

Monday, 21st September, 1936

THE
COUNCIL OF STATE DEBATES

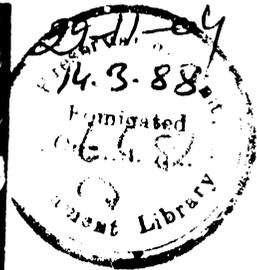
VOLUME II, 1936

(21st September to 17th October, 1936)

TWELFTH SESSION

OF THE

THIRD COUNCIL OF STATE, 1936



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THE COUNCIL OF STATE DEBATES.

(OFFICIAL REPORT OF THE TWELFTH SESSION OF THE THIRD
COUNCIL OF STATE.)

VOLUME II—1936.

COUNCIL OF STATE.

Monday, 21st September, 1936.

ADDRESS BY HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY TO THE MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL OF STATE AND THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY: Gentlemen,—I wish on this, the first occasion on which as Governor-General I address the Indian Legislature, to say how great a pleasure it is to me to extend my greetings to the Members of that Legislature, and in particular to the distinguished Presidents of the Council of State and of the Legislative Assembly, both of them, I am glad to say, well known to me.

It has, I think, in the past been the custom of my predecessors, in addressing the Legislature, to deal in some detail with the various measures from time to time under the consideration of the Government of India. The occasion on which I now address you is, however, one of a wholly special character and significance. Not only is it the last occasion on which this Legislature will meet as a whole; but my words today are spoken at a time when the elections for the Provincial Legislatures are close upon us, and when we are within a very short distance of the inauguration of Provincial Autonomy. It is my intention therefore to make only a relatively brief reference to those questions which have come under the direct consideration of the Legislature or of the Departments of the Government of India, and to lay before you at somewhat greater length than might otherwise be appropriate the reflections of a general character that suggest themselves to me at this critical juncture in the political development of India.

But before I pass to those matters, since the session now about to begin will be the last session of the present Council of State, I would like to take the opportunity to pay a tribute to the invaluable work which the Council of State

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has done under the sage and experienced guidance of its President, Sir Maneckji Dadabhoy. Consisting as it does of Members of proved experience in many walks of life, its balanced judgment on the problems that have come before it and the pains which it has invariably taken to reach a just and objective decision on the many controversial issues with which it has been faced, entitled it in a high degree to our gratitude and our esteem.

I do not, in the circumstances to which I have already referred, propose to do more than touch on one or two of the more important matters which are at present under the consideration of my Government, and my reference even to these will be brief. The first in importance among these matters is unquestionably the problem of middle-class unemployment. I have spared no effort since I assumed office to familiarize myself with the various aspects of this problem and with the possible methods of grappling with it. It is one with the complexity and the difficulty of which you are familiar. My Government are actively investigating the avenues opened up by the very valuable Report of the Sapru Committee, and they are leaving nothing undone to devise methods of dealing with what is one of the fundamental issues of the present day in most countries of the world.

The position and the difficulties of Indians overseas have always been matters in which Indian public opinion and this Legislature have shown the keenest concern. The past months have been marked by several developments of interest and importance. Representatives of the Government and the Parliament of South Africa are already in India, and I take this, the first public opportunity that has presented itself, of extending to them the warmest of welcomes on behalf of India as a whole. My Government have, I am glad to say, been able to afford Indians in Zanzibar the expert guidance and advice of one of my officers in connection with the difficulties which they have been experiencing. The question of the reservation of the Kenya Highlands has been settled on a basis which represents the admission of a principle for which India has consistently contended. The decisions taken as to the future composition of the Legislative Council in Fiji may be regarded as satisfactory from the Indian standpoint. The Transvaal Asiatic Land Tenure Amendment Act of 1936 will be of material benefit to Indians in the Transvaal. It is but natural that India should display a continuing and active interest in the problems affecting her citizens overseas. And it is a source of keen satisfaction to me on this, the first occasion on which I address the Legislature, that the recent record of achievement in safeguarding those interests should have been so encouraging.

Negotiations, as you are aware, are in progress with Representatives of the Japanese Government for the conclusion of a new commercial agreement. It is my earnest hope that those negotiations may in the very near future reach a fruitful outcome. You will, I am sure, welcome the decision which my Government have taken to appoint in the near future an Indian Trade Commissioner to Japan, and, with a view to assisting the development of Indian trade with East Africa, to Mombasa.

