1938
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MADRAS LEGISLATURE



# THE MADRAS LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

**Thursday, the 18th August 1938.**

The House met in the Assembly Building, Chepauk, at three of the clock, Mr. Speaker (THE HON. MR. B. SAMBAMURTI) in the Chair.

## I.—QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

### STARRED QUESTIONS

*Number of law graduates among the prosecuting staff of the Police department.*

* 62 *Q.*—MR. K. V. R. SWAMI: Will the Hon. the Prime Minister be pleased to state the number of those in the prosecuting staff of the Police department who are graduates in law?

THE HON. MR. C. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR:—"There are three graduates in law among the prosecuting staff in the Policce Department, and fourteen others with lesser qualifications in law."

MR. K. V. R. SWAMI:—"Will the Government consider the desirability of having graduates wherever and whenever possible?"

THE HON. MR. C. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR:—"The question has already been considered and in all probability steps will be taken to increase the number of men in the staff with legal qualifications."

MR. BASHEER AHMED SAYEED:—"May I ask whether the Government propose to continue the policy of appointing Police Sub-Inspectors and Inspectors as Prosecuting Inspectors and allow them to continue under the jurisdiction and control of the Police Department or whether after appointing them they will put them under a separate independent judicial Agency?"

THE HON. MR. C. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR:—"Too large a question to be answered as a supplementary question."

MR. SPEAKER:—"The hon. Member may split up the question."

THE HON. MR. C. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR:—"I was not complaining about the length of the question but about the largeness of it."

MR. BASHEER AHMED SAYEED:—"May I ask whether the Government will consider the issue involved in the question?"

THE HON. MR. C. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR:—" The Government have considered it and will still further consider it."

*Action taken on the resolution of the Assembly regarding the formation of separate provinces on linguistic basis.*

* 63 *Q.*—MR. MAHBOOB ALI BAIG: Will the Hon. the Prime Minister be pleased to state—

(*a*) whether any action was taken or is proposed to be taken by the Government on the resolution passed by the Assembly for the creation of separate Andhra, Karnatic, Tamil and Kerala Provinces; if so, what it is;

(*b*) whether the Government recommended the creation of the said provinces; if so, whether the case of Andhra Province was separately dealt with and recommended;

(*c*) whether the Government are aware of the opinion expressed by the Secretary of State for India and the Congress President in regard to the creation of separate provinces on linguistic basis;

(*d*) whether it is a fact that the Prime Minister received a letter from Mr. Dattar of Bombay Presidency, soliciting his opinion on the question of the formation of separate provinces on linguistic basis;

(*e*) whether it is a fact that the Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, wrote to Mr. Dattar that the creation of separate provinces on linguistic basis is not in the interests of India; if so, whether the said Secretary was authorized by the Prime Minister to give the said reply;

(*f*) whether the Government are aware that the Working Committee of the Congress decided to postpone the consideration of the creation of separate provinces on linguistic basis till the Federation came into existence;

(*g*) whether, in view of the decision of the Working Committee, the Government have also decided to postpone the question of formation of separate provinces; and

(*h*) whether there is any proposal to send a deputation to England to plead for the creation of the separate provinces before the British Government; if not, whether the Government have any other proposals for giving effect to the said resolution of this Assembly?

THE HON. MR. C. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR:—" (*a*) & (*b*) Necessary action was taken upon the resolution and it was forwarded to the Secretary of State with the recommendation of this Government in support of it.

" (*c*) The Government are aware of the opinion expressed by the Secretary of State.

" The Government have no official information in regard to the opinion expressed by the Congress President.

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" (*d*) & (*e*) A letter was received in December 1937 from the Chairman of the All-Karnatak Unification League of Belgaum suggesting that this Government should table a resolution recommending to the British Parliament to take immediate steps for the formation of a separate administrative province for the Karnatak areas in British India, to which a reply was duly sent that the Government of Madras saw no advantage but much possible harm in taking up the subject of the formation of a separate Karnataka province at that moment.

" (*f*) The Government are aware of the decision of the Working Committee as published in the Press.

" (*g*) & (*h*) The answer is in the negative.

" The Government have taken steps to urge upon the Secretary of State the importance and urgency of the question of the Andhra Province."

MR. MAHBOOB ALI BAIG:—" Sir, the question whether the case for the Andhra Province has been separately dealt with and recommended has not been answered. May I request the Hon. the Prime Minister to answer the question? "

MR. SPEAKER:—" Mr. Mahboob Ali Baig wants a specific answer to the latter part of clause (*b*)."

THE HON. MR. C. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR:—" I think that the answer given to clauses (*g*) and (*h*) should satisfy the hon. Member."

MR. MAHBOOB ALI BAIG:—" What I wanted to know was whether the case of the Andhra Province was separately dealt with and recommended or whether it was dealt with along with other provinces in an omnibus manner? "

THE HON. MR. C. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR:—" The answer that I gave to clauses (*g*) and (*h*) is this: the Government have taken steps to urge upon the Secretary of State the importance and urgency of the question of the Andhra Province."

MR. MAHBOOB ALI BAIG:—" May I know the unofficial information that this Government have with reference to the opinion of the President of the Congress on the question of the formation of separate provinces? "

THE HON. MR. C. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR:—" The unofficial information of any Minister or Member cannot be dealt with at question time."

MR. R. M. PALAT:—" May I ask whether the Government propose to protest against the opinion expressed by the Secretary of State to the effect that he is a better judge of the necessity of forming new provinces in India than this House and other Houses in India? "

THE HON. MR. C. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR:—" I should like to be forgiven if I ask for a repetition of the question."

MR. R. M. PALAT:—" In view of the opinion expressed by the Secretary of State that this is not the occasion for the formation of linguistic provinces in India, do the Government of Madras propose to write to the Secretary of State through the Government of India and protest against that opinion because that opinion is based on the assumption that he is a better judge of the need for the formation of linguistic provinces in India? "

THE HON. MR. C. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR:—" Without taking into account the various arguments given by the Member in his supplementary question, I will answer the question alone in this way: the Government have, after the receipt officially of the Secretary of State's answer in the matter, represented again most forcibly the importance and urgency of the question of forming an Andhra province. As to whether he is a better judge or we are better judges, the fact remains that he is actually the judge in the matter."

MR. R. M. PALAT:—" No doubt I note that the Hon. the Premier has recommended the Andhra province. But I want to ask whether he would be good enough to write about the Kerala province also."

THE HON. MR. C. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR:—" Notice, Sir."

MR. K. ABDUR RAHIMAN KHAN:—" May I know why this partiality for the Andhra province? "

THE HON. MR. C. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR:—" I do not call it 'partiality', Sir."

MR. K. ABDUR RAHIMAN KHAN:—" Why then did the Government think it fit to make special representations regarding the Andhra province? "

THE HON. MR. C. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR:—" As a result of all that was said on a previous occasion, Sir."

MR. K. ABDUR RAHIMAN KHAN:—" May I remind the Hon. Prime Minister that the resolution passed by the House related not only to the formation of an Andhra province but to other provinces as well? "

THE HON. MR. C. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR:—" We cannot enter into an argument. I do not find what new information exactly the hon. Member is asking for."

MR. BASHEER AHMED SAYEED:—" May I ask whether the original recommendation as well as the subsequent representation included Royalaseema within the Andhra province? "

THE HON. MR. C. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR:—" These various boundary disputes were not gone into."

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MR. MAHBOOB ALI BAIG:—"May I ask, Sir, whether this Government will have any difficulty in taking further steps in the matter in view of the resolution of the Congress Working Committee postponing the formation of these provinces till after Federation?"

THE HON. MR. C. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR:—"The hon. Member has not correctly understood the resolution of the Working Committee."

MR. K. ABDUR RAHIMAN KHAN:—"In making their recommendation for the formation of separate provinces, may I know whether the Government have taken note of the criticisms against the formation of such provinces?"

THE HON. MR. C. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR:—"We have, I presume, taken note of the criticisms levelled contra, but I cannot vouch whether we have read or understood all the criticisms. So far as we were aware, we did take them into account."

MR. MAHBOOB ALI BAIG:—"In order to understand the resolution of the Working Committee, may I ask when and under what circumstances it may be said that the Congress has the power to be able to form separate provinces?"

MR. SPEAKER:—"It is a hypothetical question, and need not be answered."

THE HON. MR. C. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR:—"I will answer it."

MR. SPEAKER:—"When the Congress could be said to have come into power is a thing which the Prime Minister or even the Cabinet cannot say."

MR. MAHBOOB ALI BAIG:—"I asked that question in order to understand the resolution of the Working Committee."

THE HON. MR. C. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR:—"True. May I submit, Sir, that such a question should be asked in the All-India Congress Committee and not here?" (Laughter.)

*Attitude of the Government towards the repeal of the Criminal Law Amendment Act.*

* 64 *Q.*—MR. MAHBOOB ALI BAIG: Will the Hon. the Prime Minister be pleased to state—

(*a*) whether it is a fact that the Government have issued a circular to the Magistrates that the provisions of the Criminal Law Amendment Act be applied freely to stem the tide of anti-Hindi agitation;

(*b*) whether it is a fact that the Government are opposed to the repeal of the said Act so far as this province is concerned; and

(*c*) whether any private Bill for the repeal of the said Act has been given notice of?

THE HON. MR. C. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR:—"(*a*) No circular of the character described has been issued.

"(*b*) & (*c*) Notice has been given of a private bill to repeal the said Act.

"The opinion of the Government will be stated when the Bill is introduced.

"This answer was written down some time before and, in view of what has happened yesterday, it is not necessary now as the event has passed. Clauses (*b*) and (*c*) may be taken to have been cut out."

MR. MAHBOOB ALI BAIG:—"May I know whether the Government are aware that the Central Provinces Congress Government has repealed the Criminal Law Amendment Act?"

THE HON. MR. C. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR:—"The question may be put in the Central Provinces Assembly."

MR. G. KRISHNA RAO:—"May I ask, Sir, whether the Hon. the Premier is aware that under the present administration of the Act, the punishments given to the offenders are far in excess of the gravity of the crimes and misdemeanours committed by them? There is a general impression like that and may I know if such information has reached the Hon. the Premier?"

THE HON. MR. C. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR:—"It would not be proper for me to discuss that question."

MR. G. KRISHNA RAO:—"May I know whether the accounts of the punishments that are being awarded have reached the Hon. the Premier?"

THE HON. MR. C. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR:—"It would not be proper for me to discuss that question."

MR. BASHEER AHMED SAYEED:—"May I take it, Sir, that no instructions of any kind have been issued to any authority in this matter?"

THE HON. MR. C. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR:—"If a proper question is put, I shall answer; but I wish here to point out that if questions are put in this form suggesting and insinuating, the only answer can be a negative; and if a proper question is put, giving an opportunity to the Government to state exactly the actual state of affairs, I shall not hesitate to give a correct answer."

MR. ABDUL HAMEED KHAN:—"May I know if the Assembly is meeting in November and whether it will not be too late then to answer the question?"

THE HON. MR. C. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR:—"I did not ask for time at all; I am complaining that the question put suggests certain things which it is my duty to deny. It cannot be modified now into a general question without notice."

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MR. MAHBOOB ALI BAIG:—"May I appeal to you, Sir, that when you have allowed this question, it cannot any longer be an insinuating question; and therefore the Hon. the Premier is not quite correct in saying that this is an insinuating question?"

THE HON. MR. C. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR:—"I did not call it an insinuating question. I only gave a negative answer and in common language, the negative is for the whole of the question."

MR. SPEAKER:—"He only suggests that if a positive question is put, a positive answer can be got."

MR. MAHBOOB ALI BAIG:—"It is a positive question, Sir; I ask whether it is a fact."

MR. SPEAKER:—"No discussion can be had on that point."

MR. MAHBOOB ALI BAIG:—"I am appealing to the Chair. When a question has been rightly put and allowed by the Chair . . ."

MR. SPEAKER:—"It has been rightly answered."

MR. BASHEER AHMED SAYEED:—"May I know whether it is true that if anybody presumes that any such instructions have been given, he will be in the wrong?"

THE HON. MR. C. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR:—"If the word 'such' is remembered, the question is perfectly right. If anybody presumes that any *such* instructions have been given, he is entirely wrong."

*Rates of assessment for coconut gardens in the different districts of the Province.*

* 65 *Q.*—MR. H. S. HUSSAIN: Will the Hon. the Minister for Revenue be pleased to state—

(*a*) whether garden rates of assessment are levied in all parts of the Province;

(*b*) whether dry rates of assessment are levied in respect of coconut or other gardens in any part of the Province;

(*c*) what the rate of assessment in respect of such gardens is in the district of Tanjore;

(*d*) what the rate of assessment in respect of such classes is in the districts of South Kanara and Malabar respectively; and

(*e*) the reasons for the difference, if any, in the rates of such assessment in respect of such classes in the different districts of the Province?

MR. T. VISWANATHAM, Parliamentary Secretary, on behalf of the Hon. Mr. T. Prakasam:—"(*a*) The garden rates of assessment are levied only in the Malabar and South Kanara districts.

" (*b*) & (*c*) In districts other than Malabar and South Kanara lands are classified as wet or dry for purposes of assessment and lands containing coconut or other kinds of trees are assessed at the appropriate wet or dry rates. There are no garden rates similar to that in Malabar and South Kanara in the Tanjore district.

" (*d*) The garden rates of assessment in the eight plains taluks of Malabar and in South Kanara (exclusive of the Amindivi islands) are as follows:—

*Eight plains taluks of Malabar.*

| Taram. | Old holdings. Rate per acre. RS. A. | New holdings. Rate per acre. RS. A. |
|---|---|---|
| 1 .. .. .. .. .. .. .. | 8 5 | 16 10 |
| 2 .. .. .. .. .. .. .. | 7 2 | 14 4 |
| 3 .. .. .. .. .. .. .. | 5 15 | 11 14 |
| 4 .. .. .. .. .. .. .. | 4 12 | 9 8 |
| 5 .. .. .. .. .. .. .. | 3 9 | 7 2 |
| 6 .. .. .. .. .. .. .. | 2 6 | 4 12 |
| 7 .. .. .. .. .. .. .. | 1 3 | 2 6 |

*South Kanara (exclusive of the Amindivi islands).*

| Taram. | Rate per acre. RS. A. |
|---|---|
| 1 .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. | 9 0 |
| 2 .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. | 7 14 |
| 3 .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. | 6 12 |
| 4 .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. | 5 10 |
| 5 .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. | 4 8 |
| 6 .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. | 3 6 |
| 7 .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. | 2 4 |
| 8 .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. | 1 2 |

" (*e*) The difference is due to the different conditions prevailing in the districts and the revenue history of each district."

KHAN BAHADUR MAHMUD SCHAMNAD SAHIB BAHADUR:—" May I know, Sir, what is the rate per acre in other districts than Malabar and South Kanara, in which there are coconut trees and arecanut trees? "

MR. T. VISWANATHAM:—" I have submitted that except in Malabar and South Kanara, there are no garden rates."

KHAN BAHADUR MAHMUD SCHAMNAD SAHIB BAHADUR:—" What is the rate per acre for land in which there is no wet cultivation but there are only coconut and arecanut trees, in districts other than Malabar and South Kanara? "

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MR. T. VISWANATHAM:—"It depends upon the nature of the land on which these trees stand. If the land is wet, the assessment will be wet; if the land is dry on which these trees are grown, then the assessment will be dry assessment."

KHAN BAHADUR MAHMUD SCHAMNAD SAHIB BAHADUR:—"In the South Kanara district, the garden rates are said to vary from Re. 1-2-0 to Rs. 9. May I know what are the rates in other districts—whether they are more or less than these rules?"

MR. T. VISWANATHAM:—"I submit, Sir, I cannot give an answer in regard to a position which does not exist in the rest of the Presidency."

*Assessment on dwelling sites in the Province.*

* 66 *Q.*—MR. H. S. HUSSAIN: Will the Hon. the Minister for Revenue be pleased to state—

(*a*) whether in any part of the Province the sites on which dwelling houses and buildings stand are held free of assessment and if so, whether they are so held as a rule or in exceptional cases; and

(*b*) if in some parts of the Province such sites are held free of assessment, why a distinction is made in other parts?

MR. T. VISWANATHAM, Parliamentary Secretary, on behalf of the Hon. Mr. T. Prakasam:—"(*a*) & (*b*) The rules regarding the levy of land revenues on house-sites are uniform for the whole Province.

"No charge for land revenue is made in the cases of houses standing on land registered as village-site poramboke except on such sites in towns as were assigned subsequent to the declaration of the place as town or if such declaration was later than 1900 on such sites as were assigned in that year and subsequently.

"In the case of houses erected on land other than village-site poramboke the land revenue assessed on the land continues to be paid."

KHAN BAHADUR MAHMUD SCHAMNAD SAHIB BAHADUR:—"May I know whether houses are allowed to be built on village-site porambokes?"

MR. T. VISWANATHAM:—"If the site is registered as village-site poramboke houses can be built thereon, and no assessment is levied."

*Transfer of pattas in zamin areas.*

* 67 *Q.*—MR. R. S. MANIKKAM: Will the Hon. the Minister for Revenue be pleased to state—

(*a*) whether it is a fact that a fee of 8 annas is being strictly collected towards the transfer of registry during the registration of sale-deeds;

(*b*) if so, under what authority;

(*c*) whether it is a fact that the zamin authorities do not, as a rule, care to effect the transfer of registry and do not move unless the mamul amounts are paid; and

(*d*) what steps the Government have taken to ensure speedy transfer of pattas in zamin areas?

