

# LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY DEBATES

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THURSDAY, 26th JULY, 1934.

Vol. VI—No. 8

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## OFFICIAL REPORT



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# LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

*Thursday, 26th July, 1934.*

The Assembly met in the Assembly Chamber at Eleven of the Clock, Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Shanmukham Chetty) in the Chair.

## SHORT NOTICE QUESTION AND ANSWER.

### HUNGER-STRIKE BY POLITICAL PRISONERS IN THE ANDAMANS.

**Mr. K. C. Neogy :** (a) Is it a fact that there has been a hunger-strike amongst the political prisoners in the Andamans ? If so, when did it begin and is it still continuing ?

(b) What are the reasons for this hunger-strike ?

(c) How many persons are involved in the hunger-strike ?

(d) What steps have been taken, or are proposed to be taken, by Government to meet the wishes of the hunger-strikers in removing the grievances ?

(e) What is the present state of the health of the strikers ?

**The Honourable Sir Harry Haig :** (a) to (e). It is not a fact that there has been any recent hunger-strike amongst the terrorist prisoners in the Andamans. The rumour may have arisen from the following facts. On the 7th July, the Superintendent of the Cellular Jail had occasion to punish a terrorist convict from Madras with seven days cross bar fetters for assaulting a head warder, the assault being entirely unprovoked. The next day, the majority of the terrorist convicts protested against the punishment inflicted. They were informed that the infliction of a punishment and the form of punishment were matters for the decision of the Superintendent. On the 9th July, when the weekly parade was held, all but twenty of the terrorist convicts refused to turn out of their cells for inspection. It was found that this action was deliberate and had been taken as a protest against both the punishment of the convict and the refusal of the Jail authorities to cancel the punishment at their request. In consequence of this action, all those convicts, who were absent from parade, were deprived for a period of certain privileges. I am informed that everything in the Cellular Jail is now absolutely quiet and normal.

**Mr. Lalchand Navalrai :** May I know if there are any other persons who are on hunger-strike who are not terrorists ?

**The Honourable Sir Harry Haig :** No, Sir ; there is no hunger-strike in the Andamans.

## THE HINDU TEMPLE ENTRY DISABILITIES REMOVAL BILL.

### PETITIONS LAID ON THE TABLE.

**Secretary of the Assembly :** Sir, under Standing Order 78, I have to report that 105 petitions, as per statement laid on the table, have been

( 659 )

received, relating to the Bill to remove the disabilities of the so-called Depressed Classes in regard to entry into Hindu temples, which was introduced in the Legislative Assembly on the 24th March, 1933, by Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer.

No. of signa- tures.	District or town.	Province.	No. of signa- tures.	District or town.	Province.
3,367	..	Bengal.	1	..	Bengal.
27	Howrah.	Do.	89	Burdwan.	Do.
15	Do.	Do.	89	Do.	Do.
47	Tippera.	Do.	92	Do.	Do.
51	Do.	Do.	81	Do.	Do.
24	Do.	Do.	90	Howrah.	Do.
47	Do.	Do.	11	Do.	Do.
57	Do.	Do.	37	Burdwan.	Do.
85	Dacca.	Do.	94	Do.	Do.
65	Do.	Do.	71	Howrah.	Do.
18	Do.	Do.	93	Do.	Do.
13	Do.	Do.	14	Do.	Do.
13	Do.	Do.	91	Do.	Do.
44	Sylhet.	Assam.	95	Burdwan.	Do.
50	Do.	Do.	90	Do.	Do.
18	Do.	Do.	50	..	Do.
42	Howrah.	Bengal.	94	Midnapore.	Do.
670	Do.	Do.	10	Howrah.	Do.
26	Do.	Do.	95	Midnapore.	Do.
7	Do.	Do.	95	Do.	Do.
42	..	Do.	94	Do.	Do.
6	..	Do.	91	Burdwan.	Do.
86	Chandpur.	Do.	90	Do.	Do.
40	Jessore.	Do.	90	Do.	Do.
54	Do.	Do.	13	Howrah.	Do.
42	..	Do.	23	Kidderpore.	Do.
43	..	Do.	94	Howrah.	Do.
48	..	Do.	90	Do.	Do.
88	Burdwan.	Do.	59	Burdwan.	Do.
33	Howrah.	Do.	75	Howrah.	Do.
77	Do.	Do.	40	..	Do.
90	Do.	Do.	90	..	Do.
92	Do.	Do.	2	Calcutta.	Do.
71	Do.	Do.	21	Howrah.	Do.
80	Do.	Do.	89	Do.	Do.
63	Do.	Do.	78	Do.	Do.
5	Do	Do.	211	..	Madras.

No. of signa- tories.	District or town.	Province.	No. of signa- tories.	District or town.	Province.
8	Guntur.	Madras.	52	Gauhati.	Bengal.
4	Do.	Do.	90	Larkana.	Sindh.
41	..	Do.	238	Do.	Do.
21	..	Do.	32	Do.	Do.
222	Godavary.	Do.	812	Do.	Do.
34	Tanjore.	Do.	11	Benares.	United Provinces.
27	Do.	Do.	15	Do.	Do.
31	..	Do.	10	Do.	Do.
33	Howrah.	Bengal.	5	Do.	Do.
16	Calcutta.	Do.	10	Do.	Do.
23	Kidderpore.	Do.	127	..	..
4	Hooghly.	Do.	49	..	..
3	Do.	Do.	52	..	..
23	Do.	Do.	62	..	..
86	Howrah.	Do.			
183	Patna.	Bihar & Orissa			
325	Gauhati.	Bengal.	10,928		

## THE UNTOUCHABILITY ABOLITION BILL.

## PETITIONS LAID ON THE TABLE.

Secretary of the Assembly : Sir, under Standing Order 78, I have to report that 79 petitions, as per statement laid on the table, have been received, relating to the Bill to provide for the abolition of untouchability among the Hindus, which was introduced in the Legislative Assembly on the 24th March, 1933, by Rao Bahadur M. C. Rajah.

No. of signa- tories.	District or town.	Province.	No. of signa- tories.	District or town.	Province.
425	..	Bengal.	93	Burdwan.	Bengal.
263	..	Do.	82	Do.	Do.
41	Howrah.	Do.	88	Do.	Do.
43	..	Do.	101	Midnapore.	Do.
42	..	Do.	11	Howrah.	Do.
48	..	Do.	37	Burdwan.	Do.
16	Howrah.	Do.	93	Do.	Do.
24	Do.	Do.	71	Howrah.	Do.
3	Kidderpur.	Do.	94	Do.	Do.
3	Hooghly.	Do.	14	Barraekpur.	Do.
23	Do.	Do.	95	Burdwan.	Do.
86	Howrah.	Do.	90	Do.	Do.
89	Burdwan.	Do.	94	Midnapore.	Do.

No. of signa- tures.	District or town.	Province.	No. of signa- tures.	District or town.	Province.
95	Midnapore.	Bengal.	72	Howrah.	Bengal.
95	Do.	Do.	29	Hooghly.	Do.
94	Do.	Do.	80	Do.	Do.
49	Do.	Do.	64	Howrah.	Do.
90	Burdwan.	Do.	5	Do.	Do.
90	Do.	Do.	4,128	..	Do.
91	Do.	Do.	73	..	Do.
21	Do.	Do.	102	..	Do.
94	Howrah.	Do.	52	..	Do.
90	Do.	Do.	57	..	Do.
41	..	Do.	49	..	Do.
56	Burdwan.	Do.	47	..	Do.
75	Howrah	Do.	58	..	Do.
90	Do.	Do.	56	..	Do.
2	Do.	Do.	27	..	Do.
21	Hooghly.	Do.	11	Rangpur.	Do.
89	Calcutta.	Do.	51	..	Do.
91	Do.	Do.	16	..	Do.
88	Do.	Do.	47	..	Do.
13	Howrah.	Do.	12	..	Do.
11	Do.	Do.	47	Noakhali.	Do.
90	Do.	Do.	52	Tippora.	Do.
88	Midnapore.	Do.	44	Noakhali.	Do.
89	Burdwan.	Do.	35	Do.	Do.
33	Howrah.	Do.	9	Do.	Do.
77	Do.	Do.			
90	Do.	Do.			
92	Do.	Do.			
			9,237		

## RESOLUTION *RE* CONSTITUTION OF MALABAR INTO A SEPARATE PROVINCE.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Shanmukham Chetty) : The House will now resume further consideration of the following motion moved by Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer on the 6th April, 1934 :

"That this Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that steps be taken to constitute Malabar (Kerala) (Madras Presidency) as a separate Province together with neighbouring Malayalam-speaking areas."

**Mr. B. Sitaramaraju** (Ganjam *cum* Vizagapatam : Non-Muham-madan Rural) : Sir, I rise to support the principle underlying this Resolution, namely, the need for redistribution of areas on a linguistic basis. As an Andhra, the principle appeals to me very much, because for nearly two decades the Andhra people have put strong faith in this principle. Long before the Utkals dreamed of an Oriya Province, long before the Sindhis realised the benefits of separation, the Andhra districts

demanding that the provincial boundaries should be readjusted with a view to ensuring linguistic and racial and cultural affinities. That being so, I am only doing my duty in supporting the principle underlying this Resolution. The principle is not only confined to any particular section like the Andhras, but it has been a demand from the whole country that the provincial areas should be redistributed. The Government did recognise that the existing Provinces are not based on any particular principle, that they are more a result of historical accident, and that the redistribution of areas could be made provided certain conditions are fulfilled. The Statutory Commission observed as follows on this question :

“ There is a considerable body of opinion in India which calls for some readjustment of boundaries and redistribution of areas, and we entirely share the views of those who think that the present arrangement is not altogether satisfactory. The existing provincial boundaries in more than one case embrace areas and peoples of no natural affinity and sometimes separate those who might under a different scheme be more naturally united.”

Further on, they say :

“ If those who speak the same language form a compact and self-contained area, so situated and endowed as to be able to support its existence as a separate province, there is no doubt that the use of a common speech is a strong and natural basis for provincial individuality.”

Further down, they make these important observations at page 26 of their report :

“ As long as the Government of India was entirely centralized, and both the administration and the finance of any area were provided and directed from the Centre, the line taken by a provincial boundary was of less importance. But now that the provinces have a real political existence of their own, the situation is changing, and if, as we hope, the time is coming when each province will not only have its own provincial Government and its own provincial resources, but will form a unit in a federated whole, it is extremely important that the adjustment of provincial boundaries and the creation of proper provincial areas should take place before the new process has gone too far. Once the mould has set, any mal-distribution will be still more difficult to correct. We therefore propose and we regard it as a matter of urgent importance, that the Government of India should set up a Boundaries Commission with a neutral Chairman, which would investigate the main cases in which provincial readjustment seems called for, and should endeavour to work out schemes with a view to seeing how far agreement is possible.”

As has been pointed out by the Royal Commission, for the very success of the Federation which is now in sight, it is necessary that the various units composing it should, as far as possible, be natural units. It is no longer a matter of simple faith nor a sound principle to be thought of, but a matter of urgent necessity in order to promote rapidly the process of evolution of really natural units into a harmonious group of Federation. It is not born out of any narrow-minded provincialism as some people would like to call it, but, Sir, it is born in the desire to create really natural units for building a sound federal scheme. Sir, having said, and having also referred to the weighty words....

**Sir Hari Singh Gour** (Central Provinces Hindi Divisions : Non-Muhammadian) : Will the Honourable Member kindly speak up ? We can't hear him.

**Mr. B. Sitaramaraju** : Having said that, and having also referred to the weighty words of the Simon Commission on this subject, I would like to point out that the linguistic and racial considerations, however primary they may be, there are also other considerations to be taken into account, namely, the economic and the administrative factors. They are

[Mr. B. Sitaramaraju.]

also of as much importance in the consideration of this problem as the other two. Sir, with my limited knowledge of Malabar, I have tried to picture to myself whether these tests could be applied to Malabar. Sir, it would satisfy the linguistic considerations ; it would satisfy the racial considerations, and when the test made whether it has got a due share of country and town and coast line and interior, I submit that Malabar would satisfy those requirements also, though I am not so hopeful as my friend whether economically it would be paying its way. My friend, Mr. Ranga Iyer, the other day said that economically it will be able to support itself. He said that he will cut his coat according to his cloth. It really does not rest with him or with us to reduce the cost of administration, but it rests with the Government of India and His Majesty's Government. They prescribe certain standards of administration and services which must be paid in a certain scale. If it rested with us, we could make our administration cheaper, but it is the Government which prescribe the pattern and the length and breadth of that coat. Such being the case, I am not so sure about its ability to pay itself. If it does, as my friend says it does, then I for one would certainly welcome the day when it shall be a separate Province. Sir, the All-Parties Conference in 1928 observed as follows :

“Partly geographically, partly economic but mainly the consideration must necessarily be the wishes of the people and the linguistic unity of the area concerned. We are of opinion that ordinarily a province should be self-sufficient in regard to finances and must not look to Central Government for doles.”

Sir, I do not attach much importance so far as the Province of Malabar is concerned with regard to the wishes of its people, because Honourable Members are aware of the fact that the Tamils wanted to have a separate Province of their own, and a Resolution to that effect was moved in the Council of State by Sir Sankaran Nair ; similarly, the Andhras wanted to have a separate Province of their own and moved Resolutions in the Madras Council and the Council of State, while the Karnataks wanted a separate Province of their own. Now, if all these races have their own separate Provinces, what would be left in the Madras Presidency would be only Malabar itself, whether Malabarese would like to have a separate Province of their own or not, Malabar would be a separate Province.

**Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer** (Rohilkund and Kumaon Divisions : Non-Muhammadan Rural) : May I inform my Honourable friend that every Taluq Board in Malabar has passed a resolution, as I shall show, supporting my plea for separation of Malabar.

**Mr. B. Sitaramaraju** : I am glad to hear that, Sir. I have referred to the All-Parties Conference of 1928 welcoming linguistic Provinces which can be self-supporting. The Central Government should not be asked to pay any doles to any Provinces. Further, Sir, in 1931, the Council of the All-India Moslem League resolved :

“The Council is of opinion that the question of re-organization of Provinces should be taken up as a whole and not piecemeal.”

Again, Sir, the Sub-Committee, which was constituted under the Simon Commission, observed that their decision to create the Utkal Province involved the larger question of the sub-division of existing Provinces, and that the creation of the Sind and Utkal Provinces are part and parcel of a larger scheme of re-distribution of provincial areas. We demand that the

scheme should be carried, and that the Boundary Commission, which was pointed out as one of urgent necessity, should also be constituted as early as possible. However, Sir, I cannot overlook the fact that subsequent developments did not give us much confidence in the matter. The Second Round Table Conference, after considering the question of Sind and Utkal, have said that the further re-distribution of Provinces should be left to be considered only by way of amendment to the new Constitution. That means to say that for the present the question is shelved and the constitution of a Boundary Commission is passed over. Sir, when the Secretary of State, giving his evidence before the Joint Parliamentary Committee, was asked as to what he proposed to do with regard to the question of the constitution of a Boundary Commission, the Honourable gentleman said "Boundary Commission for what?" Sir, he was pointed out that it was the Boundary Commission which was recommended by the Statutory Commission to be constituted for the re-distribution of provincial areas, and this was his reply :

"The Simon Commission recommended the setting up of a Boundaries Commission (they say it is an urgent matter) to investigate the main cases in which provincial readjustments might be called for. I would very much hope that we should not have a Boundaries Commission. I would not like to pre-judge the decision at all now, but I do not want these constitutional questions to get confused in a maze of disputes about frontier delimitations. We have dealt with the two most urgent questions of provincial redistribution by dealing with Sind and Orissa, and I very much hope that we are not going to get into an endless dispute about the boundaries of every other Province in India."

The Secretary of State having thus thrown cold water upon the whole, as though it is a matter in which he could not possibly take any action or encourage the idea, I venture to submit that the view taken by His Majesty's Government on this matter is not just and proper. The very success of the Federation depends upon the units of the Federation being homogeneous and capable of having individuality of their own. Unless they feel conscious that they are one, it will not be possible for a real Federation of natural units. Therefore, Sir, I submit that on the question of re-distribution of Provinces and of constituting a Boundaries Commission, the Government of India should convey to His Majesty's Government the desire of the people of this country that the question of the re-distribution of provincial areas should be taken up and not postponed. Sir, with these words, I would like to resume my seat.

**Mr. Vidya Sagar Pandya** (Madras : Indian Commerce) : Sir, in view of the statement made by the Honourable the Mover of this Resolution to the effect that he has got the fullest support for his proposition from almost all the District Boards and Taluq Boards and Municipalities,—and we all know how these District Boards and Municipalities are run, how their finances are bad,—I would like to read a letter which I have received from a very responsible body, and it is my duty as a Member representing the Indian Commerce Constituency of the Madras Presidency to read that letter for the information of the House. This is a letter from the Malabar Chamber of Commerce.....

**Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer** : Run by Chetties ?

**Mr. Vidya Sagar Pandya** : Malabar Chetties or outside Chetties ?

**Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer** : Outside Chetties having settled down in Malabar.



**Mr. Vidya Sagar Pandya :** I am very sorry that my Honourable friend does not fully know the conditions of Malabar when he talks like that.

**Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer :** You will soon know it.

**Mr. Vidya Sagar Pandya :** We have been financing the Malabar area from our Bank. We know who are the people running the business there, who are the parties who have got any stake there, and as such the Chamber, which has got a stake in the country, must be heard, its opinion must carry the greatest weight with this Assembly. I shall now proceed to read their letter. It is dated the 14th May, 1934. They say :

“ *Ec. Agitation for a Kerala Province :* The following resolution was passed by the General Body of this Chamber (please note, not in the Executive Committee) at its Annual General Meeting held on Saturday, the 12th May, 1934 at 4-30 P.M. :

Whereas certain suggestions for constituting a separate province of Kerala have come from certain quarters, and

Whereas.....”

Then they give a set of reasons, and here I may relate a small story before I give their reasons. It is said that on one occasion, when Queen Elizabeth went out of London into a provincial town, no guns were fired in her honour. She was very much upset and she ordered that the Mayor, the Aldermen and the Municipal Commissioners, or whoever they were, should be called before her. They came trembling and then she asked them why the guns were not fired. The Lord Mayor replied, “ Your Majesty, we have got nine solid reasons for it ”. She said, “ Very well, I would like to know the first reason ”. He said : “ The first reason is, in the first place, we have no guns ”. Then the Queen said, “ I do not want to listen to any of your other reasons ”. Similarly, here is the first reason which has been given by the Malabar Chamber of Commerce, and, after that, I do not think it is necessary to go into the other reasons. The first reason itself is sufficient. They say :

“ Whereas the financial burden involved by such separation would be so heavy as could not be borne by the tax-payer ” and

I think that is the strongest reason. But as they have given the other reasons also, let me read them to the House.

“ Whereas it will affect the employment of thousands of men of Malabar now employed outside Kerala and throughout India.....”