The separation of Aden from India will coincide with the inauguration of Provincial Autonomy. The association has been a long one, and I am glad to think that, on its determination, His Majesty's Government have given full weight to Indian feeling in the matter of safeguards for the special Indian interests connected with the Aden Settlement.

As you are I think aware, two problems to which I attach the utmost importance are that of public health, and the problem of nutrition as affecting human beings and animals alike. The problem of nutrition is at all times one of vital concern to any country, and on its solution hinges essentially the future of India as a whole. No effort that can be made to ameliorate conditions and to assist in the solution of this problem can be too great; and you may rest assured of my own continued and abiding personal interest in it. Hardly less material in its relation to the development and progress of India is the problem of Public Health. In this field, in particular, co-operation and the maximum degree of continued and co-ordinated effort between the Central and the Provincial Governments is essential. I am most anxious that all possible assistance should be available to those concerned with the investigations of the many difficult issues that arise, and with the practical application of such remedial measures as may be required. I am accordingly taking active steps for the establishment of a Central Public Health Advisory Board which, in collaboration with the Provincial Governments, and with a constitution somewhat analogous to that of the Central Advisory Board of Education shall apply itself to the realisation of this ideal.

I have, since I assumed my present office, done all that lies in my power to stimulate and encourage rural development, and the response after even so short a time has in my judgment been most encouraging. But in devoting my attention to agriculture and its problems, I have not ignored the legitimate claims of Industry, and I am taking a close interest in the problems of Industry and in particular in the co-ordination and development of industrial research. In this connection I cannot but affirm my conviction that no steps can be taken which will be more effective in promoting the expansion of commerce and industry than those designed to enhance the purchasing power of the rural population.

Before I pass to a consideration of the great constitutional developments which lie before us, it is proper that I should take the opportunity to mention the debt under which we labour to Sir Laurie Hammond and his Committee, and to Sir Otto Niemeyer. The investigations of Sir Otto Niemeyer have left us fully siezed of the financial position of the Centre and the Provinces alike, a state of things essential to the introduction of Provincial Autonomy and of Federation. To Sir Laurie Hammond and his Committee we owe the well-balanced and carefully considered recommendations on which the constituencies for the future legislative bodies will essentially be based.

The stage is now set for Provincial Autonomy, and on the 1st April 1937 that fundamental constitutional change will come into being. With its inauguration takes place the first of the stages in the transmutation of the Indian constitutional position. The second stage, the stage of Federation

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lies ahead of the stage of Provincial Autonomy. But, as I have endeavoured on various occasions to make clear, I am myself of opinion that the interval between Provincial Autonomy and Federation must inevitably be a very short one. I am not blind to the difficult and delicate problems which arise in connection with the inauguration of the Federation, and in particular with the accession to it of the Ruling Princes. But I am taking all possible steps to expedite the investigation and disposal of those problems, and to lighten the burden of those on whom there falls the responsibility of a decision so important as that which accession to the Federation constitutes. The question, in all its aspects, is receiving day by day my own close personal attention, and you can rely upon me, Gentlemen, to leave nothing undone that lies within my power, to remove any misunderstandings or misapprehensions which may exist, and to facilitate the task of those on whom there fall the momentous responsibilities involved.

Of the intricacy of the problem I am, in the light of my own experience, fully conscious. Indeed I am moved on occasions to ask myself whether those of us who have laboured in India and in London, upon the three Round Table Conferences, upon the Joint Select Committee, or in Parliament itself, as supporters or as critics of the great scheme of constitutional reform enshrined in the Act of 1935, whether we are not in some danger of finding ourselves so engrossed in the multifarious details of the plan as to lose sight of the essential outlines of the structure and, at times, even of the splendid vision that has moved and inspired its inception. And in truth the moment has come for a due appraisal of the fabric as a whole, for we may number by weeks the time that now separates us from the commencement of Provincial Autonomy, while the strong probability is that the transitory period between the achievement of Provincial Autonomy and the inauguration of the Federation of India, will be of short duration.

As we attempt such an appraisal, the spectacle that confronts our eyes is rendered the more impressive by reason of its contrast with the dark and ominous background of contemporary world events. In Europe we see an array of dictatorships risen from the ashes of those liberal systems of government which preceded them, each arming feverishly against a possible crisis that all fear and none desire; while civil war, in its cruellest and most destructive shape, despoils a nation once supreme alike in the Old World and the New. Again, in many parts of the world, we become aware of the recrudescence of the rule of force, and in one guise or another, of the exploitation of the weak by the strong.

