—

Member Sworn	...	...	...	407
Questions and Answers	...	...	...	407-416
General Discussion of the Budget—Part II	...	...	...	416-474

Monday, 7th March, 1927—

Member Sworn	...	...	...	476
Questions and Answers	...	...	...	476-480
Statement laid on the Table	...	...	...	480
Resolution <i>re</i> Construction of a new Railway line between Mangalore and the nearest point in British Indian Territory to Marmagoa—Withdrawn by leave of the Council	...	...	...	480-484
Resolution <i>re</i> Compulsory Military Training of University Students—Adopted as amended	...	...	...	484-503
Resolution <i>re</i> Treatment of Tuberculosis—Adopted	...	...	...	503-508

Wednesday, 9th March, 1927—

Member Sworn	...	...	...	509
Questions and Answers	...	...	...	509-514
Resolution <i>re</i> Control of the Craze for Medicinal Drugs—Adopted as amended	...	...	...	515-525
Resolution <i>re</i> Amendment of the Indian Forest Act, 1878—Adopted as amended	...	...	...	525-531
Resolution <i>re</i> Leaders of Indian Delegations to the League of Nations—Adopted	...	...	...	531-544

Thursday, 10th March, 1927—

Question and Answer	...	...	...	545
Repealing and Amending Bill—Passed	...	...	...	545-546
Sea Customs (Amendment) Bill—Passed	...	...	...	546
Indian Limitation (Amendment) Bill—Passed as amended	...	...	...	546-548
Resolution <i>re</i> Daily Allowance of Members of the Council of State—Adopted as amended	...	...	...	548-558

Wednesday, 16th March, 1927—

Questions and Answers	...	...	...	559-565
Statement laid on the Table	...	...	...	565
Resolution <i>re</i> Abolition of Communal Electorates as a condition precedent to further political progress in India—Withdrawn by leave of the Council	...	...	...	565-592
Resolution <i>re</i> Delivery of Speeches in Hindi or Urdu by Members of the Indian Legislature—Negatived	...	...	...	593-606
Resolution <i>re</i> Election of Departmental Advisory Committees—Negatived	...	...	...	606-610

Monday, 21st March, 1927—

Member Sworn	...	...	...	...	611
Questions and Answers	...	...	...	...	611-629
Resolution <i>re</i> Censorship and Control over Cinematographs and other Public Resorts of Amusement—Adopted	...	...	...	...	630-642
Resolution <i>re</i> President of the Council of State—Negatived	...	...	...	...	642-658
Resolution <i>re</i> Assignment of a Suitable Place in the Warrant of Precedence to Members of the Council of State, of the Legislative Assembly and of Provincial Legislative Councils—Adopted as amended	...	...	...	...	658-670

Wednesday, 23rd March, 1927—

Bill Passed by the Legislative Assembly laid on the Table	...	...	...	671-672
Motion for the election of a Panel for the Standing Advisory Committee to be attached to the Department of Education, Health and Lands—Adopted	...	...	...	672

Thursday, 24th March, 1927—

Questions	749-879	...	...	...	...
Currency Bill—Motion for Consideration adjourned	...	...	...	...	874-702, 704-741
Bill Passed by the Legislative Assembly laid on the Table	...	...	...	...	702
Date for the Consideration of the Indian Finance Bill, 1927	...	...	...	...	702-704
Nominations to the Panel for the Standing Advisory Committee in the Department of Education, Health and Lands	...	...	...	...	741
Message from the Legislative Assembly	...	...	...	...	741-742

Friday, 25th March, 1927—

Date for the Consideration of the Indian Finance Bill, 1927	...	...	...	...	743
Currency Bill—Passed	...	...	...	...	743-775
Gold Standard and Reserve Bank of India Bill—Motion for reference to a Joint Committee—Adopted	...	...	...	...	775-776
Imperial Bank of India (Amendment) Bill—Motion for reference to a Joint Committee—Adopted	...	...	...	...	776

Saturday, 26th March, 1927—

Questions and Answers	...	...	...	...	777-784
Message from the Legislative Assembly	...	...	...	...	784
Indian Finance Bill—Passed as amended	...	...	...	...	784-829

Tuesday, 29th March, 1927—

Bill Passed by the Legislative Assembly laid on the Table	...	...	...	...	831
Messages from the Legislative Assembly	...	...	...	...	831
Gold Standard and Reserve Bank of India Bill—Motion for Nomination of Members to serve on the Joint Committee—Adopted	...	...	...	...	832
Imperial Bank of India (Amendment) Bill—Motion for Nomination of Members to serve on the Joint Committee—Adopted	...	...	...	...	832
Indian Lighthouse Bill—Motion for Nomination of Members to serve on the Joint Committee—Adopted	...	...	...	...	832
Election to the Panel for the Standing Advisory Committee of the Department of Education, Health and Lands	...	...	...	...	833

COUNCIL OF STATE.

Wednesday, 16th February, 1927.

The Council met in the Council Chamber of the Council House at Eleven of the Clock, the Honourable the President in the Chair.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

ESTABLISHMENT OF A SANSKRIT COLLEGE IN POONA.

80. THE HONOURABLE SIR HAROON JAFFER: Will Government be pleased to state:-

- (a) whether an offer of a lakh of rupees was made by them to establish a Sanskrit College in Poona in 1912;
- (b) whether that offer was accepted;
- (c) if not, why not;
- (d) whether they are aware that an effort is being made now to establish such a college in Poona;
- (e) whether the original offer of a grant still stands;
- (f) whether such offers were ever made to establish an Arabic or a Persian College in India; and
- (g) if not, why not?

THE HONOURABLE KHAN BAHADUR SIR MUHAMMAD HABIBULLAH SAHIB BAHADUR: (a) and (f). No such offers were made.

(b), (c), (e) and (g). Do not arise.

(d) Yes.

PUBLICATION OF A REPORT ON THE EXCAVATIONS AT MOHENJO-DARO.

81. THE HONOURABLE SIR HAROON JAFFER: Will Government be pleased to state:

- (a) whether a progress report on the excavations at Mohenjo-Daro in Sind is to be published;
- (b) whether any effort is to be made to solicit the aid of Western scholars in deciphering the unknown characters on the seals found at Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa;
- (c) whether the Director General of Archæology has written any articles on the subject for the English and the Indian Press;
- (d) how much has he received in payment for such articles;
- (e) whether this money has been credited to the Government; and
- (f) what arrangements have been made for future work at these sites of ancient civilisation?

THE HONOURABLE KHAN BAHADUR SIR MUHAMMAD HABIBULLAH SAHIB BAHADUR: (a) Progress reports on the excavations at Mohenjo-Daro are published in the annual reports of the Archaeological Department, and an independent memoir on the work up-to-date is now under preparation.

(b) Every effort is made to enlist the help of Western scholars in deciphering the inscriptions found at Mohenjo-Daro. At present two members of the British Museum staff are devoting much time to the subject

(c) Yes.

(d) About Rs. 1,500.

(e) No.

(f) Arrangements have been made to continue the excavations at Mohenjo-Daro with adequate funds and a special staff.

DISPUTE BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENTS OF BOMBAY AND THE PUNJAB
REGARDING THE USE OF THE INDUS WATER FOR IRRIGATION.

82. THE HONOURABLE SIR HAROON JAFFER: Will Government be pleased to state:

(a) if it is a fact that a serious dispute has arisen between the Governments of Bombay and the Punjab over the use of the water of the Indus for irrigation;

(b) whether there is a Committee in existence to settle such differences;

(c) whether that Committee has thoroughly investigated the amount of water available in the Indus for irrigation purposes;

(d) whether that Committee has submitted annual reports of its work to the Government of India as suggested by the Inspector General of Irrigation in 1920; and

(e) whether the Government of India intend to act as arbitrator in this present dispute as suggested by the Inspector General of Irrigation in his note of 1920 on this subject?

THE HONOURABLE MR. A. C. MCWATTERS: (a) It is a fact that there is a difference of opinion between the Governments of Bombay and the Punjab as to the effect on the supply of water in the Indus of a project, which the latter Government desire to construct.

(b) No. The Honourable Member probably refers to the Indus Discharge Committee, the functions of which are to record discharges of the river and its distributaries and submit reports thereon.

(c) Yes, in so far as has been possible in the comparatively short time during which the Committee has been in existence.

(d) No, as during the earlier years of the work, the data available were insufficient to justify the compilation of annual reports. A full report on the work done up to date both in the Punjab and in Sind, with details of the gaugings made, has however lately been received from the Committee.

(e) It is the duty of the Government of India to advise the Secretary of State whether or not sanction should be given to the project put forward by the Punjab Government, and they are considering the appointment of a Committee of experts to advise them in regard to the effect

CORRIGENDUM.

On page 151 of the Council of State Debates of 16th February 1927, Vol. IX. No. 6, in the reply to question No. 83, *after* the words "His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief" *insert* the following:—

"The information desired by the Honourable Member is not on record for the period previous to July 1924. For the period from July 1924 to December 1926, the answers are:—"

of that project, if constructed, upon the supplies in the lower reaches of the Indus

ACCIDENTS TO MILITARY AEROPLANES DURING THE LAST FIVE YEARS.

83. THE HONOURABLE SIR HAROON JAFFER: Will Government be pleased to state:

- (a) how many aeroplane accidents have occurred to military machines in India during the past five years;
- (b) how many of the planes affected were at the time engaged on active service;
- (c) how many were engaged on actual duty;
- (d) how many deaths were caused by the accidents;
- (e) in how many cases was the cause of the accident ascertained; and
- (f) what is the proportion of deaths to miles flown?

HIS EXCELLENCY THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF: (a) 171.

(b) 9.

(c) All the aeroplanes were engaged on actual duty.

(d) 28 deaths.

(e) In about 90 per cent. of the accidents.

(f) Approximately 1 death per 1,883 hours of flying, or 131,880 miles flown.

FATAL ACCIDENTS IN FACTORIES.

84. THE HONOURABLE SIR HAROON JAFFER: Will Government be pleased to state:

- (a) how many workers in mills lost their lives in 1925 by coming into contact with machinery;
- (b) whether the mill-owners have paid any compensation for such accidents;
- (c) if so, how much; and
- (d) what steps have been taken to discourage the wearing of long hair and loose garments when manipulating machinery?

THE HONOURABLE MR. A. C. McWATTERS: (a) In the statistics of factories published by the Government of India accidents are not classified according to their causes, and the information asked for by the Honourable Member is not therefore readily available. The total number of fatal accidents in factories during the year 1925 was 263, and the percentage of these accidents due to machinery was about 40.

(b) Yes.

(c) The Workmen's Compensation returns which are forwarded by Local Governments to the Government of India do not record separately the amount paid in respect of accidents due to machinery in factories.

(d) The Factories Rules in most provinces provide that no person engaged in oiling or adjusting belts in any work whatsoever within reach of unfenced transmission machinery shall be allowed to wear loosely fitting clothing. No regulations have been framed regarding the wearing of long hair by operatives employed on machinery.

VISIT OF THEIR ROYAL HIGHNESSES THE DUKE AND DUCHESS OF YORK
TO AN INDIAN PORT ON THEIR RETURN FROM AUSTRALIA.

85. THE HONOURABLE SIR HAROON JAFFER: Will Government be pleased to state:

- (a) if it is the fact that the Duke and Duchess of York will pay a call at an Indian port on their return from the Australian tour; and
- (b) if so, at what port and on what approximate date?

THE HONOURABLE MR. H. G. HAIG:— I have been asked, Sir, to answer this question on behalf of the Honourable Sir John Thompson:

- (a) The answer is in the negative.
- (b) Does not arise.

GRIEVANCES OF THE EMPLOYEES OF THE TELEGRAPH DEPARTMENT.

86. THE HONOURABLE SIR HAROON JAFFER: Will Government be pleased to state:

- (a) whether their attention has been drawn to the grievances of the employees of the Telegraph Department, particularly in regard to the need of recruitment on merit only;
- (b) have they received any resolutions of the All-India Telegraph Union, Bombay Branch, on the subject; and
- (c) what steps they intend taking upon the resolutions?