MR. T. VISWANATHAM, Parliamentary Secretary, on behalf of the Hon. Mr. T. Prakasam:—" (*a*) & (*b*) Under section 145 (2) of the Madras Estates Land Act, 1908, the Government have prescribed a fee of eight annas for the transmission to the landholder by the Registration department of the notice referred to in that section, asking for recognition of the transfer of a holding or any portion thereof. No fee is collected *towards transfer of registry*.

" (*c*) The Government have no information.

" (*d*) The attention of the hon. Member is invited to section 145 of the Madras Estates Land Act which provides that the landholder shall be bound to recognize, subject to the provisions of the said section, transfers of holdings and to enter into fresh engagements with the transferees. Under section 55 of the said Act, the ryot may file a suit before the Collector when a landholder for three months after demand fails to grant a patta to him on such terms as he is entitled to receive."

MR. V. S. RM. VALLIAPPA CHETTIYAR:—" In view of the universal complaint in zamin areas, will it not be possible for the Government to advise the authorities concerned to make a speedy transfer of pattas? "

MR. T. VISWANATHAM:—" The advice of the Government and of the Legislature is contained in the sections of the Act, Sir."

KHAN BAHADUR MAHMUD SCHAMNAD SAHIB BAHADUR:—" May I know whether a fee of eight annas is being collected only in zamin areas or also in the ryotwari areas? "

MR. T. VISWANATHAM:—" It is only in the zamin areas."

*Report of the Chief Engineer on the Coringa Island Irrigation Project.*

* 68 *Q.*—MR. K. V. R. SWAMI: Will the Hon. the Minister for Public Works be pleased to state—

(*a*) whether the report of the Chief Engineer regarding the two proposals in respect of the Coringa Island Irrigation Project has been received; and

(*b*) if so, what his recommendations are?

THE HON. MR. YAKUB HASAN:—" (*a*) & (*b*) The report has not yet been received."

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MR. K. V. R. SWAMI:—"May I know the reason for this long delay in the submission of the report?"

THE HON. MR. YAKUB HASAN:—"I have visited the place myself; the scheme has had to go backwards and forwards because it required much consideration. It has not come back in a final form yet."

*Selection of centres in Chittoor district for the installation of radio sets.*

* 69 *Q.*—MR. R. B. RAMAKRISHNA RAJU: Will the Hon. the Minister for Public Works be pleased to state—

(*a*) whether the villages of Palmaner, Thamballapalli, Kalikiri and Chandragiri were selected in Chittoor district for installation of radio sets;

(*b*) on whose recommendation and on what considerations the said selection was made; and

(*c*) why even one set is not given to a zamin area though two-thirds of the district consists of zamindaris?

THE HON. MR. YAKUB HASAN:—"(*a*) Yes.

"(*b*) & (*c*) The places were selected from the list of places, recommended by the old District Economic Councils, on the following principles:—

(1) A taluk to have not more than one set—in one of the villages recommended by the District Economic Councils—generally five for each district;

(2) Villages offering contribution and having electric supply or likely to have it in the near future, to have preference;

(3) Only four sets to be given for each district where no contribution is forthcoming or where only four places, one for each taluk, have been recommended by the District Economic Council."

MR. R. B. RAMAKRISHNA RAJU:—"May I know why the Puttur and Tiruttani taluks have been left out? They are two separate subdivisions."

THE HON. MR. YAKUB HASAN:—"As I have said already, we selected four places, one in each taluk."

MR. R. B. RAMAKRISHNA RAJU:—"What I say is that Puttur and Tiruttani taluks have been completely left out; no place has been selected in these taluks?"

THE HON. MR. YAKUB HASAN:—"It is because only four places have been chosen; other taluks also will be taken up if more sets are to be allotted."

MR. R. B. RAMAKRISHNA RAJU:—"Why, Sir, I ask?"

THE HON. MR. YAKUB HASAN:—"In view of the number of sets that could be given, to each district."

MRS. A. RUKMINI LAKSHMIPATHI:—"Can I put a general question with reference to the installation of the radio sets?"

MR. SPEAKER:—"Please put the question."

MRS. A. RUKMINI LAKSHMIPATHI:—"May I know whether the Government intend to set up radio stations in the Andhra area and in the Malabar area?"

THE HON. MR. YAKUB HASAN:—"There is no question of setting up any radio stations anywhere in the Madras Presidency."

MR. R. B. RAMAKRISHNA RAJU:—"May I know whether the Government will consider the question of the distribution of one set to the eastern portion of the district? One of them may be installed in Puttur or Tiruttani."

THE HON. MR. YAKUB HASAN:—"I am sorry I cannot give more than what I have already given."

*Constitution of a River Conservancy Board for the Madras Presidency.*

* 70 *Q.*—MR. D. RAMALINGA REDDIYAR: Will the Hon. the Minister for Public Works be pleased to state—

(*a*) whether there is any proposal to constitute a river conservancy board for the Presidency of Madras; and

(*b*) if not, whether the Government will consider the desirability of having one such board?

THE HON. MR. YAKUB HASAN:—"(*a*) The answer is in the negative.

"(*b*) The matter will be considered if the need for such a board is felt."

KHAN BAHADUR MAHMUD SCHAMNAD SAHIB BAHADUR:—"May I know what is the function of such a board, and what is the use of such a board?"

THE HON. MR. YAKUB HASAN:—"Because we feel there is no use for such a board we have not constituted one."

MR. D. RAMALINGA REDDIYAR:—"Do the Government think that there is no need for the formation of such a board at present?"

THE HON. MR. YAKUB HASAN:—"That is quite clear from my answer."

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*Protest against the proposal for the abolition of the Board Middle school at Pakala.*

* 71 *Q.*—MR. M. DORAIKANNU: Will the Hon. the Minister for Education and Legal Departments be pleased to state—

(*a*) whether there is a proposal to abolish the Board Middle school at Pakala;

(*b*) what the statement given by the District Board of Chittoor in connexion with this matter was; and

(*c*) whether the Government received any protest against the abolition of the school from the public of Pakala as well as from the parents?

THE HON. DR. P. SUBBARAYAN:—"(*a*) Yes, but no decision has yet been reached.

"(*b*) The Board is in favour of continuing the school.

"(*c*) Yes."

AN HON. MEMBER:—"May I know whether there is a railway school at Pakala?"

THE HON. DR. P. SUBBARAYAN:—"If the Hon. Member will put down another question, I may be able to get the information he wants."

*Abolition of the posts of Arabic Munshis in certain schools managed by the Malabar District Board.*

* 72 *Q.*—MR. S. M. LALJAN: Will the Hon. the Minister for Education and Legal Departments be pleased to state—

(*a*) whether it is a fact that the Malabar District Board has abolished the posts of Arabic Munshis in board schools where the strength of Arabic taking students is less than twenty;

(*b*) if so, the reasons that prompted the Government to take such an action; and

(*c*) whether the Hon. Minister has received any protest from the Muslim community in Malabar on this question; if so, what action the Government propose to take in the matter?

THE HON. DR. P. SUBBARAYAN:—"(*a*) Yes.

"(*b*) There is no question of the Government's initiative as the matter is one essentially for the District Board of Malabar to determine with reference to local needs and its financial position. The information available with the Government is that in connexion with the board's budget for the year 1938–39 it was compelled to adopt various measures of retrenchment in educational expenditure one of which was that Sanskrit Pandits and Arabic Munshis should be employed

only in board secondary schools having a minimum of 40 pupils offering the language in the one case and 20 in the other.

"(*c*) Yes; the question is under correspondence with the Director of Public Instruction."

MR. S. M. LALJAN:—"May I know whether there is no possibility of amending the rules so as to afford greater facilities for Muslim students?"

THE HON. DR. P. SUBBARAYAN:—"I do not believe in coercing the district boards more than is necessary."

3-30 p.m. KHAN BAHADUR MAHMUD SCHAMNAD SAHIB BAHADUR:—"May I know, Sir, whether it is a matter entirely for the district boards, or whether it also involves the policy of the Government?"

THE HON. DR. P. SUBBARAYAN:—"In my opinion, it is a matter entirely for the local body concerned."

MR. BASHEER AHMED SAYEED:—"May I know whether consequent on the abolition of the post of Arabic Munshis, the Government have satisfied themselves that adequate provision has been made for the imparting of religious instruction in those schools where the abolition has taken place?"

THE HON. DR. P. SUBBARAYAN:—"If the hon. Member had read the answer to the question, he would have found that the whole question is under correspondence with the Director of Public Instruction."

*Purchase and use of khaddar by Government.*

* 73 *Q.*—MR. K. V. R. SWAMI: Will the Hon. the Minister for Education and Legal Departments be pleased to state—

(*a*) the value of the cloth purchased by Government during 1937–38;

(*b*) how much of it was devoted to the purchase of khaddar; and

(*c*) the purposes for which khaddar purchased was used?

THE HON. DR. P. SUBBARAYAN:—"(*a*) *to* (*c*) The value of cloth purchased by the Superintendent of Stationery during the year 1937–38 was approximately Rs. 27,400. Out of this amount, a sum of Rs. 341 was spent for the purchase of khaddar for making clothing for peons and the dubashes of the Madras Legislature. Besides the clothing supplied by the Superintendent of Stationery, clothing for certain staffs in the Excise, Forest, Jail and Police departments is arranged by the heads of the departments concerned. Information has been called for in this regard."

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MR. K. V. R. SWAMI:—"May I know from the Hon. Minister whether these departments have been informed that they should prefer khaddar?"

THE HON. DR. P. SUBBARAYAN:—"No such general order has been passed as yet."

MR. K. V. R. SWAMI:—"Have the Government any objection to issue such an order saying that khaddar ought to be encouraged?"

THE HON. DR. P. SUBBARAYAN:—"This is a matter for the entire Government to decide; it has not been considered by them as yet."

*Removal of the night-soil storage station of the Tellicherry Municipality from its present site.*

*74 *Q.*—MR. P. MADHAVAN: Will the Hon. the Minister for Public Health be pleased to state—

(*a*) whether the Government are aware that human dung collected from the Tellicherry municipal areas is deposited on the sea-shore between the Jagannath Temple Gate and the Mahe station in such a way as to contaminate the surrounding atmosphere, thus causing permanent nuisance to the public residing in the locality as well as to the railway passengers; and

(*b*) whether the Government will consider the desirability of having the nuisance removed?

THE HON. DR. T. S. S. RAJAN:—"(*a*) The Government understand that the night-soil is not exposed as is implied in the question, but trenched, and that there is occasionally a certain amount of nuisance caused by it even though it is trenched.

"(*b*) This is for the Municipal Council to consider. It has already under consideration a biological method for the trenching of the night-soil with a view to remove the nuisance."

*Provision of protected water-supply to non-municipal rural areas.*

*75 *Q.*—MR. K. P. YEGNESWARA SARMA: Will the Hon. the Minister for Public Health be pleased to state—

(*a*) whether the non-municipal rural towns in the Presidency are within the scope of the new rural water-supply scheme enunciated by the Government and whether the requisite works for protected water-supply for these towns will be financed entirely from the new Provincial Fund for rural water-supply; and

(*b*) if not, what the Government propose to do in order to solve the problem of protected drinking water-supply for these rural towns?

THE HON. DR. T. S. S. RAJAN:—"(*a*) & (*b*) Non-municipal rural towns which have a population of less than 5,000 and whose annual income is less than Rs. 3,000 are within the scope of the rural water-supply scheme. Water-supply schemes for other non-municipal towns have to be financed by the local boards concerned with the aid of Government grants."

KHAN BAHADUR MAHMUD SCHAMNAD SAHIB BAHADUR:—"May I know, Sir, what is meant by the 'new Provincial Fund'? Does it mean that the schemes are financed entirely from the Provincial funds?"

THE HON. DR. T. S. S. RAJAN:—"The hon. Member has certainly followed the budget debate in this House and he ought to know that a sum of Rs. 15 lakhs has been set apart by the Provincial Government under the head 'Rural Water-supply Schemes'."

KHAN BAHADUR MAHMUD SCHAMNAD SAHIB BAHADUR:—"Is it to be called then as 'new Provincial fund'?"

THE HON. DR. T. S. S. RAJAN:—"It is provincial."

MR. BASHEER AHMED SAYEED:—"Is it the policy of the Government that these non-municipal rural towns which cannot afford to pay, notwithstanding the fact that they satisfy the two conditions, should go without any protected water-supply?"

THE HON. DR. T. S. S. RAJAN:—"The Government certainly will provide water-supply to those areas. There are boards, panchayat boards and district boards, whose duty it is to come to the relief of these areas."

MR. BASHEER AHMED SAYEED:—"In cases where neither a panchayat board nor a district board is in a position to finance any scheme of rural water-supply, should that place within that panchayat board or district board have no water-supply at all?"

THE HON. DR. T. S. S. RAJAN:—"The Government consider that one of the primary duties of the local boards is to provide drinking water for those who come under that area. It is one of the duties of these bodies also to find funds for the work."

MR. BASHEER AHMED SAYEED:—"If these bodies do fail in their duties will the Government allow them to fail continuously and not provide a necessity so important for human life?"

THE HON. DR. T. S. S. RAJAN:—"I would ask the hon. Member to wait for the Public Health Bill that is to come."

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*Selection of a panel for the posts of Public Prosecutors and Government Pleaders.*

* 76 *Q.*—MR. S. M. LALJAN: Will the Hon. the Minister for Courts and Prisons be pleased to state—

(*a*) whether any election was held so far in the Madras Presidency for the selection of a panel for the posts of Public Prosecutor and Government Pleader;

(*b*) if so, whether any Non-Brahman or Christian or Scheduled class or Muhammadan advocate has been elected to these panels; and

(*c*) whether the Government have considered the likelihood of a Non-Brahman or Indian Christian or Scheduled class or a Muhammadan advocate being elected to this panel by any Bar Association?

THE HON. MR. K. RAMAN MENON:—" (*a*) Elections were held by the Bar Associations of Ramnad, Guntur, Tinnevelly, Chingleput, Mangalore and Rajahmundry.

" (*b*) Non-Brahmans have been elected to the panels of Government Pleader and Public Prosecutor, South Kanara, Government Pleader and Public Prosecutor, East Godavari and Additional Public Prosecutors, Tinnevelly and East Godavari. An Indian Christian has been elected to the panel of Additional Public Prosecutor, Tinnevelly. No lawyers belonging to the Scheduled Class or the Muhammadan community have been elected to any of these panels.

" (*c*) The answer is in the affirmative."

MR. S. M. LALJAN:—" May I know, Sir, what the Government propose to do, if no Muhammadans were to be elected to these panels? "

THE HON. MR. K. RAMAN MENON:—" The question of appointing the Public Prosecutors does not depend upon the class or community of the people from whom the selection should be made."

MR. MAHBOOB ALI BAIG:—" Does the question depend only upon the election to the panel by Bar Associations, Sir? "

THE HON. MR. K. RAMAN MENON:—" It does not necessarily follow. Instructions have been issued to the District Magistrates that they are entitled to make their own recommendations, if they think that a suitable candidate has not been selected to the panel."

MR. G. RANGAYYA NAYUDU:—" Into how many communities is the Hindu community divided for the purpose of this communal Government Order, Sir? "

THE HON. MR. K. RAMAN MENON:—" I am not aware of it, Sir."

MR. S. M. LALJAN:—"May I know, Sir, if it is the intention of the Government that no Muhammadan should be elected and that these posts should be monopolized by the Hindus?"

THE HON. MR. K. RAMAN MENON:—"Certainly not."

MR. S. M. LALJAN:—"May I know what is the fate of the Mussalmans?"

THE HON. MR. K. RAMAN MENON:—"I know the fate of one Mussalman and that is that he has been appointed as an additional Public Prosecutor recently."

*Introduction of spinning and weaving in jails.*

* 77 *Q.*—MR. R. B. RAMAKRISHNA RAJU: Will the Hon. the Minister for Courts and Prisons be pleased to state—

(*a*) whether any industries are being carried on in the prisons in this Presidency and if so, what they are in each prison;

(*b*) whether the shoe-making industry in the Central Jail, Vellore, is in any way useful to the general public or is serving the needs of the Government departments only;

(*c*) whether there is practically no industry being carried on in the Presidency Jail for Women, Vellore;

(*d*) whether the Government have got any proposals in hand to utilize the man-power available in prisons for carrying on Nation-building industries;

(*e*) whether the Government have considered the desirability of introducing spinning and weaving in jails so that khaddar in large quantities can be produced and supplied to the country and if not, why not; and

(*f*) whether the Government have made any investigation as to what particular kinds of industries are suitable for introduction in jails and if so, what they are?

THE HON. MR. K. RAMAN MENON:—"(*a*) A statement [a] is placed on the table of the House.

"(*b*) The products of the shoe-making industry in the Central Jail, Vellore, are in practice purchased only by Government departments. It is useful to the public in so far as it teaches convicts a trade which may enable them to earn a living on release.

"(*c*) Some small industries are carried on, as given in the statement.

"(*d*) This matter is under the consideration of the Government.

"(*e*) The answer to the first part is in the affirmative and the second part does not arise.