These are the world conditions in which, by the joint statesmanship of Britain and India, there is about to be initiated in this country an experiment in representative self-government, which for breadth of conception and boldness of design is without parallel in history; these the circumstances in which the British People and Parliament have seen fit to offer to India a constitution which by its liberal principles, stands in such impressive contrast to those political tendencies which are evident over wide areas of the World. And if the constitutional changes now impending predicate the remarkable

growth of Indian political consciousness in terms both of the desire for self-government and of a growing realisation of the essential unity of India, so also those changes connote a profound modification of British policy towards India as a member of the Commonwealth. For indeed by their very nature they involve nothing less than the discarding of the old ideas of Imperialism for new ideals of partnership and co-operation.

In April of next year there will come into being eleven autonomous Provinces, some of them as extensive in area and with populations as large as many European countries. Over these great areas Indian statesmen will be called upon to bear the heavy burden of responsibility for the entire field of civil government in the provincial sphere. When the vast electorates, aggregating some 35 million persons, go to the polls to choose their representatives in their respective Legislatures, to which those Ministers will be responsible, the individual voter will have a new duty and a new opportunity. For by their choice the electors will be deciding not merely upon the person to represent them in the Legislature, but they will be contributing directly towards shaping the course of public policy in their Province. For the trend of government, legislative and administrative, must needs move in the direction indicated by the will of a majority of the electorate.

We are witnessing at the moment in every Province in India that which is an essential preliminary to the successful working of democratic constitutions, namely, the formation or development of political parties. Having myself had some share in party management in my own country, I am observing with no little interest the progress of events. My own experience suggests that it is easy, at such a juncture, to over-estimate the power of the party manager to influence the course of party evolution, and to fall into the capital error of forgetting that in these matters it is the electorate that shapes parties as well as policies.

I do not doubt that there will emerge, at the outset of the change, points of difficulty and uncertainty. That in all the circumstances is inevitable. But I am confident that such minor difficulties will early be surmounted. The essential fact is that upon the 1st of April next year we are destined to embark upon the first stage of this remarkable political adventure. From that moment these great political entities will move forward into the future, the objects—we may be sure—of intense local patriotism, proud of their history, confident in their future, determined, each one of them, to play a worthy part in that new India which is now taking shape before our eyes.

Such, then, are the eleven autonomous Provinces which, in union with such of the Indian States as may choose to accede, will constitute the Federation of India, that majestic structure which by the statesmanlike vision of the Indian Princes was transmuted in a moment from what was no more than a dim and uncertain outline into a project firm and practicable—a project which now appears as an essential part of the scheme of constitutional development. Here again, I feel doubt as to whether those of us in day-to-day contact with the complex problems attaching to the launching of such a project are able so far to detach ourselves as to envisage, in all its impressive mass, the mighty work upon which we are privileged to labour. The unitary system of government

[H. E. the Viceroy.]

for so long the supreme authority in India is disappearing as we watch. In its place great autonomous Provinces make their appearance; and finally comes the Federation, crowning the entire structure and embracing and unifying within its bold and ample scope the common life and aspirations of one-fifth of the human race, dispersed over a sub-continent as large as Western Europe. Such will be the structure of government in India which, when the task is completed, will meet the gaze of a watching world: a spectacle whose dignity and grandour will be not unworthy of this great and famous country.

One word more. It is axiomatic that the spirit in which a constitution is worked must in the long run count for more than the letter in which it is written. For myself I am able to assure you that, for such time as I may hold my present office, it is my intention to interpret my duty with a liberal and sympathetic mind. It has been my privilege, through a long and arduous period of work, to apply my mind to every aspect of the new constitution. I am well aware that there are those in this country who are dissatisfied with certain of its provisions. I accept the sincerity of their opinions even though I find myself unable to endorse their views. For my part I shall be found ready and anxious, when the time comes, to work to the best of my power, with any and every political party willing to work the constitution, that may succeed in winning the confidence of the electorates. My heartfelt plea to every man and woman of goodwill and public spirit is that they may give these Reforms a fair and reasonable trial, and that they will join with me and with the Governors of Provinces in an earnest endeavour to work the new Constitution in a spirit of tolerance and co-operation, for the honour and good of their motherland. (Applause.)