THE HONOURABLE MR. A. C. McWATTERS: (a) Yes.

(b) Yes.

(c) The question of future policy regarding recruitment to the Signalling establishment is under consideration of the Government. The Department, however, is at present overstaffed and, until the surplusage has been worked off, no revised scheme can be introduced.

OPENING OF AN EXPERIMENTAL MALARIAL STATION AT KARNAL.

87. THE HONOURABLE SIR HAROON JAFFER: Will Government be pleased to state:

- (a) whether it is a fact that an experimental malarial station is shortly to be opened;
- (b) where it is to be located;
- (c) the estimated initial cost;
- (d) the annual expenditure;
- (e) the amount to be borne by Government;
- (f) the exact nature of the work to be undertaken; and
- (g) who will be in charge of the station?

THE HONOURABLE KHAN BAHADUR SIR MUHAMMAD HABIBULLAH SAHIB BAHADUR: (a) Yes, by the Indian Research Fund Association.

(b) At Karnal.

(c) The initial cost for purchase of buildings will not exceed Rs. 65,000. A sum of Rs. 10,000 has been allocated by the Association for purchase of equipment and apparatus.

(d) The annual expenditure of the station itself is estimated not to exceed Rs. 5,000, exclusive of staff and equipment, which will have to be maintained in any case, as the station only forms part of a general scheme for malarial research in India. The general scheme has not yet been completely worked out.

(e) No part of the cost will be borne by Government which however makes a grant to the Association.

(f) The work to be undertaken is—

- (i) the prosecution of various researches upon malaria, especially such as can only be carried out in the field; and
- (ii) the holding of an annual class of instruction for officers engaged in combating malaria.

(g) This has not yet been decided.

PROTESTS FROM LONDON BANKERS REGARDING THE PROPOSED
ESTABLISHMENT OF A CENTRAL RESERVE BANK OF INDIA.

88. THE HONOURABLE SIR HAROON JAFFER: Will Government be pleased to state:

(a) whether they have received a protest from London bankers regarding the proposed establishment of a Central Reserve Bank of India;

(b) what are the main points of protest; and

(c) what decision has been arrived at in the matter?

THE HONOURABLE MR. A. F. L. BRAYNE: The answer to part (a) is in the negative.

(b) and (c). Do not arise.

PRINTING OF STAMPS AT THE SECURITY PRESS AT NASIK.

89. THE HONOURABLE SIR HAROON JAFFER: Will Government please give statistics regarding:

(a) the denomination of stamps now printed at the Security Press at Nasik;

(b) the total value of such printing since the work was undertaken in India;

(c) the cost of experimentation before the work was commenced;

(d) the cost of failures (if any) in issues;

(e) the cost of the proposed extension of the Nasik Press; and

(f) the estimated saving effected by having stamps printed in India instead of importing them?

THE HONOURABLE MR. A. F. L. BRAYNE: (a) A list is placed on the table showing the different varieties of stamps (including postal stationery) manufactured at Nasik.

(b) The value of the products sold by the Nasik Press up to 31st December, 1926, was Rs. 12,41,223 and on that date the value of the unsold stocks was Rs. 50,000.

(c) The cost of experiment including all preliminary work done before the commencement of printing at Nasik is Rs. 1,67,049.

(d) No issue has proved a failure. Some waste is unavoidable in the course of production, but it would not be economical to instal an elaborate system to check the amount. It is probably much less than 2 per cent. of the total output.

(e) The estimated cost of the extension to the Press is Rs. 48,000.

(f) The Press has not been working long enough to enable an accurate estimate to be made, but the saving is not likely to be less than 38½ per cent. and may be considerably more.

I. Postal Stationery :

Single postcards.

Reply postcards.

Service postcards.

Ordinary 1 anna embossed envelopes.

Commercial 1 anna embossed envelopes.

Small Registration envelopes.

Large Registration envelopes.

Reply postcards for Patiala.

Reply postcards for Jind.

Reply postcards for Gwalior.

Single postcards for Jind.

Single Postcards for Gwalior.

Small Registration envelopes for Jind.

II. Adhesive Stamps :

(a) Postage ordinary :—Pies 3, Pies 6, Anna 1, As. 2, As. 3, As. 4, A. S, As. 12, Re. 1, Rs. 2, Rs. 5.

Service :—Anna 1, As. 2, As. 4.

Booklets :—Anna 1, As. 2.

(b) Court-fees—

Ordinary :—As. 12, Rs. 1, Rs. 4, Rs. 5, Rs. 20.

Small Cause Court, Calcutta :—Pies 6, Anna 1, As. 2, As. 4, As. 8, Re. 1, Rs. 2, Rs. 3, Rs. 4, Rs. 5, Rs. 6, Rs. 7, Rs. 30, Rs. 50.

(c) General or Non-Judicial—

Foreign bills :—As. 2, As. 6, As. 12.

Share Transfer :—As. 4.

Special Adhesive :—As. 6, Rs. 3, Rs. 7, Rs. 9, Rs. 10, Rs. 20, Rs. 20.

Notarial :—Re. 1.

High Court Notarial :—Rs. 2.

Insurance :—Re. 1.

III. Impressed Stamps :

(a) Non-Judicial :—As. 2, As. 4, As. 6, As. 8, Re. 1, Re. 1-8, Rs. 3, Rs. 3-8, Rs. 4-8, Rs. 5, Rs. 6, Rs. 7, Rs. 9, Rs. 10, Rs. 15, Rs. 20, Rs. 25, Rs. 30, Rs. 35, Rs. 45, Rs. 50, Rs. 60, Rs. 65, Rs. 75, Rs. 90, Rs. 750.

(b) Court-fee :—Rs. 20, Rs. 25, Rs. 30, Rs. 35, Rs. 40, Rs. 50, Rs. 55, Rs. 60, Rs. 70, Rs. 75, Rs. 90, Rs. 95, Rs. 105, Rs. 110, Rs. 115, Rs. 120, Rs. 130, Rs. 135, Rs. 140, Rs. 145, Rs. 165, Rs. 170, Rs. 175, Rs. 180, Rs. 185, Rs. 190, Rs. 195, Rs. 270, Rs. 275, Rs. 325, Rs. 350, Rs. 500, Rs. 550.

(c) Copies :—U. P. :—As. 4, As. 8, As. 12, Re. 1, Rs. 2.

B. and O. and Assam :—As. 3 ordinary, As. 3 typewriting.

Bengal :—As. 4 ordinary, As. 4 typewriting.

Miscellaneous :

Oudh Civil Courts.

Legal Practitioner certificates.

(d) Hundis :—As. 9.

LATE ARRIVAL OF THE ENGLISH MAILS.

90. THE HONOURABLE SIR HAROON JAFFER: Will Government please state:

- (a) whether its attention has been called to the regular late arrival of the Mails from England and the Continent;
- (b) whether the contract with the P. and O. Company provides any penalty for such late arrivals; and
- (c) if so, what penalty?

THE HONOURABLE MR. A. C. MCWATTERS: (a) Yes.

(b) Yes.

(c) £100 for every complete period of twelve hours by which the period of transit is exceeded. No damages can be claimed if the default arises wholly or in part from any cause or causes beyond the control of the Company.

EXPENDITURE ON THE SEVENTH CONGRESS OF THE FAR EASTERN ASSOCIATION OF TROPICAL MEDICINE TO BE HELD IN CALCUTTA IN DECEMBER NEXT.

91. THE HONOURABLE SIR HAROON JAFFER: Will the Government be pleased to state:

- (a) whether it is a fact that they have invited the Far Eastern Association of Tropical Medicine to hold its seventh Congress in Calcutta in December next;
- (b) whether the delegates to that Congress will be the guests of the Government of India;
- (c) whether the Provincial Governments are being invited to participate in the expense of the hospitality;
- (d) what will be the cost of the hospitality; and
- (e) whether the Government's hospitality will extend to all sight-seeing or only to seeing the various phases of medical activity in India?

THE HONOURABLE KHAN BAHADUR SIR MUHAMMAD HABIBULLAH SAHIB BAHADUR: (a) Yes.

(b) The foreign official delegates invited by the Government of India will be guests of Government.

(c) Yes.

(d) The cost of entertaining and transporting foreign official delegates, including that of transporting their guides, is estimated to be approximately Rs. 69,940.

(e) The detailed tour programme has not yet been settled and the Government of India are not therefore in a position to make a definite statement. Visits to important cities and other places in India will, however, be arranged principally with the object of showing the delegates the various phases of Medical activity in this country.

BILL PASSED BY THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY LAID ON THE
TABLE.

SECRETARY OF THE COUNCIL: Sir, in accordance with rule 25 of the Indian Legislative rules, I lay on the table a copy of a Bill further to amend the Societies Registration Act, 1860, for certain purposes, which was passed by the Legislative Assembly at its meeting held on the 15th February, 1927

RESOLUTION *RE* CONSTITUTION OF A SEPARATE SELF-
GOVERNING ANDHRA PROVINCE.

THE HONOURABLE MR. V. RAMADAS PANTULU (Madras: Non-Muhammadian): Sir, I beg to move the following Resolution which stands in my name:

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

The Resolution really comprises two proposals which are, however, inseparable. I ask for a separate province for Andhra, that is, the Telugu areas of the Madras Presidency, the districts of Ganjam, Vizagapatam, East Godavari, West Godavari, Krishna, Guntur, Nellore, Chittore, Bellary, Anantapur, Kurnool and Cuddappa, together with the northern portion of the City of Madras, which is largely inhabited by the Telugu-speaking people. This proposal, I may at once say, does not conflict with the claims of the Oriyas who inhabit portions of the Ganjam district and the adjoining territory, or the claims of the Kanadas who inhabit portions of the Bellary district and the adjoining territory, with regard to their desire to be integrated with their respective Oriya or Kanada provinces when formed. The right to such integration is conceded by the Andhras. The genuinely Telugu area alone will be constituted into a distinct province.

Secondly, I ask for a full measure of responsible government for this new province. I am aware that the Home Secretary took serious exception to combining such proposals in one Resolution, because he said that the issues raised by them were many and vast, and that such combination of issues would embarrass the discussion. He said so on the Tamilnadu Resolution which was tabled by my Honourable friend, Sir Sankaran Nair, last year. But I am unable to frame the Resolution in any other way. I must first catch my hare before I proceed to cook it. I must have a province before I formulate the form of government that I want. Again, it is no use asking for a province if it is not to possess a form of government which the people inhabiting it desire. To ask me to separate the two proposals is to ask me to do the impossible. I therefore make no apology for framing my Resolution much in the same way as my Honourable friend, Sir Sankaran Nair did last year, and I now proceed to deal with the first proposal, namely, the formation of a separate Andhra province.

The theoretical desirability of regrouping the various administrative areas in India, called Provinces, on the more rational principle of language and culture, as now proposed, has now, I believe, passed the stage of controversial politics. My Honourable friend, Dr. Rama Rau, and myself

dealt with the question very fully last year in the debate raised on my friend's proposal for the formation of a Kanada province, and cited eminent authorities in support of our view. It is unnecessary to repeat those arguments over again. The question is one which has been engaging, or ought to have engaged, the attention of the Government of India since the year 1870, when Sir George Chesney advocated the constitution of Orissa into a separate province. Again, in 1900, Sir Francis Younghusband made a strong proposal to give the Sindhis a distinct administrative existence. Other British statesmen and administrators, like Sir John Strachey, Sir Thomas Holderness, and Sir Bamfylde Fuller and some others, have distinctly advocated the idea for which I am now standing. But the most comprehensive and well considered despatch in the matter is contained in a communication sent by Lord Hardinge's Government on the 25th August 1911, in connection with the reunion of the five Bengali-speaking districts with their old province, and of integrating the Hindi-speaking population of Bihar and Chota Nagpur into another. That document is well worth perusing. The Montagu-Chelmsford Report and the Joint Parliamentary Select Committee's Report fully endorse this view in very distinct terms. It is needless for me to quote passages from those reports, because they are well known and oft quoted. The views expressed in those reports have also secured legislative approval in the shape of the provisions of section 52A of the Government of India Act, which provides larger facilities for the Governor-General in Council to constitute new provinces under certain conditions.