This is also a very strong reason, because a number of our Malayalee friends are spread all over the Presidency, and it will considerably affect them. For even now it has been observed by an Englishman, who recently visited the Madras Government Secretariat, when he went into the Secretariat, he asked, “ Is this the Madras Government Secretariat, or is it a Malayalee village ? ” (Laughter.) Therefore, we have first got the question of the financial burden and then the employment of these gentlemen. Then the Chamber say :

“ Whereas the entry of the Native States of Travancore and Cochin into the Federation will minimise the area of the province considerably, and

Whereas even that small area will not be composed of a particular set of people with unity of language and culture,

This Chamber is emphatically of opinion that the suggestions are impracticable and unnecessary at this stage.”

I do not wish to say anything about it ; my Honourable friend, Mr. Thampan, who comes from Malabar will be in a position to say to what extent there is any real agitation in the matter. No doubt, Malabar is a very beautiful place, and we should be the last to be separated from them. We have got such nice places as Cannanore, etc., with so many beautiful sceneries, and with such close connections as we have, it will be a very severe strain to part with Malabar. And as has been suggested by a responsible Chamber which has got a stake in Malabar, I am sorry that I cannot support my Honourable friend's Resolution. I must oppose it as desired by the Chamber in the resolution which has been communicated to me and which I have now placed before the House.

**Mr. B. Das** (Orissa Division : Non-Muhammadian) : On principle nobody would raise any objection that there should be Provinces formed on a linguistic basis. In fact, the Government of India were sorely agitated on that issue from the year 1910 or some time thereabouts when the Minto-Morley Reforms were introduced. A former Home Member, the late Sir Alexander Muddiman, was very much enamoured of that principle, at the time, and, if I remember aright, a gentleman from the Survey of India Department, a Colonel Tandy, wrote a book on the principle of linguistic re-distribution of the Provinces. But that book did not see the light of day, at least it did not come out of the shelves of the Government Department,—of the Department concerned or the Home Department I do not know. I have no idea of what Colonel Tandy recommended, but on principle Colonel Tandy was very much enamoured of the idea.

Sir, I am very grateful to my Honourable friend, Mr. Ranga Iyer, for referring to the creation of my own Orissa Province. The Oriya people agitated for 30 long years, and still, although they are within the sight of their Province, I do not know when the new Constitution is coming and when my Province is coming. There are certain processes which have got to be gone through before any people can claim to have a Province of their own. For 30 years we did agitate. We formed ourselves into the Utkal Union Conference, we agitated, and then when the new Government of India Act of 1919 came, we followed, step after step, the procedure laid down under the Government of India Act. Our representatives passed Resolutions in the Bihar and Orissa Provincial Council. Then we invaded the stronghold of the Madras Legislative Council and tabled a Resolution there, although at the time it did not receive much sympathy, because the Oriya representatives were there in a very small minority. Then, Sir, we went and followed the next step. We moved a Resolution on the floor of this House and it received sympathy from the Government of India, from the then Home Members, Sir Malcolm Hailey and Sir Alexander Muddiman.

I do not know if the people of Malabar have followed a similar procedure. Unless they follow that procedure, I do not think they can get much support from the nation at large or from the Government. It is true, I do recognise the point was raised in the All-Parties Conference at Lucknow. But the representatives of Malabar have not moved such a Resolution in the Madras Legislative Council. (Interruptions.) My Honourable friend, Mr. Jadhav, asks what is the population of Malabar. I understand, it is 30 lakhs ; but my Honourable friend, Mr. Thampan, when he rises to speak, will go into the financial aspect and the population aspect of the matter. No doubt, on the basis of sentiment, one would like

[Mr. B. Das.]

to see the Province of Kerala made into a separate Province, because it is the one area in the whole of the universe where the women have the right of ownership of property and enjoy rights and privileges that women nowhere else in the world enjoy.

**An Honourable Member :** With a right of divorce !

**Mr. B. Das :** Yes, not only the right of divorce, but a right to govern, to own property, and the right to displace their menfolk from property. Kerala arts, Kerala civilisation—they are well known in the ancient history of India. Kerala has contributed its arts and its music to the greatness of India, and today the people of Kerala are noted for their arts and culture. Nobody would deny them separate existence if they can justify such an existence, but of that little knowledge has been placed before the House by my Honourable friend, Mr. Ranga Iyer. Unfortunately, the Government of India's proposition of creating Federation and separating the princes from the people of British India is a barrier to the cherished hope of my Honourable friend, Mr. Ranga Iyer. If Cochin, Travancore and Malabar could be joined together, surely it would be a nice little Province and the people could go on developing their culture and art and find their self-expression, and probably they will be much more homogeneous than my own Province of Orissa ; but, unfortunately, under the system of Federation—I do not know when that Federation is coming—but with that anticipation of the Federation, there is no chance of States like Cochin and Travancore joining with Malabar, simply because they will have a unified culture. The people of Malabar have a tradition. They are a very ancient people. It is they that gave refuge to the Syrian Jews, and Malabar is the only place where we find villages that remind us of the Jewish homes of Palestine and Syria. My Honourable friend, Mr. Pandya, reminds me that the Britishers landed there first, and, I believe, they were received with the same courtesy and the same oriental hospitality as other refugees and other visitors were received with by the Zamorin of Malabar. There are other aspirants to new Provinces. There is my friend, Mr. Raju, who asks for an Andhra Province. I have every sympathy with my Honourable friend, Mr. Raju, because he belongs to an old civilisation, the old Telingana Empire which held sway during the 14th and 15th centuries from the Empire of Vijayanagar and the town of that name. That was the admiration of the European travellers. The people there talked Telugu. My friend, Mr. Raju, has a just claim to have a Province of his own, but they must go through the processes and the travails that have been laid down in the Government of India Act.

But, unfortunately, Sir, I find that the White Paper contains no clauses which lay down as to how, in the future Constitution of India, there should be re-distribution of Provinces or re-adjustment of boundaries as is provided under section 52A, of the present Government of India Act. I have read the reports of the Round Table Conferences. I find none of the members of these three Round Table Conferences did lay stress on that point, not even before the Joint Parliamentary Committee.

**Mr. B. Sitaramaraju :** In the Second Round Table Conference, under Article 42, I think they said that it could be done only by way of amendment to the Constitution.

**Mr. B. Das :** It could be done but it is not provided for.

**Mr. B. Sitaramaraju :** Amendments must be by an Act of Parliament.

**Mr. B. Das :** It is not provided in the White Paper. I was the sole, solitary representative of Orissa, nay of India, who was present at the time in London and who presented a memorandum before the Joint Parliamentary Committee that the Constitution Bill should provide for such an emergency. I had not the opportunity to give evidence before the Joint Parliamentary Committee. Had I given evidence, I would have laid stress on that issue, but I saw the high and the mighty of the India Office, and I told them that they should not ignore such contingencies, because there is prospect of new Provinces being created in future under the new Constitution.

I am grateful to my Honourable friend, Mr. Raju, for quoting that pregnant passage from the report of the Simon Commission. I have a grievance as an Oriya. I have got a Province, but I have not got all the boundaries that Orissa should contain. There are tracts that have been left out in the Central Provinces, in my Honourable friend's Province, Madras, and in Bengal, and also in Bihar, which are properly and purely Oriya-speaking tracts and which ought to be included in the Orissa Province.

**Mr. B. Sitaramaraju :** Question.

**Mr. B. Das :** You may question, but if you want to ensure the contentment of these people and ensure homogeneity,.....

**Mr. B. Sitaramaraju :** Await the Secretary of State's decision in the matter. You do not know the boundaries as yet.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Shanmukham Chetty) : The House is not discussing the Orissa Boundary now.

**Mr. B. Das :** Sir, I was only pointing out that the new Provinces which are sought to be created should be homogeneous. As the point of re-distribution of boundaries under the new Constitution has been raised, I do hope, the Honourable the Home Member would look into the issue I have raised, that the White Paper does not provide anything that there should be re-distribution of boundaries or there should be creation of separate Provinces under the new Constitution Bill. If the draft new Constitution Bill does not provide for such an emergency, I hope that when my Honourable friend visits London in the near future, he will at least point out that deficiency.

**Mr. B. Sitaramaraju :** May I just point out that the White Paper Constitution proceeds upon the existing basis of the present provincial units and they said that any alteration of the provincial boundaries could only be done by way of amendment to the Constitution Act and the powers under the Government of India Act, which the Governor General possesses with regard to the distribution of areas, is not to be found in the new Constitution, because it was held that whatever changes may be made with regard to these boundaries of Provinces must be done by way of an Act of Parliament.

**Mr. B. Das :** But my contention is that the Act of Parliament, which will be the new Constitution Act, should provide for such an emergency. Otherwise, future agitators and propagandists like my Honourable friend, Mr. Raju, will be left in the lurch, and they will have no opportunity to agitate. As regards the subject matter of this Resolution, whether

[Mr. B. Das.]

Malabar can be made a separate Province, although it is a welcome proposition, I have my doubts whether one small district can be made into a Province, but I would very much like to hear my Honourable friend, Mr. Thampan, and also the Home Member, to know whether such an eventuality can arise.

**Mr. Lalchand Navalrai** (Sind : Non-Muhammadan Rural) : I may assure the House that I had absolutely no intention to intervene in this debate especially as I was not feeling well this morning. However, I must say that this Resolution of my friend, Mr. Ranga Iyer, is not really wanted. My reasons are quite plain. If I give a silent vote on this occasion, it might give rise to some misunderstanding that I am in favour of the separation of Sind. If this small Province is going to be separated, it is going to be an agony. Sind is in that agony from which she has not yet come out. Sind is even being coveted by a high personage as His Highness the Aga Khan who wishes to have a territory of his own. Sir, I submit that though the papers say that there is no truth in His Highness the Aga Khan gaining a territory here as a ruler, yet, when we have heard such rumours and when we remember the manner in which the question of Sind has been considered, there should be no surprise in seeing one day that he is made a ruler of one of the territories in India. Sir, I do not say that so far as Kerala is concerned, there is any such high personage like the Aga Khan who is insisting upon Kerala being separated. Therefore, there is no great danger of Kerala being separated ; but I just want to say one thing that that is that, when I thought of this Kerala being separated, I put the question to myself—have I the facts before me about any demand about Kerala being separated ? Well, Sir, I have none ; but I am very glad to see today that several Members on this side have expressed themselves plainly and declared that the main question which is relevant is the same which applies to Sind also, namely, the financial difficulty. Sir, financial difficulty is a matter which can curb down all our rights, all our privileges and all our benefits when we wish to have a new Province. The question of Sind unfortunately is such that even though it has been so prominently found out by not only one, but by two Committees and other officials and by the Bombay Government itself that there are no spare finances, yet the threat is at least that Sind might be separated when the federal legislation and the Federal Government comes into operation. Sir, if that is so, if Sind is going to be separated, then I shall curse that day when that Federation comes into force.

Sir, the second point is that when you receive such Resolutions as this and when you comply with them, the difficulties of the Government are augmented. The Honourable the Finance Member is not here ; otherwise he would have told you that he also has not got lots of money to give away subventions : and if Kerala is not going to be self-contained and it is not going to supply the finances that will go to make it a separate province, I submit it will operate as an unnecessary and unbearable burden upon the tax-payers of the whole of India. Why, I ask, should Bengal be called upon to pay, why should other Provinces similarly be called upon to pay just in order to get Sind or Kerala separated ? Sir, that is the main point ; take hold of it, and such Resolutions should be thrown into the waste paper basket. Sir, I have on the contrary now learnt facts which

have been made out showing that Kerala could not be separated, but further, on the ground of principle, I oppose the proposition very strongly. What is the principle underlying the Resolution, and what is the authority for it quoted by two of my Honourable friends on my right? They quoted for their principle the Simon Commission. Sir, there was a time when these same gentlemen had a hatred for the Simon Commission, and now they come forward and say that this is the opinion of the Simon Commission. Sir, I do not endorse the principle that is sought to be enunciated in this House that every Province should be separated on a linguistic basis. Sir, I am exceedingly opposed to such a dangerous principle. Sir, don't you see that when we want India to be united, our opponents want to make it disunited, and they seek to make as many different Provinces as possible, so that we may be so segregated that there should be no union but disintegration and questions like the Hindu-Muhammadan question, the Anglo-Indian question and such like should loom large and come into prominence, all tending to make for the disintegration of the very unity and solidarity of India.

**Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad** (United Provinces Southern Divisions : Muhammadan Rural) : Then abolish all the Provinces !

**Mr. Lalchand Navalrai** : I submit, Sir, that the principle is one which should not appeal to anybody. Sir, what is it that the Congress wants? Why is the Congress suffering so much? What for? What do the people want? The people want that there has been a great deal of disunion amongst us and that has been on account of several reasons,—but we want to unite the various sections. The Congress and the people have from early times been crying and crying that there ought to be only one language current for the whole of India. (*Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad* : “Hear, hear”.) Do you want that the multifarious languages should all remain permanently and perennially separating the nation, so that people may not understand one another and the language and interest, and get into chaos. Sir, I say it is not even in the interests of the Government to separate these Provinces on a linguistic basis. Sir, if you adopt the principle of separating provinces on a linguistic basis then you shall have to consider many more such Provinces. When I went to Madras, I found a language which was going to be universal for that Province, although their own indigenous languages were four or five—Malayalam, Telugu, Tamil, Canarese, Urdu, Oriya. But nonetheless English is going to be the uniform language in Madras. Even the rickshaw driver who took me spoke in English, and unhappily he told me that he was a matriculate, though, of course, I shuddered when I got into his rickshaw that I should be driven by a matriculate who has got so much respect in this part of the country. Go anywhere, Sir, in Madras, and they all speak English. But if you are to have this separation of Kerala on the ground of language, then you have to separate the other four parts of the Provinces also which have different languages. On the contrary, the attempt of all patriotic people, people who have any love for India and for unity, should be that there should be one and one language only for India, and I submit that Hindustani is already getting to be the *lingua franca* the common language of India (Hear, hear), though Hindustani is not known so much in two parts of India, namely, Madras and Bengal. On the Madras side, however, I found Muhammadans speaking Urdu. Of course Urdu and Hindustani are alike, and it was thus easy for the Madras Muhammadans to talk in Hindustani, though, so far as the

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other communities are concerned, I found they had different languages and they could not understand Hindustani.

**Mr. Vidya Sagar Pandya :** They are learning Hindi now.

**Mr. Lalchand Navalrai :** I am very glad my friend on my right says that they are learning Hindi. I pray for that day.

**Mr. Vidya Sagar Pandya :** Four lakhs of people have learnt and passed in Hindi.

**Mr. Lalchand Navalrai :** So I am correct in opposing this Resolution. Sir, I think the Mover of this Resolution will excuse me when I tell him that he was probably thinking of some journalistic venture when he proposed the question of Kerala's separation.

**Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer :** If my Honourable friend will wait to know the truth, he will find that not only every district board, but every taluqa board in Malabar and every public-spirited Kerala gentleman wants separation.

**Mr. Lalchand Navalrai :** I have heard several such assertions.

**Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer :** I am quite willing, when my turn comes, to place documentary evidence on the floor of this House.

**Mr. Lalchand Navalrai :** I am sure that will not move me an inch. Sir, these reasons are overwhelming, namely, as the Congressmen have all along insisted upon,—we have all remained for a long long time in segregation ; if we now want unification, then we must have one language in India, and, therefore, I say, Provinces should not be separated on the score of linguistic differences.

**Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer :** Did we not, as Congressmen, take a large part in the Congress resolution which altered the Congress creed under which Malabar ought to be treated as a separate Province on linguistic grounds ?

**Mr. Lalchand Navalrai :** It is not a direct reply to me, and, therefore, I will proceed. Sir, what I submit is this that we must have the common welfare of India at heart. I would not even object if we have English as a common language of the whole of India. I have no objection to that at all, especially as our destinies are linked together with the English people. It is on that ground that the English education is advancing. It may be that if we are not careful to have Hindustani as our common language and try our very best to see that this is done, then one day in the near future we will find that we will not only be speaking in English but even thinking and dreaming in English. I, therefore, submit that I am strongly opposed to this Resolution. Sir, I am sure my points are such that they will at least appeal to the public outside and to many of the Honourable Members on this side of the House. Although my learned friend, the Mover of the Resolution, may persist in sticking to his opinion, I can assure the House that one day we will read a contribution from him in some paper to the effect that he has re-considered the question and that he is not for a separate Province on linguistic basis.

Sir, my grievance was about the separation of Sind, and that made me get up. I know that the moment I mention the Sind question, the

Muhammadan Members will attack and say : " Do not raise that question at all ". But I must say that Sind is not a Province which should be separated. It will be a grievous mistake to do so. I would make it clear to the Honourable the Muhammadan friends of mine in this House what they are really going to get if Sind is at all separated. The Barrage area is included in the area of Sind and practically the whole of it is going to be a reserved subject in the hands of the Government. Then comes the question of law and order. A strong case has already been made out, not only before the Round Tablers, but also before the Joint Parliamentary Committee that Sind is full of atrocities, dacoities and abductions.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Shanmukham Chetty) : The Honourable Member should now bring his remarks to a close.

**Mr. Lalchand Navalrai** : I am going to finish, Sir. Therefore, without saying much on this point, I would only submit that on principle I am absolutely against this Resolution, and I hope the House will realise all these points. Let Sind remain apart, but this is a principle which we should not endorse.

**Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer** : You do not want the separation of Sind ?

**Mr. Lalchand Navalrai** : You have not understood me up to this time at all. I never wanted Sind to be separated, and I am a strong advocate of no separation of any Province. With these reasons, and without taking any more time of the House, I oppose this Resolution.

**Sir Muhammad Yakub** (Rohilkund and Kumaon Divisions : Muhammadan Rural) : Mr. President, the question involved in this Resolution is really a very important one, namely, the re-distribution of the Provinces in India, and I think that the success of the Federal Constitution in India, to a very large extent, depends upon this question. It is indeed very unfortunate that this question was not threshed out, as it ought to have been, before the Round Table Conferences or the Joint Parliamentary Committee, but I think that it is not yet too late to take it up and give it the consideration that it deserves.

The Provinces of India, as we know, were not constituted and formed on any logical or reasonable grounds. The fact was that the British came to India as traders, and not as conquerors ; but when the circumstances of the country led them to take possession of different territories under their administration, then, as soon as a portion of some territory came into their possession, they attached it to another portion already in their possession, without seeing whether there were any logical or reasonable grounds for adding or attaching it to a particular Province. In this way, we find that in India there is a heterogeneous collection of Provinces, and they have got no affinity with one another. One of these tracts of land, the Province of Malabar, was attached to the Presidency of Madras. Now, Sir, you know it very well, in fact, more than I do, that there is no affinity between the traditions, the culture, the language or anything else, between Madras proper and the people of Malabar. Therefore there is no reason why Malabar ought to have been attached to Madras.

**Mr. K. P. Thampan** : West Coast and Nilgiris : Non-Muhammadan Rural) : May I know what the Honourable Member means by " Madras proper " ?