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[a] Printed as appendix on page 349 infra.

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"(*f*) The matter has frequently been considered and it is proposed to make a further investigation shortly."

MR. R. B. RAMAKRISHNA RAJU:—"May I know, what the Government mean by saying that the answer to the first part of clause (*e*) is in the affirmative? Is spinning introduced in any jail?"

THE HON. MR. K. RAMAN MENON:—"The first part of the question is whether the Government have considered the desirability of introducing spinning and weaving in jails, and the answer is in the affirmative."

MR. R. B. RAMAKRISHNA RAJU:—"May I know, Sir, what they have done further after consideration?"

THE HON. MR. K. RAMAN MENON:—"Spinning has been introduced in the Women's Jail at Vellore."

MR. G. RANGAYYA NAYUDU:—"Was the Carpets department abolished sometime back?"

MR. SPEAKER:—"If the hon. Member sits, he will have the answer."

THE HON. MR. K. RAMAN MENON:—"I am not able to understand the question, Sir."

MR. G. RANGAYYA NAYUDU:—"Is it a fact, Sir, that some time ago, the Carpets department was proposed to be abolished?"

THE HON. MR. K. RAMAN MENON:—"There is no department known as the Carpets department in the Jail department."

MR. G. RANGAYYA NAYUDU:—"I mean the Carpet industry."

THE HON. MR. K. RAMAN MENON:—"So far as I know, it was abolished a long time ago."

MR. G. RANGAYYA NAYUDU:—"Is it supplied now?"

THE HON. MR. K. RAMAN MENON:—"If my hon. Friend or any other gentleman will place an order with the Jail department, carpets will be supplied."

*Reorganization of the establishment of official receivers in the mufassal.*

* 78 *Q.*—MR. K. V. R. SWAMI: Will the Hon. the Minister for Courts and Prisons be pleased to state—

(*a*) whether any decision has been reached by the Government on the report of the Committee for the reorganization of the establishment of official receivers in the mufassal; and

(*b*) if so, what it is?

THE HON. MR. K. RAMAN MENON:—"(*a*) & (*b*) The report of the committee is still under the consideration of the Government."

*Details regarding the number of Commissioners of Municipalities recruited direct and from the several services under Government and Local Bodies.*

* 79 *Q.*—MR. D. R. ISAAC: Will the Hon. the Minister for Local Administration be pleased to state—

(*a*) the number of Commissioners of Municipalities who have been drafted from Government service;

(*b*) the number of Commissioners who have been drafted from municipal service;

(*c*) the number of Commissioners who have been drafted from local fund service; and

(*d*) the number of Commissioners who have been recruited direct, that is, those that have no lien in Government, municipal or local fund service?

THE HON. MR. B. GOPALA REDDI:—"(*a*) *to* (*d*) Of the total number of eighty municipal commissioners in office on the 1st August 1938, twenty-eight were recruited from Government service, twenty-eight from Municipal service and twenty-four from Local Fund Service. Eleven of them do not retain a lien on any substantive appointment."

*Issue of rules regarding communal representation in municipal services.*

* 80 *Q.*—MR. MAHBOOB ALI BAIG: Will the Hon. the Minister for Local Administration be pleased to state with reference to the answer to starred question No. 174, dated the 21st September 1937—

(*a*) whether rules under section 73 of the amended District Municipalities Act in regard to communal representation in municipal services have been issued; and

(*b*) if not, what the delay is due to?

THE HON. MR. B. GOPALA REDDI:—"(*a*) The answer is in the negative.

"(*b*) The rules have to be issued after the designations and scales of pay of Municipal establishments are standardized under section 70 (3) of the Madras District Municipalities Act, 1920 and this proposal is under consideration."

MR. MAHBOOB ALI BAIG:—"The question was last answered in September 1937. May I know, Sir, how long it will take for issuing these orders?"

THE HON. MR. B. GOPALA REDDI:—"I am unable to give any date, Sir."

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MR. MAHBOOB ALI BAIG:—" Is the Government aware that there is abnormal disparity in the representation of communities in these services under the Municipalities? "

THE HON. MR. B. GOPALA REDDI:—" I do not think, that there is any abnormal disparity."

MR. MAHBOOB ALI BAIG:—" If the Government thinks that the disparity is not abnormal, under the amendment which was made in order to set right the disparity, how long will it take to issue these orders, Sir? "

THE HON. MR. B. GOPALA REDDI:—" I am unable to give any date, Sir."

MR. BASHEER AHMED SAYEED:—" May I ask whether the Government will kindly expedite the issue of these orders? "

THE HON. MR. B. GOPALA REDDI:—" Notice, Sir."

MR. MAHBOOB ALI BAIG:—" When was this Act amended? "

THE HON. MR. B. GOPALA REDDI:—" I would like to have notice, Sir."

*Classification of Sivananda Adigal as a B class prisoner.*

* 80-A *Q.*—MR. B. BHAKTHAVATHSALU NAYUDU: Will the Hon. the Minister for Courts and Prisons be pleased to state—

(*a*) the class in which and the name of the prison where Mr. Sivananda Adigal is detained; and

(*b*) if he is placed in 'C' class, whether the Government will consider the matter of transferring him to 'B' class?

THE HON. MR. K. RAMAN MENON:—" (*a*) Sivananda Adigal is now confined in the Penitentiary and is in 'B' class.

" (*b*) The question does not arise."

[*Note.*—An asterisk (*) at the commencement of a speech indicates revision by the Member.]

## II.—MESSAGES FROM THE COUNCIL.

* MR. SPEAKER:—" I have to announce to the House that I have received messages, dated the 18th August 1938, from the President, Madras Legislative Council, transmitting the following Bills passed by the Assembly which have been agreed to by the Council without any amendment on the 18th August 1938 and signed by him:—

(1) The Indian Lunacy (Madras Amendment) Bill, 1938;

(2) The Madras Medical Registration (Amendment) Bill, 1938;

(3) The Madras Estates Land (Amendment) Bill, 1938;

(4) The Prisons and Indian Lunacy (Madras Amendment) Bill, 1938;

(5) The Madras Famine Relief Fund (Amendment) Bill, 1938;

(6) The Madras Repealing and Amending Bill, 1938;

(7) The Madras Prohibition (Amendment) Bill, 1938;

(8) The Madras Borstal Schools (Amendment) Bill, 1938; and

(9) The Madras Local Boards (Amendment) Bill, 1938."

III.—HOUSE COMMITTEE.

* MR. SPEAKER:—" I have to announce to the House that the following candidates have been nominated for election to the House Committee:—

(1) Mr. E. Kannan.

(2) ,, K. Bhashyam Ayyangar.

(3) ,, J. L. P. Roche Victoria.

(4) Dr. (Mrs.) N. Lakshmi Devi.

(5) Mr. K. Abdur Rahiman Khan.

(6) ,, B. Bhakthavathsalu Nayudu.

" As the number of candidates nominated is equal to the number of vacancies to be filled, viz., six, I hereby declare them to have been duly elected to the House Committee.

" In addition to the above, under Rule 152 of the Madras Assembly Rules, I nominate the following two members to be members of the said Committee:—

(1) Mr. K. R. Karant.

(2) ,, J. Nuttall."

IV.—ELECTION TO THE ANNAMALAI UNIVERSITY SENATE.

* MR. SPEAKER:—" I have to announce to the House that the following candidates were nominated for election of three members to the Senate of the Annamalai University:—

(1) Mr. L. Sattanatha Karayalar.

(2) ,, P. Ratnavelu Tevar.

(3) Srimathi V. Lakshmi Ammal.

(4) Mr. V. S. Rm. Valliappa Chettiyar.

(5) ,, Basheer Ahmed Sayeed.

(6) Diwan Bahadur A. Appadurai Pillai.

" Mr. L. Sattanatha Karayalar has since withdrawn his candidature. The nominations of Mr. Basheer Ahmed Sayeed and

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Diwan Bahadur A. Appadurai Pillai were invalid as their nomination papers were presented after the hour fixed for the receipt of nomination papers. The remaining candidates are—

(1) Mr. P. Ratnavelu Tevar,

(2) Srimathi V. Lakshmi Ammal, and

(3) Mr. V. S. Rm. Valliappa Chettiyar.

" As the number of candidates remaining is equal to the number of vacancies to be filled, namely, three, I hereby declare them to have been duly elected to the Senate of the Annamalai University."

## NON-OFFICIAL BUSINESS.

### V.—RESOLUTIONS.

#### (1) THE RECENT HAPPENINGS IN BURMA.

* MR. SPEAKER :—" Mr. Abdul Hameed Khan is permitted to move the slightly altered resolution regarding Burma situation." 3-45 p.m.

MR. ABDUL HAMEED KHAN :—" Mr. Speaker, Sir, I shall first read the resolution which I have the honour to move before this august body :—

*' This Assembly recommends to the Government of Madras to bring to the notice of the Government of Burma that the people of this province greatly deplore the recent riots in Burma and hope that effective measures to preserve life and property have been adopted and that adequate measures will be continued to prevent a recrudescence of the same;*

*'and further recommends the appointment of a committee to enquire fully into the disturbances and suggest what measures may be adopted to maintain permanent peace and goodwill between the various communities in that country:*

*' and further it is the earnest wish of all communities in this province that peace and tranquillity will be speedily restored and maintained, and that a fair and satisfactory measure of relief will be afforded to all sufferers.'*

" Mr. Speaker, Sir, this resolution is moved in order to strengthen the hands of the Government of Madras not so much as a mandate from this House but as an appeal to them in order that they might take necessary action to make the Government of Burma realize the intense feeling in this part of the country over the unfortunate situation that exists to-day in Burma. It is now unnecessary for me to tell the House or narrate either the causes or the events that subsequently happened in Burma in connexion with this unfortunate situation. What is sought by means of this resolution is that every effective step should

be taken by the Government of Burma to see that the Indian population is safe and their property is also safeguarded. We expect that the Government of Burma would have taken effective measures to control the situation, and we had been hoping, from the information that was available to us from time to time, that the situation was improving. But it is really unfortunate that we are disappointed. On the other hand the situation is becoming graver, and it seems to us that it is getting out of control of the Government of Burma; for, the latest news that we have received published in the newspapers is that there are as many as 60,000 Indians, of whom 36,000 are Hindus and 24,000 are Muslims, who are in a condition of destitution. Sir, the fact that as many as 60,000 people from this part of the country are in that unfortunate plight goes to show the gravity of the situation in Burma. Neither the Government of India has taken the necessary action in the matter, nor the Government of Burma is able to control the situation. It therefore seems to me necessary that we in this province should endeavour to see that our Government, which is interested in the people of this province who are living in Burma, should take immediate and effective measures to preserve the life and property of Indians in that country. Sir, it must be understood that South Indians in particular and Indians in general, who have lived in Burma for a large number of years, have in most cases made Burma their home. And it is also a well-known fact that it is Indians, and particularly South Indians, who have been responsible to a very large extent for making Burma what it is to-day. Therefore, it will be wrong for Burmans to believe that Burma belongs only to Burmans, and that Indians, particularly South Indians, have no place in Burma, and that they should quit Burma sooner or later. That would certainly be a wrong policy. For, excepting for the fact that Indians who have settled in Burma have some relations in India, for all other purposes, those Indians have made Burma their home. Such being the case, it will be certainly wrong to create this racial animosity and also a situation like the present one in that country.

" Sir, when the proposals for the separation of Burma from India were on the anvil, we who were interested in our people who had gone over to Burma and lived there for a long number of years, were certainly very much anxious to know what would be their fate. What we feared has come true. For we saw a couple of years ago, a similar situation was created, and Indians suffered considerably both in life and property; and to-day the same thing has been repeated, as a number of people have been killed, a larger number have been injured, and a much larger number have lost all their property. Many of them are now destitutes; so much so, in batches of hundreds have they come back to India under very distressing circumstances. Some of us have seen the refugees who have arrived by the various steamers, and also the condition of those refugees, panic-stricken as they were. And not only are

they panic-stricken, but they came away, after leaving everything that belonged to them in Burma, in one single set of clothes that they were wearing, without any property whatsoever and without any money for them to reach their home in this country. Of course, we are thankful to those official and non-official agencies, and particularly to the Government of Madras for the help they have rendered to them, on the first occasion through the Collector of Madras, and on the second occasion through the Commissioner of Police, by not only feeding them but also by providing them with fares, so that they can reach their homes. When they reach their homes we know what their fate will be; for, having made Burma their home, it will be impossible for them to find any means of livelihood here. That goes to show the unfortunate condition to which Indians have been driven in Burma on account of the situation that has arisen.

"There is another suggestion in this resolution, and that is the formation of a committee to inquire fully into the disturbances and suggest what measures may be adopted to maintain permanent peace and goodwill between the various communities in Burma. Sir, it is certainly not our desire in this country to do anything which will result in disturbing the harmony and peace between the various communities that inhabit Burma, much less between Burmans and Indians. On the other hand, it is our anxious desire that we should do everything possible in our power to promote that harmony and goodwill that used to exist between Burmans and Indians who have settled there. We hope also at the same time that the incidents that have taken place and the disturbance of peace that took place are only temporary, and that this state of things will not long continue. We are sure that in addition to the attempts that were and will be made by the various communities in that country to restore and maintain peace and tranquillity, every attempt will be made by the Government of Burma to bring about harmony between the various communities that live in that country. Sir, a committee like this, I am sure, will certainly help to bring about that consummation. It is just possible that the Government of Madras may appoint a committee composed entirely of officials, or it is just possible that it may appoint a committee composed of officials and non-officials. I think it would be much better if the Government would include certain non-officials in the committee, for there are in this part of the country non-officials who are quite aware of the situation in Burma; and further we are also aware of the fact that non-official element will help a good deal in bringing about that consummation which we have in view. Sir, this committee should be appointed forthwith; for, from the information we have been getting from time to time regarding the situation in Burma I do not think that we can afford to lose time. Therefore it is absolutely necessary that the committee should be appointed without delay and that it should proceed forthwith to Burma and see, with the co-operation of the Government of Burma

and its people, that peace, harmony and goodwill are restored between the various communities in that country.

4 p.m. "That is not the only thing. But what we are anxious about is, apart from the restoration of peace and tranquillity for the present, that the Government of Burma should take adequate steps to see that such a situation does not recur. For, we know that the unfortunate feeling has taken hold of a certain class of people. That class-feeling is there, and knowing as we do that class-feeling exists, it is the duty of the Government of Burma to see that adequate and special steps are taken to safeguard the interests of the Indian population and to safeguard not only their life but also their property. To do that, they will have to maintain a standing department who will look after the interests of the Indians for a certain number of years to come. For, we know that if sufficient and adequate steps are not taken for a long number of years to come, there is the fear that such unfortunate disturbances might recur at intervals of two years or four years. Therefore this resolution seeks to achieve that end also.

"In conclusion, I trust that the Government of Madras who have so far done their best in the matter, will continue to take more and more interest in their own population which has settled down in Burma, so that the safety of life and property of the Indian people will be secured by the Government of Burma, and that our people there will no longer live under conditions which certainly have necessitated a large number of them running away from that country. Hundreds of them have come away, and I understand there are thousands of them who are getting relief from the non-official agencies in Burma and who are anxious to come back to India. Those people should be given that security which will certainly not necessitate their coming back to their country, leaving Burma for good. Effective and immediate steps will relieve the panic-stricken people who are waiting for their passage back to their country and make them resume their work and profession under peaceful conditions.

"Therefore I have great pleasure in moving this resolution."

* RAO BAHADUR SIR A. T. PANNIR SELVAM:—"In seconding the resolution moved by my friend, let me at the outset express the hope that this resolution will be understood in the spirit in which it is moved here, in view of the indispensable relationship between Burma and Madras towards each other. I believe, Sir, that we in India, more particularly in Madras, are situated towards Burma very much as we are towards those in Ceylon. Past associations between us—associations dating back to several decades if not centuries—have made Burma indispensable to Madras just as Madras is indispensable to Burma. Without in any way desiring to minimize the importance of Burma, I may say that we in Madras have contributed considerably in the past towards the development of Burma in various ways. Indian

capital has been playing a very great part in bringing Burma to its present condition. It might be that other countries might hold an example to us merely in the matter of importing foreign capital for developing the resources of a particular country—it may be for exploiting the resources of that country. But our contribution to Burma has not been merely in the field of capital. A greater contribution has been made in the field of labour also. For every business magnate or capitalist that may have gone over to Burma from India to develop the resources of Burma, hundreds of thousands of Indian labourers year after year have been going there to give of their best, to work on the soil there, so that the land may yield much more than what it would otherwise do and make Burma more prosperous than ever before it was, and could ever have been, without the Indian labour. I can say without any fear of contradiction that year after year, during the working season, thousands and tens of thousands of our labourers migrate there and cultivate the lands there, making them yield their best and add more and more to the Burman stores. After the season is over, they return with only the wages they have earned there. As a result of this continuous flow of Indian capital and labour during several years, as is the natural consequence in such cases—hundreds of Indian families have settled down permanently and made Burma their home. I know personally of Indian people who have 9/10ths of all they own in this world, in Burma only, and they have very little or nothing in India. Though they are Indians they have not come over to India at all. It is only for the purpose of meeting their own relatives or for performing some marriage or for some such thing they come back to India, but even then with the object of returning to Burma. There are thus hundreds of thousands of Indian families who have made Burma their home. Therefore I submit that there is a sort of binding between us and Burma, and as such we cannot afford to be antagonistic towards Burma just as Burma cannot be antagonistic towards Madras. It is in that spirit that we move this resolution, and I do hope that Burma also will understand this resolution in the same spirit, and treat the Indians as Burmese citizens who work for the welfare of Burma, who work for the betterment of the Burmese, who are there as fellow-citizens of Burma and as Burmese citizens, and that even though they be Indian by birth and by race, they are entitled to the rights of citizenship and entitled to the protection of person and property. It is in that spirit that I appeal to the Burma Government to take the necessary steps. I am sure that the representations to be made by the Government of Madras will have in due course a salutary effect on the course of events in Burma, and that peace and order will once again be restored in Burma so that Indians in Burma might live in peace and harmony with the Burmans and with full citizenship rights as the Burmans."