The Council met in the Council Chamber at Viceregal Lodge at Half Past Two of the Clock, the Honourable the President (the Honourable Sir Maneckji Dadabhoi, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Kt., Bar.-at-Law), in the Chair.

MEMBERS SWORN :

The Honourable Mr. John Carson Nixon, C.S.I., C.I.E. (Finance Secretary).

The Honourable Mr. Hugh Dow, C.I.E. (Commerce Secretary).

The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Narasimha Ayyangar Gopalaswami Ayyangar, C.I.E. (Madras : Nominated Official).

The Honourable Mr. Charles Gordon Arthur (Bengal Chamber of Commerce).

DEATH OF KHAN BAHADUR MIAN SIR FAZL-I-HUSAIN.

THE HONOURABLE KUNWAR SIR JAGDISH PRASAD (Leader of the House) : Sir, it is my melancholy task to ask Honourable Members to join

with me in recording our deep sense of loss at the death of one of the most distinguished Members of this House and one of its most successful Leaders, the late Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain. He came to this House fully versed in the arts of managing popular assemblies, with an established reputation as a great administrator and as a far-sighted politician. When he laid down office less than 18 months ago, the tributes that were paid to him by all sections of this House bore eloquent testimony to the esteem and respect in which he was held. He was indeed one of the most remarkable figures of contemporary India. His courage, his tenacity of purpose, his shrewd judgment of men and events, his political insight, his gift of leadership, marked him out as one of the outstanding public men of his time. He accomplished much in spite of persistent ill-health, which, alas, cut short his life at a time when his province could ill-afford to lose him. I will not attempt this morning to appraise the work of my distinguished predecessor. That I must leave to the chronicler of the future. But of this I am confident that his name will be enrolled in that select company of illustrious men who have profoundly influenced the destinies of their country. It only remains to me to pay my humble tribute to the memory of a great man who filled with rare distinction many high offices of State and whose untimely death leaves a void which it will be difficult to fill. I would request you to convey to his family our deep sympathies in their bereavement and I would also ask you, Sir, as a mark of the special solemnity of this occasion to adjourn the House this afternoon without transacting any formal business.

THE HONOURABLE SIR PHIROZE SETHNA (Bombay: Non-Muhammadan): Sir, may I be permitted to add a few words to the tributes already paid to the memory of the late Sir Fazl-i-Husain, at one time the Leader of this House. He was a man with very considerable experience of Indian politics and that experience stood him in good stead, first, when he served as a Member of the Executive Council of the Government of the Punjab, and, later, in the same capacity with the Government of India. Were he alive today there is not the slightest doubt that he would have played a very prominent part in the history of the Punjab under the new Reforms. He did much for his own community and as well for the general advancement of India and the Indians. The happy possession of an intellect as flexible as it was strong enabled him to adapt himself with success to every new task as it presented itself. Packed with ability, knowledge and resolution, he was in spite of weak health a tremendous worker. He possessed those solid dependable qualities and virtues that the average man values most in those to whom he entrusts his larger interests, and that is the kind of statesman of which India is most in need today. Sir Fazl-i-Husain was one such and therefore we deplore his loss all the more.

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA RAM SARAN DAS (Punjab: Non-Muhammadan): Sir, I rise to say a few words on this occasion. The late Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain has been for many years the Leader of this House. I came into contact with him not only here in this House but I was also his colleague in the Punjab Legislative Council for over six years in pre-Montagu reform days. He was a gifted person and we all mourn his loss. He was undoubtedly a man of great abilities and he has been dominating the political life of the Punjab

[Rai Bahadur Lala Ram Saran Das.]

for the last 15 years or more. He was during this period of office able to do a lot for his community, both in the Provincial Government of the Punjab as well as in the Government of India. He knew very well the organisation of political parties and both his political friends and foes recognised him as a political leader of great capacity. It will be difficult to fill the place of such a person and I join in the tribute and in offering my heartfelt sympathy to the members of his family.

*THE HONOURABLE KHAN BAHADUR NAWAB CHAUDRI MUHAMMAD DIN (East Punjab : Muhammadan) : Sir, in the untimely death of Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain India in general and the Punjab in particular has lost a great patriot and a great practical politician. I have known Sir Fazl-i-Husain since 1905 when he started practice at Sialkot which is my home district. By his industry and ability he steadily rose to be a Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council and Leader of this Honourable House, which position he held with conspicuous distinction. Sir Fazl-i-Husain conferred dignity on whatever position he held. His personality was one of the factors which made the Reforms a success in the Punjab, and in his passing away that province loses a great leader who could have made provincial autonomy also a great success.