**Sir Muhammad Yakub :** By " Madras proper " I mean Madras excluding Malabar.

**Mr. Vidya Sagar Pandya :** Does my Honourable friend know that Tamil and Malayalam are very much alike to each other ?

**Sir Muhammad Yakub :** Many languages are alike to each other. For instance, English and French are very much alike to each other, but it does not follow that English should be merged into French. Then, Sir, in the same way, we find that there is no affinity whatsoever, geographically, linguistically or culturally, between Sind and Bombay, and there was absolutely no reason why Sind should have been amalgamated or attached to Bombay. Sind and Hind are, in fact, two different portions of the country. Geographically, Sind is a part of Arabia, and, therefore, I say there was no reason why Sind should be attached to Bombay. The very idea of the Federation of Provinces means that there should be small Federal States having something in common between them. My friend, Mr. Lalchand Navalrai, has been talking about the Congress and the unity which the Congress wants. The Congress has all along been for the creation of a nation in India. Now, Sir, can anybody claim that the huge sub-continent of India ever be formed into one nation ? If you can form the whole of Europe into one nation, then certainly you can form the whole of India into one nation. But as they have divided Europe into different small countries, such as, France, Germany, Italy and others, most of which are even smaller than the Provinces in India, you can also divide India into several small units you may call them Provinces or States as you like, in such a way as to create a nationality in those Provinces. Then and then alone you can introduce and run the Federal system in India successfully, and then and then alone can the national ideal of Congress be realised.

Let us examine what is it that goes to form a nation ? The first and foremost thing which goes to form a nation is a common language. Then come the culture and the family traditions. What we want is that India should be divided into small States having a common language, common culture and common traditions. If you can achieve this object, then really you can form a Federation of States in India. My Honourable friend, Mr. Lalchand Navalrai, has referred to the separation of Sind. I think there was a time when the Congress, and members belonging to the community of my Honourable friend, Mr. Lalchand Navalrai, wanted the separation of Sind.

**Mr. Lalchand Navalrai :** Question.

**Sir Muhammad Yakub :** That question can be replied in the affirmative, and it can be proved by documentary evidence on record, but as soon as they found that the Mussalmans were in favour of separation of Sind, only from that very day they turned round and said that they did not want the separation. (Laughter.) There is, I understand, a distinct resolution of the Congress in which the separation of Sind from Bombay was demanded, and my Honourable friend, who talks in the name of the Congress, now says that he is opposed to the separation of Sind.

**Mr. Lalchand Navalrai :** The Honourable Member is not correct in saying that there is a resolution. No doubt there is a resolution with

great reservation and safeguards and others which were also tentative, and they all fell through.

**Sir Muhammad Yakub :** All resolutions are always tentative. As regards safeguards, we have never denied that the minority community in Sind should have adequate safeguards. In fact we have always been for safeguards, and Muslims have always extended the same safeguards to the minority communities which they want for themselves in Provinces in which they are in a minority.

**Mr. Lalchand Navalrai :** Poor consolation.

**Sir Muhammad Yakub :** Sir, it is very unfortunate indeed that the name of His Highness the Aga Khan was dragged in this debate by my Honourable friend, Mr. Lalchand Navalrai. If he adopts this attitude, he is widening the gulf of disunion between Hindus and Muslims in this country. (Hear hear.) Nothing has hurt the feelings of the Muslims throughout the country so much as that the name of His Highness the Aga Khan was introduced in this Assembly. On the basis of some rumours, for which there was no foundation, and on the basis of some information from official documents, which somehow or other, through the subversive agency of the Congress, has leaked out into the Press, this question has been brought to the notice of the public. Those who cry for union between the two communities must understand the effect of making allegations like these and wounding the feelings of Muslims.

**Mr. B. Das :** How can the Congress steal the secrets from Government offices ?

**Sir Muhammad Yakub :** They have got secret agency in all the offices of Government. I can make this assertion on the floor of the House, and I warn the Government to take very great care about the leakage of confidential news from their offices, through the subversive agency of the Congress.

**Mr. B. V. Jadhav** (Bombay Central Division : Non-Muhammadan Rural) : So it appears that the matter alleged is true.

**Sir Muhammad Yakub :** Well, Sir, my Honourable friend has also made another unfortunate reference to Hindustani. This is another contrivance which is now being made in order to destroy Urdu, which is the language in which the culture, the religion and traditions of Mussalmans are embodied today in India. It is another method to destroy Urdu and to bring Hindi, with Sanskrit in it.

**Mr. Lalchand Navalrai :** Excuse me, you are thoroughly wrong.

**Sir Muhammad Yakub :** I assert that this is bound to widen the gulf of disunity between the two communities in India. The other day a question was asked in the Assembly about some resolution which was passed in Delhi requesting the substitution of Hindi for Urdu in the Courts of Delhi. Without having any reference or any relevancy to the resolution, my Honourable friend has again introduced this question.

**Mr. Lalchand Navalrai :** Urdu and Hindustani are similar.

**Sir Muhammad Yakub :** They are quite different, and there is no affinity whatsoever between them. If Hindustani means anything, it is a combination of *bhasha* and Sanskrit, which the Mussalmans do not know and which it would be extremely difficult for them to learn. Therefore,

[Sir Muhammad Yakub.]

I say that it is very unfortunate that, in a simple Resolution about the separation of Malabar, all these points, which tend to create trouble between the two communities, have been brought in. As regards the desire of the people of Malabar to form a separate Province of their own. I would only quote some resolutions passed by the Moplahs of Malabar. I have got in my hand the proceedings of the Ernad Taluk Board passed at its meeting held at Manjeri on the 5th February, 1934. The resolution runs thus :

“ Resolution No. 6 : Read the following resolution by Member K. Mammad Moyan Kurikkal Sahib Bahadur :

‘ Since Malabar has got an individuality of its own on account of its extensive area, dense population and peculiar language and culture, this Board resolves to request the Government of Madras to pass before the Joint Parliamentary Committee the claims of Malabar to be constituted as a separate Province when the Reforms are given effect to .’

This is signed by the President, Mr. V. Kunhi Moyi.

There is another resolution passed by the District Board of Malabar at its meeting held at Kottakkal on 16th October, 1933 :

“ Resolution No. 10. Moved by Mr. Abdur Rahiman Sahib Bahadur, District Board Member :

‘ This Board considers it to be in the best interests of the people of the West Coast to have a separate Province to their own and requests the Government to take early steps to form such a separate Province and bring into working along with the reconstituted new provinces under the Reforms Scheme .’

**Mr. K. P. Thampan :** Is that all, only one Taluq Board and the District Board ?

**Sir Muhammad Yakub :** These will show that the people of Malabar are highly in favour of the separation of Malabar. As I have said in the very beginning, this is a very important question, and if the Government want that the Federal Constitution should work successfully, they should consider the whole question of the re-distribution of Provinces on linguistic and cultural basis before the new Constitution is fully in working order. With these remarks, I heartily support the Resolution.

**Mr. K. P. Thampan :** Sir, before I came to the House this morning, my idea was to request you to adjourn this motion, because I felt unequal to the task of making a speech having been in the train for the last four or five days. I arrived here only this morning and came into the House straight without taking my food and I found that the discussion has been proceeding and has gone too far to make a request for adjourning the debate. I must, therefore, content myself with what I can do under the circumstances.

Sir, I had the pleasure of carefully listening to the speech of my Honourable friend, Mr. Ranga Iyer, when he moved this Resolution on 6th April last. I had also the benefit of reading in cold print the full report of the debate as published in the proceedings of the Assembly. Having read it, I find that Mr. Ranga Iyer's speech contains more of abuse and vilification of the party to which I have the honour to belong and of myself than anything about the merits of the question. Sir, I would be very sorry to assume the role of a bad lawyer who abuses his adversary, finding that he has a very weak case. That is precisely what Mr. Ranga Iyer

has done, but I must in duty bound to myself and to my constituents offer certain explanations by way of answering the charges and allegations made against me. Before I deal with the merits of the question, I will deal with that aspect of the case, and I crave your indulgence for a short while. Mr. Ranga Iyer says that the representative of Malabar has :

“ Disappointed his own constituents in Malabar and judging from a newspaper article in the *Matrabhumi*, a very cautious newspaper, it appears that Malabar is not represented in this House as it ought to be represented.”

Sir, I would not care a tuppence for an opinion like that from Mr. Ranga Iyer. The proper persons to come forward with such expression of opinions are my constituents. If anybody in Malabar,—never mind who he is,—holds a public meeting and passes a resolution condemning my attitude in this Assembly, it is my duty to answer it, but not the vilifying attack of an Honourable Member who ought to know his duty better. Sir, he refers to the newspaper *Matrabhumi*. The *Matrabhumi* is a Congress paper and the Congress, as all people know, is for a separate Province. If the people for whom the *Matrabhumi* speaks are the people of Malabar, then I do not represent them here, I do not represent the Congress and I do not think the Congress has got a majority in my district. Sir, Mr. Ranga Iyer says that I uttered a falsehood in saying that nobody wanted the separation of Kerala. Sir, I did not mean literally what I said. I knew Mr. Ranga Iyer wants it, I knew Mr. Palat wants it, and I knew a handful of his followers want it ; but they are such a microscopic minority in the district that one can safely say that nobody wants it. It is in that sense that I used these words. And if what I said is a falsehood, Mr. Ranga Iyer's statement that people of Malabar want separation is certainly a malicious falsehood.

Then, Sir, there are one or two attacks that are more or less personal. He compares me to Mr. Palat who is no doubt a very respectable gentleman and a friend of mine ; he says that Mr. Palat occupies a position that I have yet to occupy and that, during my political career, I have failed to occupy that position,—i.e., the Chairmanship of the District Board. Well, Sir, if Sir Charles Innes, whom everybody in the House knows, and who was our Collector, were here, he could tell Mr. Ranga Iyer that if I cared to be President of a Taluk Board or the District Board, it was not very difficult for me to get it. And it would not be a travesty of truth to say that, after the advent of the present Constitution, when a vacancy occurred in the Presidentship of the Malabar District Board, the then Minister, my revered friend, the Raja of Panagal, made himself sure, before he nominated one, that I did not care to have it. Frankly, I have not got those qualities which go to make a District Board President. I confess I am not made for that kind of work, and I have no ambition in that way.

Sir, one other aspersion that he made is that I wanted to exploit the position of the Muslims of Malabar. I am sorry, my friend, Mr. Uppi Saheb, is not here, but if he were here, he would have told the House what my views on such matters and what my relations with the Muslims are, how kind and cordial they are to me as I am to them. If he had made a statement that the Muslims of Malabar were not having their due share, I should have respectfully heard it, but it is not for a gentleman like Mr. Ranga Iyer to take up the cause of the Muslims. I might have failed in my duty, but why should he cast aspersions on my friend, Mr. Uppi

[Mr. K. P. Thampan.].

Sahab, also, for whom it was open to agitate for the due share of the Muslims, both here as well as in the Local Council where he was a distinguished Member? Sir, the Muslims, the Moplahs of Malabar, have not yet began to take to English education and are not well represented in the public services. They are quite well off in other walks of life. As merchants, they hold a unique position in the district, as agriculturists they are second to none, and there are a very large number of landholders amongst them, people who pay more than Rs. 3,000 as revenue and are eligible to vote in the landholders' constituency. In my election campaign to represent the landholders in the Madras Legislative Council, I came across many of them, and I know the enormous influence which they wield in their place. They are after all not a very unimportant community, and judging from the number of Moplahs who are already in the service, the proportion of unemployment among the educated Moplahs is not so great as it is among the other communities in Malabar.

This is all, Sir, by way of preface. I now come to the merits of the question. In the first place, I maintain that this is not the place to discuss this question. The Joint Select Committee in 1919 said that if a Local Legislative Council by a majority passes a Resolution to separate a portion of its Province and constitute a different one, then the Government must appoint a committee to investigate and report on the question before taking any action. And section 52A of the Government of India Act says that the Government of India must satisfy themselves by consulting the Local Government and the Local Legislative Council before doing anything. Sir, this question was by way of an amendment to another Resolution fully discussed and turned down in the Madras Legislative Council, and it is curious to find that only two out of the six representatives from Malabar supported it. The Madras Government also opposed it. If the people of Malabar had a grievance on this subject, it was up to the representatives of Malabar to take it up in the Local Council.

Sir, I must apologise to the House for making a digression and going back to answer another aspersion of my Honourable friend which I left out. Mr. Ranga Iyer says here that Members of the Democratic Party

“run with the hare and hunt with the hound ignoring their duties and responsibilities to their own constituents.”

Sir, hunting with the hound and running with the hare is a very happy phrase. The House knows very well who all are flirting with the Congress on the one hand and flirting with our friends on the Government benches on the other; who all are moving Resolutions such as the release of Mahatma Gandhi, the abolition of untouchability and the disabilities as regards entry into temples to placate the Congress, and, at the same time, are voting with Government in regard to the Press Law and other repressive measures and angling for preferances such as nominations to go to England as members of Railway Board and Reserve Bank Committees. Sir, I have been in this House for four years, and sitting in that Chair you must have seen how many times I have gone into the Government Lobbies; except once, namely, in the matter of tariff duty on hosiery, in which many of my constituents are interested, I have not voted with the Government. I am a Member of the Opposition, and it is my duty to be in my place and oppose the Government.

Who are hunting with the hounds and running with the hare is very plain and obvious to the House and people outside. To come back to the subject, Mr. Ranga Iyer urged, as one of the main reasons for separation, that Malabar has got its own greatness and genius, and he wanted the people of Malabar to keep up that genius. It is, indeed, a noble endeavour. My friend very well knew that the one instance, the *marumakkathayam* system, which he quoted, was proposed to be uprooted in the district by means of a legislative measure : his very friend, Mr. Palat, was the sponsor of that measure in the Madras Legislative Council. Did he do anything then ? Where did his magnanimity go ? Did he discuss the matter with his friend, Mr. Palat, or any other, and persuade them not to destroy it, but to keep that characteristic genius or greatness of Malabar to itself ? The only instance of that great genius he quoted was the *marumakkathayam* system and that was completely abolished by that measure. There is, now, absolutely no difference between the law of inheritance and marriage in Malabar and that of other districts in Madras. He did not move a single finger then to agitate against that measure. If he was sincere in his declarations, it was up to him to carry on a propaganda with a view to keeping that genius ; but, now, after the law was passed and the system was totally abolished, very generously he says " Why not keep it ? " He wants the people of Malabar to keep their genius. Keep what ? Surely there ought to be a limit even for Mr. Ranga Iyer. One could fool a few people for all time ; one could also fool all people for some time ; but one cannot fool all people for all time. This is just what Mr. Ranga Iyer vainly attempts to do.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Shanmukham Chetty) : The Honourable Member has just got two minutes more.

**Mr. K. P. Thampan** : I have not touched the fringe of the question and have a good lot more to say.....

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Shanmukham Chetty) : He must finish in two minutes.

**Mr. K. P. Thampan** : Sir, we in Malabar do not want separation. We are well off as we are. When the Andhras, Tamilians separate or when Cochin and Travancore will consent to join us to form a Province, the time may come. The present move is a mischievous one and will end in ruin. The District Board or the Taluk Boards do not count. I will wind up by reading two or three letters from among many which I have received from leading and representative gentlemen to whom I wrote for an expression of their opinion on this subject. Sir M. Krishnan Nair, one of the foremost men of my district, writes :

" Dear Thampan, with reference to your letter requesting me to state my views about the desirability or otherwise of constituting a Kerala Province, I have to state that in my opinion the formation of a Kerala Province will be against the interests of the people of Malabar. If it were possible to include the whole of the Malayalam speaking country consisting of the Indian States of Travancore and Cochin, the British District of Malabar and the Kasargode Taluk of the St. Xavier's District in a Kerala Province, it might be desirable to have a Kerala Province. But you know as well as I do that it will not be possible to include the tracts referred to above in a single province. I have no objection to your making use of this letter in any way you like."

[Mr. K. P. Thampan.]

Another gentleman, Mr. K. P. Raman Menon, the uncle of Mr. Palat, who has a very good record of public career, writes—this was long before the Resolution was moved :

“ Your letter of the 24th *re* Kerala Province could be read by me only on the 2nd March when I returned from Madras. My views are decidedly against the separation of Kerala from the present Madras province. Most of my reasons have been stated by me in the debate on a similar resolution moved in the Madras Legislative Council and negatived there, I believe last November or so, to which please refer. Over and above those reasons I may mention one or two more. What are you going to do with Travancore and Cochin? If those Rajahs are to be pensioned off and all Malayalam speaking people are brought together as one Province there is some semblance of common sense behind it. Again how can a small province like this sustain the financial burdens that would arise from the top heavy machinery of a Governor, ministers, secretaries, etc. As far as I can gather from the trend of the discussion people who advocate separation can be classed under two heads (1) those suffering from what I call pseudo-patriotism who want their language, their culture, etc., to predominate, (2) those who think that in a sphere more restricted than the Madras Presidency they could make themselves masters either honestly or dishonestly. A smaller legislative council can be better managed than a larger one either by corruption or by honest endeavour and hence the craving to separate, because men of this persuasion are in too great a hurry to thrust themselves into the lime light.”

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Shanmukham Chetty) : The Honourable Member's time is up.

**Mr. K. P. Thampan** : I have got letters condemning this proposal from all classes and creeds of people, merchants, landlords, Government servants—people in all walks of life and Brahmins, Tiegyas, Nairs, and Rajas representing all communities.

The financial aspect of the question has also to be considered. The Government of Madras was good enough to supply me with certain relevant figures and I can show.....

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Shanmukham Chetty) : The Honourable Member cannot embark upon a new topic just now.

**Mr. K. P. Thampan** : I oppose the motion and request the House to vote with me.

**Bhai Parma Nand** (Ambala Division : Non-Muhammadan) : Sir, in one respect I appreciate that I cannot say much on the particular subject of the separation of Malabar from Madras. But as this subject has another aspect and that aspect has involved in it the interests of the country as a whole, I would like to make a few remarks on it. The main argument that Mr. Ranga Iyer has given to us, is the linguistic reason. If we take the linguistic reason as a main ground for the separation of a Province, then I think there will be so many different Provinces in this country that it would become very difficult to make arrangements for the separation of each. If Malabar is to be separated from Madras, then the question which Andhra people would ask is “ Why should not Andhra be made a separate Province ?”

**An Honourable Member** : They have already done so.

**Bhai Parma Nand** : I quite agree with Sir Muhammad Yakub in his view that the division of the country into separate Provinces was not made by any particular design. It was done gradually as the British East India Company went on conquering one part after another in India. Taking that as a reason for re-distribution of Provinces of

India, I think the best form of the Resolution ought to be that some Royal Commission should be appointed which should take up the question of re-distribution of India into various Provinces. I would agree and support this form of Resolution. I cannot understand that if the present division into Provinces is not satisfactory, how the demand to separate one portion now and again another, would be a satisfactory solution for it. The real remedy for this difficulty is to take the country as a whole and then try and find out a proper way of distributing it into various Provinces.

Take the case of Sind. It was only the Muslim majority of that Province who have made it one of their demands. Sir Muhammad Yakub said that before the year 1925 the Hindus of that Province were agreeable to the separation of Sind. Sir, I have also studied this question of the separation of Sind, and what I find from the statement of the Hindu leaders, is that they never wanted the separation of Sind from Bombay; what they wanted was to have the judiciary separated from the Bombay Presidency. When the Hindus wanted this, the Mussalmans of Sind were not agreeable to the proposition. It was in 1925 or 1926 that the demand for separation of Sind on behalf of the All-India Muslim League was made, and then the Mussalman community of Sind was set up to make this demand for the separation of Sind for themselves. The demand was altogether given a new shape by the All-India Muslim League by making it an All-India question.