* MR. SPEAKER:—" I have made certain verbal alterations in the original resolution, so as to bring it to the proper form. I shall read it, before putting it for the consideration of the House:—

*' This Assembly recommends to the Government—*

*(1) to bring to the notice of the Government of Burma that the people of this Province greatly deplore the recent riots in Burma and hope that effective measures to preserve life and property have been adopted and that adequate measures will be continued to prevent a recrudescence; and*

*(2) to recommend the appointment of a committee to enquire fully into the disturbances and suggest what measures may be adopted to maintain permanent peace and goodwill between various communities.*

*' This Assembly further recommends to the Government to bring to the notice of the Government of Burma that it is the earnest wish of all communities in this Province that peace and tranquillity will be speedily restored and maintained, and that a fair and satisfactory measure of relief will be afforded to all sufferers.'"*

MR. ABDUL HAMEED KHAN:—" I thank you for the changes you have made."

* MR. V. S. RM. VALLIAPPA CHETTIYAR:—" Mr. Speaker, Sir, while supporting the resolution before the House, I wish to associate myself with the sentiments expressed by the previous speakers. Sir, we, the members of the commercial community of South India, are very grateful to the Hon. the Premier for taking prompt action in the matter. This has proved, if proof is necessary at all, that the Congress Government is behind none in its anxiety to protect the interests of the commercial community and in its attempt to safeguard the life and property of those Indians carrying on business in foreign countries.

" Sir, Burma was annexed to India at a huge cost to the Indian exchequer and at an enormous loss of Indian blood. Hoping that Burma will ever be an integral part of India, many Indians went to that land and have invested crores and crores in improving and increasing the productivity of that country. Thousands of acres of neglected and uncultivated forest tracts have been converted into fertile fields, all with the help of Indian labour and capital. But the setback to our hopes commenced as early as 1930 during the anti-Indian agitation and the great disturbances that followed it. British diplomacy, well planned as it was, triumphed, and Burma was lost to India for ever. Sir, Burma is entitled as every nation ought to be, to complete freedom and self-government, but generations of association of commercial intercourse and mutual bond between the two countries so closely situated and related cannot

be severed immediately. The minorities have a stake in that country, and equity demands that they should be well protected from the oppression of the majority. The principles of democracy demand that every interest forming a component part of the State should be adequately safeguarded and protected from the aggression and tyranny of one another.

"Sir, a cry is raised in certain quarters that Indians are exploiting the Burmans. The term 'exploitation' is an elusive concept and is often ingeniously used to suit any and every argument. Indians, at any rate the majority of South Indians in Burma, Sir, I am sure, will be prepared to quit Burma that rebellious land of Burma, bag and baggage to-day, now and immediately if they could realize in hard cash 50 per cent of what they have invested there. Is that not reasonable? Since the rebellion of 1930, Indians are nervous to go to Burma and in fact the few Indians that are there are busy collecting their arrears and are ever anxious to return to their mother country. 4-15 p.m.

"Sir, I believe Buddhism is based on perfect non-violence of thought and deed and it is a strange irony of fate that much blood should be shed in the name of Buddha and his religion. If Buddha had been alive to-day, certainly he would have shed tears at his name being associated with such brutal murders. The mad act of a fanatic has caused much blood to run and it is inexplicable as to how the outbreak began in spite of the fact that the Muslim community had already on the 24th expressed regret at the publication and dissociated itself from the sentiments contained in the book. Religion is not a thing to play with and it is a dangerous game to play in places where we have gone to do business. In our own interests it is essential and imperative that we forget religion and communal feeling and mind our business without creating any ill-feeling with the majority community. The situation has developed practically into a question of life and death and the slow manner in which the Burma Government are handling the situation is really despairing to us. A minor scuffle in a lonely street of Rangoon has developed into a serious riot and has spread like wild fire to the innumerable villages in the interior—not by the Pongyis, not by the monks who were molested by ruffians in the City of Rangoon but I see, Sir, it was carried on by a certain section of the Burmese papers whose favourite game is to insinuate and create ill-feelings between Indians and Burmans. It is such mischievous propaganda carried on by such gutter presses that develop and result in indiscriminate assault on innocent persons, not to speak of the innumerable women and children who have been mercilessly butchered in broad day-light in the presence of their own kith and kin for no fault of theirs. If the Burmese Government had prevented the procession of the monks on the first day and nipped the mischief in the bud itself, the whole trouble could have been avoided. It is however, gratifying to note that the Burma Government, though late, have

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demanded security from some such papers and have even ordered the suspension of publication of an influential Burmese paper. We hope and believe that the Burma Government will continue to take drastic action in controlling the bad elements and do justice to the minority.

" Sir, I appeal to the Hon. the Premier to take a serious view of the situation in Burma and strongly represent the matter to the Government of India to take all necessary steps to safeguard the interests of South Indians in Burma and not to give rest to the Government of India, until peace and tranquillity is restored in Burma. I also appeal to him to impress upon the Government of India the necessity to appoint an impartial committee to go into the question of the recent rioting and suggest ways and means to prevent the recrudescence of such unfortunate happenings which we are witnessing to-day in Burma."

* Mr. B. S. MURTI:—

" ఆధ్యక్ష ! యీ తీర్మానముపై నేనుకూడా రెండు మాటలు చెప్పదలచుకున్నాను. నేను చిన్నగా 1927 వ సంవత్సరమునకు పూర్వము నేనుకూడా రంగూన్‌లోవున్నాను. మధ్య సంవత్సరములు రంగూన్‌లోవుండి, అక్కడ జరుగుచుండి, అక్కడ కార్మికుల యొక్క కష్టసుఖములను బాగా తెలుసుకొని, వారియొక్క అభివృద్ధికోసరము పాటుపడినాను. అక్కడ ఆనగా రంగూనులో, మోల్మేను, మాండలే ప్రాంతములలో కూలివారుగావుండేవారు యెక్కువగా, ఆంధ్రులు, కొంతవరకు తమిళులు. మొన్న 1930 సంవత్సరములో జరిగిన అల్లరులలో యెక్కువగా చనిపోయినవారు ఆంధ్రులు. ఆరోజులలో, నేను రాజమండ్రిలో వున్నప్పుడు, తరుచుగా ప్రతి వీడకూ కాకినాడ వెళ్లడమూ, రంగూను నుంచి ఆబాధలు పడలేక, కష్టములు పడలేక, వచ్చినటువంటి కార్మికులనూ అందరినీ నేనుకూడా చూచి, వారి కష్టములు తెల్సుకొనడమూ జరిగినది. నేను యిప్పుడు ముఖ్యముగా చెప్పడం యేమిటంటే, జీవనోపాధికోసము, యితర కారణముల వలన నేమి, బర్మాలోవున్నటువంటి మనదేశస్థులయొక్క, భారతీయులయొక్క కష్టములు అనుటనము యెక్కువ అవుతూవున్నవని నా అభిప్రాయము. ఏదో పుస్తకము వ్రాయడమును, పాంఫ్లెట్‌లకు కోపము కలగడం, అల్లరులు రావడం జరుగుతువున్నది. ఏ విధముగా చూచినా, రంగూన్‌లో ముఖ్యంగా ఆంధ్రులు యెక్కువవున్నారు. భారతీయులు అనడంతోటే ఆంధ్రుల ఆపష్టలు యెక్కువగావున్నవి అనాలి. వారు కార్మికులు, కూలివారు, ప్రొద్దున్ననుంచి రాత్రి 10 గంటలవరకు పనిచేస్తువుంటారు. పూర్వకాలములో వారి సంపాదన యెక్కువగావుండేది. ఇప్పుడు సంపాదన లేదు. వారు చాలా ఆవస్థలు పడుచున్నారు. రంగూనునుంచి రావడమునకు కేళ్ళులేక అనేకమంది కేళ్ళుయిక్కడనుంచి తెప్పించుకొని, రావడమునకు చూస్తున్నారు. తినుటకు తిండిలేక అవస్థపడే ఆంధ్రులు, భారతీయులు బర్మాలోవున్నారు. అటువంటి వారిమీద, యే విధమైన ఒత్తిడి అయినా తెచ్చి పెట్టుటకు అవకాశమున్నది. కాబట్టి బర్మా బర్మావారికే కావలెనని కోరుతూ యేవిధమైన సౌకర్యములు బర్మావారు పొందినప్పటికి బర్మాదేశ ఆర్థిక ఉత్పత్తికై కష్టబడి రంగూను మొదలైన పట్టణములను అభివృద్ధి చేసిన ఆంధ్రుల దురవస్థలు చాలాదారుణమని నా అభిప్రాయము. వారి దేశంలో వారు సుఖం అనుభవించువున్నప్పటికి, తమ దేశమునకు

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సహాయముచేసిన భారతీయులయందు బ్రిటీషువారు కృతజ్ఞత చూపింపవలసియున్నది. ఈ సందర్భములో, మన గవర్నమెంటువారు బర్మా గవర్నమెంటుకు చెప్పవలసినది యేమిటంటే, మీదేశం మీదేఅయినప్పటికీ, ఆంధ్రులను భారతీయులను హింసించిన వ్యక్తులమీద తగిన చర్య తీసుకోవలెనని. ఈ భావాలతో తీర్మానమును బలపరుచుచున్నాను."

* KHAN BAHADUR P. KHALIF-UL-LAH SAHIB BAHADUR:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, with your permission I beg to associate myself with the resolution that has been moved by my Friend Mr. Abdul Hameed Khan. Having had the opportunity of hearing the heart-rending tales of the actual sufferers themselves, I cannot resist the temptation to join in the discussion. It is not possible, Sir, easily to describe the havoc that has been done in Burma. I will mention only one instance to illustrate the slaughter that has taken place and the havoc that has been committed. One of the men that recently came from Burma lost his senses completely and has become so to say a mad man. The reason for this seems to be that his own daughter, son-in-law, wife and other relations were butchered in his presence, and this has upset his mind and he has returned to the land of his birth, a complete wreck. Similar stories I have heard in large numbers, but I think that this is not the place or opportunity for detailing them at large. So I leave the matter there. I think this one instance would be ample evidence of the havoc that has been committed and the mercilessness with which it has been carried.

"One of the previous speakers referred to a writing by a Mussalman and said that that writing was responsible for this outburst. I have very great doubts if that was really responsible for the trouble that took place there. As I understand it, that writing was published about 10 years ago, as long ago as 1929, and that book passed through a second edition also more than five or six years back. To say that it is the cause of the serious riots that took place 10 or 15 days back is neither just nor reasonable. Another reason why I doubt this is that if that be the reason the rioting ought to have taken place only at the place where the meeting to consider that question was held and certainly not in other places. The reports amply prove that this was a deliberate and widespread attempt to murder Indians, so to say, and though the worst offences were committed in Rangoon itself, the Indians in outlying districts and villages have not been safe at all. Murders have been taking place throughout the length and breadth of Burma. Therefore I beg to submit that the reason for this rioting and this hardship caused to the lives of Indians and their property has to be sought somewhere else than the book to which reference was made.

"In this connexion, I may also point out that it is the Madras Presidency that stands to lose most. Both Andhras and Tamils,

both Mussalmans and Hindus, have been the victims at the hands of the rioters, and the loss in property alone goes up to several crores. And the loss of life, if a real count is taken, will extend to thousands more. Anyhow, the actual sufferers have been computed, according to the latest report, at tens of thousands. Therefore, I submit that the question is a very serious one affecting the vital interests of Madrasis settled in Burma and their property. It is therefore that I make this appeal to the Premier, and I feel sure that he with the earnestness and zeal with which he has taken up the question already will certainly take up this resolution and see that a proper committee is nominated to go into the entire question, study the whole thing and find out ways and means for the proper solution of this problem."

DIWAN BAHADUR A. APPADURAI PILLAI:—" Mr. Speaker, Sir, I wish to associate myself with the sentiments expressed by the previous speakers, and in doing so, I should like to draw the attention of the House to one or two points connected with the Burma Indians. Indians and Burmans lived together as a single unit in their relationships towards each other until the separation of Burma. Ever since the annexation of Burma, India has been playing a very prominent part in the development and progress of that country. Before the separation of Burma recently, the Indians in Burma had very great doubts as to their safety and continued prosperity in that country. A deputation of Indians in Burma came over to Madras seeking to start a small agitation on their behalf to protest against the separation of Burma as an independent province. Sir, it had not been possible for them to make out a case, but what they apprehended a few years ago has come to pass. On a very flimsy excuse, Sir, the Burmans have risen against Indians. In doing so, they made no difference whatsoever between caste and creed, they attacked all Indians alike, Muslim or Hindu. But, Sir, the reports in the papers show that the Indians have behaved very nobly and that there has not been a single Burman killed, which proves beyond doubt that the Indians had behaved with considerable restraint. Of about 100 Indians killed, we find that over 80 per cent are Muslims. Whatever may be the percentage, Sir, the fact is there that Indians have been able to exercise considerable self-restraint as they generally do all over the world.

4-30 p.m. " Sir, it must be said to their credit, that the Burmese Government are keenly alive to the gravity of the situation. That is demonstrated by the fact that they have kept a very close watch over the matters published in the newspapers that have been circulating false rumours about the conduct of Indians. Sir, we find from the reports that two prominent Burmese papers have been proscribed and the editors have been punished with various terms of imprisonment for the offence of spreading false rumours about Indians. It is hoped, Sir, that for the mutual

benefit of both Indians and Burmans, the Burma Government will continue their activities in this direction and restore peace and order at no distant date.

" It is also a matter for satisfaction that the Government of India are alive to the need for an early settlement of this trouble. I find that Sir Bajpai has issued a statement in the press about the various steps that the Government of India have taken to obtain detailed particulars of the incident in order to enable them to assess the present situation properly and take such remedial measures as the circumstances may dictate. Sir, it is also a matter for congratulation that the Local Government have taken necessary action in the matter. Reports have been called for and replies have been received and read out to the hon. Members the other day. These activities show that our Government are quite alive to the needs of the situation and that our Premier would leave no stone unturned to see that peace and order are restored. Sir, if we have been benefited to a considerable extent in the matter of the employment of labour, Burma also has got to remember that what she is to-day is largely due to the Indian labour. Not only that, Sir, in point of commerce Burma has benefited considerably as compared with India. We have been taking their silks, their oil, their rice and their teak. A great deal of money has flowed from India to Burma. If Burma ever remembers with gratitude the contribution made by India towards her welfare, I should think, Sir, that Burmans would soon get their senses back and treat Indians as their brethren. With these few words, I heartily support the resolution."

* MR. M. AHMED BADSHA :—" Sir, I have great pleasure in associating myself with the resolution that has been moved by my hon. Friend, Mr. Abdul Hameed Khan. I should certainly not have spoken but for the fact that there is some feeling, at least among the Muslim community in Madras, that our Government has not been sufficiently strong in its protests to the Government of India in order to interfere in this matter. Sir, I may be excused for being frank in this matter and allowed to voice the feelings of the Muslim community at the back of their mind that the problem has not been sufficiently brought forward before the Government of India. The statement made by the Hon. Minister yesterday should have allayed the feelings of those people, but it has not done so. The Hon. the Prime Minister pointed out the difficulties in his way in the same manner as the Imperial Government very often points out or brings forward arguments when the question of Indians abroad is taken up. They put forward the stereotyped argument that it is an Imperial question and that it could be tackled only by the Government of His Majesty. It is very easy to give forth arguments of that type, but I would humbly request the Hon. the Premier to consider the

responsibilities that he has undertaken for the protection of the interests of the minorities.

"Sir, I quite remember a very impressive and a very beautiful speech of his made in the Congress House just on the eve of taking charge of his office as the Premier of this province on the question of minorities that had come before the Governor and himself. On that occasion Mr. Tandon was there and the hon. Mr. Yakub Hasan was sitting on the dais and I was one of the humble listeners. The Hon. the Premier put forward a very important argument. He said: 'Are the Europeans coming from a distance of over 6,000 miles going to be the custodians of the Muslim minorities in India? Are we not, people that have been brought up for hundreds and thousands of years as brethren in the same country and who have lived side by side with each other, competent to protect the interests of the minorities? The insistence of the Government, therefore, that they should be allowed to interfere in the matter of the minorities is wrong.' This argument of the Hon. the Premier went home to me and I agreed with him on that date. Since then, many changes have taken place; he has taken charge of the Premiership. Now I may remind the House sorrowfully of another speech of his in which he said that he was the lion in power and we, the Muslims, were the lambs. He said that he was approaching the lamb, and the lamb, naturally frightened, went over and he could not help it. Sir, if we are the lambs, certainly we must be frightened."