THE HONOURABLE SAIYED MOHAMED PADSHAH SAHIB BAHADUR (Madras : Muhammadan) : Sir, I beg to join with my friends in the tribute which has been paid to the memory of the late Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain. Sir, in his death India has lost a great and sincere patriot, a distinguished administrator and certainly the most capable and successful politician of the present day. Sir, Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain represented a rare combination of qualities which are very seldom found together in any single individual. While he had his own dreams about the high and noble destiny which was in store for his Motherland he was in his politics a realist. Sir, while he yielded to none in his love for his Motherland and was anxious to accelerate the day when India would take her due place in the British commonwealth of nations, he did not lose sight of the stern realities and realised fully the necessity for grappling with these stern realities before the dream of the Indian patriots could ever be realised. It was for this reason, Sir, that, while he always tried to further the larger interests of the nation as a whole, he fought fiercely for the rights of the minorities. He realised, Sir, that freedom for our country would only continue to be a dream, unless the minorities were given a sense of security and were made to feel safe in the rule of the majority. As has been rightly observed by the Honourable Leader of the House he was a man of striking courage. It was his moral courage, his indomitable will that helped him boldly to stand up for the rights of the oppressed and the depressed while he was second to none in his desire and endeavour to further the interests of the nation. The result was, Sir, that, though at the outset he was very much misunderstood and bitterly criticised by people who could not see eye to eye with him, very soon his views came to be rightly understood and rightly appreciated. The result was that he soon came to command not only the unswerving loyalty of practically the whole of the Muslim community in India but also the respect and admiration of even his critics.

*Not corrected by the Honourable Member.

Sir, as he was the Leader of this Honourable House for five years every one of the Honourable Members here knows his views and work quite well and it is not necessary for me to say anything more about his activities. All I would say, Sir, is that even if I did attempt to recount a few of his activities it would not be possible for me to recount them in the brief compass of a speech on an occasion like this. He was a man of versatile genius as lawyer, as administrator, and as a politician he distinguished himself. He very soon elbowed his way to the front ranks. He did a lot for the advancement of education in the Punjab. It was during his time as Minister of Education there that a great impetus was given to education. Then, Sir, he was one of those who took a keen and abiding interest in our nationals abroad. We all know, Sir, how his policy in this respect was a striking success while he was one of the members of the Government of India. We know also how his negotiations in South Africa resulted in bringing about a substantial improvement in the condition of Indians abroad. Sir, it is impossible to do even the remotest justice, in a brief speech like this, to the great and good qualities of one who had been the dominating figure in the political and public life of India for nearly two decades.

*THE HONOURABLE MR. R. H. PARKER (Bombay Chamber of Commerce): Sir, I feel that the late Sir Fazl-i-Husain would have been an ornament to any House, as he was of this, were it only for his gift of speech. But he was greater than that. As he showed in this House, he was a leader of men, and we can only deplore the loss of any leader of men in India. I wish to associate myself with this Motion.

THE HONOURABLE MR. MAHMOOD SUHRAWARDY (West Bengal: Muhammadan): Sir, I rise to associate myself with the sentiments expressed so nobly by the Leader of the House, the Honourable Kunwar Sir Jagdish Prasad, and I support his Motion wholeheartedly. Sir Fazl-i-Husain was a distinguished figure and personality in the public and political life of India. His death is no doubt a national loss to the country, and particularly to the Muslim community in the Punjab. He had a long and distinguished career in the public services in India. He was a great judge of human character and he never spared himself in discharging his duties. Sir, we mourn the loss of a great leader and a patriot. I join in asking you to convey our condolences to the members of his bereaved family.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM (Bihar and Orissa: Muhammadan): Sir, I rise to pay my tribute to the memory of a man who was bound to succeed in whatever walk of life he might have been; a man who was a nationalist to the core, and yet not averse to helping his own community. He was an able administrator and at the same time he could appreciate the views of those who could persuade him; a man who was loved, obeyed and almost worshipped, and also bitterly criticised. The reason for this was that being a realist, he always wanted to take the practical side. He was not so much influenced by sentiments as is usually the case with us. He was the greatest find of the Montagu Reforms. From the beginning, right up to his death, he was connected in one way or another with this reform movement

*Not corrected by the Honourable Member.