In the same way, Sir, as this demand was made by the Mussalmans of Sind or by the All-India Muslim League, I think some people, who call themselves as belonging to the Delhi Province or Delhi *plus* Ambala Division, which I have the honour to represent here, have also been making a similar demand for a long time, for separating them from the Punjab. Their reasons are also quite clear and cogent enough, because Ambala was never a part of the Punjab proper. The people of Ambala, Rohtak, Hissar and other neighbouring Districts were altogether different from the people of the Punjab until the British conquered the Punjab from the Sikhs. Their traditions, their history, their language and their customs are altogether different even today from the people of the Punjab, and, therefore, the demand of the people of Delhi *plus* Ambala Division was that they should be separated from the Province of the Punjab. I personally agree with that view. The people of Ambala sent their representations to the Parliamentary Committee and also passed resolutions at several of their Conferences. Sir, if the demand for the separation of Provinces on a linguistic basis is acceded to, if Honourable Members, one after another, bring out Resolutions to separate Provinces, it will be no real remedy for the troubles we are facing today in the country. Therefore, what I say is, if a real remedy is to be sought for our troubles, the Resolution should take some such a form that a Commission should be appointed for considering the whole question.

Now, Sir, before I sit down, I just want to say a few words with regard to certain remarks that fell from my friend, Sir Muhammad Yakub. Some of his remarks were so flagrantly wrong that I do not think that they should go unchallenged. My friend, Sir Muhammad Yakub, said that Sind was a part of Arabia, and, therefore, the people.....

**Sir Muhammad Yakub:** I said that geographically it is a part of Arabia. I never said it was a part of Arabia.



**Bhai Parma Nand :** Yes, that is what my friend said, that geographically Sind was a part of Arabia. Referring to the name of Sind, he also said that Sind was different from Hind, and, therefore, Sind was a different country making it geographically or in other ways a part of Arabia,—it may not be so politically,—I do not think my friend was serious in making such a statement. I am afraid my friend is making a serious mistake in saying that Sind was a part of Arabia.....

**Sir Muhammad Yakub :** It is not a mistake, but it is a fact.

**Bhai Parma Nand :** The word Sind is derived from the river Sindhu or Indus. *Sindhu* in Sanskrit means river, and it is from this word "Indus" that the name of the country "Hindustan" is derived ; but my friend, Sir Muhammad has been telling us quite a different story. In fact, Sind is the Province which has kept up really the original name of the whole country, i.e., Hindustan and its people.

**Mr. Latchand Navalrai :** As Punjab is derived from the five rivers.

**Bhai Parma Nand :** Then, again, my friend, Sir Muhammad Yakub, also said something about the Hindustani language. I beg to differ from him entirely. Hindustani is the word used for the spoken language, and it includes Urdu just as well as Hindi. It was a mistake to suppose that Hindustani meant only Hindi. Of course, my friend's prejudice against Hindi impelled him to make certain remarks and he went so far as to say that Hindustani should not be the language of India, and that if any one would repeat it, he would be throwing Hindu-Muslim unity to winds. Sir, spoken Hindustani is the common language spoken by the major portion of the people of India. Of course, my friend may not agree that Hindi should be the common language of India, but Hindi is altogether different from the Hindustani that is spoken. Hindi is written in Sanskrit characters, while Hindustani can be written either in Urdu or Hindi. Hindustani is being used by the people of the South and it is being popularised more and more to serve as a medium of communication between the North and the South.

Then, my friend, Sir Muhammad Yakub, also said that India was just like European countries. My Honourable friend was a member of the Round Table Conference. He has been favouring Federation in India. I do not think, Sir, that being a member of the Round Table Conference and holding such a responsible position as he does, he should indulge in such remarks that India should be considered like Europe and should have separate Governments just as Italy and France have got different forms of Government.

**Sir Muhammad Yakub :** There was nothing irresponsible in the remarks which I made when I said that India was as big as the whole of Europe minus Russia, and that some of the Provinces of India were greater than the countries of Europe. I was perfectly right in saying that you cannot have one standard for a sub-continent or one language for the whole of a sub-continent.

**Bhai Parma Nand :** That is what I said, that for a gentleman, who was a member of the Round Table Conference and who has been supporting the Federal Government scheme, it was foolish to suggest that India should have separate governments.....

**Sir Muhammad Yakub :** You have entirely misunderstood what I said.

**Bhai Parma Nand** : That is all what I have to say to Sir Muhammad Yakub.

Therefore, I would say that, although I am no authority on Malabar, the proposed Resolution is no remedy, that is to say, that the Andhra people should have a separate Province, or the Sind people should have a Province for themselves, or that the Ambala people should also have a separate Province, but the real remedy is that Government should set up a Royal Commission to settle the question once and for all, whether the Provinces should be separated and distributed on a linguistic basis or on some other lines.

**Mr. Muhammad Yamin Khan** (Agra Division : Muhammadan Rural) : Sir, I think the question of separation of Provinces should be left to the people of each Province to decide for themselves. Sir, I am not an authority to speak for Malabar, and I am not in a position to say what is the difference between the two cultures of the Malayalam or Kanarese speaking people. I know that Malabar had for a long time past had a civilization of its own. I find, though only through history, that Malabar had nothing in common with the rest of the Madras Presidency. If the people of Malabar unanimously demand that they should be separated from the rest of the Madras Presidency, I will whole-heartedly support their demand. But if I find that they do not wish to be separated, either on account of political reasons, or on account of administrative difficulties, or on some other grounds, I will be the last person to lend my support to the Resolution on the flimsy ground of sentiment and linguistic affinity. I leave this matter entirely to the people who come from Madras and who only can authoritatively speak on the subject. I can only speak on the principle. The principle is that if the civilization of a people is different from the rest of the people of the Province and if they can be easily separated, then they should be separated, and if the separated province can work in harmony for the settlement of its affairs and its administration, then I think the Government must see their way to give effect to the demands of the people.

I have got no controversy with my Honourable friend, Bhai Parma Nand, when he says that the Ambala Division may be separated from the rest of the Punjab. I know that the Ambala Division is quite different from the rest of the Punjab. People living on this side of the Sutlej have not got very much in common with the people living on the western side of the Sutlej. But I do not see eye to eye with my Honourable friend, Mr. Lalchand Navalrai, when he says that Sind is a part of India. If my Honourable friend will only read the one and the only history which had been written before the Muslims came, namely, *Chao Nama*, he would find that Sind never formed part of India. Sind was always considered to be a different country from the rest of India. The words "Sind" and "Hind" show that they are two different things. If my Honourable friend has not made up his mind but is open to conviction, the recent excavations in Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro will show that the civilization of Sind was quite different from the civilization of India. (Interruption.) My Honourable friend says that Sind did not form part of the countries to the west of it. That is only sentiment, but historically, it can be proved that the civilization which existed up to the banks of the Indus extended, not only as far as Babylon, but right upto Egypt.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Shanmukham Chetty) : Order. order. The Chair must now intervene and ask Honourable Members to confine themselves to the Kerala Province.

**Mr. Muhammad Yamin Khan :** I am only replying to what my Honourable friend had been saying and challenging when he remarked that Hind and Sind have got the same civilization. I say, no. They are different. (Interruption by Bhai Parma Nand.) My Honourable friend is excited, but the history is different.

(At this stage, Mr. Lalchand Navalrai rose in his seat, and there were also other interruptions.)

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Shanmukham Chetty) : Order, order.

**Mr. Muhammad Yamin Khan :** Therefore, if the people of Sind want separation, I do not see what business we have got in this House to say that they should not be separated.

**Mr. Lalchand Navalrai :** I rise to a point of order, Sir. Your ruling was that Kerala should be talked about.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Shanmukham Chattey) : It is the Honourable Member himself who first violated that. (Laughter.)

**Mr. Muhammad Yamin Khan :** My Honourable friend comes into this House to challenge a thing with which we are not concerned ; that question has been settled somewhere else, and it is a pity that that question was brought in here in a round about manner. I say that my Honourable friend has no right to re-open that question in this House or to ask for our opinion. That is left to the Sind people of whom Mr. Lalchand Navalrai is one. There are others also in Sind whose voice we have to consider, and if their voice is that Sind should be separated, that will have to be separated, and the voice of this House can have no effect on that point.

**Bhai Parma Nand :** He is the representative of the Hindus.

**Mr. Muhammad Yamin Khan :** He may be representative of the Hindus, but there are other people who are representatives of other communities.

**Mr. Lalchand Navalrai :** None in this House except myself.

**Mr. Muhammad Yamin Khan :** I will put a pertinent question to my Honourable friend, Mr. Lalchand Navalrai, and if he answers that, I will be the first person to concede him whatever he wants.....

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Shanmukham Chetty) : Order, order. It appears that a passing reference to Sind which the Chair permitted in the case of one Honourable Member has given an entirely new turn to the debate. The Chair does not want unnecessarily to intervene ; but, in the case of future speakers, the Chair must ask them strictly to confine themselves to the Kerala Province.

**Mr. Muhammad Yamin Khan :** I will only say, let my Honourable friend say what he wants to have in Sind, and I am ready to give him that. That is not only my personal opinion, but also of many other Muslims—namely, whatever rights he wants let him mention and we shall concede. If he does not want to ask, then it is his look out. The mere adoption of this Resolution will have no effect on the decision of the Government, because, this House, as it is composed, has got no authority, has got no right to speak for the people who are living in different Provinces. But I will tell the Government that if they find a real and genuine desire on the part

of people, who are going to be affected, there should be separation; they should do something in the way of accepting their demands. With these words, I support the Resolution.

**Maulvi Sayyid Murtuza Sahib Bahadur** (South Madras : Muhamadan) : But for the absence of Mr. Uppi, who is the only Muslim representative of Malabar, I would not have risen to make a speech on this occasion. So far as the Muslims of Malabar are concerned, I think they are quite indifferent regarding the separation of Malabar from Madras. The same attitude is to be adopted by the Muslim representatives of Madras, I mean Mr. Muhammad Muazzam and myself, but the House may ask how it was that I was the man who moved a Resolution regarding the introduction of reforms into the North-West Frontier Province and placing it on the same level as other Provinces of India. If the same was the case here, as it was in the case of the N. W. F. P., I should favour this Resolution ; but I want to convince the House that I am neither in favour of, nor against, this Resolution. I will adopt the same attitude as has been adopted by the Congress regarding the communal question. They are neither for rejecting it nor accepting it. Questions like these should be viewed from this point of view. If the majority of a certain Province do want its separation, we should favour it. As my Honourable friend, Mr. Thampan, said, the majority are not in favour of the separation of the Province. So far as the Muslim representative is concerned, unfortunately he is absent, but I have some connection with Malabar. I happen to be the President of the Majlis-i-Ulema, the association of the divines of that district, and, as such, I know their attitude. They will favour separation if the majority favours it. They would not at all stand in the way if the majority want separation. Personally I would not like it, because the House is fully aware of the fact that we are only seven per cent. throughout the Madras Presidency, and, if Malabar should be separated from Madras, our percentage will be even less than that. It is Malabar which contributes largely to the Muslim population of the Madras Presidency. Out of 35 lakhs throughout the Presidency, about one-third or even more than one-third is the Muslim population of Malabar, and, so personally I would not like it, but if the Hindus, who form the majority of the Province, want separation in their own interests, I know the Moplahs of Malabar would not stand in the way and they will make common cause with them, because, so far as I know, the Muslims and Hindus of our whole Province are living on terms of cordiality. The same is the case with the Moplahs of Malabar. So I speak on behalf of the Muslims of Madras when I say that we will remain neutral so far as this question is concerned.

**Mr. A. H. Ghuznavi** (*Dacca cum Mymensingh* : Muhammadan Rural) : I would not have intervened in this debate but for Mr. Lalchand Navalrai who brought in the question of the separation of Sind.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Shanmukham Chetty) : The Chair cannot allow any further discussion of the separation of Sind.

**Mr. Lalchand Navalrai** : Hear, hear.

**Mr. A. H. Ghuznavi** : If that is your ruling, certainly I have nothing more to say than that Mahatma Gandhi accepted the separation of Sind in England, when he was there representing the Congress. That is a fact which you cannot deny.

**Bhai Parma Nand** : He did not represent the Hindus though.

**Mr. A. H. Ghuznavi :** As one of the members of the Round Table Conference, it is my duty to inform this House that not a word of protest was said about the separation of Sind either in the first Round Table Conference or in the Second Round Table Conference in which Mahatma Gandhi was a delegate and a member. He was entirely with the Muslim view that Sind should be separated from Bombay. When the partition of Bengal was proposed by Government, what was the reason? The reason was that Bengal was a very bulky Province for a single administration to carry on, and, if I am not wrong, that is also one of the points that were raised in the case of the Bombay Presidency.

**Mr. B. V. Jadhav :** Not at all.

**Mr. A. H. Ghuznavi :** I am not here to contradict my friend. That was the point that was raised in the Round Table Conference. Mr. Jayakar, who was a member of the three Round Table Conferences, did not oppose the transference of Sind from Bombay. It was only an afterthought. The Communal Award was published in India in 1932, and then this agitation was carried on by the Hindu Mahasabha. So far as the question of Malabar, which we are discussing, is concerned, Mr. Murtuza Sahib has just said that our policy should be neither for nor against. It is for the Malabarees themselves to say whether they want separation or not. One thing more, and I have done. It pained every Muslim Member in this House that the honoured name of our leader, His Highness the Aga Khan, has been dragged into this discussion. It is a historical fact and will be borne out by my friend, Sir Hari Singh Gour, that so far as His Highness the Aga Khan is concerned, he has worked in all the three Round Table Conferences and Joint Select Committees, not only as a representative of Muslims, but he has also taken India's interest as a whole, and, but for him, Sir Hari Singh Gour will confirm me, that historic memorandum, which has demanded much more than is contained in the White Paper, would not have seen the light of day.

**The Honourable Sir Harry Haig (Home Member) :** This Resolution  
 1 P.M. makes a positive recommendation that steps should be taken to constitute a new Province of Malabar. As I see the matter, there are three methods by which effect could be given to that Resolution. In the first place, effect could be given to it under the present Constitution. Now, it is laid down in the present Constitution, in section 52A of the Government of India Act, that action of this kind should only be taken after obtaining an expression of opinion from the Local Government and the local Legislature affected.

Now, as I have listened to the debate this morning, it appears to me that the advocates of this proposition have still a good long way to go before they can show us that they really have strong and unanimous opinion in favour of the proposal; and I am confirmed in that view by a reference to the debate which took place not very long ago in the Madras Legislative Council, where, in fact, this proposal was rejected. I do not propose myself to take any line on one side or the other on the merits of this case; but I do submit that at the present moment it cannot be held that local opinion has declared itself in favour of the proposal, and, therefore, we are not in a position to take steps under the present Constitution.

Now, Sir, the second way in which effect could be given to this Resolution would be to include the proposal as part of the new Constitution for India. As various Honourable Members have pointed out, there is no such proposal included in the White Paper. The White Paper, as we all remember, contemplates the creation of only two new Provinces, namely, Sind and Orissa ; and, as a matter of practical politics, I think we can take it that it is now too late to ask Parliament to consider the constitution of new Provinces in the measure that they will shortly be asked to consider. Therefore, Sir, I am led to the conclusion that the only way in which practical effect could be given to this Resolution would be after the introduction of the new Constitution, and, in that connection an important point was raised by my Honourable friend, Mr. B. Das. He pointed out that, in the White Paper proposals, there is no definite reference as to what procedure there would be for any future readjustment of boundaries or the Constitution of new Provinces. Well, Sir, I admit that that is a very important question, and I think it is a question which should undoubtedly be brought to the notice of the Secretary of State, and I would, therefore, suggest, as possibly a suitable method of dealing with this Resolution—which in its present form, I must make it clear, the Government of India could not accept—I would, therefore, suggest that the Government of India might forward a copy of this debate to the Secretary of State and invite his attention, in particular, to that point as to whether provision will or will not be made under the new Constitution for the constitution of new Provinces, should it be found desirable (Hear, hear) ; and I hope that perhaps my Honourable friend, the Mover, might be content with that assurance and be prepared on that assurance to withdraw his motion. I make that suggestion to my Honourable friend. (Loud Applause.)

**Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer :** Sir, I beg leave of the House to withdraw my motion, and I would like to express my gratitude to the Honourable the House Member, who has always been good to us and whom I wish all good in future. (Loud and Prolonged Cheers.)

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

The Assembly then adjourned for Lunch till Half Past Two of the Clock.

The Assembly re-assembled after Lunch at Half Past Two of the Clock, Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Shanmukham Chetty) in the Chair.

## RESOLUTION *RE* CATERING CONTRACTS ON RAILWAYS.

**Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad** (United Provinces Southern Divisions : Muhammadan Rural) : Sir, I beg to move :

“ That this Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council to appoint a committee consisting of Railway officials and others not connected with Railway Administrations to enquire as to how far the present system of giving contracts and sub-contracts, to outsiders and not to local persons, for catering to the Railway passengers is responsible for the supply of bad food and drinks at very high prices by the vendors either at the Railway platforms, in the refreshment rooms or in the running trains and to suggest ways and means to remove these grievances.”

[Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad.]

Sir, the most important problem in connection with the road-rail competition is to provide good facilities in the railway traffic in order to divert the traffic from road to rail. In this connection, there are three very important questions out of which we are discussing only one today. The first question is the over-crowding of all railway trains. We know that the buses are unpopular on account of their being over-crowded, and if the railways are equally over-crowded, there will be very little to choose between the two. The second is that we should have the system of concession tickets. In England, about 70 per cent. of the travellers travel by means of concession tickets. In India the concession tickets are very few. It is desirable to increase these concessions. The third point, which will be the subject-matter of discussion today, is the supply of cheap and good food. Sir, when we calculate the cost of travelling, the price of food is always added to it, and it is desirable that we should make the budget of the travelling as low as possible in order to attract a larger number of men to travel by rail and in preference to the motor service. The question of food was taken up by several Advisory Committees of Indian Railways, and I do not like to quote them at any great length, but just to mention a few facts. The Bihar and Orissa Branch Committee discussed this question and their item No. 7 ran as follows :

“ This Committee thinks that separate contracts should be entered into for Indian refreshment rooms and stalls at stations, the contractor being under the supervision of the station master.”

The reply was :

“ The suggested procedure was tried in 1926 on the Bengal Nagpur Railway and had proved unsatisfactory. Since the local shop-keepers are men of small means, they found themselves unable to maintain the required standard of Bengal Nagpur Railway catering service.”

The Bengal Nagpur Railway wanted to maintain a very high standard of service, and, therefore, they undertook the catering for themselves and money was no consideration to them. The Railway Retrenchment Committee in their report of 1931 remarked as follows about their extravagance :

“ We understand that the Bengal Nagpur Railway runs its catering departmentally and at an annual loss of over half a lakh of rupees, and for a number of years the total cost of the establishment has been 2½ lakhs. We can see no justification for continuing this department at a loss and recommend that the question of adopting the system in force on other railways of letting the catering to contractors should be considered immediately.”