* THE HON. MR. C. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR:—"Sir, I would be doing grave injustice to myself if I should be silently hearing the so-called speech of mine which I never made."

MR. M. AHMED BADSHA:—"Sir, I was referring to the speech of the Hon. the Prime Minister reported in the *Madras Mail* as delivered at Chittoor."

* MR. SPEAKER:—"I suppose the hon. Member accepts the version now given by the Premier."

MR. M. AHMED BADSHA:—"Sir, I may be given permission to quote the speech on a future occasion."

* MR. SPEAKER:—"Does not the hon. Member accept the statement made by the Prime Minister that he never made such a speech? Does he still insist that the newspaper report is accurate?"

MR. M. AHMED BADSHA:—"Other papers also have reported that speech."

* THE HON. MR. C. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR:—"Sir, it is difficult for me to make out whether the hon. Member was himself listening to that speech or whether he is quoting from a report. All that I heard was that he was giving out the speech as mine

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and I say that I could not possibly have pronounced such sentiments. It is a mistake wherever it is found. I could not have expressed such an opinion. Even if it be found in the *Madras Mail* I could not accept that statement."

MR. M. AHMED BADSHA:—"I take the Hon. the Prime Minister's assurance, Sir. Whatever may be the justification for it, I may be permitted to say, Sir . . ."

THE HON. MR. C. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR:—"There is no justification, Sir, I plead. I deny that I made such a statement."

MR. ABDUL HAMEED KHAN (sitting):—"The speech is withdrawn."

THE HON. MR. C. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR:—"I strongly object, Sir, and I appeal to you. Is it right for the hon. Member, Mr. Abdul Hameed Khan, to sit down and say that the speech is *withdrawn* when I have been repeatedly saying that the speech was *never made*. Is it not an offensive remark? I did not make such a speech."

MR. M. AHMED BADSHA:—"The effect is the same."

* MR. SPEAKER:—"I think the hon. Member, Mr. Abdul Hameed Khan, was entirely out of order when he said that the speech was withdrawn when no such speech was made. He should note the distinction."

MR. M. AHMED BADSHA:—"Then I come to the point, Sir. The point that I was making was about the interests of the minorities in the hands of the Government. When those interests are in the hands of the Hon. the Premier, I appeal to him earnestly, in the spirit in which the first speech that I heard and which I appreciated before he assumed office, was made, to extend it. No doubt the argument can be brought forward at this stage that it was a matter not entirely in the hands of the Madras Government. I quite agree. But the only grievance that we feel and have in the matter is that the matter has not been brought forward with sufficient strength so as to bring pressure upon the Government of India to take it up seriously with the Government of Burma.

"Sir, as the report says, the sufferers are greater in number among the Muslims and naturally they feel that the apathetic attitude of the Madras Government must be due to the fact that the persons suffering are members of the minority communities. (Voices: 'No, no.')

"Sir, I find that an attempt has been made to trace the present troubles to communal considerations. But the fact seems to be that there have been recurrences of such events in Burma even in the past when the sufferers have been largely the Nattukottai Chettiyars. Sir, it is the Nattukottai community and the Indian

labour that has been contributing to the development of Burma. Burmese forests and the raw products require Indian labour and capital of the Chettiyar community to work them and give profits. Therefore the development of the raw products is to the mutual advantage of the Indians and the Burmans. Burma has to depend upon the technical skill and ability of the Indian labourer and at the same time upon the capital that has to flow from this country for the development of her resources. Burma has been enabled to achieve an independent status and separation from the Indian Empire by virtue of the advance she has made with the help and co-operation of Indian labour and capital. Therefore, Sir, I hope that this Government will not leave any stone unturned in bringing forward this question of Burma before the Government of India and insisting upon its intervention immediately to bring about communal accord and peace in that country."

4-45 p.m.

* Mr. T. T. KRISHNAMACHARIAR:—" Mr. Speaker, Sir, on behalf of the South Indian commercial community, I wish to support this resolution before the House. I am afraid I cannot say in the usual manner that I wish to associate myself with all that was said by the previous speakers. It is a little unfortunate that in a matter like this resolution which ought to represent the unanimous opinion of the Presidency, acrimony has been imported. I can appreciate the position of the Madras Government, who are not in a position to bring pressure directly to bear upon the Government of Burma except by means of persuasion. It is one of the penalties we have to pay for the Federation. And if the Government of India is not alert enough to respond to our requests, it is unfortunate. I am sure the Government of Madras are fully aware of the interests of the several communities in South India that are involved in Burma. Nattukkottai Chetti bankers, petty traders, Muslims and Hindus, clerks, mainly from South India, and Andhra and Tamil labourers are all of them people whose interests should be dear and near so far as Madras Government is concerned. There is no object in my reiterating here what has been said by the previous speakers or in recapitulating all that has happened in Burma. Things that have happened are now matters of history. But I feel assured that the Government of Madras is doing, and will do all that they can in this matter. I wish to join as a member of the Indian commercial community in the support of this resolution."

* Mr. J. NUTTALL:—" Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would like to add the support of the European group to this resolution that has been proposed by Mr. Hamid Khan. We watch with considerable concern, Sir, any disturbances that may occur whether it is in this country or elsewhere and when those who are affected are so closely connected with South India, we cannot fail to feel concern for them and we hope that this resolution if it is passed by

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this House, which I hope will be unanimously, will have its effect in Burma to which we have to look for assistance at the present time for relieving the considerable distress and suffering that is taking place. I have great pleasure to accord my support to this resolution."

* KHAN BAHADUR MAHMUD SCHAMNAD SAHIB BAHADUR:—" It is a great pity there is recrudescence of the riots in Burma. It is a misfortune that several people from my part of the country had to go and settle there and a few of them have come back, bringing the tale of suffering that is going on in Burma and the accounts they give are staggering. It is not only the Muhammadans but several others also have suffered. I may tell you, Sir, that the Indians have been contributing to the development of Burma not only after the annexation of Burma but even long before. The development and improvement of Burma is largely attributable to the enterprising spirit of the Indians. They have invested large sums of money in industrial concerns, agriculture, business and so forth. Not only that; even the religion of the Burmese has had its origin in India, and yet they hate Indians. I think, Sir, this is due to the instigation of some political exploiters for some ulterior political motive. It is a misfortune, Sir, that we have not yet attained sufficient political independence to enable us to deal with the Burma Government directly and efficiently, and we have not got even full provincial autonomy which will have enabled us to deal with Burma in a more effective and direct manner. Moreover, Sir, the policy of the present Government is pledged to non-violence and even if we had political independence, I think they would make use of it only in extreme cases. In any case they have now to use non-violent means before doing anything else. Therefore, Sir, we hope that the Burmans will remember all that we have done for Burma, for the improvement, development and prosperity of that country. I support the resolution with all my heart."

* KUMARARAJA MUTHIAH CHETTIYAR OF CHETTINAD:—" Mr. Speaker, Sir, I wish to join in this resolution and give my support to what has been so ably moved, seconded and supported and elaborately dealt with by my predecessors. I am glad that an hon. Member of the Government has had personal experience of Burma. I mean Mr. Murthi who has been in Burma and who has been able to tell this House from his personal experiences. Sir, on an occasion like this when we all feel much concern about the welfare of our brethren in Burma, a resolution of this nature that we may pass in this House serves a double purpose: a resolution to express our concern, our anxiety about the welfare of our brethren there and also for peace in the future. It is in that spirit that this resolution is moved and I have no doubt that this will be accepted in that spirit by this House and also received in the same manner in Burma, when it goes over there. Mr. Speaker, Sir, within the last 10 years, Burma has witnessed

a serious tension, resulting in an appalling loss of life and property. The actual figures are not yet available and the Hon. Premier in reply to a short notice question of mine said that he had not been able to get the information and he hoped to get it. Sir, till we get the official information, whatever we say here is subject to correction, but from the reports that have appeared in the press so far, one can see that there has been considerable loss of life and property and that the position of Indians in Burma has been rather very precarious in the last three weeks. There has been wanton destruction of life and property. During the last two weeks, about 350 refugees have arrived here and their accounts confirm the reports. The whole trouble seems to have started on the publication or republication of a pamphlet or book which is said to have offended the religious susceptibilities of Burmese Buddhists. While we are very sorry that their feelings were provoked and hurt, we also feel that the remedy for the indiscretion committed by an individual should not be found in the worst excess of mob rule. Rangoon the seat of the Government was powerless to afford protection to its inhabitants and save them from the fury of the fanatics. While such was the case in Rangoon, we can easily imagine the position in the outlying and interior villages where the police force and other forces are not so much to be found as in towns and where the Indians are only few and scattered amongst a large Burmese population. I am afraid, Sir, such disturbances as have happened now have to a great extent damaged the friendly relations that have been existing between the communities and one wonders whether a remote cause is to be found in the fact that there is a steadily growing feeling that Indian property and life could be attacked with impunity. Sir, the sooner it is impressed that life and property are sacred it is better for the communities. It will depend no doubt on the attitude of the Government of India, particularly in view of the separated Burma. The Government of India are supposed to be in charge of the portfolio of the welfare of the Indian nationals abroad. The adoption of a firm and strong attitude in the matter of the protection of Indians in Burma will greatly help not merely in removing the bad feeling but also the creation and maintenance of a better understanding between the communities. I think when an emergency of this character arises in foreign countries and our brethren are subjected to brutal treatment, the Government of India as well as the Provincial Governments should put their heads together and send a mission to the spot in any possible manner not only restore confidence in the minds of the distressed brethren but also to impress upon the conflicting elements that the legitimate interest of the Indians should not be trampled under foot. I say this in no spirit of complaint; I say this only with the main object of the protection of nationals abroad. It should not be understood by this House that

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it is mainly a concern of the Viceroy and the Government of India. Hon. Members will understand that the welfare of many people in this part of the country is intimately connected with the welfare of their relations and brethren working in foreign countries. That being the case, the Provincial Government are also concerned in the question of the welfare of the nationals abroad. The reason why it has been the portfolio of the Government of India is because Indians in foreign countries hail from several provinces of this country and with the object of better co-ordination the Central Government has been carrying on the work of this portfolio. But it does not mean that the Local Government cannot in any way take interest in the matter. I am glad that the Local Government have taken up the matter. What this House wants is that the Local Government should invtstigate the conditions not only in Burma but also in Ceylon, Malaya and other countries and vigilantly watch the interests of their people in these countries.

" If this is done, when emergencies come it will be possible for 5 p.m.
this Local Government to be in close touch with the other Governments. When I say this, Sir, I mean nothing wrong. Sir, we are all very pleased to see that leading Burmese and Indians in Burma have issued an appeal for peace and it is my fervent hope that the appeal will have the desired effect. But, Sir, this alone will not do. The Government of India will have to make it clear and plain to the Burma Government that they should put down lawlessness at any rate. It is gratifying to note and it is a consolation to know that the Hon. Dr. Ba Maw, the Premier of Burma whose personal acquaintance I have the honour to possess —a very able statesman himself—is trying his best to strengthen the forces of peace. The Premier of Burma is reported to have said that the Burma Government was faced with a difficult and complex problem. It is true, but that does not in any way minimise the responsibility of the Government for easing the situation. That nothing should be left undone to restore peace is our request. I think it is a very mild and reasonable request. I would also say that on this occasion it is the duty of the Burma Government to appoint an impartial and representative committee to go into the causes, both remote and immediate, of the disturbances. This is not the first occasion when there has been tension. Hardly have ten years elapsed before we have had another tension now. The harrowing details of the 1930 riots are still green in our memory. Ways and means of preventing such occurrences and establishing goodwill between Burmans and Indians should be speedily devised. The President of the Indian National Congress has very rightly said, that we Indians cherish feelings of friendship and cordiality and esteem for Burma, for her culture and religion with which we have so much in common. He has rightly added that we Indians expect the Burmans to do justice to the Indian minority,

seeing that Indians have in no small measure contributed to the welfare of the country and that close relationship has existed between them in the past. There is no reason, Sir, why the same relationship in the social and economic sphere should not continue to exist to-day.

" There is one other point, Sir. There are several Indians who have completely made Burma their home and some of them have had now to come here as refugees. I believe the Hon. the Prime Minister will be able to make a statement later on when he has received reports from the officers who have been deputed to meet the refugees. I think it will be found that some at least of the refugees have not been able to find their relations in this country. These Indians have taken life in Burma as a permanent feature of their lives and that being the case, great consideration should be shown to them on these occasions.

" Finally, Sir, let me say a word of appreciation of the efforts that have been made by this Government with all the limitations of provincial autonomy and a separated Burma. I quite appreciate the difficulties. But in an emergency like this, on a serious occasion like this, we all feel that though what has been done has been no doubt good, much remains to be done and much more could be done. In this anxiety of ours, if we say anything with regard to what we expect from the Government, it should not be understood that we do so in a complaining mood.

" Sir, a suggestion was made by an hon. Member in the course of a supplementary question the other day that an officer of this Government might have been deputed to Burma and the Hon. the Prime Minister replied that if an officer had been deputed he would not have commanded the necessary co-operation. That may be, Sir. I earnestly urge upon the Government to think of other alternatives and I am sure other suitable alternatives could be found. There is one serious suggestion I have to make in this connexion with regard to the welfare of the Indian nationals even in normal times. Mostly our brethren have gone over there for business, trade and labour. I believe these subjects come under the portfolio of the Hon. Minister for Industries and Labour. I have therefore no doubt, Sir, that the welfare of our nationals in Burma should be the anxious concern of this Ministry. During normal times, the Minister in charge of Industries and Labour should be deputed on good-will missions to countries like Burma, Ceylon and Malaya so that he may establish personal contacts with Ministers of those Governments there, so that if an emergency arises he would be able to get into touch with the Governments of those places quickly. Even now, I am going to make another serious suggestion, namely, that my Hon. Friend, the Prime Mniister, should see his way to depute my Hon. Friend, Mr. Giri, the Minister in charge of Industries and Labour, to pay a short

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visit to Burma just for a period of ten days. If that is done, it will go a great way. It will not be like the deputation of an officer of the Government. His visit will be welcomed not only by Indians but also by the Burmese Government and the Burmese people. He would be in a position to turn his visit into a good-will mission and he will be able to restore confidence in the minds of the distressed people there and the people here who are interested in the welfare of the people there. The visit will not be an inquisitorial visit but a good-will mission and I have no doubt . . . (Interruption) I hear the Hon. the Prime Minister say that he would like me to go. I perfectly agree with him if that suggestion is possible. I can go of my own accord, because I have business connexions there. . . (Interruption). I am very happy to hear again from the Prime Minister that I am to go on his behalf and I may say that nothing will give me greater pleasure than to do so. (Applause.) A command like this from the Government of the day to do some service to the country and for the Indian nationals abroad is to be taken cheerfully. At the same time, I would impress upon him that a person more qualified than myself, my Hon. Friend Mr. Giri, who has great experience of labour conditions and who has many personal friends in Burma, would be able to do much greater service in this connexion. I have no objection to go, but I am perfectly certain in my mind that my Hon. Friend Mr. Giri would be the best person to go in this connexion. I would request the Government to consider the suggestion seriously.

" Finally, Sir, the resolution which has been moved if accepted by House will be an expression of the grave feelings of the people of this country, of how they deplore the recent riots and disturbances and how they wish the people inhabiting Burma to live in peace and amity. It is in this hope that this resolution will be passed. I sincerely trust that the Government of Burma and all the communities in Burma will receive this resolution in the spirit in which it has been moved and will be passed to-day."

*THE HON. MR. T. PRAKASAM:—" Sir, I should not have risen to speak and should have left it entirely to our Leader the Prime Minister himself, but having had some experience of this country some years ago and known the Burmese people and the Indians of all communities from one end of Burma to the other, I thought I should say a few words on this occasion. I have been a guest of almost all the communities all over Burma including the Shan States. I have known them so intimately in their business, agriculture, trade and commerce. I have known the Mussalman friends who have settled down there as well as the Hindus, the Christians and the other communities who are doing very vast business there. They have been domiciled in that country and they have made it their home. Some of them, as the Hon. the Leader of the Opposition put it, have forgotten altogether their houses and villages in India. Whenever these riots occur, it

might look as though the whole of the Burmese people had been against the Indians. It is not so. The Burmese people are very good people who would not ordinarily interfere with others. The *badmash* element in any part of the country, however small it might be, would be sufficient to start the fire and then carry it on until the whole country has been burnt to ashes. Not only in Burma, but in any part of the world, that is what we have been seeing all along. In this particular case, I do not believe that the Burmese people as a whole could be charged with anything. It is the *badmash* element that started it. How it started has been stated by the Prime Minister. When the trouble started it was the duty of the Government to have put all the forces at their command on the scene with a view to prevent this massacre, this butchery even in broad daylight. It is there, the responsibility of the Government comes in; whether it is the Burmese Government or the Madras Government or the Government of India, it makes no difference whatever. If any Government failed in that respect to do all that is necessary to prevent murder immediately that Government would be failing in its duty. There is no question of minority so far as the Madras Presidency, so far as India is concerned, with regard to this, the greatest distress that has overtaken our people, and when we have to face such a distress it is rather painful to hear from some of the hon. Members references to minorities, references to this community or that community. This is an occasion on which we should have forgotten everything of communities if we had had anything of that in the past. This is an occasion on which we should all be brought together, feel and think and move and act together so far as the sufferings of our people are concerned. What did it matter whether it was the Muhammadans who were attacked or the Hindu who were attacked, or the Christians who were attacked or any other people who were attacked? It was a common attack. We should take the lesson from this wretched occurrence that we should become strong and move together and act together on all such occasions.