[Mr. Hossain Imam.]

and was always holding an honoured position in the scheme of things. Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain was a man about whom a correct opinion can only be formed when history comes to be written. In the near perspective it is difficult to disentangle the different estimates which have been placed on his work. But when the historian takes up his pen, it will then be found that he was a nationalist to the core, and that he had the interests of India at heart, and no amount of criticism could deter him from advancing that cause as far as it was possible for him. A man like him is rare, especially in India, which is poor in leaders and in good statesmen. His death was a grievous loss which the whole of India, and the Muslim community in particular, has suffered, the more so because he combined in himself those qualities which make a leader of men. We are very grieved at his untimely death and we mourn the loss very much.

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU (United Provinces Southern : Non-Muhammadan) : Sir, I rise to associate myself with the tributes which have been paid in this House to the memory of the late Sir Fazl-i-Husain. In the death of Sir Fazl-i-Husain, Sir, the country has lost a great Indian. He was, as this House knows, a Parliamentarian of great distinction and he was a man of outstanding ability and of great force of character. He achieved distinction in his profession, was at one time prominently associated with the nationalist movement in his own province and served the country in an administrative capacity for well over 15 years. He was a Member of the Punjab Government for about 10 years—one of the most outstanding figures that the Montagu scheme has thrown up. He was a Member of the Central Government for six years and I am not indulging in the language of convention when I say that he was one of greatest Indian Members that the Centre has ever had. No one was keener on Indianisation than Sir Fazl-i-Husain and Indian members of the Services could always look up to him for protection and for the safeguarding of their interests. He was the subject in his lifetime of many political controversies. But, Sir, whatever our differences at times might have been, there was never an occasion when we ever questioned his integrity. We may have questioned his judgment but we knew that in dealing with him we were dealing with a great Indian—an Indian who loved his country and who wanted this country to be free and self-governing. Sir, in his death the country has lost a leader of great dynamic force. It has lost a great Punjabi ; it has lost an Indian who, had he lived, would have made a great contribution to the constitutional progress of this country in years to come. Sir, for 30 years he suffered from a cruel disease and the manner in which he bore this disease was really very, very brave. The manner in which he fought this disease showed that he was a man of very strong will and character. Sir, we mourn in the death of Sir Fazl-i-Husain an Indian of great dynamic force, of outstanding ability, of undoubted patriotism, and of the highest integrity. Sir, I join in the tributes which have been paid to his memory.

THE HONOURABLE KHAN BAHADUR SYED ABDUL HAFEEZ (East Bengal : Muhammadan) : Sir, as I rise here to speak on the condolence of the Mian Sahib, I see the portly figure of our late accredited Leader standing before my imaginary eyes with that peculiar bracing smile parting his lips which added

grace to his behaviour, and charm to his manners. Sir, we have not only lost an able leader, a thorough statesman, an out-and-out eminent Indian but a personal friend who shared commonly with us the joys and sorrows of life. The Punjab has not only lost one of her great sons, but we Indians have for ever lost a patron, a brother, an eminent Muslim.

It is needless to dwell on the manifold services that he rendered to India especially to his community. As the Honourable the Leader of this House he discharged himself creditably to the satisfaction of all. His strong sense of duty, his highly moral character, above all his winning manners endeared him to all who came in touch with him. By personal effort and true and sincere application he raised himself to high eminence and distinction, but he never for a moment forgot his colleagues, nor those who were under him.

Vast country as India is, there is no dearth of so-called leaders, but scarcely do we find that happy blending of the qualities of head and heart, and those of a true citizen, and an able administrator in one person. In Sir Fazli these things combined together, nay, were the outstanding features of his character, the special landmarks of his whole career.

Sir, I had occasion to come in touch with the late lamented Sir Fazli early in my political life, and I feel proud to own, even on the floor of this House, that I always received from him a friend's advice, a patron's guidance, and a brother's sincere assistance. So, Sir, was the case with everybody who came in contact with him.

With these words, Sir, and with a very heavy heart, and a sullen mind, I support the Motion.