Therefore, the suggestion of the Bengal Nagpur Railway was found to be too expensive, and it was criticised by the Railway Retrenchment Committee. The second occasion, when this question was taken up, was by the Sind Committee of the North Western Railway. In paragraph 36, they said :

“ The rates of selling food at the refreshment rooms and at restaurants are exorbitant.”

It was suggested that a small sub-committee be appointed to go into the whole question and place their views before the Committee at an early date. The reply was disposed of in the following terms :

“ As the general question in regard to food vending was under consideration, the Mover did not press this Resolution.”

I do not know whether the North Western Railway went even one step further to settle this particular question. The question was also taken up by the Assam-Bengal Railway. In paragraph 11, they said :

“The reduction in the scale of charges in refreshment rooms should be considered.”

They decided that the contractors ought to be consulted whether they would be willing to reduce their rates, and naturally the contractors gave it as their opinion that they could not do it and the railway authorities accepted it.

This question was also taken up by the Central Advisory Committee of the Railways. I moved in the Central Advisory Committee that the prices are abnormally high. Then Sir Leslie Hudson pointed out that this question ought to be inquired into and we ought to have some more details about the prices of various articles at different stations compared with their prices in local markets. At his suggestion, I put a notice in papers and I got a very large number of replies simply by putting in one notice. This in itself shows how much interest the travelling public takes in the question of catering. I have got two files about the answers which I have received in reply to the notice which I put in the papers, and I will make some reference to them. I have made a summary of these replies. In reply to Sir Leslie Hudson's questions, we find that at Lucknow it was said that the price of one meal consisting of two vegetables and rice and sweets was Rs. 1-4-0 at the Hindu restaurant, whereas the same food at a decent hotel could be obtained for eight to ten annas. At Fatehgarh and other places, the price of *puris* at the railway stations was from ten to twelve annas a seer, whereas, in the town, its price was six to eight annas a seer. The same remark about *puris* applies to a large number of places. At Jodhpur, though the prices at the railway station and the town are the same, the weight of the seer is different. At the railway station, the seer is of 80 tolas, whereas in the town it is of 100 tolas. Thus, the difference in prices is made up by a difference in weight. At the Agra station, somebody writes to me, the *pethai-ka-mithai* is sold at eight annas per seer in the city, and it is sold at 12 annas a seer at the railway station. *Dal moth* is sold at the rate of 12 annas in the city and at Rs. 1-4-0 at the railway station. The model of the Taj is being sold for Rs. 6 in the town and for Rs. 10 at the railway station.

**The Honourable Sir Joseph Bhowe** (Member for Commerce and Railways) : Is that an article of food ?

**Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad** : This affects the pockets of the travelling public. At Gaya, I am informed that the *jalaibeas* are sold at six annas per seer in the town, and at ten annas per seer at the station. Then, *ghi-ka-pakwan* is sold at 12 annas a seer in the town and at one rupee a seer at the station, and the *pakwan* in oil is sold at four annas a seer in the town and at eight annas a seer at the railway station. One gentleman, Mr. Ajodhya Prasad, writes to me that on the 8th May, 1934, he could buy *raiwrries* at six annas per seer at the Lucknow railway station, but, on the 10th July, the price was raised to eight annas. On making an inquiry, it was found that there was a vendor outside the railway station who used to sell at the former rate. The outside vendor was induced to increase the price, and, therefore, the vendor at the railway station also increased it.



[Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad.]

As regards the cost of tea, I was also told and I also calculated myself that the price of articles which are given in what is called the *chota hazri*, consisting of two toasts and tea is about one anna, if they are purchased in retail, and nine pies if purchased in wholesale. But we have to pay for *chota hazri* a sum of eight annas, that is, it is eight times or ten times the price at which the caterers purchase the articles. As regards aerated waters, we all know that it costs about three annas a dozen to make, but they are sold at six annas a dozen in towns, and at the railway stations on the East Indian Railway they are sold at Rs. 1-8-0 a dozen, and I understand in the North Western Railway, it is sold a little cheaper. I have not got the figures for the North Western Railway at present with me. The same is the case with ice. The wholesale price is eight annas per maund, but it is sold in all the stations, where there is no ice factory, at three pice per seer, and at the railway station it is sold at two annas per seer which is abnormally great as compared with the price prevailing in towns. This is really the answer to the question raised by my Honourable friend, Sir Leslie Hudson, in the Advisory Committee. This was also one of the questions which I put down on paper for which I have got a reply. I, therefore, submit that if proper enquiries are made, you will find that in each and every article the prices at the railway station differ from prices in towns by 30 per cent. to 75 per cent., and in some cases even cent. per cent. These are heavy taxes on the travelling public, and it adds to the cost of travelling.

Now, coming to the quality of food, I have got my own personal experience, and I think a good many other Honourable Members have got their own experiences. It is rather more comfortable to go without food than to have the food supplied by these vendors at the railway stations. I have got with me some of the opinions expressed by some gentlemen. One gentleman says about tea that the quality of tea served at railway stations is hopelessly poor, and in some cases the balance of tea of the morning is kept up warmed till eleven o'clock, so that illiterate passengers who arrive by later train may be served with that tea. The same gentleman also says that, at the Marwar junction, the trains arrive at close intervals and the old tea is served for passengers who come by later trains. Another gentleman says about the quality of food that two men in the refreshment room at Gaya were attacked by cholera on the 11th May, 1934, and one of them died in the cholera hospital and the other was sent to an unknown place. No steps were taken to destroy all the food-stuffs that were remaining. No steps were taken to clean and whitewash the premises or close the room temporarily. The infected eatables were sold to the public without any interference by the contractor or by the railway authorities.

**Mr. A. H. Ghuznavi** (Dacca cum Mymensingh : Muhammadan Rural) : Was it only on the East Indian Railway or on other railways also ?

**Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad** : Gaya is on the E. I. R. As regards cooking in vegetable *ghae*, my Honourable friend, the Commerce Member, has passed the Bill to protect the industry of vegetable *ghae* in this country. I will now give the House the opinion of a doctor from my constituency from Fatehgarh, Doctor Ayodhia Prasad ; and he says that the stuff sold is inferior in quality and the preparation is often stale, and unwholesome foods are often sold to the passengers who have no

alternative but to accept them or to starve. He continues to say that you cannot get this vegetable *ghae* even to put in your eyes and that is also a thing which is not possible and he deplores the absence of good *ghae* altogether, and he recommends that the import of vegetable *ghae* should be stopped altogether, but, alas, we do the reverse. Sir, so far I have proved by the evidence that I have received and based also on my own personal experience that the price of articles sold at railway stations is very high, that the quality of food that is given to the passengers is not good, and this is criticised by the medical authorities whose opinions I have received.

Now, I will make just one or two observations. The first thing is that I should very much like that the system of sub-contracts should be abolished altogether. Under our very nose, at the Delhi Railway Station, the contract for a large number of articles is given to one person who is not even a resident of Delhi, he comes from some place in the United Provinces. He comes once a month to Delhi and collects about Rs. 1,000, or Rs. 1,500 every month from the sub-contractors and goes away to his house. What for is he allowed to collect these sums? Because he was fortunate enough to have the contract for such a large number of articles from one of the officers of the railway. In this connection, I wish to bring to the notice of the House that Sir Guthrie Russell pointed out at a meeting of the Advisory Committee that the sub-letting of contracts was not permissible under the terms of the agreement with the contractors. This view may be correct, but we find that it is not followed in practice by subordinate railway officers. It may be the opinion of the Chief Commissioner for Railways, but if enquiries are made at different places, it will be found that his opinion is not being carried out by the subordinate railway officials. In fact, every officer of the railway has got his own opinion, and he carries out the system in his own way, and he is guided by several considerations. When Sir Guthrie Russell was the Agent of the Great Indian Peninsula he stopped the system of selling contracts, and Mr. Tyldon Patterson, in his capacity as the Commercial Superintendent, recommended that the system of selling contracts should be abolished. Sir Guthrie Russell has come to the Railway Board, Mr. Tyldon Patterson has become the Agent and the present Commercial Superintendent, who succeeded, again introduced the very same system which Mr. Tyldon Patterson himself recommended to be abolished. Now, he has shown great weakness in accepting the recommendations of his subordinate in restoring a system which he himself recommended to abolish. As regards the Great Indian Peninsula, they have sold contracts at several stations and they have given passes to the men who hold contracts. In one case, it was discovered that a contractor had carried under this cover a large number of heavy articles for sale, because he was engaged in that trade and he carried on trade both at Delhi and Bombay. He used this privilege of passes in carrying his articles from Delhi to Bombay. This fact was published in some of the newspapers in Bombay, and I also put a few questions on the subject, but nothing came out of it; and the system of selling contracts is vigorously being pursued in the Great Indian Peninsula. One of my correspondents writes to me about the sale of contract as follows. He says that the contract of the Moradabad railway station miscellaneous goods was given for about Rs. 1,200 a year only a few years back, and this year it was given for Rs. 3,900 to the same person. And then he says that to crown all this the railway sells

[Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad.]

its tender forms, two sheets of brown paper for Rs. 5 each and demands big amounts as earnest money which they promise to return in case of non-acceptance by the officer. Then he goes on to describe the difficulties in returning the earnest money.

I simply demand that the opinion of the Honourable Sir Guthrie Russell and the principle already accepted by the Railway Board ought to be literally carried out in all the railways. Inquiries should be made whether the system of giving sub-contracts is prevalent at any station and the system should be ended.

My second suggestion is that railways should not make money on contracts, that is, they should not sell the contracts, an example of which I have already given. In this connection I may say that, about Dinapore, there have been a series of questions in the Assembly, that is, the small men who had the contract had to lose their contracts which went to the big capitalists for which no evident reason exists.

The next thing I should suggest is that the prices should be the same as prevail in the towns. In fact I found on inquiry that the people are willing to sell at the railway stations even at cheaper rates than prevail in the towns, because they are certain of a market, they can sell it with certainty, and, on account of this certainty, they are willing to undersell at railway stations as compared with the towns.

The next thing is that there should be some kind of a supervisory committee at each station in which non-railway men should be associated, because this question of eatables is not an expert railway question requiring expert knowledge. This is, in fact, a question in which the travelling public are more interested than the railway officials. Therefore, it is just and reasonable that in each town you should appoint a committee consisting of the Station Master as convener and two other persons to assist him, whoever they may be, officials or nominees of the local bodies. Circumstances differ and probably you will have to adopt different methods in different Provinces. But the important principle is that non-railway men ought to be associated in giving contracts, in fixing rates and in supervising the quality of the foodstuff. Then, in the same category, we come to drinks. To give a contract for drinks for all stations from Bombay to Delhi or from Calcutta to Delhi is not very good. We should always give the contracts for a particular branch of the line and on terms which may be reasonable. The unreasonable rates, that are at present provided in hot weather, debar a large number of third class passengers from getting cold water or cold drinks, because they cannot afford the high prices which they are required to pay in running trains.

Sir, there is one more suggestion which I should like to make, and it was also discussed very often that the third class passengers will be very much benefited and their comforts will be increased if we have this system of stopping these express trains at some station between 9 and 12 A.M. for about 20 minutes or half an hour. There should be bathing facilities, because we know that many Hindus would not like to have meals without a bath. Bathing facilities should be provided there and cheap food should be provided costing about four annas, and for better class passengers eight annas. If these facilities are provided, I am perfectly sure, the travelling public will very much appreciate these conveniences supplied to them.

Now, Sir, I do not like to go more into details, because there is a good deal of business, and I could not touch upon the question of refreshment rooms and the question of refreshment cars. But those questions are very analogous to the questions I have discussed, and all these matters should be inquired into and some satisfactory solution should be obtained for the benefit of the travelling public. We should also provide some machinery to ensure that whatever decisions the Government and the Railway Board may arrive at, they are carried out by the subordinate railway staff, who considered themselves masterless masters.

Sir, I move.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Shanmukham Chetty) : Resolution moved :

“ That this Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council to appoint a committee consisting of Railway officials and others not connected with Railway Administrations to enquire as to how far the present system of giving contracts and sub-contracts, to outsiders and not to local persons, for catering to the Railway passengers is responsible for the supply of bad food and drinks at very high prices by the vendors either at the Railway platforms, in the refreshment rooms or in the running trains and to suggest ways and means to remove these grievances.”

**Mr. Sitakanta Mahapatra** (Orissa Division : Non-Muhammadan) : Sir, the Resolution moved by my esteemed friend, Dr. Ziauddin, is an extremely reasonable one. Agitation on the subject was really overdue. Coming as I do from Orissa, where the Bengal Nagpur Railway runs for over 600 miles, I know personally how railway passengers there suffer on account of bad food and drink and those at abnormally high prices. I am sure, Members of this House who have ever been to Puri must have suffered also. I have travelled in many railways. But as regards supply of food and drink, the Bengal Nagpur Railway is the worst. This bad food and drink in the Bengal Nagpur Railway is, to a very large measure, due to the faulty system of giving contracts. I believe, since the introduction of railways in our parts, no local man has ever been able to get a contract for the supply of food or drink from the Bengal Nagpur Railway. There is a catering superintendent for the Bengal Nagpur Railway. He is responsible for giving these food and drink contracts. Till some time back, due to a quite mysterious system of calling for tenders, if there was ever any call for tenders, two fixed persons used to get contracts for the whole system of the Bengal Nagpur Railway for fixed amounts for many years, perhaps because one man was catering superintendent for all those years. But, with the change of catering superintendent, this system has undergone some change. In place of two contractors, there are now a number of contractors, and the amount has gone up about six times. But still it is confined to those persons who keep themselves in very close touch with the catering department of the Bengal Nagpur Railway.

I submit, Sir, making money should not be the only consideration where supply of food and drink to passengers at stations is concerned, even taking it for granted for arguments' sake that contracts are given to the highest bidders in open bid. Supply of good food and drink and that at reasonable rates should be the main consideration.

Food contractors in the Bengal Nagpur Railway now, as before, being all outsiders and on account of their taking contracts at heavy amounts naturally try to make money as much as possible at the cost of passengers.

[Mr. Sitakanta Mahapatra.]

Sub-contracts are sometimes given to local men at unimportant stations by these outside and absentee contractors. But they are helpless and do not count. There are, of course, inspectors of food. But they receive their pay both from the company as well as from the contractors regularly. I suppose, Sir, you have always used the restaurant car of the Madras Mail for food and drink purposes, and have got no personal knowledge of the food and drink supplied in stations in the Bengal Nagpur Railway locally. But you might have chanced to mark how absolutely uneatable they often are. If not, I would request you to try it on your way back this time.

I believe a local food and drink contractor would have been more human and amenable to reason. But nobody even sees the present contractors. They, being outsiders and rich men, place the entire management in the hands of servants instead of looking after the business themselves and enjoy the earnings. These servants also naturally in their turn try to fork out as much for themselves as possible, and the accumulated burden is borne by the poor and unfortunate passengers. The company must gain, then the contractors must gain, then the sub-contractors must gain, and then the servants who manage must gain. Besides, there are many others whose gains are not open. During festivals at Puri, large number of upcountry passengers are carried by this railway like hoards of sheep, sometimes by passenger trains, but more often by goods vans. This is the time when the inhuman treatment of these food contractors rises to a pitch. Of course, these up-country passengers are not so calculating as regards the quality of food available. Even then the contractors never feel that they are catering to human beings and these hungry long-distance passengers are exploited to the utmost. The Honourable Member for Railways and the Leader of this House, who is today one of the ablest civilians in India, built his splendid future career, both official and private, in one of our districts through which the blessed Bengal Nagpur Railway passes, and I trust he may still remember or be reminded of the conditions of food and drink supplied in the Bengal Nagpur Railway : I believe he will interest himself in the question of improvement of food and drink supplied in railway stations in general and personally take up the question of the Bengal Nagpur Railway which, I have no doubt in my mind, can be done easily if the system of giving contracts at present in vogue is thoroughly overhauled and ways are found by which local men can get these contracts. Sir, I support the Resolution.

**Rai Bahadur Lala Brij Kishore** (Lucknow Division : Non-Muhamadan Rural) : Sir, catering of foodstuffs and drinks to railway passengers, specially the Indian passengers, is a much neglected item of the Railway administration in India. Every railway administration has a policy of its own in the matter and every railway official his own favourites to patronise at the expense of the travelling public. The prices charged for foodstuffs and drinks are quite out of proportion to the prevailing market prices of the same, and in the bargain third class and worthless material is supplied, much to the inconvenience and detriment to the health of the travelling public. As an instance in point, soda water on the East Indian Railway system is sold at 2 annas 6 pies per bottle when the market price of the same is only one anna.

In allowing a vendor to sell foodstuffs and drinks at the platforms, refreshment rooms and passenger halls, the railway provides the vendor an exclusive monopoly of this market. The vendor is not required to meet any competition, and, therefore, can have no justification in lowering the quality of his products. Railway officials like station masters and inspectors are expected to inspect the foodstuffs exhibited for sale, but, whether this is done or not, I cannot say ; but the result is obvious.

The first step in this direction should be the appointment of an Indian officer, who knows something of the art of catering and the Indian taste, on each Railway administration, and to have under him a staff of inspectors for the purpose of examining the foodstuffs at each station, and to see whether food is available at every station. It is very difficult to get milk at way-side stations by those who cannot afford to pay in English refreshment rooms, or whose misfortune it is to live in old ways and not to go straight to refreshment rooms.

The second step will be to place vending contracts under a mixed committee of officials and non-officials.

If the local authorities are associated in supervising the prices and in giving contracts to local persons, I am certain that the situation will substantially improve.

The third step will be to open separate vegetarian and non-vegetarian refreshment rooms at all principal stations and to give the vending contracts to a local man and to one who is already in the trade, and to strictly prohibit the system of subletting which at present prevails.

The fourth step will be to provide refreshment cars on each main line and such branch lines where there is sufficient traffic for the convenience of Indian passengers, and to fix prices for each at the current market rate.

This is the barest minimum that the Railway administrations should do, and there is no question of incurring any expenditure in this matter. On the other hand, the whole thing can be made a source of income to the railways after meeting the cost of the catering department. I for one would have suggested to the railway administrations, for the purpose of attracting traffic, to have its own inexpensive hotels at each hill station, place of pilgrimage, and famous sea-side resorts, but it would be too much to expect from the administration at this stage.

If the railway administrations are anxious to run the railways on a profitable basis and meet the hard competition from motor bus, etc., it is necessary for its officials to study the convenience of the travelling public and meet it.

I, therefore, support the resolution to appoint a committee of officials and non-officials with a view to exploring the possibilities of this department and devise ways and means for putting it on a satisfactory basis. I hope, there will be no objection from the official Benches to associate non-officials with officials on such a committee, for the railways are a public concern ; and, further, this is a matter which concerns purely the convenience and well-being of the travelling public. With these words, I support the Resolution.

**Lieut.-Colonel Sir Henry Gidney** (Nominated Non-Official) : Sir, I rise to support the Resolution placed before this House by my friend

[Lieut.-Colonel Sir Henry Gidney.]

Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad. My remarks will be very few. I think Dr. Ziauddin has done a great service in giving publicity to this matter. He has pointed out that the food sold on station platforms is not only unwholesome, but is bad and costly. I agree with that opinion, and, as a medical man, I can assure this House that I have at times been staggered to see the unwholesome food for sale at station platforms. I desire to refer to the adverse criticisms that my friend, Mr. Mahapatra, made about the catering department of the Bengal Nagpur Railway. In my opinion, the Bengal Nagpur Railway is about the best administered Railway in the whole of India, I know that its catering department is administered by the Railway itself and is managed by its officials; and I do submit that since that practice has been in vogue the food has been of very good quality indeed—I would go so far as to say that you would not get a better or as good a meal in any first class hotel in the East than you would get in the dining saloons and refreshment rooms on the Bengal Nagpur Railway.

Let me refer to what Dr. Ziauddin has suggested as a remedy for these conditions—the appointment of a committee. Whilst I should vote for his Resolution in the belief that something is better than nothing, I do not see what a committee of this nature will be able to do to ensure better food being sold to passengers or to supervise the preparation of this food and its protection from contamination of flies. I think the real remedy lies in the Medical and Sanitary Departments on Railways and I should advise the Honourable Member in charge of Railways to impress on the Medical Departments of Railways that this is one of their chief duties and needs closer attention. I should like to know how many railway medical officers inspect the food sold on the smaller station platforms. I go further, and I doubt very much whether many of them inspect or examine the drinking water offered for consumption at the smaller wayside stations. Neglect of these duties is the prime cause of a great deal of disease among passengers, and I know of cases of cholera which have been traceable to bad drinking water supplied at wayside railway stations. That is perhaps rather a damning statement to make,—though I must admit it happened years ago, since when matters have considerably improved. But I do think that there is imperative necessity for a better medical and sanitary supervision of foodstuffs sold at wayside stations, particularly on stations which can be very easily controlled by local administrations,—I refer to Calcutta, Delhi and such other big stations. Sir, I do think the railway authorities should give this Resolution their very serious and very early consideration. Sir, I support this Resolution whole-heartedly.

**Mr. A. H. Ghuznavi :** Sir, I have been travelling very often on the East Indian Railway and the Great Indian Peninsula Railway as also on the North Western Railway. I think it can be safely said that the food-stuff sold on the East Indian Railway stations are the worst.....

**Lieut.-Colonel Sir Henry Gidney :** I quite agree.

**Mr. A. H. Ghuznavi :** So far as the first class refreshment rooms in the Bengal Nagpur Railway are concerned, they are the best in my experience.....

**Mr. Sitakanta Mahapatra :** What about the platform supply ?

**Mr. A. H. Ghuznavi :** I will come to that. Next is the North Western Railway where Spencers cater.....

**Mr. Lalchand Navalrai** : I have to say something about it.

**Mr. A. H. Ghuznavi** : There the catering is the best, the same is the case on the Great Indian Peninsula Railway,—I forget the name of the caterers.....

**Mr. P. B. Rau** (Financial Commissioner, Railways) : Brandons.

**Mr. A. H. Ghuznavi** : That is right. But the worst arrangement is on the East Indian Railway. The food is bad there, and the prices also are higher than the prices charged by Spencers.....

**Mr. Vidya Sagar Pandya** (Madras : Indian Commerce) : Kellners is owned and managed by Spencers.

**Mr. A. H. Ghuznavi** : I ought to know more than my friend, coming as I do from Calcutta. Until recently Spencers were responsible. Up to Ghazialbad or some station, Kellners are responsible, and after that Spencers are managing the thing.

Now, Sir, as regards the foodstuffs sold at the wayside stations and at Howrah, Mr. Abul Kasem, who is a Member of the Bengal Legislative Council, and a member of the Advisory Board of the East Indian Railway, has sent me a long note on the sort of foodstuffs sold at the stations and how these things are managed by the railways. He has pointed out that the Railway authorities generally auction out the contracts and give them to the highest bidder, with the result that the man who pays the highest gets the contract, and he sells as bad and as cheap food as he possibly can at the highest price possible. That is where the trouble comes in. There should be no highest bidder system. The Railway authorities should never try to make any profit by the sale of foodstuffs to the passengers. It is their duty to give the travelling public the best food at the cheapest rates possible. They should give the vendors licence to sell their foodstuffs, and not let out the contract to the highest bidder for the sale of foodstuffs.

Sir, Mr. Abul Kasem, in a letter to the Chief Operating Superintendent, East Indian Railway, Calcutta, says this :

“Some time back, Sir Hugh Hannay, at a meeting of the Advisory Committee, made the statement that after full consideration, the Railway authorities have definitely decided not to give large area contracts to one contractor and that it would be limited to twenty or thirty miles and that no tender will be called, but the contract given to respectable and reliable vendors at reasonable rates and that there would be separate Hindu and Muhammadan vendors. This was satisfactory, and if carried out, would be of very great convenience to the travelling public, but I find that in practice the policy followed is quite contrary to the spirit of the decision arrived at by the authorities. It appears that there are certain firms and individuals who are particularly favoured. It is for the railway authorities to lay down a policy as well as to see that it is carried out in practice.”

He then draws attention to the following facts. He says :

“The contract for the sale of foodstuffs and miscellaneous articles is given *ad hoc* to a big area contractor who necessarily lets out the sale of particular articles to different vendors at different stations. The contract for Hindu and Muhammadan refreshment rooms at Burdwan is being given to the same man and is causing much inconvenience to the passengers. This contractor who is a Hindu has let out the Muhammadan Refreshment Room and the Teastall to a Mussalman, but he is not allowed to sell beef. A large number of Mussalman passengers want kabab roti, paratas and curries, but they cannot get these things.

Under the present arrangement the passengers have to pay higher prices for the commodity, and also generally get inferior articles. This is inevitable.



[Mr. A. H. Ghuznavi.]

The railway authorities may say that they have rates fixed and standard prices for all articles particularly foodstuffs, but it is absurd to suppose that prices can be controlled particularly when the vendors are to deal with the moving customers. I need scarcely labour the point."

Then, further on, he says this :

"Considering the fact that Messrs. G. F. Kellner & Co., pay only Rs. 12,000 a year for their refreshment rooms all over the line and the dining cars, it is not reasonable to charge a heavy rate for one refreshment room at Howrah."

Here he refers to a Hindu refreshment room at Howrah where the man had to pay Rs. 1,500 per annum for one single room, whereas Kellners are paying only Rs. 12,000 for all the refreshment rooms on the entire East Indian Railway line including their dining cars. This one Hindu refreshment room keeper at Howrah had to pay Rs. 1,500 for one room.

Lieut.-Colonel Sir Henry Gidney : Does that Rs. 12,000 include dining cars ?

Mr. A. H. Ghuznavi : Yes, that does include dining cars as well.

Now, as I said, the refreshment room at Howrah was given to this Hindu gentleman for Rs. 1,500 per annum, and, at the end of the year, it was again put up for auction. When he went up and protested to Sir Hugh Hannay,—that is what is stated in the letter,—they were not satisfied with even Rs. 1,500 and the rooms were again put up for auction and the poor man's protest went unheeded.

Then, Mr. Abul Kasem says :

"The sale of foodstuffs and other miscellaneous articles at stations is intended for convenience of passengers and not meant to be a source of income to the railways."

[At this stage, Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Shanmukham Chetty) vacated the Chair which was then occupied by Mr. Deputy President (Mr. Abdul Matin Chaudhury).]

All this trouble about bad food and high price is due to the fact that the railways want to make it a source of income by giving out these stalls to the highest bidder. Regarding the Burdwan station, he says :

"Burdwan is well-known for a particular kind of sweetmeats,"

—my Honourable friend, Mr. Sen, will agree with me that Burdwan is noted for sweetmeats—

"and for all times the sweetmeat stall had been kept by well-known confectioners of the town, but under the present arrangement the stall is given to an outside contractor, with the result that the sweets are of inferior quality and the prices very high."

He suggests that the system of contract should be abolished and licences should be given to different vendors at fixed rates, or, in the alternative, the Hindu refreshment room, tea stall and sweetmeat *plus pan* should be given to one Hindu licensee at each station and the Muslim refreshment room, the Muslim tea stall and miscellaneous articles should be given to a Muhammadan licensee. He states that it is not desirable to give the licence to one particular firm or individual for several stations together. Sir, I support this Resolution.

**Mr. Lalchand Navalrai** (Sind : Non-Muhammadan Rural) : I support this Resolution. It is noteworthy that this Resolution originally stood in the name of my Honourable friend, Seth Haji Abdula Haroon, who comes from Sind and who has much experience of the N. W. Railway. But as he has not been able to be present today, I submit that Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad has done signal service to the public by asking your permission to move this Resolution. It seems to me that the local Advisory Committees and the Central Advisory Council have not sufficient powers in this respect. No doubt the Advisory Committees make suggestions, but this is a typical instance of their inability to do anything in the matter, so that Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad has had to bring it on the floor of the House. I am very thankful to Dr. Ziauddin for collecting so much material to prove his case. I am very sorry that these materials had not been placed before ; otherwise the Chairman of that Central Advisory Committee would have had a different opinion.

This Resolution is a very simple and modest one. What is wanted is that a Committee should be appointed to enquire into the system of giving contracts or having vendors at the stations. The present system should be reviewed by that Committee. Are these complaints against vendors of the refreshment rooms false, or is there any truth in them ? These complaints are old ones, and they are also incessant ones. Therefore, it cannot possibly be said that they must be unfounded. These complaints show that the system is rotten and requires to be revised and improved. If it had been a question of giving instructions to the Railway Board that the thing should be done in such and such a way, that would have taken a very long time. Therefore, we are asking that a Committee should be appointed to go into the question. The first defect in this system is the question of the monopoly. May I enquire from the Honourable Member for Railways since when Kellners and Spencers have been in the enjoyment of this monopoly. I should think, from ages. Then, I ask, why should they enjoy the monopoly, and why should they not make way for other Indians, Anglo-Indians and Europeans ? Why should there be this pernicious system of patronising one or two men for ever ? The refreshment rooms on the North Western Railway are no exception. I am very glad to learn today that the Bengal Nagpur Railway administration has taken care about this matter. Very recently I had to travel on the Bengal Nagpur Railway, and I had the pleasure of meeting its Agent, Mr. Jerrad. It seems to me that he takes personal interest, and if he can do so, the other Agents can follow him and see that this monopoly is stopped and some measures taken for the supervision of the business. Let me deal with the North Western Railway administration. There are two questions with regard to that, one is of the vendors on the station platforms where they have got stalls, and the other is of the refreshment rooms and dining cars. It has been proved that the materials from which the food is supplied can be got from the bazar cheap, but still, as pointed out by Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad, the things are sold at a very high price in the refreshment rooms. Why should it be so ? When the price of foodstuffs has gone down in these days, why should Kellners and Spencers charge the same prices, eight annas or ten annas for the morning tea and toast, and similarly in the case of other stuffs ? If the railways had departed from their former practice of giving favours to a particular man, I do not think we would have come with such complaints here. So that, this is the first thing that should be enquired into. Coming to the vendors on the platforms, what do we find ? There also is the same

[Mr. Lalchand Navalrai.]

system, giving contract to one man, not for one station, but for 6 or 10 stations.

**Mr. A. H. Ghuznavi :** For the whole line.

**Mr. Lalchand Navalrai :** It may be for the whole line perhaps on the East Indian Railway, but so far as the North Western Railway is concerned, I brought it to the notice of the House here that six stations were given to one man, because he happened to have some one in the Divisional Superintendent's Office, Karachi, as his relative. Six stations were being given from time to time to that man. If that man is favoured like that, are you sure that he will give us good food, good *ghee*, wholesome things ? The Railway created some Inspectors and they had also their medical officers, but, may I ask, if this is one of their functions ? No. On the North Western Railway, the Inspectors were created, but that cadre has now been done away with.

Now, the other day, a question was put, and my amiable friend, Mr. Rau, gave a reply that the station masters take care of their business. If only the vendors take care of the station masters and their families, then the whole thing is done. Therefore, I say that giving a monopoly to one man and favouritism shown to another are the causes of the mischief.

**An Honourable Member :** What is the remedy ?

**Mr. Lalchand Navalrai :** The remedy is suggested in the Resolution. It asks for a committee to consider this question. For a cure of this evil, the Agent himself should take a personal interest in this matter and not leave it, as he does now, to the station masters.

Then, as regards the sanitary nature of the food, my friend here (Mr. Pandya) gave me a story which I shall narrate to the House. At one time, one man came to buy a cup of tea. The vendor prepared a cup of tea and a fly went in. The man asked the vendor what is this, you are giving me a fly with the tea. The vendor said : "What, do you want an elephant in the tea for one anna !" (Laughter.) This is the kind of thing that goes on, flies fly into the tea. The thing is that there should be proper sanitary and medical supervision. The second thing is that the Agent should give more power to the Advisory Committees who should be allowed to bring these things to the notice of the Railway by means of resolutions. When they put in a resolution, the Agent comes in and says : "I am not going to accept it". I have been on local committees and now I am also on the Central Advisory Council. So I know what is done in these committees. What I submit is that the functions of the local Advisory Committees should be increased and more powers should be given to them. The third remedy is that you should have a Committee which should find out ways and means to remedy this evil. With these words, I support the Resolution.

**Sir Hari Singh Gour** (Central Provinces Hindi Divisions : Non-Muhammadian) : There is a fourth remedy, and that is to abolish the monopoly in the vending of sweets and refreshments on the railway station. The food that is supplied to the passengers at the third class refreshment rooms is spiced by flies, sampled by black ants and seasoned by dust and cockroaches, and, for supplying this food, the Railway Company put up to auction. I believe, every year the monopoly of sale

from which they derive a handsome profit, and when you ask the sweet-meat sellers as to why they charge such exorbitant prices for such low quality, their reply is "Don't you know that the Railway takes so much from us? How are we going to pay ourselves if we do not charge the price we do". Is there any relation between the prices charged at the railway station and the prices charged outside the railway fencing? I think Honourable Members who have been outside the railway fencing will bear me out that the prices outside the railway fencing are perhaps half or two-thirds of the price charged for similar goods within the railway precincts. Take, for example, the cost of meals supplied to higher class passengers. Those who have been in England will find that the ordinary charge for a dinner is either 3s. 6d. or 5s. Here, the ordinary charge for a dinner used to be before the War Rs. two. Now, after the War, it rose to Rs. three, and now it has gone up to Rs. 3-8-0, and, adding a eight anna tip, it comes to Rs. four, and this in a country where the index of prices at the present moment is lower than it was on the eve of the War—somewhere between 96 and 98, and this when the whole country is suffering from unprecedented depression and when the railway rates have been enhanced by about 30 to 40 and even 50 per cent. I must pity the unfortunate passenger who is driven to journey by train, and I do not for one moment sympathise with the Railway Companies, because their management is bureaucratic from beginning to end. The other day when I was coming to Simla, I was besieged by a large number of chauffeurs who came up and asked me "are you going to Simla?" I said "Yes", and asked them "How much will you take to take me to Simla in a motor car?". He said, he will take Rs. three for a seat and Rs. nine or Rs. ten for the whole car including the luggage, and, I believe, the railway fare from Kalka to Simla is about Rs. 21, but that is not all. The moment you land at Kalka, a man comes up to you and says "Have you weighed your luggage?" You have got your overcoat and a few pieces of luggage. They are all thrown into the weighing scale, and if there is one ounce extra, you are charged for a quarter of maund from the place of the journey to the place of the destination, as my friend, Mr. Lalchand Navalrai, reminds me. On the other hand, if you get into a competing motor car, all your luggage is tied up on the luggage carrier. The driver gives you a comfortable seat, and, instead of penetrating through 103 tunnels, you make your journey in comparative comfort by the road where there are no tunnels, and no railway servants to worry you.

**The Honourable Sir Nripendra Sircar** (Law Member) : May I put a question to the Honourable Member? Do I understand that for Rs. 3 the chauffeur takes you to Simla and also gives you a good feed? (Laughter.)

**Sir Hari Singh Gour** : No, he does not give you a good feed, but out of the balance from Rs. 21 you can have a very good feed on the road for half the money you have to pay at Barogh. That is the point I make.

Now, Sir, this is perhaps one of the contributory causes for the annually recurring deficits in the Railway Budget. I do not say, it is the primary cause. I do not say, it is the main cause : but the discomfort to which the railway passengers are subjected, the discomforts which they suffer from the pangs of hunger from which they have to

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suffer (Hear, hear) on account of the unwholesome food prepared in insanitary surroundings and sold at prohibitive prices perhaps deter many a man from taking the shorter route by railways if there is a bus handy.

Sir, the other day, the Honourable Member for Commerce brought up a Bill to do away with the road-rail competition. Let me remind the Honourable Member for Railways that the road-rail competition will be a crying menace to the development of the Indian railways, unless the management of the Indian railways is thoroughly rationalised and commercialized. It has neither been rationalized nor commercialized (*Lieut.-Colonel Sir Henry Gidney* : "Hear, hear.") The system of management is an anachronism, and an outsider coming from America and parts of Europe is aghast when the morning cup of tea is presented to him and he is asked to pay four annas for it, which anywhere in England you will get for a tuppence.

Now, these are small discomforts which are only commensurate with the bad system of management all along the line, and the Resolution which my Honourable friend, Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad, has moved today focusses the attention of the Government upon the one crying need of reform and that is the reform of the refreshment rooms, the refreshment cars, the rationalization of prices, the supply of wholesome food and that for a reasonable price. If this is achieved, I am sure, one blot upon the railway administration shall have been removed, and then it cannot be said that the railway passengers have to starve themselves whenever they get imprisoned into the train till they have reached their destination.

**Mr. Muhammad Azhar Ali** (Lucknow and Fyzabad Divisions : Muhammadan Rural) : Sir, notwithstanding the fact that I am not so very well (*Voices* ; "We can't hear you")—Sir, notwithstanding the fact that I am not so very well (*Voices* : "Louder, please")—Sir, notwithstanding the fact that I am not so very well as to speak on this motion vehemently so as to impress this House about the reasonableness of this Resolution moved by my Honourable friend, Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad, I would appeal to the Official Members to consider this. Sir, whenever they travel in a railway carriage, most often they have either their own carriages, especially the high officials, or if they are railway officials, then they have the strength of the whole Railway Department behind them and thus perhaps it will not be so easy for them to realise the difficulties of the general public who suffer so much for the bad management of the contract system. Sir, this Resolution does not in any way blame the Railway Department for its management or for its giving contracts to undeserving people, but what it presses for is this, that an inquiry should be made by non-officials, whoever they may be—it does not say that they should be Members of the Legislative Assembly, it does not say "exclude the railway officials", but it only says that an inquiry should be made, so that the public may have more conveniences on railway journeys.

Sir, my Honourable friend, Sir Hari Singh Gour, has depicted the condition of the railway passengers. The fortunate officials of the Government here may not believe it, but it is a fact that the railway passengers have really some very great troubles to endure, because they pay for their fares, they pay for the articles they purchase, they pay for the

purchases they make, but still I can say from my own experience in my own constituency at Lucknow that those very articles which are sold in the Bazaar near about the railway station are really sold at double the price at the railway station itself. Now, the reason for this is not far to seek ; it is only this that those people who monopolise these contracts, those people who are given the contracts, whether by the favour of some friends or by means of bidding at the highest bid, do as they like. This Resolution does not discourage or does not say a word against the officials ; it is meant simply to remove the grievances of the passengers, whether they be first-class or second-class or third-class passengers. Sir, I would appeal to my official friends here to accept this Resolution, not as being a censure on the Government, but only as a recommendation to remove the grievances of the railway passengers. It is only in the name of the public that we are crying here and that we ask the railway officials to look into the substance of this motion. It is not in any way a censure on the Government. With these words, I heartily support the Resolution.