The Honourable Mr. Crerar himself admitted last year that the policy of the Government of India with regard to these proposals is certainly one of "respect" and even of "benevolence". These were his words. Frankly speaking I do not like these words, because he deliberately avoided the use of the word "sympathy". To me an ounce of sympathy is worth tons of respect and even benevolence. It is therefore clear that in spite of large consensus of valuable opinion, the problem of linguistic provinces has not entered the arena of practical politics, because of the very unsympathetic attitude of the Government of India. We have therefore decided to bring this question over and over again, till the attitude of the Government of India changes for the better.

The Home Secretary last year, however, said that the Government insisted on certain conditions precedent even for the *consideration* of the proposal by the Government of India. In his own words, the conditions were:

"That the proposal shall emanate directly from the community concerned that there should be the strongest indications of a very strong measure of public opinion in that community behind the proposal, and that that public opinion ought in the first instance to be expressed through its proper primary and constitutional channel, the local Legislative Council."

I can assure the Government of India that in regard to the Andhra country many of these conditions are amply satisfied. Ever since the anti-partition agitation in Bengal was started, the Andhra sentiment for the consolidation of the cultural and linguistic unity of Andhras took a definite shape and resulted in an appreciable renaissance of their language and literary movements. The mass of literature on the subject of creating an Andhra province is indeed very large. Successive annual conferences held before the year 1917, the year of the famous announcement, under the presidency

[Mr. V. Ramadas Pantulu.]

of distinguished Andhra leaders, like Sir B. N. Sarma, N. Subbarao Pantulu, the Rajah of Panagal, Diwan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao, Kunda Venkattapai Pantulu and the Honourable C. V. S. Narasimharaju, laid down in unmistakeable terms the clear demand of the Andhra people in this behalf. These Resolutions were made available to the Joint Parliamentary Committee by Diwan Bahadur Ramachandra Rao, who had the kindness to present a memorandum to the Parliamentary Committee with these papers as appendices. The Telugu-speaking area of the Madras Province is 73,318 square miles. To give an idea of it I may state that it amounts roughly to six and a half times the size of Belgium. It has a population of 14 millions. The Andhras have a distinct culture and a noble heritage; they are a politically-minded and a progressive race. It is impossible that the Government of India should be ignorant of public opinion in regard to the creation of an Andhra province. The Indian National Congress has passed a Resolution demanding the creation of separate linguistic provinces, and the Honourable Sir B. N. Sarma, during his closing years as a non-official in the Imperial Legislative Council, tabled a Resolution and discussed this question with special reference to the Andhra people. If the test laid down by the Joint Parliamentary Committee, namely, that the criterion is the opinion of the representatives in the local Legislature, residing in the area concerned, then I can assure the Government of India that there is practical unanimity among the Andhra Members of the Madras Legislative Council. Then with regard to the opinion of the Local Government and the local Legislature, section 82A of the Government of India Act throws the burden of ascertaining that opinion distinctly upon the Government of India. I do not know what the Government of India have done in this matter to ascertain the opinion of the Local Government and the local Legislature. It is not for them to give an opinion unsolicited. The wording of the section, as a lawyer I may say, contemplates a move on the part of the Government of India, because it says "the Government of India, after ascertaining the opinion of the Local Government and the local Legislature," may constitute a province. Therefore, Sir, I can state without fear of contradiction that the conditions laid down by the Honourable Mr. Crerar have been amply satisfied. The claim of the Andhras for a separate existence in a province of their own was recently conceded in a way by the establishment of a separate university for them which has now been functioning for the last year or two. The desire for separate provinces is born of aspirations for self-expression, for the present arrangements not only impair the efficiency and good government of the province, but also prevent the upbuilding of the nation, by destroying the sub-national spirit and the homogeneity of the people and thereby rendering them weak, disunited and disorganised.

Having said so much on the first part of my Resolution, I would now say something about the second part of it, that is, the form of government that is best suited to the proposed province. The Resolution describes that form as a full measure of responsible government. I use the words "responsible government" much in the same sense in which that expression is used by the framers of the reformed constitution, of course without the limitations imposed by them upon its attainment. I have said enough on the first question to make it plain to the House that my claim for the Andhra province is part of a larger scheme for the division of India into

linguistic provinces. I do not conceive these provinces as separate independent units by themselves. 'It therefore must be patent to the House that my idea is something akin to that of a federal form of government. I conceive the ultimate form of government to be a federal form of government. I also recognise that it is not possible to attain a uniform pace of progress in all the provinces, and I also concede that it would not be an immediately attainable object to start all provinces simultaneously on a fully developed self-governing basis. Nevertheless I do maintain that the goal of every province is the speedy attainment of full responsible government on a basis of *self-determination*, and not on the basis of an examination by an outside authority. My views indicate that I am approximating to a federal form of self-government. I am aware that the authors of the Montford Report fought shy of the federal form. They said :

"Granted the announcement of August, 1917, we cannot at the present time envisage its complete fulfilment in any form other than that of a congeries of self-governing Indian Provinces associated for certain purposes under a responsible Government of India, with possibly what are now the Native States of India finally embodied in the whole, which we will not now attempt But we are bound to point out that—whatever may be the case with the Native States of the future,—into the relations of the Provincial and Central Governments the truly federal element does not and cannot enter. There is no element of a pact. The Government of the country is at present one, our business is one of devolution. The Government of India must give and the provinces must receive. We must sedulously beware of the ready application of federal arguments or federal examples to a task which is the very reverse of that which confronted Alexander Hamilton or Sir John Macdonald."

With due respect to the authors of this report, I venture to question the correctness of their view when they say the federal element cannot and does not enter into the relations between the Central and Provincial Governments.

THE HONOURABLE SIR MANECKJI DADABHOY: Do you put your case higher than that of the Madras Presidency at present?

THE HONOURABLE MR. V. RAMADAS PANTULU: Yes I do, most certainly I do. However, it is not necessary for me to quarrel over that matter with the authors of the Report. I am content to take their own statement that the legitimate outcome of the reforms is a congeries of self-governing independent provinces, somehow associated with the Government of India. Such a scheme, if not a truly federal one, is at least a quasi-federal one. The provinces so constituted will possess their essential characteristics as units in a federal State. Therefore it is unnecessary to embark on a task of elaboration of any detailed scheme of constitution for them. I will only mention the barest outline of my scheme for such a province. The Government of the province ought to consist of a Governor, a Legislature and an Executive. The Governor should be a strictly constitutional Governor. The Legislature should be a uni-cameral chamber, fully elected on as wide a franchise as possible. I personally advocate universal adult franchise and wish to abolish all qualifications based on property, education or other tests. The plea in favour of universal franchise was so well put by my Honourable friend Sir Sankaran Nair last year that I do not wish to repeat his arguments and I have no time to do so. That is the only solution for the problems that confront India. I am glad to note that the *New Leader*, a labour organ, has fully appreciated the force of the plea of universal franchise. The one great obstacle to our accepting Dr. Bensusan's Commonwealth of India Bill is the extremely limited and narrow franchise

[Mr. V. Ramadas Pantulu.]

that it provides. But for that there are very many provisions in it which we Congressmen and Swarajists would have accepted. I also agree with Sir Sankaran Nair that every 30,000 voters ought to be given the privilege of sending at least one representative. Personally speaking I would prefer election on a system of proportional representation by a single transferable vote, because it provides many facilities for several communities in India to find suitable representation in the Legislatures.

I have advisedly advocated a uni-cameral Chamber, because after the most careful deliberation I have come to the conclusion that in the present conditions of India bi-cameral Legislatures for the provinces would be a great danger. I warn Indian politicians that the section of the Government of India Act instructing the Statutory Commission to report upon further advances specially asks them to consider whether it is advisable or not to introduce second chambers into the provincial Legislatures. I am aware, Sir, that in certain interested quarters attempts are already being made to foist a second chamber on the unfortunate provinces. Therefore, I hope that Indian politicians will be wide awake and see that such second chambers are not foisted upon the provinces. I say nothing about the second chamber in the Imperial Legislature, because that is now out of place—and my Resolution does not deal with that subject. Then the Executive must be undivided. All division into Reserved and Transferred subjects ought to disappear and the Executive ought to be fully responsible to the Legislature. *Thirdly*, the Provinces ought to enjoy as complete a measure of fiscal autonomy as is compatible with their relations towards the Imperial Government or with any agreement that may be arrived at between them regarding their financial adjustments. And *fourthly*, the Civil Services should be organised and recruited on a provincial basis, subject to the exception that such All-India Services as may be necessary should be recruited by mutual agreement between the Provincial Governments and the Imperial Government. As for the continuance of the Covenanted Civil Service, there is no more scope for it. It ought to be abolished immediately. The conditions under which the Covenanted Civil Service came into existence no longer exist. It was constituted at a time when the British people had to protect the people of India from the economic exploitation of Foreign merchants, to protect the people from alien oppression, and also to bring out young Englishmen in order to train them for the task of governing India. These conditions no longer exist, and there is therefore no reason for the continued existence of the Covenanted Civil Service. I do not propose to say anything about the Government of India, except that it also should assume a full measure of responsibility to the Legislature; about its relations with the British Parliament and with the Secretary of State I will not say anything here. I advocate that the defences of the country, as a whole, should be within its exclusive province.

Now, I am sure that the spokesman on the Government side will make it a grievance that I have brought in the issue of Swaraj by a side-wind and that a multitude of issues covering a vast field are jumbled up in one Resolution, but the fault is not mine. The Government of India have put themselves in a very awkward position by giving us a constitution which is so fundamentally defective in its structure that the reform of it

in any direction cannot be advocated without challenging its basic principles and upsetting the structure as a whole. It is so ill-conceived that tinkering with it is of little use. It has to undergo radical alterations and I cannot therefore help raising vast issues. I do not wish to take up the time of the House any longer; and with these words I beg to commend my Resolution to the acceptance of the House.

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. C. DESIKA CHARI (Burma: General): Sir, I do not want to give a silent vote on this very important Resolution and I welcome the Resolution which has been so ably put forward by the Honourable Mover. I welcome it all the more because of this reason. It may be remembered that last year during the Delhi Session my Honourable friend Sir Sankaran Nair and I tabled a Resolution for a Tamil Province on these lines. It was on the eve of the walk-out of the Party which regards the Honourable Mover as its leader; and I found at the time that some of these Swarajists were inclined to laugh at the idea of our tabling a Resolution of this kind before the Council. I am glad to know, however, that time has wrought a change in the Swarajist mentality and a welcome change, and it is gratifying to learn that our friend the Honourable Mover has thought fit to follow our example and has responded to our appeal to other Honourable Members to bring forward similar Resolutions for their own respective provinces.

With these remarks, Sir, I shall deal very briefly with some of the aspects of the case which appeal to me when the question of constitutional advancement for the Andhra race is to be considered. Sir, in this connection I want to refer to the words of sympathy with the political aspirations of the people of this country which His Excellency Lord Irwin gave utterance to at the opening Session recently of the Legislative Assembly, and it is this sympathy, genuine sympathy I would say, for the political aspirations of the people of this country that has wrought a wonderful change in the minds of political leaders of all shades of political opinion in this country; and there is a widespread feeling of contentment and a feeling of confidence and hope for the political future of India. Sir, I am one of those who think that India is fit without any further tests for full responsible government in the parliamentary sense, and should Parliament think fit to examine the question as a plain question of practical efficiency, I think evidence will be abundantly forthcoming to justify the demand of this portion of Madras for full responsible government in the parliamentary sense. This portion, Andhradesa, as well as other portions of the Presidency, has responded fully to the invitation of Parliament to co-operate in the working of the Constitution.

THE HONOURABLE THE MAHARAJADHIRAJA SIR BIJAY CHAND MAHTAB, BAHADUR OF BURDWAN: On a point of order, Sir. May I inquire if it is your desire that the whole question of responsible government for the whole of India is to be taken for discussion under this Resolution?