*THE HONOURABLE KUNWAR HAJI ISMAIL ALI KHAN (United Provinces: Nominated Non-Official): Sir, I wish to join in the remarks that have fallen from the lips of the previous speakers. Sir Fazl-i-Husain was a wonderful personality. I had the honour and privilege of working with him in many committees of the other House, and I can say from personal experience that the zeal with which he worked for them was almost fanatical. His outstanding ability as an administrator is well known throughout the length and breadth of this country, both in a provincial capacity and also as a Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council. Sir, he was an excellent captain of his team. By his death, the Government has lost a capable adviser and the country a good and sincere leader and shrewd administrator. It is no wonder, therefore, that I should like to join those who have already spoken in adding my humble tribute to the memory of such a talented man and patriot whose death has been mourned all over the country and whose loss has been a personal one to me. With these words, Sir, I join in asking you to convey our condolence to the relatives of the deceased.

THE HONOURABLE MAHARAJA JAGADISH NATH RAY OF DINAJPUR (Bengal: Nominated Non-Official): Sir, even if not for the great loss that the country in general has suffered, in the sudden death of Sir Fazl-i-Husain, feeling as I do it really as a personal one, I deem it my duty to join in the remarks that have fallen from my predecessors. I was privileged to be a

* Not corrected by the Honourable Member.

[Maharaja Jagadish Nath Ray.]

Member of this House in the autumn of 1933 and although it was only from that year that I came to be in direct touch with him, I had had the greatest admiration for him since the days his reputation spread throughout the length and breadth of India. It is not for me to refer here to all the qualities of his head and heart as some of my fellow-Members must have known him more intimately and for a longer period than myself. But from what I have seen of him during the short two and a half years, I can say without the least exaggeration that as a Leader of the House I received from him on more than one occasion most helpful advice and guidance and his very polite and courteous dealings added to his uncommon foresight and consummate shrewdness made me look upon him as a real leader of men. Not to speak of his own community, the whole of India must be beholden to him for the services he rendered to his King and country. His efforts to improve the lot of the Indians overseas, and particularly of those in South Africa, are a matter of history; and his many-sided activities to enrich the Punjab in various ways can never be treated lightly by any well-meaning Indian. Many of us here expected great things from him at this moment when our attention is being drawn in different directions in sight of the coming Constitution, and from the gentle hints that he had of late given we could well imagine that he had really an all-round vision.

THE HONOURABLE RAJA GHAZANFAR ALI KHAN (West Punjab Muhammadan): Sir, I rise to pay my tribute to the memory of the late Sir Fazl-i-Husain. His loss has been mourned by Indians throughout the length and breadth of this country, but we in the Punjab, irrespective of our politics or parties or creeds, feel Sir Fazl-i-Husain's death as a personal loss. Sir, I had the honour to know Sir Fazl-i-Husain since 1920. I have seldom come across another Indian who combined the qualifications of the most eminent statesman, administrator and politician. Sir Fazl-i-Husain was a real and true nationalist, and I know, Sir, that whatever he did to advance the cause of his backward community, it was merely to make that community so advanced and so strong that they should be able to associate with their sister communities for the betterment of their country. His loss, Sir, is mourned by every Indian who considers that we are entering a period when the country needs such practical politicians and their advice very badly.

THE HONOURABLE MR. JAGADISH CHANDRA BANERJEE (East Bengal: Non-Muhammadan): Sir, coming from Bengal I associate myself wholeheartedly with the Motion before the House and with the observations made by the different Members and the Leader of the House this afternoon. Sir Fazl-i-Husain was a great man, and a personality which neither this House nor the other could ignore. His last words in this House at Delhi were that he would exercise his spiritual and mental force for the benefit of the country and I feel that wherever he may be he will be exercising his spiritual force for the benefit of the country which he loved most.

THE HONOURABLE MR. V. V. KALIKAR (Central Provinces: General): Sir, I rise to associate myself with the remarks made by my colleagues in paying their tribute to the late Sir Fazl-i-Husain. When I came into contact with Sir Fazl-i-Husain in 1932 here, I found in him a practical politician. Before

that, when he worked in the Punjab and directed his energies on national lines in the cause of the country, I began to appreciate that he was a real leader in the Punjab who could wield a lot of influence over the Government and could serve India and the Punjab particularly. After I came in contact with him, Sir, I found that though sometimes we had an opportunity to disagree with him, we always agreed to differ and I always found in him a co-operator for the national cause. Sir, it is a great loss to India in general and to his community in particular and I think nobody will be able to fill the gap caused by his death. Sir, I join in the tribute paid by my Honourable friends.