**The Honourable Sir Joseph Bhore :** Sir (Applause), I trust that the House will consider this matter in an atmosphere not charged with prejudice, which I fear so often warps the consideration of railway matters. (*Voices :* " No, no.") I must, first of all, congratulate my Honourable friend, the Mover, on the very restrained manner in which he has set out his case and which has certainly added to the weight of its presentation. As regards my Honourable friend, Sir Hari Singh Gour, to use a phrase which he himself used yesterday on a recent festive occasion, " the less said, the better ". (Applause and Laughter.) Where it was not irrelevant, I may say that it was very largely inaccurate. Now, Sir, as regards the reason for the prejudice to which I referred, I have tried to explain that on a previous occasion. Perhaps the House will forgive me if I repeat what I said on the occasion of the discussion of the Railway Budget last February. I said :

" I have often attempted to analyse and tried to account for the attitude, almost of hostility, towards the Railway Department which has so often been exhibited in this House and which is prepared to take for granted the guilt of the Railway Department and throw upon it the onus of proving its innocence. It seems to me that no organisation, public or private, is brought into such close, such intimate and such continuing contact with the public as the Railway Department. It is so to speak continually and ceaselessly on its trial, literally every minute of the day and every day of the year. Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that occasions should arise for legitimate criticism. The only wonder is that those occasions do not arise more often. .... A single instance of discourtesy or rudeness on the part of an employee, a single instance of negligence or inconvenience that may be experienced will very often warp the whole outlook of the person so affected towards the Railway Department."

I have no doubt that most of us here have, at one time or another in our lives, had very just cause of complaint against the Railway Department. I myself have very often had such causes of complaint. But, Sir, I would ask that, however legitimate those personal complaints, they should not be allowed to colour our judgment on every occasion upon which we discuss a railway matter.

Now, Sir, let me turn to the Resolution itself. It assumes that bad food and drink are always supplied at exorbitant rates at every railway station. Sir, no one will have the temerity to assert that the food supply

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at the railway stations and platforms is always good. It may very well be that on many occasions, and, in respect of certain places, the standard of quality may very justly be challenged, but I submit that that is perhaps almost inevitable in a railway system which extends over a sub-continent. Since the matter was ventilated in the Central Advisory Committee, I took the opportunity of my own journeys to observe the quality of food vended at railway stations *en route*.

**Mr. K. P. Thampan** (West Coast and Nilgiris : Non-Muhammedan Rural) : Did you get cockroaches ?

**The Honourable Sir Joseph Bhore** : No, Sir. That is one of the inaccuracies in my Honourable friend, Sir Hari Singh Gour's speech to which I referred. I noticed that the food varied a good deal in quality and that no single judgment was possible which would be applicable to all cases. In a few instances, at a few large stations, the food was noticeably excellent. In a few other cases, I found that the food was undoubtedly poor in quality. But I was told that in these cases the people who had to be catered for were poor people and that the quality of the goods and their price had to bear some relation to the length of their purses. But I found in the majority of cases that the food was certainly fair in quality. Now, Sir, I hope that the result of my own observations will be largely borne out by the experience of people who have had occasion to travel frequently on railways. That, I think, is also borne out by the proceedings of the various Advisory Committees. We have examined those proceedings very carefully, and I find that they do not reflect any serious dissatisfaction with the quality of food that is being supplied. I entirely agree with my Honourable friend that the closest possible supervision should be exercised over vendors. The orders in existence provide for that. On some railways, there are regular food Inspectors. On most railways, however, the work is entrusted to the station masters, and travelling officers like the Railway Traffic Inspectors, Medical Officers and others, are enjoined to inspect and supervise the quality of the food and the wares of vendors at various railway stations. In all dining rooms and refreshment rooms, there are complaint books, and, if there are any complaints, extracts are sent at once to the District and Divisional Officers. The superior officers themselves are enjoined to examine these books and to take suitable action wherever this is possible at the earliest opportunity. I merely mention these facts to show that we go, as far as we possibly can, to try to remove causes for just complaint. I do not for a moment say that there is no cause for complaint at all. Adverting for one moment to food in railway trains, I have heard from a number of independent quarters that the food supplied, for instance, in the Indian Restaurant Car on the Grand Trunk Express is absolutely first class, well served and extraordinarily cheap. I am sure that Honourable Members, who have occasion to use that route, will bear out what is an almost universal testimony. Unfortunately, our President is not here, or I should have appealed to him to substantiate that allegation of mine. Sir, I merely mention this as an instance in order to show that it is dangerous to indulge in generalization or sweeping condemnation.

Then, let me turn for a moment to the question of price. Here, again, I do not think that the complaint of gross and extortionate over-charging can be established as a general proposition. I have no doubt that the

charges at railway stations are high, but my experience is that the charges at all railway stations in every part of the world are higher than the charges in, say, the local market. The question, however, is : Are these charges reasonable and do we exercise adequate control over those charges ? Well, Sir, I have made inquiries, and I am told that these charges are generally fixed by responsible railway officers on the basis of the Bazaar prices ruling in the locality and on several railways also in consultation with the local civil authorities. These prices, I am told, are scrutinised periodically to see if any revision is called for. Local Advisory Committees on Railways have occasionally also initiated discussions when it has seemed to individual members that the rates charged were susceptible of reduction. Vendors are required to exhibit on their stalls or on their trays printed tariffs of charges. I do not know whether this is always done. This should enable the public to satisfy themselves that they are not being charged higher rates than those fixed.

Now, Sir, I come lastly to the remedy suggested in the Resolution, and I suggest that the remedy is inappropriate. The actual appointment of vendors is a matter of **minor administrative detail**, and I do not think that it would be appropriate to leave this matter to a Committee such as that envisaged in this Resolution. I fully realise the interest taken by the public in this matter. It is a matter which very nearly concerns all of us, and, in a matter where amenities to the travelling public are concerned, the Railway Department cannot afford to be either careless or irresponsible. I have emphasised this point more than once in speeches made in this House, and perhaps the House will forgive me if I quote just a few lines from my closing Budget speech. I said :

" I would close with one final remark in regard to the attitude of the Railway Department towards the competition which they will be called upon more and more to face from many quarters in the future. Whatever may have been their attitude in the past, my close contact with the Railway Administrations during the past eighteen months has left this much perfectly clear in my mind, namely, that the railways are alive to the fact that it is only by endeavouring to give better service, by endeavouring to give better value for money than their competitors, that they will be able to keep and to increase their clientele in the face of competition."

This, Sir, will, I am sure, convince the House that there is no difference in its point of view and ours. We are both working to the same end. It seems to me that this particular question is one which can be most suitably and most appropriately considered by Local Advisory Committees. They are in close touch with local conditions, they know what the local requirements are, and if my Honourable friend will withdraw his Resolution, I will undertake that, in so far as the railway administrations over which we have control are concerned, they will be required specifically to remit this question to Local Advisory Committees and to record their views and suggestions. When these views and suggestions have been received by the Railway Board, I will give the assurance that the Railway Board will see what steps are possible and what steps can appropriately be taken in order to secure the result we both want to secure, namely, the provision of good and wholesome food at reasonable rates for the travelling public. Sir, I must oppose the Resolution. (Applause.)

**Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad :** Sir, we on this side of this House are very thankful to the Honourable the Railway Member for his promise to look into the matter. There are certain matters in which the Opposition is a



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greater authority than the Members on the Treasury Benches and one of them is the quality and the price of food supplied to the travelling public, because the Members of the Treasury Benches, who travel in their saloons, have no personal knowledge. The Railway Board has promised to refer the matter to the Advisory Committees all over India, and I would suggest that the Honourable the Railway Member may also be pleased to send a copy of the proceedings of today's debate to the different railways.

[At this stage, Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Shanmukham Chetty) resumed the Chair.]

In the course of the debate specific questions were raised, namely, (1) the system of giving big contracts to one man, (2) the system of sub-letting the contracts to other individuals, (3) the system of selling contracts, (4) the fixation of prices, (5) the supervisions by a body in which non-Railway men may be associated, etc., etc. The Railway Board or any Committee under the direction of the Honourable the Railway Member might examine these opinions received from Advisory Committees on these specific points. The conclusions of the Board or the Committee should be effectively carried out. If it is done, the purpose of my Resolution would have been served.

The Honourable Sir Joseph Bhore : I will certainly have this done.

Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad : With this assurance, I beg leave of the House to withdraw the Resolution.

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

## RESOLUTION *RE* REPRESENTATION OF INDIAN CHRISTIANS IN THE SERVICES AND COMMITTEES.

Dr. F. X. DeSouza (Nominated Non-Official) : Mr. President, as the Honourable Members, Mr. Jagan Nath Aggarwal and Lala Hari Raj Swarup, in whose names Resolutions Nos. 3 and 4 stand, are absent, and as they would have authorised me to move the Resolution if they had been present, I beg to move the Resolution which stands on the Order Paper in my name and which runs as follows :

“ That this Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that the claims of the Indian Christian Community for adequate representation in the services and for representation on any Committee to be constituted by the Government of India, by the decision of which the political future of the Community may be affected, should be recognised.”

I should like to state at the very outset that I am not a communalist. (Hear, hear.) On principle, I should like no special privileges to be conferred on my community or on any community. (Hear, hear.) I stand for absolute democracy where merit and personal considerations are the only things that qualify for political privileges or opportunities of public office. But the Communal Award issued by His Majesty's Government has introduced the principle of communalism in the general polity. And the Government of India, Home Department Resolution of 6th July, 1934, regarding the representation of minorities in the Services has accentuated this principle. The Communal Award gave us insufficient weightage in the Legislatures and in the public life of the country. The

Home Department Resolution virtually ignores our claim to a share in the public services.

The result is that while on the one hand we are being gradually elbowed out from our position in the public services by the more powerful communities, on the other the Government of India and the Home Government act as if we are not entitled to claim a share in the public life of the country. In the composition of the several Royal Commissions, Conferences and Committees appointed to work out the details of the Reformed Constitution, no member of our community has found a place and though these Committees shape our destinies, we have no voice in their deliberations.

And yet we form the third largest community in India, numbering according to the last census 6,297,000 souls. Our numbers are increasing by leaps and bounds, having risen by 32.5 per cent. during the last decennial period and by 238.1 per cent. during the last half century. Apart from natural increase which may be expressed at 12 per cent. for the decennial period, more than 20 per cent. out of the total increase is due to conversion from depressed classes and still more so from the hill and forest tribes. In the circumstances the following figures of the standard of comparative literacy among the several communities taken from the last Census Report are an amazing indication of the educational and moral uplift which Christianity has brought to the masses who have come under its influence.

<i>Literacy per mille.</i>					
Hindus.		Muslims.		Christians.	
Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
144	21	107	15	352	203
<i>Literacy in English per 10,000.</i>					
Hindus.		Muslims.		Christians.	
Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
204	16	164	11	1,174	649

The political significance of this educational advance is obvious.

I have, on more than one occasion, drawn the attention of the Government in this House to the feeling of alarm created amongst the Indian Christian Community by recent pronouncements made by the Nationalist Leaders affecting our fundamental rights—religious and civil. The warning held out by Mr. Gandhi, in March, 1931, to our missionaries, denying their rights to proselytise—a right which he concedes to Muslims—sent up a storm of angry protest throughout the country, as being a threat to our liberty to practise and preach our religion. The Bill introduced by Mr. Kelkar, a prominent nationalist, in the Legislative Assembly in 1928 for the repeal of Act XXVI of 1850 which we regard as our Magna Charta, as it secures us against forfeiture of civil rights by conversion, was an ominous indication of what might be in store for us if a Swaraj Government were installed in office. Certain orders recently passed by the Government of Madras discriminate in an invidious manner against our religious and charitable foundations in the matter of acquiring Government land holding that they are alien institutions, under the absurd notion that they vest in a foreign Ruler, the Head of our Church.

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There is also serious resentment in the Madras Presidency against the refusal by the Minister of Education to grant recognition and adequate grants-in-aid to our denominational schools which our children are bound in conscience to attend.

These, Sir, are fundamental rights which we think should be inserted in the Constitution, so as to make it possible to challenge the validity of any future legislation in contravention of these rights in the Supreme Court or the Federal Court. The feeling was universal in the community to which I gave expression in my speech in the Assembly, on 30th March, last year, that we should be given an opportunity to urge before the Joint Select Committee our point of view on these vital questions. But while microscopic minorities were allowed the privilege of a seat on the Select Committee and insignificant interests were invited to state their case as witnesses before that Committee, we, the third largest community in India, with our fundamental rights seriously threatened, were not considered of sufficient importance even to be invited to give evidence. As a measure of despair, I, as President of the All-India Catholic League, submitted to the Joint Parliamentary Committee a written statement of our case which I trust will receive due consideration.

Nor has a single Indian Christian found his way to any of the numerous Commissions and Committees appointed to prepare the ground for the New Constitution and work out its details. From the third and decisive sitting of the Round Table Conference we were excluded. We were not only not represented on the Joint Select Committee of Parliament, but the Committee did not even care to hear us, so that there is great danger of our case going by default. The Franchise Committee, which was meant to be a representative Committee, and whose deliberation will vitally affect our future, could not find place for even one member of our community. It is not too much to say that the Indian Christian Community feel humiliated at the continuous slight offered to them by the Government of India as if they were untouchables in the public life of the country.

I had occasion to address an interpellation on the subject, in this Honourable House, and I was informed that it was either the Home Government or the Joint Select Committee who were responsible for the omission. I trust that the Government of India will not wash their hands of all responsibility in the matter on the present occasion or suggest that they did not tender any advice to the Home Government on the subject.

I cannot help thinking that this callous indifference of the Government of India to the claims of our community has its origin in history. The East India Company, the predecessor in title of the Government of India, was incorporated for trade, not for empire. From the very beginning they showed a nervous dread of any appearance of friendship towards Christianity for fear of offending Indian susceptibilities and endangering the sale of their broad-cloth and hardware. It was not till 1813, that the embargo on Christian educationalist and missionary enterprise was lifted. And though the Government became more and more Christian in its activities after that date, due to evangelical influence in England, it became more and more anti-Christian in its treatment of Indian Christians. It has been pointed out by Mr. Arthur Mayhew, formerly a Director of Public Instruction in the Central Provinces, in a

recent volume on Christianity and the Government of India, at page 137, that the Charter of 1833 which enunciated the principle of equality of all races and castes and creeds in recruiting for public offices was subject to one important exception, viz., in the case of converts to Christianity. They soon came to understand that so far as Government office was concerned no Christian need apply and that the profession of the same religion as their Rulers far from being regarded as a qualification for office actually disqualified them and served as an excuse for violating the spirit of the equality clause in the Charter. Again, the same authority points out at page 158 that, while every other form of religion was tolerated in the Army, the case in 1819 of Prabhudin Naik, a Sepoy of a Brahmin regiment of the Bengal Army, who was converted and baptised by a Company Chaplain and was dismissed from the Army in consequence, showed that the Government was not prepared to tolerate Christianity in the Army. From that date, the Army, as a profession, has been closed to converts to Christianity, even though they belong to the martial races.

The transfer of the Sovereignty to the Crown has not materially altered the status of the community though it has done away with the discrimination against us practised in the days of the East India Company. We do not now complain of ill-treatment or of oppression ; only we have become minor pawns in the rivalries of communities and the Government have abandoned us to the exigencies of higher politics. The East India Company was a stepmother to our community but there is no one to act as godfather in the present Government of India. It is unnecessary to go beyond the White Paper to furnish an illustration. In the matter of seats, in order to placate more powerful interests, no weightage whatever has been given to the Indian Christians in the Punjab, a wholly inadequate weightage in Madras, where in spite of our numbers, we are placed in a position of absolute inferiority *vis-a-vis* the Muhammadans and no representation whatever in the Central Provinces and in separated Sind. While providing that important minorities should be represented in the Provincial and Federal Cabinet, there is no provision that the Indian Christian Community should be declared an important minority community in Madras where it is one of the most advanced communities, nor is there any provision that it should ever be represented in the Federal Cabinet.

There are several Committees to be appointed shortly to work out the details of the Reformed Constitution. Among those is the Committee for the Delimitation of Constituencies in each Province. The Indian Christian Community is vitally interested to see that there shall be no gerrymandering of constituencies. And I would respectfully ask that the Government of India nominate at least one member of our community from each Province on these Committees.

I have not said much about the representation of Indian Christians in the Public Services. Thanks to our advance in education and training, till recently we occupied a position of advantage in the matter of subordinate appointments in the public service, participation in educational work and public utility services. But the Home Department Resolution has rung the death-knell of our hopes for the future. The Indian Christian Community is the only all-India minority community whose prospects have been sacrificed by that Resolution to placate other minorities. The Sikhs are virtually confined to the Punjab and are

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strong enough to look after themselves. The net result of that Resolution, so far as we are concerned, is that while, since 1925, we had a fair field with other minorities to compete for 33  $\frac{1}{3}$  per cent. of the vacancies, under the new scheme we have to compete with Sikhs, Parsis, Jains, Anglo-Indians and others for 8  $\frac{1}{3}$  of the All-India appointments, and with Sikhs, Parsis and Jains for 6 per cent. of the local appointments. We do not grudge the Muhammadans the 25 per cent. of all appointments, Imperial and Provincial, which they have secured for all time, nor the Anglo-Indians 8  $\frac{1}{3}$  of the local appointments which they have been guaranteed—a weightage of 1,000 per cent. on their numerical strength. All honour to the doughty champions of these two communities, Sir Muhammad Yakub and Sir Henry Gidney. But in the name of justice and fair play we ask that the same consideration that apply to them should be held to apply to us also.

We have neither zamindars nor moneyed classes among us, and like the Anglo-Indians we depend to a large extent on employment in Government service for our economic life, and rapid displacement may lead to a serious dislocation of the economic structure of our community. Besides, in a competition with other minorities more powerful than ourselves, even for the very limited percentage of vacancies now reserved, the dice will be heavily loaded against us as we shall have no friends at Court who can influence the distribution of patronage. The proviso, that when qualified candidates from the minor communities will not be available for nomination to make up their quota, the residue will be available for Muslims, is specially obnoxious because members of the latter community will thereby be placed in the position of stakeholders and judges.

Only the other day I heard of a member of one of the smaller minority communities, which shall be nameless, appointed to a high office who immediately proceeded to fill his office with members of his own community rejecting all Indian Christian candidates on the ground that his own community was not well represented in his office and there was no separate quota fixed for the smaller minority communities *inter se*.

Another glaring instance of injustice which is likely to occur under the resolution : an Indian Christian holding a temporary appointment in the clerical branch of the Calcutta Customs Preventive Office and who would have, in usual course, got one of the posts to be filled up immediately was, as soon as the Resolution was published, thrown out on the ground that paragraph 8(1) of the Resolution lays down that 8  $\frac{1}{3}$  per cent. are reserved for all minority communities including Anglo-Indians and the latter must be given the preference in the Customs Service according to paragraph 8(4) of the Resolution. This is an extension of the principle of reservation to cadres of subordinate services which the Resolution does not contemplate.