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: I have been hoping that Honourable Members would not turn this debate into one on a question of constitutional reforms for the whole of India. To explain the Resolution as it stands, it was necessary for the Honourable Mover of the Resolution to indicate what he understood by responsible government. But I hope that Honourable Members will, as far as possible, refrain from putting

[The President.]

forward their arguments in favour of the grant of full responsible government to India as a whole. If the Honourable Member can adduce arguments to show why this particular portion of the present Madras Presidency should be entitled to receive the form of government which is advocated in the Resolution, the Council will be glad to listen to him.

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. C. DESIKA CHARI: Sir, I wanted only incidentally to refer to it in one brief sentence and I do not propose going over the ground hereafter as regards the question of full responsible government for the whole of India. I began with an apology and I think it is in the fitness of things that I should explain my position before coming to the main Resolution. Sir, I was referring to the co-operation and the response to the invitation of working the reformed Constitution and how readily that invitation was responded to by the Andhras as well as the non-Andhras of the Madras Presidency. I may refer in passing to the fact that in the first local Council of the Madras Presidency the reformed Constitution, so far as the Transferred Subjects were concerned, was worked by three Ministers who were all of them Andhras including the Chief Minister, and they got nothing but praise from the Secretary of State, from the Government of India, from the Reforms Inquiry Committee and from all people who had an opportunity of examining the working of the Act in that particular province. In the second Council also I find two of the Ministers, including the Chief Minister, were from the Andhra province and the fact that they worked the reformed Constitution in a spirit of goodwill and with such great success shows that the Madras people including the Andhradesha people understood fully the creaking machinery which was granted to them under the Reformed Constitution and they worked it without breaking that machinery which was handed over to them though it was creaking. This province, Sir, is peculiarly fitted like the Tamil Nadu to get responsibility at an early date. This province is particularly free from the Hindu-Muhammadan problem which disfigures the political horizon in Hindustan. Then, the wave of extremism which swept over the whole of India only caused a gale of slight to moderate intensity in this Andhradesha and that was only a passing phase which passed off in a short time and there was smooth sailing in the Andhra waters ever afterwards; and greater evidence than the fact that these Andhra people co-operated with the Ministers in the Legislature is not necessary for advocating the cause of the Andhras for a province with complete self-government. Then, Sir, it may be said that there is this problem of Brahmin-non-Brahmin in the Madras Presidency. But I submit that this problem which at one time threatened to disfigure the political atmosphere has blown over and the Brahmins and non-Brahmins have come to realise that they can better achieve their goal by uniting and they have proved by their conduct that this aspect was only a passing phase. Then, Sir, coming to the question of political consciousness, those essential qualities inborn of political-mindedness, we find these Andhra people are a race, enthusiastic, politically-minded and sufficiently cultured to be in a fit position to be entrusted with the duties of administration in a really parliamentary sense. I, as a person coming from one of the districts bordering on the Andhradesha, can speak with some personal knowledge about the Andhra people, who are really people politically well advanced to deserve an advanced constitution. Sir, the question of depressed classes, which is a problem in some

parts of the Madras Presidency, has not assumed an acute aspect in this part of Madras and the members of the depressed classes, at any rate the leaders, have come to realise that their salvation lies in full complete responsible government for their own province. Then, Sir, I would urge that the geographical position of this Andhradesha as well as of the Tamil Nadu completely frees these parts of India from those complications which are incidental to provinces on the North-Eastern or North-Western border.

I submit, Sir, that it has been abundantly proved that this part of India, the Andhradesha, is sufficiently well advanced, and in the words of the Raja of Panagal in a letter which is appended to the Muddiman Report, I would say that what was expected to be taught in ten years was taught in three years and they had a further probation of four years like all the other provinces of India; and I for one would be disappointed if the enthusiasm of the people of this province should be damped by a refusal of the grant of well-deserved political advancement. With these words, Sir, I heartily commend this Resolution for the acceptance of the House.

THE HONOURABLE MR. F. B. EVANS (Madras: Nominated Official): Sir, as the Honourable Mover has explained, the Resolution really embraces two separate subjects which I think it would be convenient to deal with separately. The first is the question of the partition of Madras and the carving out of a new Telugu province, the second is the question of conferring on this province a full measure of responsible government. I do not wish to deal with the second question. As the House is aware, whether the people of Madras as a whole or the Telugu people in particular have proved themselves during the last six or seven years fit for a full measure of self-government is a question to be decided by the Parliament of Great Britain, on the advice of the Statutory Commission which is to be appointed before very long; and even if it were appropriate for this House to discuss that question now, I think it is obviously a question of sufficient importance to deserve discussion on a specific Resolution. The Honourable the Mover explained the framing of his motion on the ground that if he was not allowed to catch his hare he could not explain how he wanted to cook it. Well, I venture to hope that the House will not allow him to catch his hare, and if that is so, how it is to be cooked hardly seems to arise. I shall therefore confine my remarks to the first question, that is, whether there have been any real grounds advanced for separating the Andhra district from the Madras Presidency. *Prima facie*, of course, any proposal to create a new province must commend itself to the bureaucrat. New provinces mean new Government appointments, new prospects of promotion, and for a person like myself, who is a provincial Secretary, a smaller degree of complexity in the work one has to do. Also the proposal is in accordance with the old maxim *Divide et impera* which is supposed to be so dear to the heart of a bureaucrat. But in spite of temptation I feel bound to oppose the proposal both on its merits and because it is premature.

The proposal is, as the Honourable Mover explained, an old one, and he also explained the attitude which the Government of India have taken up towards such proposals when moved in the Central Legislature before. I may repeat briefly what that attitude is. It has been stated that the Government of India are not prepared to move in such matters or to consider them until they have been thoroughly threshed out

[Mr. F. B. Evans.]

in the province concerned, and until they are sent up by or through the Local Government with a clear expression of opinion on the part of the majority of the people who reside in the area which it is proposed to separate. The Honourable the Mover has not been able to assure this House that although a similar proposal was made in the Central Legislature five years ago any specific Resolution on the subject has yet been moved in the local Legislature. He has explained that the proposal has received considerable support in the Andhra country, but he has not, I think, convinced us that there is any such unanimity of opinion on the subject as he would have us believe. I cannot claim myself to have any great acquaintance with the Telugu country. My service has been almost entirely in other parts of the Madras Presidency, but there are two Honourable Members in this House who come from the Telugu country. One is the Honourable Mover, whom we have heard already, and the other is Raja Ranga Rao Bahadur of Bobbili. I shall be surprised if he rises to support the Resolution.

Another reason why I venture to think that this proposition is premature is the practical reason of finance. Any proposal to create a new province must clearly involve very considerable extra expenditure, both initial and recurring. I do not think anyone will deny that. As the Honourable Mover explained, the new province will be a big and important one, and will not likely be satisfied with less elaborate machinery than is enjoyed by other provinces of similar importance. I do not think that people always sufficiently recognise how great is the extra burden that is thrown on provincial finances by having to meet the expenditure for the machinery required by the new reformed constitution. The Government of Madras last year had considerable difficulty in balancing their Budget, and if we may believe expressions of opinion from all sides of the House in the Madras Legislature, they only succeeded in doing so by starving the Transferred departments. I do not know what the position is this year, but I do know that the last N. E. monsoon was very bad, and there have been rumours of scarcity from a large part of the Madras Presidency. Anyhow I think I can say without fear of contradiction that the crying need in Madras is the allotment of funds for the improvement of agriculture and irrigation, for the extension of education, for the development of industries, for the improvement of hygiene, and I venture to say that until the Government of Madras is able to devote sufficient funds for these purposes, any proposal which involves increased expenditure on administrative machinery should be out of the question. The day may come, of course, when the Madras Government is able to comply fully with the demands of its Ministers and still show a surplus, but that happy day is not yet in sight, and I venture to think that until it is in sight any such proposal as this must be considered premature.

I might refer to other practical details which must create difficulty in working out such a proposition as this. The Honourable Mover has referred to Bellary. It is one of the districts which he would include in the new province, but as he himself said, the district of Bellary is very largely Canarese, and he has not explained how he proposes to divide it. He has not explained where he will put his new capital. Questions of this sort, of acute controversy, loomed very largely in the discussions in the Madras Legislature on the Andhra University Bill. No doubt I shall be

told that these are questions of detail which can properly be dealt with when once the main principle has been accepted. But I venture to think that they are questions of such importance and of such complexity that this House can reasonably demand that they should be thoroughly threshed out locally before such a proposition as this is placed before it. This therefore constitutes another reason for holding this Resolution premature.

Lastly, a few words on the merits and principles of the proposal. I found it somewhat difficult to follow the line of argument of the Honourable Mover, but his position seems to be roughly more or less as follows. The Madras Presidency is what he would call a haphazard conglomeration rather than a natural unit of administration. A natural unit of administration is an area inhabited by a single people bound together by a common tradition, culture and language, and unless provinces are confined to such natural units, there must be administrative inefficiency; also the growth of subnational spirits must be hampered that is fatal to the growth of Indian national patriotism.

Well, Sir, so far as the eleven districts which he would constitute into a new province are concerned, I am not sure whether there is really any such common bond of tradition or culture as is commonly assumed. I do not claim to be an authority on the Telugu districts, but I am not aware that these eleven districts have in fact ever formed a single political entity. Also I venture to doubt whether there is any more real cultural affinity between, say, a Godavary Brahmin and a Chittoor Reddi than there is between a Godavary Brahmin and a Tanjore Brahmin. I think

12 NOON. therefore that really the only point of unity in this proposed new province would be that of language, and that seems to me to be an insufficient basis for a political edifice. But waiving this point, I would ask whether there is really any proof that the Telugu country and the Telugu people have suffered in development by their incorporation in the Madras Presidency, or whether the development of the Andhra spirit has suffered. I venture to think that the facts point otherwise. At least the Mover has not brought before the House anything to establish such a contention. In days past the Telugu country got two of the most magnificent irrigation schemes in the whole of India. Recently, as the Honourable the Mover has said, they have obtained a separate university for themselves. In the first two Governments under the Reforms in Madras, as the Honourable Mr. Chari told us the majority of the Ministers were from the Telugu country. The Leader of the Opposition was and is from the Telugu country, and any one who troubles to read the record of debates in the Madras Council will, I think, be satisfied that Telugu questions have received at least their due meed of attention. Also, as the Honourable the Mover told us, the development of what is called the Andhra sub-national spirit has certainly not suffered in recent years from the present constitution of the Madras Presidency. Whether a development of such sub-national spirit is really an essential to the favourable growth of a greater Indian national spirit is a matter on which I think there may be some difference of opinion. No doubt slogans such as "Andhradesa for the Andhras" are always popular and were perhaps unusually fashionable in the years immediately succeeding the War, but I venture to think that history affords little warrant for the view apparently held by the Honourable the Mover that a nation is strengthened by being divided up into sub-nations with home rule, or to put it otherwise, that a sub-nation

[Mr. F. B. Evans.]

is hampered in its growth by being incorporated in a wider political organisation. The history of ancient Greece and of modern Italy seems to point a different lesson, and if I may come nearer home, we may perhaps take the case of Scotland, if the Scotch will pardon me for applying to them the horrible term sub-nation. I do not think the Honourable Mover would seriously maintain that the Scotch have suffered morally or materially or intellectually because of the formation of the United Kingdom, nor do I think that he would seriously argue that, if the Scotch had been given home rule, they now would have been more patriotic British subjects. I think he would really agree with me that it is more reasonable to hint that the association of the Scotch with London and Westminster has been of no less advantage to Scotland than to the United Kingdom as a whole; and I am bold enough to assert that the association of the Telugu with Madras has been no less beneficial to them than it has been to the Madras Presidency as a whole; and I can see no reason why it should not continue to be so. For such reasons, Sir, I hope that the House will have no hesitation in rejecting this Resolution on its merits no less than because it is premature.