THE HONOURABLE KHAN BAHADUR SHAMS-UD-DIN HAIDAR (Bihar and Orissa : Nominated Non-Official) : Sir, I should not like to let slip the occasion of paying my share of tribute to the memory of the distinguished gentleman who passed away on the 9th of July last and a part of whose eminent career was so closely connected with this Honourable House. Sir Fazl-i-Husain, besides being an eminent lawyer, was an educationist of a very high order. During his career as an educationist, as a Fellow and as a Member of the Syndicate of the Punjab University, he made valuable contributions to the cause of education. Before coming to the Viceroy's Council as Member in charge of Education, Health and Lands, he was Minister in charge of Education and the Development Department in the Cabinet of his own province for two successive terms. In the discharge of his duties Sir Fazl-i-Husain brought an intelligence of the highest order that had been ripened by experience of the world. He had great knowledge of men and a personal charm that endeared him to all. Sir, the combination of these gifts enabled him during the space of five years that he was in the Viceroy's Council to leave a lasting mark upon the administration of the Department of which he held the portfolio and on this Honourable House where he will always be remembered as one of the outstanding figures and as a practical statesman.

Sir, with these few words, I beg to associate myself with the Motion of condolence so feelingly moved by the Leader of the House at the untimely death of the late Sir Fazl-i-Husain.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : Honourable Members, it is with profound sorrow that I join you all in the melancholy task of expressing our extreme grief caused by the death of one of the greatest sons of India. Sir Fazl-i-Husain's career has been reviewed since his death in so many newspapers and with much encomiums and you, Honourable Members, have added to that by your own personal contributions today, that it has left very little for me to say on this occasion. Sir Fazl-i-Husain was a most remarkable person ; I may say that he was an outstanding figure in the political and official life of India. As a Minister in the Punjab when the 1919 Constitution came into operation, he was the first among those who accepted office with the avowed object of making the Constitution a great success and he achieved success in a great measure by his personal exertions and, as Mr. Sapru pointed out, despite the fact of his chronic illness he never spared himself in the discharge of his duties. Then, as the Revenue Member of the Punjab Government he was a tower of strength and he distinguished himself on many occasions by

[Mr. President.]

rendering useful services. During that interval of office he came into this House to act for a short period of three or four months when many of us first came into contact with him. Later on he was permanently appointed in the Government of India as Member in charge of Education, Health and Lands, and I must say that during the last two and a half years of his office here I came in close personal contact with him on account of my office as President and learnt to find out the real worth and greatness of that man and I came to regard him as one of the ablest and astutest men in India. In his death the Government have lost a most sincere friend and a true adviser and the country a great leader and a consummate statesman. We all remember—and you all are aware—the manner in which he comported himself in this House. He was a well read man, always came to the House prepared with his task and when he addressed this House, you will recall to your mind his quiet, unostentatious manner, his dignified deportment and his gentleness and natural and unstinted courtesy, which he extended towards all Members of this House. Even when he had to oppose most vehemently some of the measures, he did with such grace and sympathy that we could not help admiring and we then learnt also to recognise in him a real friend of the country. In the two great works which he did and which will be associated with his name,—one is the establishment and the expansion of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research for development of rural uplift and everything connected with it, and you perhaps remember that the Medical Council Bill, which in the teeth of opposition was passed, was mainly due to his personal exertion and influence. His successful labours in the cause of Indians overseas will ever remain a memorable chapter in the history of this country.

The Honourable Leader of the House has referred to his indomitable courage; I wish also to refer to his indomitable determination and indefatigable industry. Once he took a matter in hand, once he accepted a particular principle, he stuck to it most faithfully and with a great determination fought out till his point was achieved. I will not detain you much longer. I shall convey to his sorrowing family the respect and tribute which you have paid to the deceased gentleman. It is not usual or customary to adjourn the House in the case of a non-sitting Member, but I propose to depart from that practice on this occasion and make it an exception on account of the deceased being the Leader of the House for a period of five years and the great esteem and respect in which he was held. I shall also convey to his sorrowing family what many of you have said today and I am very glad that so many Honourable Members have joined in paying tribute to his memory. I shall now adjourn this Council till tomorrow as a mark of respect to his memory. The Council will now adjourn.

The Council then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Tuesday, the 22nd September, 1936.