May I respectfully request that a fixed percentage of vacancies with a reasonable weightage in our favour, be reserved to us also as in the case of Muslims and Anglo-Indians and that in the annual returns of recruitment called for in paragraph 5 of the Resolution, a column be added for Indian Christians also so that we may not be entirely lost sight of ? Otherwise, our last state will be worse than the first and we fear that, under the Swaraj Government as under the East India Company, no Christian need apply.

I can assure the House that it goes much against the grain for me to urge our communal claims for appointments in the public service. But to sit with folded hands in the name of nationalism, while the ground is being cut from under our feet by more militant minorities, may be magnificent but it is not practical politics.

The apathy of the Government of India to our claims is regarded by some members of our community as a blessing in disguise. Educated youths of the community have realised their true position in the general polity during the past decade and, as pointed out by the Census Commissioner, their attitude has tended to change from that of a separationist minority towards co-operation with moderate nationalists—a change expressed by the formation in Bombay of the Christian Nationalist party. On the other hand, the Extreme Nationalists are gradually realising that Christianity is not an exotic plant from the West, inconsistent with a nationalist outlook, but having been established in Southern India as long ago as Christianity in most parts of Europe, and earlier than Islam or the religion of Zoroaster, has as much right to be regarded as an indigenous religion today as the religion of the Muslims and Parsis. A striking proof of this change of mentality is furnished by the election by the Madras Legislative Council of two successive Presidents from among the ranks of Indian Christians and by the selection by Provincial Governments throughout India of Indian Christian Magistrates to adjudicate in communal disputes.

Sir, it is in no spirit of self-aggrandisement, but in the spirit of service, that we ask for opportunities to serve the Motherland. With the gradual elimination of the Christian element in the personnel of the Government of the country, the duty will devolve on the small Indian Christian Community to maintain Christian standards and Christian principles in public policy. Our Master came to be the servant of mankind. He came "not to be ministered unto but to minister and to give His life a ransom for many". In the New India it is the Motherland which will have the first claim on our ministry. In the public services of the country, in the Legislative Assembly, in schools and colleges, in the work of industrial education and village uplift, in medicine and surgery and maternity work, in sanitation and hygiene, in art and literature, in trade and commerce, in science and engineering, in agriculture and public works, we desire to have unlimited scope for the service of our country. Belonging to no caste or sect, able to hold the scales even between Hindu and Muslim, we feel that in the India of the future we shall have the role of peacemakers to fill. That is why we chafe at the prospect of being cribbed, cabined and confined within the narrow limits of our numerical quota in spite of our great educational advance. Many indeed there are who believe that the great spiritual revival for which Christians in the West are waiting may take place in India and that Indian thinkers and sages will recall the forgotten meanings and values of the Christian faith. And Narayan Vaman Tilak, the Christian poet of Maharashtra, in a spirit of prophecy exclaims :

"Yee, at the end of pregnant strife  
Enshrined as 'guru' of the Earth,  
This land of Hind shall teach the worth  
Of Christian faith and Christian life."

Two great communities have emerged from the impact of European influence in India,—the Anglo-Indian Community and the Indian Christian

[Dr. F. X. DeSouza.]

Community. The former will be launched by the Government of India to try its fortunes under the New Constitution fortified by every privilege with safeguards as regards education, employment in the public service and their economic future. Truly blood is thicker than water, especially when the water is the water of baptism. But the latter has been left to its own resources to wage an unequal fight and goes forth branded with the mark of inferiority. We ask for no special privileges, for privilege creates odium. All that we ask for is that the Government of India before surrendering the reins of power to the Swaraj Government shall give adequate recognition of our status as numerically the third largest community in India, in literacy superior to all other communities, in education and culture second to none, in the political and public life of the country. With this brand of inferiority removed and our fundamental rights safeguarded in the Constitution, we trust to our own strength to work out our salvation in the future Government of the country in the Provinces as well as in the centre.

Quite recently, the Government of Madras have made the announcement that a member of our community has been appointed by the King Emperor as a Member of the Government of Madras. On behalf of the Indian Christian Community, I tender my sincerest thanks to the Government. It is the result of constitutional agitation, long and patiently pursued. The appointment will undoubtedly enhance the political status of the community throughout the country.

Public opinion in Madras is expressed by a leader of the community in one of his letters to me, in the following words :

“ The Government by one stroke of the pen have atoned for all their past sins of commission and omission, in respect of Christians, by appointing an Indian Christian as Home Member... Christians are naturally jubilant because the Government have, at long last, recognised the claims of the Indian Christians to a share in the Government of their own country.”

But one swallow does not make a summer. It is to be hoped that the appointment indicates the orientation of a new policy towards the community in the India of the future and that, side by side with the doors thrown open to leaders leading to Councils and Governments, the rank and file will also not find the door barred against their entry in the public services, so that the economic life of the community may be maintained intact. We merely ask that the pledge given by His Majesty's Secretary of State, in addressing the Anglo-Indian Association the other day, be redeemed in our case also. “ We are insisting ” he said, “ on these safeguards with the object of introducing stability and ensuring that no community is aggrieved at the start of constitutional changes ”. We ask for nothing more.

With these words, I move the Resolution that stands in my name.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Shanmukham Chetty) : Resolution moved :

“ That this Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that the claims of the Indian Christian Community for adequate representation in the services and for representation on any Committee to be constituted by the Government of India, by the decision of which the political future of the Community may be affected, should be recognised.”

**Mr. B. Sitaramaraju** (Ganjam *cum* Vizagapatam : Non-Muhamadan Rural) : Sir, there appears to be no escape for us on this side of

the House from these communal claims. Two years ago, Mr. Bhagwandas, addressing a huge Hindu gathering, gave some advice to the Hindu community. He said that it had no future before it, and that it must make up its mind whether they should become Muslims or they should become Indian Christians.....

**Dr. F. X. DeSouza :** Then become Indian Christians.

**Mr. B. Sitaramaraju :** And Mr. Bhagwandas said that there would be an obvious advantage if the Hindu community were to become Indian Christians, and I realised the truth of that statement when I read these papers placed before me. Before I give Honourable Members the percentage of Indian Christians in the public services of this country from the statistics before me, I must at the outset tell my friend, Dr. DeSouza, that we have no objection to his community getting a legitimate share in these services ; let it get as many posts as possible, but, for God's sake, let it not be said that they, the Christian community, have not got enough.

**Dr. F. X. DeSouza :** Have you got enough ?

**Mr. B. Sitaramaraju :** If Mr. President will allow me, I shall be pleased to read to the House the figures to show who has got enough.

**An Honourable Member :** We cannot hear you. Please speak up.

**Mr. B. Sitaramaraju :** Before I take the statement showing the communal strength of the community in the Departments of the Government of India, let me deal with their position in the Provinces. The Indian Christian community, including those in the Indian States and in the Provinces, form about six and odd millions, of whom it is admitted that a great number are in the Presidency of Madras. Now, Sir, as you know, Madras has tried to solve this communal problem in a peculiar way. It has introduced what is called the communal rotatory system by which the various communities in the Provinces are given their due share on a population basis, and even more in case of minorities. According to that rotatory system, all recruitment is made to the public services on communal rotation. They followed the principle that, consistent with considerations of efficiency and necessary qualifications, a due share should be given to all communities. In that way they prescribed minimum qualifications and other tests by which the communities should be qualified to enter the services in the proportions to which they are considered to be legitimately admissible. But, in regard to promotions, different considerations prevail, because promotions do require some merit also ; and, therefore, the Government have reserved a certain proportion of appointments to be given on merit, and a certain proportion has been reserved for racial and communal considerations. Therefore, it cannot be said that the claims of this or any community is overlooked, at any rate, in Madras, where this community is found in very large numbers.

Leaving, therefore, the question of Provinces aside, I will now take up the question of the services of the Government of India. In the Government of India, we find that in the Army, the percentage of Indian Christians is 1.2 ; Commerce 1.09 ; Education, Health and Lands 1.12 ; Finance 2.44 ; Foreign and Political 2 ; Home Department 2.94 ; Imperial Research Council,—they have not given the figures ; Industries and Labour 5.18 ; Legislative 1.18 ; Legislative Assembly Department 1.96 ; Military Finance 1.1 and Railway Department 2.17 ; A. D. O. S. 2.17 ; A. G.'s Branch 3.1 ; Director of Contracts 7 ; Engineering Branch 7.4 ;



[Mr. B. Sitaramaraju.]

Master General of Ordnance .8 ; Q. M. G.'s Branch 1 ; Royal Air Force 2.08 ; Director General of Archaeology and D. G. I. M. S. 3 ; A. G. C. R. and Auditor General's Office 4, and so on and so forth. Under Commerce Department, there is the office of the Superintendent, I. M. M. T. S. "Dufferin", and there you have 66.67 Indian Christians, Shipping Office 37.0.....

**Mr. B. Das** (Orissa Division : Non-Muhammadian) : You have omitted the Executive Council here which has a Member of that community as the Leader of the House.

**Mr. B. Sitaramaraju** : I am coming to my friend, the Leader of the House, which would give 16 per cent. in the Government of India, and also to the Member of the Executive Council of Madras which would give 33 per cent in the Government of Madras. It must be remembered that the Indian Christian community ought to be grateful to the Government, because, for the first time, this seat in Madras which had hitherto been given to members of the Muslim community, has been given to a member of the Indian Christian community, and today, Rao Bahadur Pannirselvem is the Executive Councillor in Madras. And, Sir, with a population, so small as the Indian Christians, if they have got such a high percentage, I do not understand why my friend, the Mover of this Resolution, still complains by stating that he wants a special consideration for his community. If the special consideration for his community is to be based merely on the question of religion, then I don't see any reason why he should leave my friend, Sir Henry Gidney, aside, and also my friend, Sir Leslie Hudson, because, from the point of view of religion, they all belong to one religion, and, therefore, form one group. If it is from the point of view of race, Sir, then my friend's place is not there in isolation, but with us. If it is from the point of view of backwardness, that is no reason why that claim should be made, a claim allowed to the Depressed Classes, because, even according to his own showing, they are in every way far more advanced than the other communities. Therefore, I ask, what right have the Indian Christians got to claim special consideration for,—not that I grudge them their due share, but let them not say that they have not got enough. They cannot claim consideration partly on religious or racial basis and partly on importance. That is another important absurdity in this matter. Recently, an instance occurred in Madras, and I should like to mention that particularly for the information of the House. You remember, the goldsmiths class in Madras have been claiming that they are Brahmins. They applied to the Government that they should be registered as Brahmins. The Government said that if they were so particular to be classed as Brahmins, they for their part had no objection, and so these goldsmiths class were classed as Brahmins. Subsequently, a member of that community applied to the Collector of the District for a certain post. The Collector informed him that the Brahmin quota having been exhausted under the rotatory system, the candidate would have to wait till the turn of the Brahmin came again in its usual course. Then, this candidate said : "No, Sir, we are non-Brahmins ; you must give us our share from the non-Brahmin community". Then the Collector told him : "Well, my dear man, you are registered as a Brahmin, and therefore, you can go only under the Brahmin category". "No, Sir", said the candidate, "for the purposes of services we are non-Brahmins, but for social superiority we are

Brahmins". (Laughter.) Therefore, Sir, in order to avoid this sort of absurdity, I suggest that Honourable Members should take a broad view. There should be a just and proper appreciation of the inherent rights the others have and the difficulties the various communities are labouring under these exorbitant claims. Sir, as a Hindu, I am always a patient man. I always believe that this narrow communal consciousness is a calamity which we have to put up with. Here is my friend, Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad. There is no greater friend than he to me, but his views about these matters are different from mine. What we do, is, we try and find as much as possible a common agreement among ourselves. If we are bent on finding only differences, there are plenty of differences ; but the highest thing that legislators can do is to try and find a common agreement among ourselves and see that, by our co-operation and our sympathy, we understand each other's difficulties and try to achieve greater unity.

**Bhai Parma Nand** (Ambala Division : Non-Muhammadian) : So far as the claim of the Indian Christian community in the public services is concerned, as the principle has already been settled by the Government of India by giving a certain proportion to one minority or another, I cannot object to the claim that is put forth by Dr. DeSouza. But I strongly object to the very principle of dividing the public services among different communities. The claim is that, being a minority, the Indian Christian community also should have a certain share reserved for them. I object to this on the following grounds.

In the first place, we should look at the question of the minorities' rights as have been settled by the League of Nation's Minorities' Sub-Committee. There the rights and privileges of the minorities in the populations of Europe were discussed and certain principles have been laid down with regard to them. Firstly, it has been settled that a minority cannot be counted a minority for political purposes unless it is above 25 per cent. The next point was as regards their rights. So far as the rights are concerned, they are divided into three categories ; one is the safety and freedom of their religion ; secondly, the education of their children should be arranged for by the State, and, thirdly, their culture, i.e., history and traditions, should be preserved. These are the three main rights which have been conceded to the minorities in the European countries by the League of Nations. When we were discussing about the question as to how long India has been a member of the League, and what were the contributions that were made by the Indian Government to the League of Nations, I was thinking at that time whether we were bound to follow the decisions of the League of Nations on all matters or not. India is an original member, and, being an original member of the League of Nations, if we were to claim certain rights in its management, it was also the duty of the Government of India to follow the principles laid down by the League of Nations in its Minorities Sub-Committee on these questions.

My next point is to show what is meant by public service. Public service, as it is understood in America, England and other European countries, means that the man, who is more fit for serving the public, should be selected for that service. It is very strange that here we want that the public service also should be regulated according to the religious beliefs held by different sections amongst us. This naturally brings in another form of communalism, and religion comes in to play a part in the Government by the apportionment of public service to different

[Bhai Parma Nand.]

religious communities. Not only that, but distinctions of occupations and professions also come in. In the South, we have got divisions, for instance, of Brahmins and Non-Brahmins. They would claim separate distribution of public service for them. In the Northern India, similarly in the Punjab, there is being created a division between the profession of zamindars and non-agriculturists. They are in possession of land, and, forming the main population, they should be given special favourable privileges in the public service. I do not understand how this public service is being interpreted by different communities and different classes in India in the sense of demanding certain privileges and certain rights.

Again, this kind of reservation, will destroy the principle of efficiency altogether. I have had opportunity to explain this to the House many a time before. If you give preference to a person simply because he follows a certain creed, or his parents follow a certain profession,—be he fit or not,—it becomes communalism of the worst type, and the country that has got such a principle in its administration can never grow or develop self-government in it. This will deprive the best people who are really fit for and willing to devote their energy and ability to the service of their country.

Going to the root of evil, I think, as the current systems of Government give very big salaries to certain persons and to certain services, it is a great temptation for us all and that is why every community is trying to stress the principle of communal rights in this country. As against that, the principle of social equality or socialism would be far more preferable. In order to select persons for public service, their salaries and remunerations should be equalised in such a way, that they could not get more than they could make otherwise. I may be excused if I give an illustration from what I saw in the United States of America. I was in America, and, on one occasion, I had to act as an interpreter in a case of some Indians before a Court. What I found there was that the Judge was getting 500 dollars a month, the clerk was getting 450 dollars a month, and the orderly was getting 400 dollars a month. There was not much difference between the peon, the clerk and the Judge, and the result was that there was not much temptation for running after Government service. I, therefore, say that it is the hope and desire of big salaries which is responsible for this communalism.

In our case, however, I would put the blame on the shoulders of the British Government who, by giving the Communal Award in our Constitution, and, along with this Communal Award, by bringing in communalism in all kinds of services, have practically made this communalism so deep-rooted in this country that I think it would not be possible for any human agency in the future to uproot this evil, which is going to be a sure check to the growth of nationalism in this country. We talk so much of self-determination and Swaraj, but I consider, before we begin to think of Swaraj, of having self-government in this country, we should do away with or prepare the minds of the people to get rid of this curse of communalism in every department. Dr. DeSouza has told us that the Christians are so highly advanced in education that they can compete with anybody. I would not mind at all if by competition, all posts go to Christians in any service; in that case, there would be no possible objection to it. But if a man is selected simply because he is a Christian,

it brings in an element of interference with freedom of religion. I know personally of some cases in which some qualified engineers and doctors have been told that they would be eligible to get the jobs if they changed their names and their religion, but not otherwise. They were highly qualified persons and this is what they were told. This idea of manning the services by men belonging to particular religions and professions is the worst form of communalism, and it does interfere with religion and it becomes and would gradually become an ugly unfair means of conversion.

Now, coming to the main point, the recent decision of the Government of India is that 25 per cent. of the posts should be given to Mussalmans. If the Government give 25 per cent. to the Mussalmans on a population basis, well and good. If the Muslim leaders and the Muslim community want it, let them have their share but there should be one uniform principle. Let it be that all posts are to be distributed on a population basis, though it is opposed to all principles of nationalism and national progress of the country. If, at all, this principle is conceded, let it be on a population basis. Let us take the railway service. Taking Mr. Hasan's report as our basis, I am prepared to show that 25 per cent. of the Mussalmans are already there in the railway service, but injustice comes in when it is added that, besides this reservation, they can compete with others and get more jobs. This is a wrong principle. There is 8-1/3 given to Anglo-Indians.

**Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad** (United Provinces Southern Division : Muhammadan Rural) : On a point of order. Is the Resolution of the Government of India just issued about service under consideration now ?

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Shanmukham Chetty) : The Chair was going to allow two minutes more to the Honourable Member to finish his speech, and, therefore, it did not draw the attention of the Honourable Member to it itself. The whole problem of communal representation is not for discussion before the House. It is purely a question of the demand of the Christians for an adequate share in the representation in the public services. The communal G. O. and all that may be just referred for purposes of analogy and comparison, but the Honourable Member should not dilate on it at great length.

**Bhai Parma Nand** : I would submit, Sir, that I am opposed to this demand of the Christian community on principle, because it is communal. But as the principle is accepted by the Government, I don't mind if the Christians also have as much as they can. I must oppose the principle. Supposing we gave 25 per cent. to Mussalmans, 8-1/3 to Anglo-Indians and eight or ten per cent. to Indian Christians, and five or ten per cent. to Sikhs, then would come the zamindars and depressed classes ; in short, the minorities of India would monopolise all the services and they would deprive the main community of India, i.e., the Hindus, of all share in the services. This is quite a wrong way of proceeding with the administration of the country, and, therefore, I oppose this demand on principle.

#### STATEMENT OF BUSINESS.

**The Honourable Sir Joseph Bore** (Leader of the House) : On Monday next, Sir, we propose to proceed with the unfinished business standing on the combined list for the three opening days of this week other

[Sir Joseph Bhole.]

than the remaining stages of the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Supplementary (Extending) Bill and the Assam Criminal Law Amendment (Supplementary) Bill. On Tuesday, I shall move for reference to Select Committee of the Indian Iron and Steel Duties Bill which I introduced yesterday and the debate on that motion, if not finished on Tuesday, will be continued on Wednesday, whereafter, if time permits, the remaining stages of the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Supplementary (Extending) Bill may be taken as well as any unfinished items of the business for Monday.

The Assembly then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Monday, the 30th July, 1934.