THE HONOURABLE MAHARAJADHIRAJA SIR BIJAY CHAND MAHTAB BAHADUR OF BURDWAN (Bengal: Nominated Non-Official): Sir, national sub-consciousness is one of those things that no sensible man can flout. But what has been disappointing to me to-day in this debate so far is that the Mover of the Resolution has really made out no case for robbing Peter to pay Paul. On the other hand, I must say that the official Member from Madras could have put his case much more strongly than he did on the one essential ground, namely, if Indians in different parts of their country want to have the luxury of smaller sub-divided provinces, they must come forward before a body like this to say that they are prepared to put their hands into their pockets and to tax themselves to maintain their provinces. We have not been told what would be the effect on the rest of the Madras Presidency if the Andhra province was constituted as a separate province and carved out of the present Madras Presidency. I do not want to go into the question as to whether the fortunate people in Andhra have now reached that Arcadia for which every politically-minded Indian seems to pine, namely, full responsible government. All I want to say is this to the Mover of the Resolution and his supporter, that in view of the Parliamentary Committee coming out before 1929 or thereabouts, they would have a very much stronger case to put forward before that Committee if they were able to convince that Committee that they had done better than the rest of the Province of Madras and that they had carried out the object of the Reforms as was intended by the authors of those Reforms. I would therefore advise my friend Mr. Ramadas Pantulu not to press his Resolution here to-day because, in the first place, as I say no convincing argument has been put forward as to why this extravagance of another Legislative Council and other paraphernalia that go with the constitution of a province should be given to the Andhras. From what the Honourable Mr. Evans told us there is a great deal to be said for the view that the Andhras have not suffered very much up to now. I do not say they are not suffering; I am sure they want more power and more liberty, but, as I say, it would be better for the Mover of this Resolution to wait until the Parliamentary Committee comes out, and for that reason I would advise the Mover of this Resolution to withdraw it.

THE HONOURABLE DR. U. RAMA RAU (Madras: Non-Muhammadian): Mr. President, I rise to make a few observations on the Resolution before the House. Sir, the reformation of the Provinces on a linguistic basis wherever practicable with a full measure of autonomy in local matters with a view to the realization of a Federated India in due course of time is the ideal, and the ultimate goal, to which we are being led in gradual and safe stages by the Grace of God and under the fostering care, supervision and control of the British Government. The Resolution of my Honourable friend is therefore in accord with the ultimate aim all have in view, but all whose judgment can get the better of their inclinations will admit that it is too premature, too far in advance of the times to ask and to wish for the Andhra districts of the Presidency to be constituted into a separate Province enjoying a full measure of responsible or self-government. The claims of the Andhras for the special treatment asked for have not been made out. Perhaps they would not bear examination. A full measure of responsible government cannot be had without a revision of the Government of India Act and its revision and amendment by the British Parliament for satisfying the wish contained in the Resolution before the House are scarcely to be expected, even granting for the purpose of argument that the people of the Andhra Districts are fit and advanced enough to be entrusted with full responsible government. I do not propose to dwell further on this part of the Resolution, for the obvious reason that it is too large an order at present.

Sir, I think it will well be within the law to constitute the Telugu districts into a separate Province, but the various adverse features and circumstances that stare one in the face put the proposition for the present out of the pale of practical politics. The revenue that may be released by the separation of these districts from the Madras Presidency would prove to be too small for the good and efficient administration of the new Province by an honest and well-paid staff, let alone the enormous initial expenditure that the change involves in various directions. To hope to run the show with the present available resources is to court disappointment. Fresh taxation will therefore become necessary, and that perhaps is a contingency of which no notice has been taken—I am persuaded that the people are not willing to agree to further taxation for the very adequate reason that their existing resources would not admit of it. These, I submit, are factors of which due note should be made in arriving at a decision on the Resolution before the House.

THE HONOURABLE RAJA SRI RAVU SWETACHALAPATI RAMAKRISHNA BAHADUR RANGA RAO, OF BOBBILI (Madras: Nominated Non-Official): Sir, I am in entire agreement with the views and sentiments expressed by my Honourable friend Mr. Ramadas Pantulu in regard to the formation of a separate Andhra province. The redistribution of Provinces on a linguistic basis is an old cry and a long-standing grievance. I have already said enough on this subject last year when I moved my Resolution for the formation of a separate Kanada Province, and I do not, therefore, want to weary this House by traversing the whole ground again to-day. Public opinion is so keen and so resolute in this matter, that year after year, this question has become one of the main planks in the Congress and other public platforms. Viceroys downwards have spoken in sympathetic terms of this movement and Sir Frederick Whyte, in his book on India's Reformed Constitution, says that language is an important factor in connection with national unity in India. At present, the Andhras, the Karnatakas and the

[Raja Ranga Rao.]

Oriyas are the only three aspirants for separate Provinces. So far as Andhra is concerned, the way has been paved already for its formation as a separate Province, and what now remains to be done is only to give the finishing stroke to the scheme. Public feeling has been sufficiently gauged and their opinion abundantly gathered a separate University for the Andhras, which may be said to be the forerunner of this movement, has been already established and the Andhras, as a Telugu-speaking community, form a compact homogeneous race living in one contiguous territory. The financial problem involved in the separation is not insurmountable either, as the tract is one flowing with milk and honey and the people would not grudge any extra burden that might be involved. So, all the requisite conditions have been fulfilled and there can be no more objections, no more thorns placed in the way of the Andhras getting a separate Province for themselves. The Resolution further asks for a full measure of responsible government for the would-be Andhra Province. This is a modest and reasonable request and nothing short of an autonomous Andhra Province will satisfy their ambition. Now that the Statutory Commission is going to come, the question of redistribution of Provinces on linguistic basis may be taken up immediately and in right earnest and solved to the complete satisfaction of the Andhras, Karnatakas and Oriyas, so that this old sore may be completely healed up and no trace of it left for further troubles and further castigation. With these words, Sir, I heartily support the motion.

THE HONOURABLE MR. H. G. HAIG (Home Secretary): Sir, my task this morning is very much lightened by the full and, if I may say so, admirable statement of the case against the Resolution which has been made by my Honourable friend Mr. Evans. As he explained, the Resolution falls into two parts. There is what I take to be the really substantive and operative part of the Resolution asking for the constitution of a separate Andhra province; and tacked on to it there is a request that a full measure of responsible government should be granted to the province so constituted. My Honourable friend the Mover tried to explain how it was that this tail was attached to his Resolution. I confess I do not understand the relevancy of it, and it appeared to me that he admitted that it was a mere pendant. What has struck me in listening to the speeches made this morning in support of the Resolution is that the tail was developing a tendency to wag the dog! I propose however to confine myself in the main to what I take to be the main Resolution.

The general theory on which this proposition for the constitution of new provinces is based is one that I think commands—if I may venture on such a dangerous word—the sympathy of the constitutional theorist. It is clear that when we are attempting to introduce into India new methods of government based on democratic theory it should be easier to develop and express a general public opinion where the units concerned are comparatively small and homogeneous. One of the great difficulties with which India is faced is the enormous diversity of interests, and, from this point of view, I can well understand that the Honourable Members who inhabit an area which they believe falls naturally into a single unit should wish to develop it in practice into such a unit. There is, as the Honourable Mover explained, good authority for this theory. We find it stated in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report and repeated in the Report of the Joint Select Committee; and I would like to make it plain that the Government of India are not hostile to the theory, but their view is that any proposal of

this nature must be examined most carefully. Their attitude in fact is one of neutrality. While the theory in general is attractive, there are certain obvious limitations on its practical application. The first condition is that the Government must not act in advance of, or in opposition to, public opinion. It has therefore been laid down very clearly that, before the Government of India can consider any such proposal, they must be satisfied that there is a real popular demand, and that popular demand they may expect to find voiced in the local Legislative Council. I listened with some attention to my Honourable friend the Mover's remarks on this point because he was well aware of this argument which has been advanced by previous speakers in previous debates covering the same subject, but while he read out an imposing list of names and mentioned Resolutions which had been passed by various Conferences, I could not gather from him that there had been any Resolution passed by the local Legislative Council favouring this proposal. In fact my Honourable friend Mr. Evans, I understand, says definitely that there has not been any such Resolution. Well, Sir, I think this weakens the case of the Honourable Mover very much. I can hardly believe that if there were a strong local feeling in Madras that that feeling would not have found expression in its natural channel, the local Legislative Council. I was also surprised when my Honourable friend referred to the Government of India Act and said that its terms showed that in this matter the initiative rested not with the local Council or the local people but with the Government of India. I turned up the Report of the Joint Select Committee, in accordance with which the Government of India Act was framed, and there I read with reference to clause 15:

"They do not think that any change in the boundaries of a province should be made without due consideration of the views of the Legislative Council of the province."

I think it is quite clear, Sir, that the framers of the Government of India Act contemplated that the initiative should come from the local Council and the people immediately concerned. Well, Sir, the proposal is possibly one which may commend itself, as I said, to constitutional theorists, but we have to consider the force of tradition, a force which is nowhere stronger than in this country. What assurances have we that this scheme which may be attractive to my Honourable friend the Mover would really be appreciated by the masses of the people in this projected Andhra province? We know that schemes of partition and sometimes of amalgamation are devised by administrators or constitutional theorists and when they assume practical shape they meet with very strong popular opposition. I need hardly remind the House of numerous instances. The word "partition" has an ill-omened sound in certain parts of India. Therefore, we must be sure before we move at all in this matter that there is really a strong popular sentiment in favour of the proposal, and that I maintain we have not got. Then, again, Sir, there are other considerations which have to be taken into account. Though the tie of language may be an important one, there are other ties; there are ties of trade and commerce; there are ties of administration. We must not lightly break these ties without counting the cost. And finally, as my Honourable friend Mr. Evans explained, there are the financial difficulties. It is true that Honourable Members when speaking enthusiastically in favour of some proposition of their own are inclined to brush on one side considerations of finance and to assert that the people are perfectly prepared to pay for what they want, but I have observed, Sir, that when it comes to an actual practical proposal of taxation the people of India are no more anxious to

[Mr. H. G. Haig.]

tax themselves than people elsewhere. The conclusion, Sir, is that in this matter the Government of India are not yet in a position to take the initiative. The proposal is one of a very far-reaching nature. It appears to be in fact part of a scheme for dividing Madras into three. I notice that these Resolutions which are repeated in a recurring cycle in the Central Legislature deal with three different parts of Madras. We first of all have a Resolution for an Andhra province, then for a Kannada province, then for a Tamil province; then we start the cycle again with a Resolution for an Andhra province. I do not quite understand, Sir, why we do not have one combined Resolution, so that Madras may finally and effectively be partitioned into three. Is it that there is not really agreement, local agreement, on this scheme and it is easier to put up a proposal for one part with the expectation that the inhabitants of the other two parts will not consider themselves immediately concerned? In any case, Sir, I would suggest to my Honourable friend the Mover that the first course, if he wishes to get his proposal considered, is to obtain what he has not got, and that is unequivocal local support; then he will be in a position to approach the body which after all everybody must recognise, is the only body that is likely to give proper consideration and a decision in the matter, and that is the Statutory Commission.

I do not propose, Sir, to argue the question of self-government for this hypothetical province. I think it is hardly a practical proposition that this Council should spend its time in devising a constitution for a province which may very possibly never come into existence. In any case it would clearly be impossible to consider the constitution for a single province without entering into the difficult questions of its relations to other provinces and to the Central Government. This again is a matter which must come before the Statutory Commission, and I submit, Sir, that it is no use working away at a little corner of a building until we have decided on a plan for the whole, and that can only be done after the Statutory Commission has come out here and has considered the needs and wishes of all parts of India and submitted a comprehensive plan for the whole. I submit, Sir, that the Resolution is premature, that the conditions which the Government of India have always laid down as precedent to considering any action such as is suggested by the Honourable Mover have not been fulfilled, and I hope the House will not support the Resolution.