5-15 p.m. "I would like to say one word to the Government of Burma. The Government of Burma is in the hands of Ministers to-day; it should understand that the Madras Government is in the hands of Ministers who are responsible to the people of this Province. The Government of Burma should realise that the relationship between Burma as it is to-day and the people of this Province, is not the same as it was in the past. Although we are separated, the Burmese Government must realise that the separation was not intended and should not be calculated to widen the gulf. On the other hand, the separation must give greater strength to that country as well as to this country. The question of nationals in any country is of the greatest importance for the Government functioning in that country. If one man was murdered or if one woman was murdered anywhere, in any part of the world, the concerned Government should take it up and should feel as

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if the whole nation had been attacked generally speaking. We are here living on this side of the sea while Burma is on the other side; it is the sea that separates us. That such things should have happened and that we should be sitting on this side helpless, is rather a tragedy. The provincial Government of Madras, however much it has no control over this matter, is not a Government which should be considered as powerless by the Burma Government. We are on an equal footing now. Our relations with regard to trade and business have been already referred to by the hon. Member Mr. Appadurai Pillai briefly. It should not be forgotten that we are bound to-day by trade and commerce and so many other things, even though on the map Burma is separated from India. Keeping that in view, it will be the duty of the Burma Government to see that such occurrences do not take place in the future at least. As regards the past, it is a thing which cannot be repaired immediately. One hon. Member was speaking so much and so vehemently against the head of this Government, suggesting thereby that all that was possible was not done and also suggesting, as it were, that there was some neglect here. Far from that, the hon. Member ought to have known that immediately necessary action was taken and every possible step was taken by the head of the Government and by this Government as a whole from the very first day. What is it that could possibly be done with regard to what had already happened? It could not be removed straightaway from here; we had to attend to those who had been coming here and at the same time to endeavour to do something to prevent a recurrence of the trouble. I submit, that this Government is not helpless; the people of this province are not helpless either. We do hope that all necessary steps will be taken by the Government of Burma to bring peace and consolation to all the sufferers. It is not creditable to any Government that so many murders and so many massacres should have taken place; and it would be their duty to do everything that is necessary to remedy the evil. This is not a matter relating to emigration of coolies. The coolie population of our province are going to Burma, Ceylon and to Malay States and other countries in order to develop those countries just for the sake of earning a few annas for their everyday livelihood. It is not good for our Provincial Government or for the Government of India or any Government for that matter in the whole of India to-day; it should be our duty to see that migration of the coolie population is stopped as early as possible. Times have changed; the Burmese people have begun to feel that foreigners should not go there even for coolie work. In the past, they came into conflict on account of rivalry between the Burmese coolies and the Indian coolies. The Indian coolies, wretched as they have been, had to go for work in other countries for even lower wages than what they got locally. It was a great misfortune, and we should see to it that they are prevented from going over there and they are enabled to earn their livelihood in our own country, as far as possible. This is not a matter confined to

the coolie population alone, whether from the Andhra country, the Tamil country, Malabar or South Kanara. I have seen people of all these four linguistic areas of this province in every nook and corner of Burma, spread in every department of life. It is these people who have left their homes that are in serious danger now. The Provincial Government of Burma should also note that the protection of nationals is of the greatest consequence to us here in the same way as it is for them to see that their nationals in this province or in India generally are protected. If they only feel like that, I am sure such things would not happen in the future. We should all support this resolution in the hope that it would produce the desired effect.

"As regards the proposal made by the Hon. the Leader of the Opposition that the Minister for Industries should be deputed to go over to Burma, I leave it to the Hon. the Leader of the House."

* THE HON. MR. C. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR:—"Sir, it is an indication of the amount of feeling in the country that so much time and attention have been given to this resolution. The magnitude of the slaughter that was perpetrated in Rangoon and in the districts of Burma is fairly indicated by the fact that the Government of Burma have yet been unable to give us a casualty list which this Government pressed for, the very moment that news came here over the wires. It is quite obvious that there was a terrible holocaust. It is quite obvious that bodies were picked up and carried to the cemetery without any enquiry being made, without its being possible for any enquiry being made. But it is unnecessary, Sir, to anticipate. I have no doubt that when the events have been fully investigated into and we have a report, we shall have something terrible. But we must, even in the midst of this, tender our congratulations to the Government of Burma, that the frenzy was stopped at least after a few days. It is quite possible, seeing sometimes how things developed in that country on former occasions, that the position could have been even worse. We must congratulate ourselves and the Government of that province that so far at least, things have been brought under control. Still, the reports that we receive and the stories that we have heard from the refugees show that a large, a very large number of destitute people are wandering in Rangoon and that the toll of crime was very very great, both in respect of property and in respect of human life. It is wrong to anticipate the results of any enquiry that is to be made. It is easy to guess, because we are all students of human nature, and we know the causes operating in that country. We know the conflict of motives and interests, and we can easily guess. There is enough material for us to know that there is continual ill-will generated and anything can set fire to the magazine that is ready to explode. In that way, any immediate cause that may be found, upon enquiry, to have brought this about might serve to show the last cause, and further enquiries might show the chronic

causes also. But it is not necessary for us to anticipate these enquiries by guesses and conjectures according to our inclinations and individual bias. Some might be inclined to attribute the whole thing to the constant conflict between Burmans and Indians and to the desire to turn the Indians out of Burma. Some might attribute it to the dangers of attacks on religious feelings. Some might attribute it to folly; others might attribute it to want of proper administration on the part of the Government. And perhaps, some might also attribute it to the present Premier of the present Government of Madras. This is individual bias; but on a solemn occasion like this, it is hardly necessary, Sir, to try to make any politics out of this. I did not expect what came from the mouth of the hon. Member from North Arcot; I did not expect the line that he took; but I think that besides this passing comment on my part, I had better leave it altogether aside. We are one and united in this matter of expression of our feelings, and in our expectations on the part of the Governments of India and of Burma; and the Government of Madras which has, I respectfully submit, done what it could be expected to do under the circumstances, is prepared to carry on and carry forward along the lines suggested in this resolution. Having taken already, on behalf of Government, action in the matter, I purposely refrain from diluting this spontaneous expression of opinion on the part of this House—which chanced to be sitting at the time we got this news—with any comments or criticisms on the part of the Government, except to say now that we fully and wholeheartedly accept the recommendation of this House. The demands made here are such as cannot be set aside by the Government of India lightly, as a mere recommendatory resolution. The demands confirm what we have already demanded on behalf of the Government before this House took up this matter. And therefore, the House may expect that something tangible will result.

5-30 p.m

"The question whether we should have more permanent arrangements for preventing such mishaps will certainly be one of the good things resulting from an examination of such an unfortunate occurrence. The House is aware that the Government of India will have from now an Agent in Burma, as there is an Agent in the other outlying Dominions, such as South Africa. The Agent, however, can do little, unless he is backed by a powerful Government and a sympathetic, quick and an alert Government behind him. The Government of Madras, though constitutionally it is not the principal for the Agent, will, I may assure the House act to all intents and purposes, as the principal of the Agent through the Government of India.

"As for immediate action to be taken, I do hope, Sir, one day we shall be able to keep a few quick transports and means of communication, which would take officers and representatives from this Province, straight on to the scene of riots and disturbances in

Burma and enable us to tender advice to the Government responsible for peace and order there on behalf of the sufferers hailing from this country. To-day, however, our resources are limited, though our desires are unlimited. Let us hope that we shall be enabled by the House to act strongly and not in hesitancy, not knowing what the House wants us to do or what it may approve or not approve.

" So far as the generous, quick and useful suggestion that came from the Leader of the Opposition that one of our colleagues should immediately rush to the scene, it is a very good idea and it will be given deep thought; though it may not help the quick quelling of a riot it may help to heal the more chronic wounds and I add my own suggestion that the Leader of the Opposition should consider himself for purposes like these as handy an instrument as any member sitting on this side, for the deep thought of friends opposite. It is by such strange co-operation as perhaps it may seem in the present phase of party Government, but quite natural to the genius of India—it is by such co-operation that perhaps we may make an impression upon the people and the Government of Burma. Apart from expressing our feelings of great sorrow, almost amounting to wrath, at things that have happened in Burma, we must not do injustice to a sister Government. Let me plead on behalf of the Government of Burma, that it is not easy to quell a riot, taken up by the Burmans, for people who have lived in Burma and who have gone to Burma know what a Burmese riot is.

(At this stage Rao Bahadur Sir A. T. Pannir Selvam occupied the Chair.)

" People who have experienced the difficulties of quelling a riot based upon a religious rumour or book or story or even a fancy, which spreads itself over the wireless all over a vast province, into the jungle and into the villages, will know that it is not an easy thing to quell. Let us not, therefore, say anything carping at the fact that the Burma Government was not able to stop it within a few hours. It is time when we receive the reports, it is time when we receive all the facts that will be placed before a proper tribunal or Committee or Commission, whatever it may be, it is time then for us to sit and apportion the blame as between the Government and the people or between the departments or between one set of people and another set of people. At present, it should be our duty to express our sympathy with the sufferers, our sympathy with those who have been killed and who have been rendered destitute—of all their possessions in many cases—in the terrible distress that they must have gone through, with those who have been victims, with those who have lost their properties. It is nothing strange that some people have actually gone mad—such things occur whenever such events occur. It is our duty to express our sympathy with those and our sympathy even for the Govern-

must be feeling keenly for all this and our readiness to help and co-operate in every endeavour that may be made by that Government to give immediate relief as well as find permanent remedies for this state of affairs. The Government, Sir, accepts this resolution and promises to do all that is necessary to give effect to the resolution." (Applause.)

The resolution was put and carried.

(2) STOPPAGE OF THE ALLEGED REPRESSIVE POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENT AGAINST ANTI-HINDI PROPAGANDISTS.

MR. ABDUL HAMEED KHAN: — "Sir, I move the resolution that stands in my name, namely:—

> '*This Assembly recommends to the Government to stop its policy of repression against persons who take part in the anti-Hindi agitation.*'

"Sir, to consider this resolution, soon after the one that has just been passed with regard to the serious situation that is taking place in Burma, is certainly a fair trial. My object in giving notice of this resolution to be considered by this House is to suggest to the Government of Madras to stop the repressive policy that they have been adopting against those fellow countrymen of ours, who have been opposing the compulsory introduction of Hindi or Hindustani, whatever it is called, in the schools in this Presidency. Sir, the Government of Madras, it is true, included a certain amount of money for expenditure on this proposal, during this year, and the budget including that amount was passed by this very House. On that account, I understand that the Hon. the Premier believes that it is his duty as the Leader of the House—not only as the Leader of the House, but as the Premier of Madras—to give effect to the decision of this House. Sir, I might on this occasion, tell the Hon. Premier that what this House has done in this respect is not very different from what it did in giving a vote for a further sum to be made use of by the Hon. the Speaker for his tour in Europe. It is not absolutely necessary on that account for the Hon. the Premier to say that his hands are tied and that he is bound to give effect to the decision of this Legislature, in compulsorily introducing Hindi or Hindustani in some of the high schools in this Province. Sir, I would ask the Hon. the Premier, apart from his desire to introduce a common language in this Presidency which will be useful to the people at a later date in dealing with their fellow countrymen in other parts of the country, particularly in Northern India,—apart from that question, I would like to ask him most respectfully whether it is not his duty to consider the views expressed by a section of the people in this Presidency, however small it may be. I am sure he will not come forward and say

that the people who are opposing the compulsory introduction of Hindustani into the schools are small in numbers and these people who are opposing the compulsory introduction of this language are not so much against this language, but that they are in opposition to the party itself. Sir, that may be the argument that may possibly be advanced by the Hon. the Premier in support of the stand that he has taken with regard to this thorny question. But the fact remains that the volume of opposition that has gathered against the compulsory introduction of this language has increased considerably. That fact cannot be denied. Not only in the City of Madras, but throughout the Presidency, and much more so, in the Tamil Nadu, opposition has become more voluminous, and it has been gaining ground.

5-45 p. m.

(At this stage Mr. Speaker resumed the Chair.)

"If any proof was wanting, there was sufficient proof given in the meetings that were held on the beach in recent times by those gentlemen who took the opposite view. Very largely attended meetings were held, and those meetings were carried on very peacefully, and for a long time. I did not attend any one of those meetings, but while I was passing along the Marina as late as 9 a.m. (laughter)—I am sorry, 9 p.m.—on the day, perhaps on which the first meeting was held, although it was raining heavily, I saw hundreds and thousands of people assembled at that meeting, and that meeting was going on peacefully. That shows that there is a considerable amount of feeling against this proposal, and that means that there are a large number of people who are opposed to Government's view. We have to take notice of that opposition. If we cannot take notice of that opposition it means that we are not concerned with public opinion. Public opinion expressed on the eve of election or at the time of election is not the only opinion that deserves consideration, but public opinion expressed at all times deserves the same consideration. That is, public opinion expressed at all times deserves the same consideration even as public opinion expressed either at the time of general election or by means of votes at bye-elections is considered valuable. Therefore at any time, when any public opinion is expressed with a certain amount of volume, it is the duty of Government, and much more so of that Government which regards itself as a national Government, to give heed to that opinion, which is expressed by a large number of people. You cannot brush aside the opinion that is expressed by a large number of people. For there must be something in that opinion; you have to consider, whether you should regard that opinion as useful or valuable and which should be given heed. Sir, it may be said, as I have already stated, that the agitation that is carried on against this proposal of the Government is carried on by the enemies of Government, by people who want to supplant this Government and take

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their place after this Government is defeated. That is certainly a matter which has to be investigated. Perhaps it may be true; even if it is true, is it not the duty of this Government which is responsible to those persons who have given votes to the party to which this Government belong, and who have thus made it possible for their party to come into office and establish this Government, to give heed to the opinion of those who are in support of it? They are governing not in the interests of Congress people alone. Having come into power, I say, it is their duty to take into account opinions expressed by any party or by any section of people.

" Sir, after all, with regard to the question of the introduction of Hindi or Hindustani, I know, the Hon. Premier has told us through his speeches at other places, that although Hindustani is introduced as a compulsory language in the schools, it would not be really compulsory, because it will not be taken into account at the time of examination, that is, if a student fails in the Hindustani language, his promotion will not be stopped. To that extent, the compulsory aspect of the question is minimized. When that can be done, I wish to ask, 'What is the loss if the Hon. the Premier takes away that compulsory aspect altogether?' There is feeling against that qualifying word. What exactly is lost by so doing? Well, he might give heed to the opinion and agree to take away the compulsory aspect for a time, and if the Hon. Premier takes away that compulsory aspect at the present moment, I suppose a time will come when the people themselves of their own accord may ask for compulsion. When they ask for compulsion, we may declare compulsion and make the language compulsory in the schools. After all, when we introduce any reform, we have to be very cautious. We have seen how the Hon. Minister for Public Health declared the other day that Government want to be very cautious in introducing new proposals, or for the matter of that any change in the administration. When they say that, I know they mean that they should not take a leap in the dark. I know the Hon. Premier is always very cautious. I know he always errs on the side of caution rather than on the side of persistence. But in this case, I fail to see, why he persists. Gentlemen who are fond of Tamil language, gentlemen who are anxious to keep Tamil language and see that it is not killed, gentlemen who want to see that that language is not adversely affected, are anxious that the Hindi language should not be made compulsory. When they say so, I believe they are honest; I believe they are sincere in what they say; and hence I believe the Hon. Premier should take that aspect of the question into account and take away the compulsory aspect altogther. Sir, this is so far as the compulsory side of the question is concerned.