THE HONOURABLE SIR SANKARAN NAIR (Madras : Non-Muhammadan): Sir, I have to congratulate the spokesman of the Government on the very great progress which has been made by the Government in this matter. Last time when I moved a similar Resolution for the Tamil country there were objections in principle which were put forward against my proposal, but if Honourable Members this time have listened carefully to the speech made on behalf of the Government they will find that the objections raised are not objections in principle; in fact they have all been practically accepted. But there are objections to the effect that the question which has been raised requires fuller consideration and it is only after such consideration and after the Royal Commission have considered it that the prayer can be complied with. Well, Sir, what is it that he expects us to do, those of us who entertain these views? We have come forward and spoken on behalf of the Telugus, and we have ascertained that the people of the country want this separation and want it very badly. They are very keen on it, they are sincere about it.

Their present status interferes with all their aspirations. They are not able to do all that they want for themselves. They are not able to do all that they want for the Empire; with Home Rule their efforts will be more useful to the Empire. The Honourable Member says—that Government should not move until they are quite satisfied that the people want separation. Whoever denied that? We accept the truth of that statement in its entirety. But we say that the people want it. How can we satisfy the Government? Will they appoint a Committee? Day after day we find committees and commissions appointed. We undertake to satisfy the Government, if they appoint a committee, otherwise what steps will the Government take to satisfy themselves that the people do want it. We say, let them take any steps they like, and they will be satisfied that there is an absorbing passion almost in the country for the measure, not only for the measure that my Honourable friend Mr. Ramadas Pantulu advocates, but for something stronger. They have only to ask for the evidence, the evidence will be forthcoming. How is that evidence to be given unless the Government provide the machinery for it?

THE HONOURABLE MR. H. G. HAIG: Our position is that there is no *prima facie* evidence that local opinion is sufficiently strong for the Government of India to take action.

THE HONOURABLE SIR SANKARAN NAIR: I thank the Honourable Member for his suggestion. Let him read the reports of the meetings held all over the country, meetings in the Andhradesha; they will find such evidence. Let them ask the Government of Madras if there is *prima facie* evidence of that feeling. I say that the report of the Government of Madras can only indicate one thing, that is that the popular feeling is there. We think it is the duty of the Government of India to satisfy themselves whether there is such a feeling or not. If they think there is no such feeling, well that is the end of it.

The Honourable the Home Secretary says that this question has not been brought forward before the local Legislative Council. That is perfectly true, but this suggestion was made with reference to the partition of Provinces to continue under the existing systems of government or administration. What we ask for is the creation of a separate Home Rule Government. There is no Legislative Council in the Telugu district. There is a Legislative Council for the whole of the Madras Presidency, in which the Telugu people are outnumbered. You will not get the opinions of the Telugu people from the Legislative Council of Madras, where you have not the Telugus only but the Canarese and a number of other nations or races, and where different conditions prevail with different classes. I will not dilate upon this, but pass on to the other arguments.

A good deal was made of the point that we have not considered the financial aspect of the question. Have not we? The financial aspect is the one thing which we have considered. The people of Telugu are not only in favour of taxation, but in favour of developing their Desha, on every side, industrial and agricultural. What happens now? The Telugu or Tamil or Malayam districts may contribute money. Where does it go to? It goes to the Provincial Fund or Imperial Fund for the benefit of other provinces. You cannot evoke the patriotism of

[Sir Sankaran Nair.]

people and ask them to raise large sums of money when they know that it will be spent on schemes of which they do not approve. But when you have a province with Home Rule they will be willing to spend much more on that province than they are willing to spend now when they know that the money raised by taxation is spent for purposes which they do not approve of. It may be spent on the army or the navy, or for similar purposes. You cannot evoke the loyalty of a country unless you tell them that the money is to be spent according to their own wishes and for their own purposes. Do you mean to say that if we had Home Rule that India's response during the late War would have been what it was? Every province would have supplied more money and men in larger numbers. I say that for the safety of the Empire, for the development of the country, it is essential that you must have Home Rule for provinces on a cultural and linguistic basis, if you are not prepared to give it to India. You thus evoke the patriotism of the provinces for their own good and for the good of the country.

You say that a committee is going to come. We know that there are always committees and commissions going to come. But suppose you take up the question now and make the necessary enquiries which you will not be able to make when the Commission comes. It will take two or three years for the Government of India to submit the results of their investigations. You will be able to get the evidence you want in two years' time in order to show how each province should be constituted. The enquiry will have to be exhaustive and extensive. All those details cannot be gone into afterwards. The last time when the Montagu-Chelmsford enquiry was taken up we know what efforts were made. It was the indefatigable zeal and the unconquerable will of Mr. Montagu that carried it through. Under ordinary conditions those enquiries would have taken years. That it was gone through in a short time was due to the energy of one man. We will not find such a thing again. I do not think it possible under an ordinary government. But if you take up the enquiry now, in the course of two years you might be able to do something.

THE HONOURABLE MR. V. RAMADAS PANTULU: Sir, my task is considerably lightened by the very careful manner in which my Honourable friend Sir Sankaran Nair has answered the objections raised on behalf of Government.

I am thankful to the Honourable Mr. Evans for the self-denying ordinance he imposed upon himself and the members of his service by foregoing the openings which will follow in the wake of a new Andhra Province purely in the financial interests of the Andhras. But I am not convinced by his arguments. First of all he said there was no unanimity for the demand, and in support of that statement he cited the Raja of Bobbili against me. If the test of Andhra public opinion is Ramadas Pantulu *versus* The Raja of Bobbili, I quite agree he is right. But that it is a poor test even this House cannot doubt. The Maharaja of Burdwan said that the Honourable Mr. Evans might have urged against me stronger arguments. I am very glad the Maharaja is not in charge of the Department because he wants to out-Herod Herod.

With regard to the financial aspect of the matter the Maharaja of Burdwan complains that I have not said much; but if that were his only

trouble I can assure this Council that if the Andhra province had a Government of its own it would have developed its latent resources very much faster and would have been one of the richest provinces. If only the Central Provinces were linked up with the east coast at Vizagapatam the results would have been astonishing. If the province has not developed, it was because of the inefficient administration at Madras, which is a heterogeneous one, unable to deal with problems of development adequately. All that the Honourable Mr. Evans was able to point out in proof of its development was that the large irrigation schemes of the Krishna and the Godaveri were there. I quite agree they are there; but it is not because it is the Andhra country but because the rivers are there. They could not go in for irrigation schemes in the desert of Sahara. Therefore no credit is due for developing Andhradesha, because of these irrigation schemes. The only other thing he has put forward is that three gentlemen from Andhra districts have been till recently Ministers of the Madras province and that Andhras did not suffer by association. I am really sorry for those Ministers. Andhras were not proud of their three Ministers, because they were Ministers with whom the people of my province would not sup with the longest spoon and I would not care to touch with the longest stick. They were people who unsuccessfully tried to work dyarchy on bitter communal lines. Therefore, there is no use saying they were people who advanced the cause of Andhras. They were not acceptable to the Andhra people, they were the creatures of the bureaucracy. Some of the remarks of the Honourable Mr. Evans were really surprising. When listening to them I was thinking I was living in prehistoric days. I hardly think Mr. Evans knows anything about the Telugu country or its culture. I gave enough references to literature on the subject and I did not want to weary the House by reading extracts from them. If Mr. Evans reads the literature to which I have given references he will feel convinced that his statements are not correct.

One word more, Sir, and I am done, and that is in regard to the attitude of the Government of India as explained by the Honourable Mr. Haig. We seem to have made doubtful progress; from the attitude of "*respect and benevolence*" we have reached the stage of "*non-hostility and neutrality*." Whether this is a change for the better or worse I am unable to say at present. But one thing I have been definitely told; the Government will not take the initiative. If non-officials take the initiative and ascertain the public opinion in the particular part of the country, the Government say the opinion is not unequivocal. When they are the sole judges of the position and we make assertions which they refuse to accept there is really no way out of the difficulty. In a matter like this I do not think it would be possible for the advocates of this side to convince the advocates of the other side. A man to be convinced ought to take some initiative in an inquiry. When he does not do so it is not possible to convince him. I have taken the initiative and canvassed a mass of valuable opinion but the Government of India say that they will not take any trouble to test it and that they are not convinced. This is hardly a fair attitude for the Government of India to assume. I therefore hope they will change their neutral attitude and take an active initiative to ascertain the opinion of the people concerned by whatever means they consider best and try to examine the whole question in a more sympathetic spirit. I want sympathy, I want

[Mr. V. Ramadas Pantulu.]

practical sympathy. When the Statutory Commission comes out we cannot manufacture evidence all at once. Every one here says wait for the Statutory Commission. Supposing it is coming, what is it to base its recommendations on? Are no enquiries to be made before it comes out? Are we not to prepare the material from now or is it to be manufactured in the short time the Commission can spend in India? These large problems and vast issues must be faced by the Commission and it is the plain, honest duty of the Government of India to make inquiries, to collect materials and prepare the provinces for further advancement if they are sincere in their professions. With these words I once more commend the Resolution to the House.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: The question is that the following Resolution be adopted:

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

The Council divided:

AYES—11.

Desika Chari, The Honourable Mr. P. C.
Govind Das, The Honourable Seth. Jaffer, The Honourable Sir Haroon. Khaparde, The Honourable Mr. G. S. Mahendra Prasad, The Honourable Mr. Ramadas Pantulu, The Honourable Mr. V.
Rama Rau, The Honourable Rao Sahib Dr. U.

Roy Choudhuri, The Honourable Kumar Sankar.
Sankaran Nair, The Honourable Sir Chettur.
Sinha, The Honourable Mr. Anugraha Narayan.
Zubair, The Honourable Shah Muhammad.

NOES—28.

Bell, The Honourable Sir John.
Bijay Chand Mahtab, The Honourable Maharajadhiraja Sir, of Burdwan.
Brayne, The Honourable Mr. A. F. L. Charanjit Singh, The Honourable Sardar.
Commander-in-Chief His Excellency the.
Corbett, The Honourable Mr. G. L. Dadabhoy, The Honourable Sir Maneckji.
Das, The Honourable Mr. S. R. Evans, The Honourable Mr. F. B. Forest, The Honourable Mr. H. T. S. Golam Mustafa Chaudhury, The Honourable Maulvi.
Gray, The Honourable Mr. W. A. Habibullah, The Honourable Khan Bahadur Sir Muhammad, Sahib Bahadur.
Haig, The Honourable Mr. H. G. McWatters, The Honourable Mr. A. C.

Mehr Shah, The Honourable Nawab Sahibzada Saiyad Mohamad.
Misra, The Honourable Pandit Shyam Bihari.
Nawab Ali Khan, The Honourable Raja.
Ram Saran Das, The Honourable Rai Bahadur Lala.
Ranga Rao, The Honourable Raja Sri Ravu Swetachalapati Ramakrishna Bahadur, of Bobbili.
Singh, The Honourable Raja Sir Harnam.
Stow, The Honourable Mr. A. M. Swan, The Honourable Mr. J. A. L. Symons, The Honourable Major-General T. H.
Tek Chand, The Honourable Diwan.
Thomas, The Honourable Mr. G. A. Umar Hayat Khan, The Honourable Colonel Nawab Sir.
Wacha, The Honourable Sir Dinshaw Edulji.

The motion was negatived.

RESOLUTION *RE* RAILWAY BRIDGE OVER THE NETRAVATHI RIVER.

THE HONOURABLE DR. U. RAMA RAU (Madras: Non-Muhammadian):
Sir, I beg to move:

"This Council recommends to the Governor General in Council that the railway bridge over the Netravathi River between Mangalore and the neighbouring villages of Ullal, Permanoor, Kotekar, etc., be made available for a cart-road and that the bridge be planked or otherwise altered or improved for the said purpose as early as possible."

The South Kanara District is the Cinderella of the Madras Presidency. It is very poor in communications, roads, bridges and railways, and consequently still remains a backward locality. Its mountains and rivers are said to isolate it from the rest of the Presidency and hinder its progress. But such small mercies as roads, bridges and railways are certainly not beyond the reach or means of a mighty Government which sends expeditions to Mount Everest at an inconceivable cost, which has bridged the Ganges and the Indus, and which has overcome a thousand and one natural barriers for military and strategic purposes. The present Resolution asks the Government of India for a small boon to relieve the sufferings of their much-neglected subjects of South Kanara. The town of Mangalore is rapidly growing in importance and is becoming congested and thickly populated and its atmosphere also is vitiated by the location of numberless tile factories and other industrial works. In consequence of this over-population, malignant diseases, tuberculosis, malaria, typhoid and other fevers have come to stay in Mangalore. Realising the need of relieving the congestion, the Government of Madras have set on foot various schemes, among which the Pentland town and Chembugudde are standing monuments. Mr. Lionel Vibert, I.C.S., a former Collector of South Kanara, conceived an elaborate scheme for expanding the town of Mangalore on the southern side of the Netravathi River in order to relieve the rapidly growing congestion within the municipal limits. With this end in view it was proposed to acquire 100 acres of land at Ullal and to lay it out on up-to-date and sanitary lines to form the 'Ullal Garden City', a scheme which was subsequently dropped owing to Mr. Vibert's transfer from the District. But private enterprise has begun to fan the dying embers of this scheme, as a result of which we find to-day the "Ullal Garden City" rising up in all its glory. Ullal, on account of its salubrious climate, coastal character, industrial facilities, proximity to the trading and manufacturing part of Mangalore town and the advantage of being traversed by a railway, lends itself to convenient expansion as a safe residential quarter. Already diverse people of the town have either settled permanently or built villas in the Ullal village and hence it promises to be a rising town in the near future. But this extension is seriously hampered owing to the geographical conditions forbidding such expansion, i.e., the Netravathi River without a cart-road over the railway bridge. Rendering the Netravathi bridge suitable for cart traffic would make the connection between Mangalore and the villages to the south of the Netravathi river closer. With modern improved conveyances, Ullal facing the sea directly like the Malabar Hill of Bombay, can develop into a sanatorium for Mangalore as time advances. With the construction of a cart-road, the produce of the villages would be more easily available and at cheaper rates to the Mangalore market and thus accrue to the economic development of the towns and villages, whereas

[Dr. U. Rama Rau.]

at present, it comes only as far as the Ullal river and is then carried to Mangalore by boats across the dangerous Mangalore Bar which renders the passage almost impossible during the floods, and at other times for nearly six months in the year. This closer contact will also improve the social and educational status of the villages.

This request to make the railway bridge available for a cart-road is not altogether novel for in Cochin and on the South Indian Railway line, the Shoranur, Chalakudi, Feroke and Kallay bridges are planked for the said purpose and opened to the public. A similar device may be adopted even in the case of the Netravathi bridge. We have it on the authority of Mr. Thompson, Executive Engineer in charge of the bridge construction, that even the corrugated iron plates laid on it had been put at a cost of Rs. 40,000 or so for enabling a cart-road to be opened. If, however, these do not prove sufficient, the existing corrugated iron flooring might be replaced by wooden planks or the footpaths on either side might be broadened by some cantilever arrangement or in some other way and thus made to serve the purpose of a cart-road, or the bridge itself might be extended by erecting two more spans at the southern end. The Municipality of Mangalore and the District Board of South Kanara have expressed their willingness to contribute their quota to this scheme by charging a small toll-gate fee for vehicles and earmarking the amount realised for repaying any loan they may raise on this behalf. That there has been a popular demand for this cart-road cannot be denied. An influentially signed memorial including the resident Europeans, Jesuit Fathers and other gentry of Mangalore has been submitted lately to His Excellency the Governor of Madras, through the Collector of South Kanara, praying for the provision of a cart-road over the railway bridge. I am sure the Railway Board and the Railway Administration must have had a copy of this memorial or even if they had not had one, they must have been consulted at least in the matter by this time. I trust they will take a favourable view of the case and come to the rescue of a long suffering people in a remote corner of Madras. This is no controversial subject; on the other hand, it is a beneficial measure to a portion of the public, which deserves the unanimous support of this House. I now commend this Resolution for your kind acceptance.

THE HONOURABLE MR. G. L. CORBETT (Commerce Secretary): Sir, if I may say so without offence, I think the Honourable Member tends to become a little parochial in his Resolutions. I do not think this Council can be expected to take a very lively interest in the provision of a cart-road to the villages of Ullal, Permanoor, Kotekar, etc., or even in the development of a salubrious suburb for Mangalore. This may be a matter of very great local interest, and although I was much interested in the Honourable Member's speech, I think it is a matter that might have been discussed more usefully in the local district council than in this House.

At the same time I am very glad to have the opportunity to explain
 1 P.M. to this House the responsibilities of the Railway Department of the Government of India in such a matter as this. As Honourable Members know, Roads and Bridges under the Devolution Rules are Provincial Subjects, and the Government of India have no administrative or financial responsibility in the matter. With regard to railway bridges, it is the usual practice for a Railway to construct a foot-way over its bridges.

for the use of its servants, and it is also the usual practice that this footway should be open to the public. This is the case in this particular Netravathi bridge to which the motion refers. The provision of a road for cart or motor traffic over such a bridge is primarily a matter for the Local Government, for under the Devolution Rules Local Governments have to bear the cost of the additional accommodation on the bridge for these purposes and also the annual cost of maintenance of the road across the bridge. We endeavour, however, to co-operate with Local Governments in this matter in every possible way. According to the Standing Rules of the Railway Board when a project is under consideration, Local Governments or Administrations concerned should be asked to forward their views on various points direct to the Railway Board, and one of the points is:

"Roadways over important bridges (i.e., bridges with spans of 100 feet and over and having a total length of waterway of not less than 1,200 lineal feet or 600 feet in case the bridge is close to an important trunk road or highway.)"

The reason why we limit this to large bridges is because it is the policy of the Railway Administrations both in this country and in others only to have combined bridges over large rivers, where the construction of a separate bridge would cost a great deal of money. That is the standing rule of the Railway Board; and I may also say that recently the Railway Board have again impressed upon Railway Administrations the necessity of consulting Local Governments on this point when the construction of a large bridge is being undertaken. I would like to impress upon the Honourable Mover and the House that the Government of India are fully alive to the importance of combined road and railway bridges, not only for local convenience, but also in any scheme for road development in India as a whole. Last week, Honourable Members may remember, this House accepted a Resolution for the appointment of a Committee to consider the whole question of road development in India, and I very much hope that this Committee, if and when it is appointed, will consider this important question of the combination of road and railway bridges in any road development scheme. That is the general position of the Government of India on the question of combined railway and road bridges.

Turning to this particular bridge to which the Honourable Member has referred, I think that neither the Government of India nor the Members of this House are really in a position to say whether the cost of a road bridge here is justifiable or not. It is a matter entirely for the Local Government to decide, and I do not think we can express any opinion on it.

There is one point however that I should like to bring home to Honourable Members. The Honourable Mover suggested that the permanent way might be planked over. Therefore, the implication was that the cost of the alterations would not be very much. That is a method of providing a road over a railway bridge to which we are strongly opposed in principle. We consider that cart and vehicular traffic cannot be carried on the same deck as the railway tract unless it is right outside the girders. We cannot plank the permanent way. The objections are really too obvious to need very much development. In the first place, it is very inconvenient to railway work. The bridge would every now and then have to be opened and closed for the passage of vehicular traffic. And also it would be very dangerous in the interests of public safety. I do not know whether many Members of the House have seen the road and railway

[Mr. G. L. Corbett.]

bridge over the Jumna on the Ghaziabad road. If they have been there in the morning, they will have seen the absolute turmoil of cart traffic over the road bridge, which is on a lower level than the railway track, and I ask the House to picture to themselves what would be the position if there was a train puffing about in the midst of it at the same time. I have got a map of this particular Netravathi bridge that the Mover has referred to. One of the objects of the Mover is to develop the suburb of Ullal. I can well imagine the well-to-do people in their motors racing with the suburban train in the morning to see which gets on the bridge first. I think planking bridges is out of the question, and therefore you must take into consideration the fact that it would probably be a very expensive business to adapt this bridge for road traffic as well, and it would be a matter entirely for the Local Government and for the district council to consider whether the expense is justified in order to develop this salubrious suburb. If, however, the Local Government approaches us with proposals on the subject, we shall be very glad to meet them in any way we can.

I think so far as this House is concerned the matter might be left there. It is now for the local interests which desire this bridge to move the district council or the Local Government or the local Legislative Council for the purpose, but I do not think this House will agree to make a recommendation to the Governor General in Council on a small local matter, of which most of us have no first-hand knowledge and in which we are really not directly concerned. I am afraid I must therefore oppose the Resolution.

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA RAM SARAN DAS (Punjab: Non-Muhammadian): I expected that my Honourable friend Mr. Corbett would let us know what reply the Government of Madras gave to the railway authorities when they addressed the Madras Government as regards the necessity of the cart road bridge over the Netravathi River.

THE HONOURABLE MR. G. L. CORBETT: I am afraid I have not gone into the ancient correspondence on the subject. This bridge is not a new one as far as I know, and I do not know what reply was given.

THE HONOURABLE RAO SAHIB DR. U. RAMA RAU: The Municipality of Mangalore and the District Board of South Kanara approached the Local Government and also a big memorial signed by hundreds of persons was submitted to the Government. I want to know what has become of the memorial, whether the Government of India or the Local Government are in possession of that and whether anything has been done in the matter.

THE HONOURABLE MR. G. L. CORBETT: I can only say that the Government of India have received no representation from the Local Government on the subject, and if the Honourable Member wishes to know what views the Local Government hold on the subject, I think he should approach the Local Government direct and not through us.

THE HONOURABLE RAO SAHIB DR. U. RAMA RAU: If the Honourable Member promises to consider this matter when the question comes up from the Local Government, I have no objection to withdraw the Resolution.

THE HONOURABLE MR. G. L. CORBETT: I have already said, Sir, in my speech that if the Local Government approaches us in the matter, we shall be pleased to meet them in any way we can.

THE HONOURABLE RAO SAHIB DR. U. RAMA RAU: I beg leave to withdraw the Resolution.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: Is it your pleasure that the Honourable Dr. Rama Rau be given leave to withdraw his Resolution?

(No objection was taken.)

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

RESOLUTION *RE* INTEREST ON DEPOSITS IN POSTAL SAVINGS BANKS AND GOVERNMENT SECURITIES BELONGING TO MUSSALMANS.

THE HONOURABLE SIR HAROON JAFFER (Bombay Presidency: Muhammadan): Sir, I beg to move my Resolution which runs as follows:

"This Council recommends to the Governor General in Council that he may be pleased to take steps to make available for the improvement and expansion of Muslim education, all the interest accruing from the deposits in the Postal Savings Banks and Government Securities belonging to Mussalmans who do not, owing to religious scruples, receive interest thereon, and that this arrangement be given immediate effect to in provinces in which Muslim public opinion is agreeable to the scheme."

Sir, the Members of this Honourable House will remember that the subject-matter of this Resolution was discussed here two years ago, and that any decision on this important matter was postponed in order that Government might have sufficient time to sound representative Muslim opinion in all the provinces and to collect the necessary information relative to the successful working of such a scheme. That information has, I understand, now been collected, and leaders of Muslim thought in all the provinces have also expressed to Government their views on the matter. I should perhaps remind Honourable Members that there were two main issues raised in the course of the debate which took place on my Resolution before it was postponed. The first issue related to the principle involved in the proposal and the second issue centred in the circle of difficulties apprehended in the execution of the scheme. In view of these issues and the inconclusive character of the previous debate, I must confess that I am still more or less in the dark regarding the opinions held by Government and the Members of this House generally on the subject, although I cannot help feeling assured that I am not exaggerating when I say that the trend of the debate as I read it indicated that in spite of certain doubts expressed by a few Honourable Members, the Resolution met with the general approval of the majority. I was particularly interested in, and grateful for, the way in which the Honourable Mr. McWatters, the then Finance Secretary, pointed out what appeared to him to be fundamental and administrative difficulties, but the whole House will, I believe, recall the able manner in which some of the supporters of the Resolution at that time so ably answered the various objections thus raised; and it is hence particularly regretful that some of those friends are not present to see the Resolution passed, as I feel sure it will be to-day. Without wearying you by traversing the ground already so vigorously trod, I feel

[Sir Haroon Jaffer.]

that I should perhaps bring to your recollection the fact that speaking on behalf of Government, the Honourable Sir Narasimha Sarma frankly declared that they had had no time adequately to consider the proposition, and hence could neither support nor condemn the Resolution, at that time. But I have every hope that during the past two years, the Government have made full enquiries into the matter and carefully studied the information which they said they would collect; and so I expect to receive an official announcement, on the subject during this debate. And, of course, I have every hope that the announcement will be in favour of accepting the Resolution.