" Sir, a certain number of our countrymen, when they agitated against this by means of petitions and by means of meetings, found that these things had no effect upon the Hon. Premier, and so some of them resorted to picketing. I must condemn all that some of them had done while they loitered in front of the Premier's house shouting very objectionable slogans. They have, in my opinion, committed a wrong. It is certainly wrong for any person to go and stand opposite another's house, much less the house of a Member of Government, and shout and create disturbance and even to cry objectionable slogans. Certainly it is most objectionable. I certainly do not agree with those picketers who resorted to this sort of picketing and shouting slogans. But, for the offence they have committed in this manner, is it necessary, is it desirable, or is it right for a national Government to put these people down by having them arrested under a law, which has been condemned by themselves, which is to say the least lawless law, the most objectionable of the laws of the country—a law which ought to have been removed from the Statute Book long ago. The moment the Congress Government came into power, it should have been taken out of the Statute Book; but it has been allowed to remain, perhaps to be used against these very innocent persons. Sir, this law has been condemned from time to time, by Congressmen who were carrying on agitation against Government on the lines of Non-co-operation and picketing. Hon. Members belonging to the Congress Party and the Nationalist Party were opposed to the introduction of this law in the Central Legislature; they wanted it to be cancelled, for it was considered a satanic law, a lawless law. It is very unfortunate that that very satanic law has now become the law of the saint, the law of the angel; it has become an angelic law in the hands of the Congress Government, to be used against petty agitators. Petty agitators, I say, because they are merely a handful of persons picketing in front of the house of the Hon. the Premier or in front of a school where Hindi language has been introduced as a compulsory language. I know the Hon. Premier is a non-violent gentleman. If there is any gentleman who believes in non-violence to the extreme extent, it is my Hon. Friend, the Premier. He would not hurt even an ant that passes before him; he would not hurt anybody; he would avoid doing harm to anybody; and at the same time he would be tolerant to any amount of offence done to him. And I cannot understand how such a change came over such a gentleman the moment he assumed office. Now he cannot stand the sight of a batch of people standing in front of his house and shouting slogans. I know his ears were of such a nature that no noise could disturb his equanimity or upset his equilibrium of mind. The moment he has become the Minister, he cannot stand people loitering in front of his house and shouting. [The Hon. Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar: ' I have shown tolerance towards you

now so long.' (Laughter.)] My hon. Friend cannot but be tolerant, I know; because there is the Speaker there to protect me. (Laughter.) (Rao Bahadur Sir A. T. Pannir Selvam: 'Hear, hear.') Perhaps if the Hon. Premier had not changed his tolerence this thing would not have happened. I am sure if he had overlooked this agitation, if he had not taken any notice of this agitation, perhaps the picketers would have stopped it themselves when they find that nobody was taking any notice of them. You know, the moment you use oppression against any agitation, that agitation grows in volume, grows in quality and grows in seriousness. I am afraid it is the Hon. Premier, who is to a very large extent responsible for the volume of agitation that is going on in this Presidency. If it had not been taken notice of, I am sure it might have lost its importance, and the agitation would never have assumed the voluminous proportion it has now done. I do not know whether the Hon. the Premier believes that the noise which these people make is undesirable. I only wish that the Hon. the Premier leaves his quiet place in Bazlullah Street in Mambalam and takes his residence in China Bazaar Road. Then he would have known what noise is—the hooting of the horns of the several motor cars that pass to and fro, the noise due to running of the tram-cars and added to all these, the noise made by other conveyances and the noisy hawkers. All these noises that are a common affair to the residents in that locality, would certainly have upset the Hon. the Premier. 6 p m

"I only wish that the Hon. the Premier comes forward and says that he is not responsible for the arrests of these people, and that the police who have to do their duty are responsible for the arrests of those gentlemen who were creating disturbance in the street and who were resorting to picketing in front of his house. But that, he cannot do. Because, he is not only the Premier but is also in charge of police. He cannot say that it is against his wish that the police have taken this action. I know that he governs and he is in charge of the police; therefore whatever the police does or does not do, the Hon. the Premier is either indirectly or directly, more indirectly than directly, held answerable. I am told that this agitation is a small agitation but that it is gaining ground. It is not only gaining ground but it is creating communal feeling, and it is creating communal trouble. I submit communal difference is becoming more and more acute on account of the persistence of the Hon. the Premier as well as the persistence of the Hon. the Minister for Education in making the study of Hindi compulsory. Therefore in order to avoid these unfortunate results of compulsory introduction of Hindi and making the question a very large one, and in order to prevent it developing into other questions that will ultimately be responsible for creating a very wide gulf between communities in this Province, I appeal to Hon. the Prime Minister to give up

compulsory introduction of Hindi. Thereby he will not lose anything. Hindi or Hindustani as it is called will be learnt by the people of this Province. They have been learning it. The Hindi Prachar Sabah has been doing this work of teaching people Hindi, and a large number of Hindus are learning this language.

"The Hon. the Premier in one of his speeches said that he was not against the non-Brahmans in compulsorily introducing Hindustani. If he had not made Hindustani compulsory, only the Brahmans will learn it and not the non-Brahmans. But as his desire was that the non-Brahmans also should learn Hindustani, he has made it compulsory."

THE HON. MR. T. PRAKASAM:—"May I request the hon. Member through you, Sir, not to bring in here the question of Brahmans and non-Brahmans. I would request him to avoid that as far as possible, and it is the best thing under the circumstances."

* MR. SPEAKER:—"It is a mere suggestion."

THE HON. MR. T. PRAKASAM:—"Yes."

MR. ABDUL HAMEED KHAN:—"On a point of order, Sir; I know it is a very unfortunate thing that I have to refer to that, because the Hon. the Premier in one of his speeches said —perhaps it was wrongly reported, and I shall be glad to stand corrected—that he was introducing this language compulsorily in the interests of the non-Brahmans. He said so. But now, it is the non-Brahmans that say that they do not want to study that language compulsorily."

THE HON. MR. T. PRAKASAM:—"I must certainly request you, Sir, Mr. Speaker, to advise the hon. Member not to lay stress upon it. Even in one of the Provincial Legislatures—I believe it is in the Punjab—when questions were brought upon communal basis, they were stopped. So I request you not to allow this."

MR. ABDUL HAMEED KHAN:—"It is not my purpose to create a division where it does not exist."

* MR. SPEAKER:—"Is it not desirable to concentrate upon the subject-matter of the resolution?"

RAO BAHADUR SIR A. T. PANNIR SELVAM:—"The question is not of . . ."

* MR. SPEAKER:—"I think Sir Pannir Selvam may leave the matter between myself and the hon. Member, Mr. Hameed Khan."

MR. ABDUL HAMEED KHAN:—"Because it is not a question . . ."

* MR. SPEAKER:—"It is advisable that the hon. Member does not refer to it again."

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MR. ABDUL HAMEED KHAN:—"My respectful submission is that there is no question of creating a division where there is none. The division is there. What I say is 'don't make it worse. It is there, and you cannot deny the fact that it is there. It is growing . . ."

* MR. SPEAKER:—"I think it is time that the hon. Member proceeds to other aspects of the question, because he has already taken a long time."

MR. ABDUL HAMEED KHAN:—"Yes, I shall try to go to some other point that I may have. (Laughter.)

"Sir, so far as the language is concerned, there is another aspect. I am a Mussalman. My second language is Hindustani or Urdu as I would call it."

THE HON. DR. P. SUBBARAYAN:—"Your mother-tongue is Hindustani." (Laughter.)

MR. ABDUL HAMEED KHAN:—"I am thankful to the Hon. Minister for Education. Because he is the Minister for Education, he must correct me (renewed laughter); and I am thankful to him for the correction.

"Sir, I am a Mussalman whose mother-tongue is Hindustani, that is to say, Urdu. There is a misunderstanding so far as our position is concerned in this matter of the language. So far as we are concerned, we the Mussalmans will be called upon to study this language which is called Hindustani in a different script, that is, in the Persian script. Whereas the other communities will be called upon to learn that language in the Devanagari script. Of course, so far as the scripts are concerned, there is a great controversy. It is one of the most difficult things about it. So far as we the Mussalmans are concerned the Hon. the Premier, at a certain stage at the time when we considered the Budget, told us definitely that the language that will be taught will be Hindustani that is being spoken in the streets of Delhi and Lucknow. With that assurance, we were certainly satisfied. But we have not yet seen the books that are said to be prepared by the Madras Government, which will be introduced in those schools. All of us, the Mussalmans, are still awaiting those books. But we are afraid that those books are of such a nature that will not satisfy the Mussalmans. So far as this question is concerned, if we consider that these books are not satisfactory, we will certainly not be a party to the introduction of this language, either compulsorily or voluntarily and its being learned by Urdu-speaking Mussalmans or any other Mussalmans. At present we, as a community, are not joining with those who have been agitating against the compulsory introduction of this language. But when we find that this language is different from the Urdu or Hindustani which is being spoken in the streets of

Delhi and Lucknow, we will swell the numbers of those who are now agitating against the introduction of this language either compulsorily or voluntarily in schools in the Madras Presidency.

"I now move the resolution."

MR. SPEAKER:—"I suppose Mr. Appadurai Pillai is practically withdrawing his motion? Both the resolutions relate to the same question, and when one is decided, either in the affirmative or in the negative, the other does not arise. It cannot be moved again."

DIWAN BAHADUR A. APPADURAI PILLAI:—"May I speak in support of this resolution?"

MR. SPEAKER:—"Yes. You can second the resolution now before the House."

* DIWAN BAHADUR A. APPADURAI PILLAI:—"Sir, I intended to move the resolution that stands in my name, namely,—

*'that this Assembly recommends to the Government that the use of the Criminal Law (Amendment) Act against persons who take part in the anti-Hindi agitation be disapproved.'*

"Since my friend Mr. Abdul Hameed Khan has moved his resolution, and since my resolution covers almost the same ground, I would content myself with seconding the resolution so ably moved by my friend.

"Sir, it is not my purpose to take the House into the history or the origin of this anti-Hindi agitation. Until about the last Budget Session, that is up to March 1938, there was not a whisper about the introduction of Hindi or Hindustani in our schools. It was only in the Hon. the Premier's speech when he presented the Budget for 1938-39 it was stated that among the new schemes of expenditure, provision has been made for the teaching of Hindustani in 125 Secondary schools in the Presidency. That was the first occasion when we came to know anything about Hindustani. This was then followed by a statement in the memorandum of explanations prepared by the Finance Secretary to the effect that provision has been made in the Budget for the introduction and for teaching Hindustani in Government Secondary schools; the same remark was repeated with reference to non-Government schools. In all these, there was no indication that Government have made up their minds to introduce Hindustani either as an optional subject or as a compulsory subject. A number of Members of this hon. House gave notice of cut motions to discuss the policy under 'Education' with reference to the compulsory introduction of Hindi in our schools. There was no regular discussion on it. Unfortunately owing to the temporary abstention on the part of some of the members on this side of the House there was no debate. Though some of the hon. Muslim members

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spoke on that discussion, as also my friend Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari, several other members on this side of the House did not take part in the debate.

"It is not therefore correct to say that the matter was fully threshed out on the floor of the House during the budget session. There was no full dress debate. Nor was there a mandate from the people regarding the advisability of introducing Hindustani teaching. The matter was not placed in the form of a resolution nor was an appeal made to the public to give their sanction for the introduction of this measure. Sir, people came to know of this when the Government selected 125 schools for the introduction of Hindustani teaching. Seeing that Government seriously meant business, people protested as mildly as possible against this innovation. The press and the platform made a great deal of representation against this introduction of Hindustani. Seeing, Sir, that these protests from the press and the platform had not the desired effect, the sympathisers or advocates of the Dravidian literature took it into their heads to follow the method of peaceful picketing and procession. Sir, this peaceful picketing is considered to be in consonance with the orthodox form of agitation. Unfortunately, Sir, this peaceful picketing came to be viewed with displeasure, apparently due to unforeseen excesses on the part of some of the picketers. If, as Mr. Abdul Hameed Khan stated, the picketers transgressed their limits; if the processionists transgressed their line of demarcation and propriety, the ordinary law was open to Government to proceed against the malefactors. Unfortunately, at an ill-fated moment, the Government thought of stifling the agitation and nipping it in the bud by the application of the Criminal Law (Amendment) Act. That leads us to the real point in this resolution. 6-15 p.m.

"The Criminal Law (Amendment) Act, as this hon. House knows, has acquired an evil reputation. It has been condemned as a pernicious piece of legislation which should be scrapped from the Statute Book at the earliest opportunity. If I am not wasting your time and the time of this hon. House, may I just refer very briefly to a few adverse remarks made by the hon. Members of the Central Legislative Assembly at the time this Bill was on the legislative anvil. Mr. B. Sitarama Raju characterized this Act, Sir, and incidentally the explanation appended to section 7 of the Act under which prosecutions are now launched, as a *fraud* upon the constitution. Mr. Jaggannath Agarwal characterized it as an *engine of oppression* in the hands of people who are vested with power. Pandit Satyendra Nath Sen went further and called it an *idotic* piece of legislation. Mr. Mody called it *silly* and *dangerous*. Mr. C. S. Ranga Ayyar characterized it in his own characteristic language as a *reprehensible* piece of legislation, reprehensible from the moderate and opposition point of view, reprehensible from the Congress point of

view and reprehensible from the point of view of every lawyer and lover of the ordinary law. Mr. Amarnath Dutt called it, Sir, by a very unparliamentary name, *stupid*. That is the Act, Sir, which was put through the Central Legislature then."

THE HON. MR. C. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR:—"Is it open to me to suggest that he might proceed to quote from my speeches instead of from others?"

*DIWAN BAHADUR A. APPADURAI PILLAI:—"It was pushed through the legislature in these unenviable circumstances and this has been resorted to by this popular Government to enforce what is now known as the compulsory introduction of Hindustani. Sir, under clause (3), section 1, of this Act, it is stated that the Act shall remain in force for a period of three years from its commencement. Its commencement was on 19th December 1932. Naturally therefore, in the ordinary course of events, its life ought to have ceased on 19th December 1935. Knowing that it was not going to be extinct or rather apprehending that its life might probably be extended, Mr. B. Das, the Member from Orissa, a Congress Member, brought into the Central Legislature a measure purporting to repeal this Criminal Law Amendment Act. He introduced a Bill on 2nd September 1935. It came up for discussion both on 2nd September 1935 and on 17th September 1935 to 24th September 1935. Non-official days having expired, the Bill stood in an unfinished stage. Mr. Das could not get through the Bill repealing this pernicious Act of 1932. But Government were not quiet. They tried to bring in another Bill contrary to Mr. Das's Bill in order to make this Act permanent. On 2nd September 1935, they introduced a Bill in the Central Assembly and the Bill came up for discussion on 5th September 1935; it was debated upon on the 5th September and the following days, but on the 12th September 1935 it was given a decent burial by the Assembly members voting solidly against it. It is a matter of great pleasure to me, Sir, to find some of the illustrious names among those who voted down this Bill of Government intended to give the 1932 Act a permanent life. I find among those who voted against it Mr. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar, Mr. Avanashilingam Chettiyar, Mr. Sami Venkatachalam Chetti, who are our honourable representatives in the Central Assembly at the present day. Among others we find the Hon. Dr. T. S. S. Rajan and the Hon. Mr. V. V. Giri who are at present gracing the treasury benches here. We find in their company Mr. P. S. Kumaraswami Raja who is a fellow member with me in this hon. House. We find, Sir, the name of Dr. N. B. Khare whose name unfortunately is on everybody's lips at the present moment. We find also the name of Mr. Satyamurti, the big gun of Madras. Seventy-one voted against the motion and sixty-one voted for it. But Government would not take the defeat lying down. They carried it to His Excellency the Viceroy who remitted it for reconsideration by the Assembly in

an amended form. But the Assembly was not in a mood to accept even the amended Bill. The revised bill shared the fate of its predecessor. There was a debate and the bill was thrown out. That Bill was taken to the Council of State and was passed by that body, and signed by the President on the 28th September 1935, and His Excellency the Viceroy certified it on 4th October 1935, and it has now got into the statute book.

" With this chequered career which does not redound to its credit, the Act managed to secure a place on the statute book. But, unfortunately, Sir, the success on the part of this ill-fated Act of 1935 giving a permanent life to the Act of 1932 was very short-lived because in 1937, hardly two years later, the Act of 1935 was wholly repealed. Apart from this trouble, Sir, there is a little more storm in the tea-cup. Under the previous Government of India Act, section 67-B, when an Act is assented to by one chamber and thrown out by the other, it is up to His Excellency the Viceroy to certify that Act and bring it into operation. His Excellency the Viceroy accordingly granted the certification; but that certification should be subject to the condition that the certified Act is placed before both Houses of Parliament for about two weeks when the Parliament is in session. Otherwise it can be certified only as an emergency measure. Just at the time the Act was passed in 1935, the Parliament was in session for a number of days. The House of Lords also sat from the 27th October to 17th December 1935 and the House of Commons sat for a similar period.

" But His Excellency the Viceroy preferred to take action under the proviso to section 69-B and certified the Act as an emergency measure. 6-30 p.m.

" This Act of 1935 was however short-lived, as stated already, because it was wholly repealed in the year 1937. What is the result of this repeal? The result of the repeal of the Act of 1935 is to restore the *status quo ante*. That means that the Act of 1932 will remain unaffected by the Act of 1935. If it remains unaffected, if we forget for a moment that the 1935 Act does not exist, it brings us to the position that the Act of 1932 would function only for a period of three years with reference to cluase 3 of section 1. That is until 19th December 1935. That date having passed, the 1932 Act dies of its own accord. That is the fate of this Act. Sir, I cannot imagine how the legal advisers of Government have advised Government to proceed under this Act which is not on the statute book. If we contend that the Act of 1935, which removed the word ' temporary ' from the preamble and omitted the words ' for a period of three years ' in clause 3 of section 1, conferred upon the original Act of 1932 a permanent lease of life, we would be unduly straining the law. Can it be argued that the original Act continues to subsist? By what stretch of imagination, Sir, can we concede that the 1932 Act has become permanent

on the statute book in spite of the amending Act having been repealed? Sir, this is at least a debatable point.