Sir, the main point of the Resolution is obviously a simple and straightforward one. I request the Government that the whole of the interest now going into their coffers should be utilized for the furtherance of Muslim education. One objection has been raised that perhaps the investors would not agree to the interest being utilised in this way. But what happens to the interest under present conditions? Government take it and make use of it in one way or another along general lines which cannot be defined as the money goes into the general revenues. Those who forego their interest have no say even now in its disposal, nor, by the nature of things, can they be approached on the matter. It cannot be imagined that Government intend to hold on to this extra money indefinitely or to force the investors to take it. Yet if it is added to the general revenues, as it must be, then it will perhaps be spent in ways that would be still more obnoxious to Moslem investors whose piety and literal reading of their religious principles prevent them from benefiting personally from the unfortunate necessities of the borrowers.

In the course of the debate two years ago on my Resolution, one of my Honourable friends and coreligionist Mr. Saiyed Raza Ali, plainly pointed out the teaching and significance of Muslim law on this subject and expressed the feeling of the Muslim community about taking interest from investments, emphasising that the whole question is one of objection to personal benefit.

Sir, my suggestion is that this money be utilised for a definite purpose, namely, the furtherance of education amongst Muslims, which cannot possibly be objected to by any orthodox Muslim. It must be admitted that the money really belongs to the Muslims, and hence all I am asking is, in a nutshell, that Muslims who do not take interest on religious grounds, give Government permission to take that money and use it for the benefit of the community to which they belong. I have every conviction that there will be no real objections to this on the part of Muslims, although, if any misunderstanding did arise on the matter, it could be easily removed. That is to say, Government need have no apprehensions as to the Muslim attitude toward any utilisation of unclaimed interest towards the improvement of education amongst the Mussalmans.

Sir, in reply to a question of mine during the last session, I was supplied with a summary of the opinions of the Provincial and other minor Governments as forwarded to the Government of India. This symposium shows very clearly that the majority of Muslims consulted are in favour of the scheme I have suggested and that the vast majority consider that no serious religious susceptibilities of the community will be offended. The majority

of Local Governments also do not raise any objection to the scheme. There is a slight opposition to the proposal on the part of a minority, and for this reason I have moved in my Resolution now that the scheme be put into immediate operation only in the provinces where there is no special opposition, leaving us to do what we can in the way of propaganda in those places where Muslim public opinion does not seem quite ripe for such a move.

Sir, I would emphasise that in the matter under discussion the Government are willing to pay this money to the rightful claimants, and the majority of the claimants are agreeable to it being paid to the community as a charitable gift rather than as a personal income. I admit that the total amount will not be very large, but I do not know of any better purpose to which it can be put than that of educating the children of the community to which the investors belong. In short, it seems to me that the principle of my Resolution is generally admitted to be acceptable, and, while there may be certain difficulties at the outset in making the necessary arrangements for its collection, I have every trust in the power of the Government to overcome these obstacles, especially as I have never known our resourceful finance officials to be baffled by any obstacle in the way of collecting money. Therefore, Sir, I have great pleasure in moving this Resolution in the firm conviction that it will meet with unanimous support.

THE HONOURABLE MR. A. F. L. BRAYNE (Finance Secretary): Sir, at the outset I may inform the House that the amount in question is very small. It has been estimated that, at the outside, unclaimed interest in the Post Office Savings Bank account does not amount to more than about ten thousand rupees. As regards Government securities, owing to the complexity of the system, it is impossible to say how much the amount is, but such investigations as have been made indicate an inconsiderable amount. Probably not more than fifteen thousand rupees are involved in this discussion. Government, as the Honourable Mover of the Resolution has stated, made very full enquiries of the Local Governments and of Muslim opinion throughout India. The majority of opinion is in favour of the proposal, but there is a certain amount of definite opinion against it. Government have most carefully considered the opinions, as they undertook to do, and, with every sympathy for and appreciation of the admirable object which the Honourable the Mover has in view, they feel that they cannot support the proposal. Government have no desire to avoid their obligation in the matter of the payment of interest on these investments, but there are certain reasons why they feel that they cannot support the proposal. The first is a constitutional point. It is entirely irregular for funds of the Central Government to be devoted to expenditure on a subject which is a provincial subject. The particular subject in question is a provincial transferred subject for which Provincial Governments are entirely responsible, and it would not be regular that any contribution from the Central Government's finances should be devoted thereto; but the strongest objection is probably this that any such action on the part of the Central Government would mean intervention in a matter which concerns the conscience, the scruples and the convictions of Muhammadans on an important tenet of their faith. For example, supposing that, in Bombay, where I understand the Muhammadan opinion is strongly in support of the proposal, a grant of Rs. 2,000 was made to a particular school; it would

[Mr. A. F. L. Brayne.]

probably happen that most of the Muasalmans who sent their children to that school would be entirely in favour of that proposal, but at the same time a certain number might feel that it was entirely against their conscience to accept any service in support of which money had been contributed from a source which they regarded as tainted. They might therefore, in obedience to the dictates of their conscience, withdraw their children. In such a position I hold that any suspicion of Government intervention is most undesirable. For these reasons I would ask the Honourable Member not to press his Resolution.

THE HONOURABLE COLONEL NAWAB SIR UMAR HAYAT KHAN (Punjab: Nominated Non-Official): Sir, being a Muhammadan, naturally the welfare of Muhammadans is close to my heart and I thank the Honourable the Mover for bringing in a Resolution which is for the benefit of Muhammadans in general. Of course there is one argument which may be urged against his proposal, that when these people to whom interest is due are not taking it, they can easily say they do not want it and ask that it should be given to such and such a university. If that was done I do not think Government would have any way out of it. As to the religious point of view, the only thing which is against taking money is that one Muhammadan should not give money to another Muhammadan and take interest on it, but to take interest from a bank is an absolutely different thing altogether, and there are many Muhammadans who interpret the taking of money from banks as quite all right. Now these Muhammadans who do not take money from others only do not take it because they are individuals, and one individual should not take the benefit of interest on his own money, but in the proposal made in the Resolution the money is not going to the individuals at all, it is going for the benefit of say a school, which is not one man. So that I think no Muhammadan from the religious point of view can possibly object to this money going for Muhammadan education. So I think, Sir, if the Muhammadans pass a Resolution in the Legislative Councils then the Government of India should have no objection to giving effect to this Resolution because then, if this Resolution is passed, the Local Governments will not be able to object. If the Muhammadans have sent their own Muhammadan representatives into the Councils and they bring forward a Resolution and pass it, the Muhammadans could not object to it. I think if it was modified so that it would come here after a Resolution had been passed in the local Councils, it would be better.

(The Honourable Sir Haroon Jaffer made a remark which was inaudible at the Reporters' table.)

THE HONOURABLE COLONEL NAWAB SIR UMAR HAYAT KHAN: If the Local Governments did pass such Resolutions the Government of India would at any rate know that the general Muhammadan feeling is not against the proposal. That is what I want to put forward, so I do hope that, even if Government are determined not to pass this Resolution, which is really a beneficial one, they will see their way to do something which eventually would amount to the same thing because, after all, the money belongs to the community and the community wants it for their good, and why should they not have it? With these few words, I strongly support the Resolution.

THE HONOURABLE MR. MAHMOOD SUHRAWARDY (West Bengal: Muhammadan): Sir, I rise to support the Resolution of my Honourable friend Sir Haroon Jaffer. We, the Muslim Members of this Honourable House, cannot be too thankful to him for the laudable efforts he is making towards the expansion of the education of our Muslim boys and girls. To my mind, there can be no sort of difficulty proceeding from Muslim investors, whether they belong to Northern India or Southern India. The plain object of the Resolution is to expand Muslim education as quickly as possible, and the demand has been incessant that the education of our boys and girls should make far greater strides than hitherto. Therefore any suggestion or scheme that would increase the pace of its progress should be welcome to the Government as well as the Muslim community as a whole. Now, Sir, the Honourable the Mover has discovered a useful and a hitherto unthought of source of finance that may well be utilised for this purpose. I think he is quite right in suggesting that the unclaimed interest accumulated out of the investments made by Muslims in the Post Office Savings Banks, bonds, and other Government securities should be pooled together and the total amount should be utilized for Muslim education. I am sure, Sir, that there will be no objection to this course from the investors themselves. For the Resolution applies only to the case where the investors do not claim interest. It is well known that most of the Muslim investors do not take back the accumulated interest on the principal. This fact has been brought out when a similar Resolution was discussed in 1925. I am sure, Sir, that the Government cannot have any objection to utilizing the unclaimed interest accruing from the principal for the education of Muslim children instead of allowing it to lapse and be absorbed into the general revenue. The Honourable the Mover of the Resolution suggests that it may be distributed for Muslim education, the most charitable of charitable purposes. In giving my support to this Resolution, I would suggest that the total amount thus proposed to be set apart for this purpose should be distributed to the various provinces according to their needs and necessities.

With these few words, I give my cordial support to the Resolution.

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. C. DESIKA CHARI (Burma: General): Sir, I heartily support this Resolution and I would request the indulgence of this House for a few minutes. As regards the constitutional point which has been raised by the Honourable Mr. Brayne I should think there is really no question of constitutional difficulty at all in accepting this Resolution. Education may be a transferred subject, but there is nothing to prevent the funds which are not earmarked for central revenues to be devoted to a transferred subject. After all, the interest which on religious grounds these Mussulmans forego is not meant for the benefit of the public treasury. If it can be devoted to purposes which have the general support of those people to whom it ought to go rightfully then there can be no objection at all to devoting the funds to that particular purpose. It is only a small sum, but small or large, it is a sum which rightly belongs to the Mussulman community and there is no Koranic or other injunction so far as I am aware against investment for a public benefit like education. One must take it that people generally who refuse to take interest for their own personal benefit can have no possible objection to the money being devoted to a purpose which is not contrary to the injunctions of the Koran or of the Mussalman prophets. After all, there is no question of interfering with the conscience of the people. The conscience of the people as represented

[Mr. P. C. Desika Chari.]

in the Legislature is sufficiently well advanced in favour of the view which has been so admirably put forward by my Honourable friend Sir Haroon Jaffer. With these few words I give my cordial support to the Resolution.

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA RAM SARAN DAS (Punjab: Non-Muhammadan): Sir, I rise to support the Resolution and while supporting it I wish to observe that the smallness or otherwise of the amount involved ought not to effect the Government's decision on this subject. Sir, the Government is bound to pay interest on its securities and the Post Office is also responsible for paying interest on the money deposited in Savings Banks there, if the depositors themselves assign it. The only difference in what this Resolution asks for is that instead of the depositors themselves the representatives of the community to which they belong makes this constitutional request to the Government. I think the request is fully justified. On account of religious scruples those depositors would probably not come forward themselves to ask the Government to assign the amount of their interest to Mussalman charities. I think the Government should extend their gracious support in this indirect manner to the cause of Moslem education and other charitable purposes of the Moslem community. I therefore strongly support the Resolution.

THE HONOURABLE MR. J. A. L. SWAN: Sir, I move that the question be now put.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: The question is that the question be now put.

The motion was adopted.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: The question is that the following Resolution be adopted:

"This Council recommends to the Governor General in Council that he may be pleased to take steps to make available for the improvement and expansion of Muslim education, all the interest accruing from the deposits in the Postal Savings Banks and Government Securities belonging to Mussalmans who do not, owing to religious scruples, receive interest thereon, and that this arrangement be given immediate effect to in provinces in which Muslim public opinion is agreeable to the scheme."

The motion was adopted.

The Council then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Friday, the 16th February, 1927.