"Apart from this, there is the notification. Section 4 of the Criminal Law Amendment Act which deals with picketing of public servants has been deleted by the Act of 1935. Under section 7 of the Criminal Law Amendment Act, clause (*a*) deals with intimidation, violence and obstruction; clause (*b*) deals with the offence of loitering. This clause has come handy to Government to put down anti-Hindi agitation. Sir, seeing that this sub-clause involves very serious responsibility and relates to offences of considerable importance, the Government of India took care to provide in clause 4, section 1 of the Act of 1932 that section 7 will not apply as a matter of course to the provinces, but that a notification should be published by the provincial Government introducing that section specifically to any area that may be determined by the local Government. It was with reference to this direction in clause 4, that the local Government published a notification in December 1932 applying section 7 to this province. It is by virtue of that section and under that notification that prosecutions were launched during the Civil Disobedience Movement. When the Act of 1932 was scrapped from the Statute Book by the later Act of 1937 as I submitted just now, the notification which partakes of the same nature as that of the original Act; cannot have more force of law than the original Act itself and it *ipso facto* ceases. The notification, Sir, will be of no value after the Act on which it was based had been cancelled. It would therefore seem, Sir, that neither the Act nor the notification issued under section 7 of the Act will validly grant sanction to the local Government to proceed against persons taking part in the anti-Hindi movement. After all, Sir, no law was broken. The anti-Hindi agitators. . . ."

THE HON. MR. C. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR:—"Excuse me for a minute, Sir. I did not wish to interrupt the hon. Member, but he is urging a point when, as the Leader of the House, I must draw your attention to the fact that he has just trenched on what is not right. I think he was arguing all the time about the repressive character of the measure or about the objectionable character of the measure. I think he ought not to proceed beyond that into a pleading with regard to the cases that are pending."

MR. SPEAKER:—"He is not dealing with matters that are *sub judice*."

THE HON. MR. C. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR:—"I thought I heard him say, or I should be corrected, that the notification is not now applicable and has no effect. After hearing that I thought I should rise."

MR. SPEAKER:—"I think he will not be impinging upon matters that are *sub judice*."

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* DIWAN BAHADUR A. APPADURAI PILLAI:—" I have carefully avoided mentioning it. I am not going to dwell upon it. I shall take the advice of the Hon. the Premier. I shall not trench upon any matter that is *sub judice*.

" Would the Government, Sir, elect to base a policy of repression on an Act which found no equal in the matter of its universal condemnation? I leave it at that, Sir.

" Then with reference to the repressive character of the measures taken by Government to put a stop to this agitation I may refer to none else than Pandit Hrydayanath Kunzru who recently presided over a conference of the Hindi Pracharak Sabha and complimented the organisers of the conference on the success they have attained in the matter of the spread of Hindi education. He said: ' 69,715 candidates appeared for the examinations in Hindi. Judging the popularity of Hindi in South India from the progress of the work of the Hindi Pracharak Sabha, I feel that more progress has been made than might have been expected.' That is the testimony of an outsider and an unbiassed gentleman to the spread of Hindi in our province. But with reference to the repressive measures he stated that if Hindi is not merely to be learnt, but has to be loved and remembered and its study has to be properly developed in South India, compulsion in regard to its study is out of place. Persuasion is the best way of achieving the desired result. The ' Madras Mail ' quoted with approval Pandit Kunzru's observations in these words:—

' Pandit Kunzru, whose disinterestedness is patent, told the Hindi Pracharak Sabha meeting at which he presided yesterday that compulsion was out of place. He shared this opinion with Mr. Giri who told a Chingleput audience that what is done by coercion will not last long.'

" It was not my intention, Sir, to rope in the Minister; but the ' Madras Mail ' had roped him in. I have with me several opinions from other illustrious persons supporting my view. But I do not wish to take up the time of the House by quoting from them all. Sir, various journals have also criticized the action of this Government. ' The Pioneer ' and ' the Bombay Chronicle ' have done so.

" Then, Sir, what is more painful with reference to these repressive measures is the punishment awarded for loitering. Loitering, Sir, is a very vague term. It has not been defined in any code. Anything can be considered as loitering. Walking in front of any Member's house can be deemed an offence and charged. And what is worse? People have been charged for abetment of loitering. In order to help the authorities to do so, they have had recourse to the unwholesome principle of combining section 117 of the Indian Penal Code with section 7 of the Criminal Law Amendment Act, loitering and abetment of loitering. Recourse has thus been had to a combination of the Penal Code and the Criminal Law Amendment Act to punish innocent and

peaceful picketers who have done all this for love of their language. But what is the result of all this repression? Three months of incessant repression has only succeeded in filling the jails as rapidly as Government emptied them of criminals, political or otherwise. What has been done with one hand has been replaced by another.

"Sir, it is often said that this agitation is political in its aspect. What political aspect can a peaceful agitation have, Sir? I have already submitted that if the picketers have transgressed the law, they ought to be proceeded against under the ordinary provisions of Criminal Law.

"Sir P. T. Rajan, a descendant of a patron of Tamil literature, a direct descendant, whose ancestor has been immortalized in the famous epic which we Tamilians revere as Kamba Ramayanam, has distinctly stated that it is only the love of language that has induced him to take part in this agitation. It is not communal either, because Brahmans, non-Brahmans, Muslims and Christians have joined in the agitation."

6-45 p.m. MR. SPEAKER:—"I suppose that the hon. Member has taken more than an hour."

*DIWAN BAHADUR A. APPADURAI PILLAI:—"I will finish, Sir."

MR. SPEAKER:—"I think that is better."

*DIWAN BAHADUR A. APPADURAI PILLAI:—"Sanyasins have taken part in this, people who have renounced the world and have taken to Kashayam. What benefit can they have expected. Sir, in the matter of politics? They have given up everything. They have given up home; they have given up the luxuries of the world; they have renounced this life and why should they take part in this agitatition on political or communal grounds? It is nothing but love of language. It is not that we are unaware of the fact that the Tamilians have a great tradition and it is not necessary for me to read the opinion of an English writer with reference to this point. That would probably be carrying coals to Newcastle. But it deals with the very point that I am trying to labour at the present moment. Mr. F. W. Thomas has stated, Sir, in the famous book called 'the Legacy of India' thus: 'The Tamil is undoubtedly next to the Sanskrit the greatest Indian literature. The note of this Tamil hymnology is all-renouncing, enthusiastic devotion to the chosen divinity, Siva or Vishnu; the poetic style is more elaborate even than that of Sanskrit. The Tamils are conscious of the value of their literary inheritance, and they maintain a tradition of its regulation from very remote periods by successive 'Academies' sitting in judgment at Madura, which is still the great centre of Tamil studies.' It is this consciousness which is at the root of all this trouble. I leave it there Is it any wonder, Sir, that the Tamils,

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the people of South India, without any distinction of caste or creed have joined in this agitation? The solution is in the hollow of the Prime Minister's hands. It is possible, Sir, at a moment's notice to put an end to the whole trouble by declaring the teaching of Hindi as optional. Would anything be lost by that method? We find the text-books are not ready; Sir, though 125 schools were selected for the introduction of Hindi, it was found possible to introduce it only in 65 schools because pandits were not forthcoming; it was necessary to reduce the qualification of the Pandits in order to enable them to be posted as teachers in these 65 schools. That being the case, as the arrangements are not perfect, and the people are not satisfied and ready at the present moment, would it be too much to ask this popular Government to consider the case from a sympathetic point of view and make this teaching of Hindi optional? Sir, the same object will be attained in course of time. As my hon. Friend, Mr. Hameed Khan, has stated, people will go in voluntarily for the learning of Hindi, if a certain amount of preferential treatment is shown to the persons who are literate in Hindi. It is just possible to encourage the study of Hindi by means of scholarships, stipends and by giving preferential treatment in the matter of appointments. But to try to force it upon a people who are legitimately or otherwise alarmed at the probable harm that it might do, would it be feasible, Sir? Would it be desirable to persist in a measure of this kind? Will it be too much, Sir, to appeal to the Hon. Premier to see that peace is restored and to see that those who have been incarcerated for no fault of theirs except probably for love of language released and restored to the parental roofs?

"I must mention in this connexion, Sir,—otherwise I would be failing in my duty—one word about the punishments that are being awarded to the so-called agitators. Sanyasins have been punished with rigorous imprisonment for a period of one year. The Act provides for a sentence of imprisonment or fine. Fine could have been imposed or imprisonment for a small term; why go beyond the necessities of the case, the requirements of justice? If a month or two is awarded, it might be possible to bring about a settlement within that period but a year's rigorous imprisonment and nine months' rigorous imprisonment for that matter merely for the infringement of an executive order seems rather harsh. Sir, with these words, I commend the resolution for the acceptance of the House. I am sure that if freedom of vote is given, a large number of members would vote for the resolution." (Cries of 'no, no.')

Mr. R. M. PALAT:—"I have no doubt, Sir, that several hon. Members of this House . . . "

Mr. SPEAKER:—"The two hon. Members who have spoken already have taken between themselves much more than an hour

and the time before the House is very limited; and there are a number of other resolutions also. And it may not be possible at all to reach the other resolutions. Even then in order to allow an opportunity for a substantially good number of people to speak on this resolution, I think hon. Members hereafter must be content to make short speeches, pointed and relevant to the subject-matter."

* MR. R. M. PALAT:—" Sir, I presume that nobody will deny that Mr. Gandhi is the best exponent of congress principles and his main test to see whether the Government in any of the congress provinces has been a success or not, is this: I believe it is in the Harijan of the 23rd April, that he stated: the success of any of these Governments should be measured by the extent—in inverse proportion—of the force used in these provinces. Sir, what do we see in this presidency? Do we see any reduction in the amount of force which is used by this the first popular government against peaceful agitators from what was used by the old bureaucratic or dyarchic systems of government? (Interruption.) Sir, I cannot hear an interruption which has been made but I go on with what I have to say. The Hon. Mr. Rajagopalachari said yesterday that we should credit him with honest motives. I am quite prepared to do so. But, Sir, let us look at what has happened. It is seen that the Congress Government is actually killing the national movement in India. Has he done anything to fight against the larger imperialistic interests in this country? Has he done anything in fulfilment of any of his pledges? In the last 50 years, this is the first time that there has been no national opposition to the British Government? I challenge Mr. Rajagopalachariar to deny that. According to what Mr. Gandhi has laid down, I should have thought that those who believe in Congress principles should offer non-violent satyagraha towards these anti-Hindi agitators instead of trying to arrest them and put them into jail. I do not want to take more time, after what has been so fully dealt with by my predecessor, Mr. Appadurai Pillai."

MR. M. AHMED BADSHA:—" Mr. Speaker, Sir, I take your advice and I shall be very brief in supporting the resolution of my friend Mr. Abdul Hameed Khan. Sir, at the time when the Government contemplated the introduction of compulsory Hindustani in this Province, they, I imagine, could never have dreamt that any opposition could have been raised on this issue. They introduced it hoping that it would have smooth sailing but if they had thought that there would have been such an opposition, the usual care shown in the promulgation of the Prohibition Act and the Act that they have said they have been contemplating to introduce for the freedom of temple-entry to the depressed classes in Malabar, would have been shown in the introduction of Hindustani compulsorily. Sir, in speaking on this resolution

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I respectfully draw the attention of the Hon. the Prime Minister that a difference should be made between compulsion and necessity. I have yet to understand, Sir, in the history of languages that I have had opportunities of studying that at any time any language had been introduced on the basis of compulsion."

AN HON. MEMBER:—"English?"

MR. M. AHMED BADSHA:—"English is a necessity again, Sir."

AN HON. MEMBER:—"Hindi also."

MR. M. AHMED BADSHA:—"Sir, we admit that India is a vast continent, that India is peopled by diverse classes and communities and that we should have a language for the general unification of this vast continent. (Hear, hear.) All that is admitted, Sir, but is such a necessity being felt to-day or was it at any time felt before? So far as I am aware and I have got history to support me, this necessity was felt so long ago as when the Bijapur and the Golconda Empires were built in South India. It must have been several hundreds of years ago that Hindustani was introduced first as the necessary language of the fighting units of their kingdoms. The armies of Bijapur and Golconda consisted of innumerable units of various classes of persons drawn from various parts of this country and in their movements for conquering purposes throughout the country, they had to come across hundreds of languages and necessity compelled these forces to evolve a common language in those circumstances. (Hear, hear.) Sir, the evolution of that language has given us the Hindustani that is being spoken commonly to-day.

"Sir, there is an allied word also used in reference to that 7 p.m.
language, viz., Urdu. The word Urdu, I may say for the information of the House, if I am not considered impertinent, signifies a military camp. It was necessity which laid the foundations of that language and led to its development to such an extent that we have got nearly 20 crores of people talking Hindustani all over India. (Applause) I now appeal to the Government to say whether this development of 20 crores of people speaking this language in India has been reached out of compulsion or necessity. The very fact that the Government is introducing Hindustani to-day on a compulsory basis is an admission of the fact that there is no necessity for it. If there was the necessity the element of compulsion had no reason to come in. It is just like a man who has been hungry and has been fed, who has been thirsty and whose thirst has been quenched and therefore cannot be expected to relish any more food or drink however delicious it might be. What we oppose not the introduction of Hindi or Hindustani but the compulsory aspect of the measure. I would welcome any propaganda being

made or any encouragement being given for the study of Hindustani for nationalizing the language of this continent. But I should fall back and hesitate not once but a hundred times before I could ever think of introducing anything like compulsion.

"Sir, I am a Mussalman and there is no doubt about it although I may be laughed at by some hon. Members for my views. According to the Koran it is God who is said to be the teaching source of all languages. It says 'that he taught man to speak.' Speech never came by artificial applications or devices. Speech is the development that comes out of social, political or economic necessity. If we are to study a language like German, text-books might be helpful to us, instructors might be helpful to us, but so long as there is no necessity to foster the language and develop it, the learning of it will become difficult. The time and energy that might be spent in the studying of a language under circumstances of necessity will be quite insignificant when compared to the time taken under compulsion. Should I not therefore be considered relevant if I ask that if the Government are anxious to introduce a national language why they should not take on hand a language that has been developed and evolved already after long experience and as a result of the cultural development of the two great people of this country—Hindus and Mussalmans—a language which has come to be known as Urdu? Urdu has advanced to such an extent, as the Hon. the Premier himself has admitted at one time, that there are about 20 crores of people speaking that language all over India. If we are to complete that achievement of developing a national language it will be but a step further if Urdu is made to advance in the usual course instead of introducing a disturbing current in the shape of Hindi, and much more so in the shape of compulsory study of Hindi.

"I am not going to dwell on the other aspects of the repression, but I would respectfully point out this. I have read the speech of the Hon. the Premier at the meeting held on the beach as was reported in the Madras Mail. The Hon. the Premier asked whether he should drop the application of the Criminal Law Amendment Act when such a dropping would be suicidal to his own policy. The illustration that he gave was: Are we to give up Fort St. George, because it was built by the British? Well, Sir, I do not want to dilate upon this illustration, but I fail to see how it answers the difficulty or applies to the present position. Both these things, the Criminal Law Amendment Act and Fort. St. George, might have had their origin from a Government of the past whom we have supplanted. Sir, am I not right in asking whether the purpose was the same in both the cases? It is the application that has been objected to. I fail to understand how

when Fort. St. George had been built for the good governance of the people it could be compared to the application of the Criminal Law Amendment Act for the purpose of repression. Therefore, Sir, I humbly request that the Government should not only drop this repression but also consider the question of abolishing the compulsory introduction of the study of Hindi." (Applause.)

MR. BASHEER AHMED SAYEED:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir."

MR. SPEAKER:—" A very brief speech of only five minutes."

* MR. BASHEER AHMED SAYEED:—" It is hard lot on me that I should confine my speech to five minutes. Sir, it is with a certain amount of trepidation that I rise to participate in this discussion. I submit, Sir, even at the outset that I am unable to agree with the resolution or even the language of it. The resolution reads:

'This Assembly recommends to the Government to stop its policy of repression against persons who take part in the anti-Hindi agitation.'

" Now so far as I have been able to watch the events that have been taking place for the past few months I do not think, Sir, it can be correctly described that a repressive policy is being adopted against those who are participating in the anti-Hindi agitation. True, there have been trials and convictions and it might also be said that in certain cases the sentences have been severe. But the convictions have not been merely because those persons have participated in the anti-Hindi agitation, but because the offences for which they have been tried and convicted are offences of the kind which no hon. Member of this House could tolerate. (Hear, hear.) Sir, I stand for individual liberty. I stand for agitation on constitutional lines. I stand for agitation on the same lines and principles which the Congress has taught the people of this country for the past fifty years. But, Sir, that agitation must have a righteous cause for its basis. It must be based on something which ordinary human reason can accept. It is indisputable that the repression so called has not been against the people who march in processions carrying placards and shouting slogans against the spread of Hindustani in the country. Nor has there been any repressive policy adopted against persons who have spoken at meetings or protested in writing in the Press. The convictions have been of persons who have caused annoyance, intimidation and unnecessary interference with individual liberty and made the life of people against whom they were directed miserable. (Hear, hear.) Now, Sir, that kind of agitation no person who respects law would be able to put up with. Sir, I submit in all humility that I beg to differ from my hon. Friends the mover and the supporters of this Resolution. The Resolution as it has been framed does not correspond to the actual facts. That is my humble submission.

"My hon. Friend the Muslim Member from North Arcot said that he was only concerned with the compulsory aspect of this question. There might be some semblance of justification for that. But, I earnestly ask: granting there is some element of compulsion in the step taken by the Government of the day, are the methods adopted by the people who agitate against that compulsion the right methods? Are they constitutional methods? Are they within the scope of the law? I concede that every one who feels aggrieved can protest against compulsion according to his lights. But the protest should stop within reasonable bounds. If there has been a constitutional protest, certainly it would have been justifiable. That amount of protest which a man of reason makes against compulsion will not bring him within the clutches of the law. The arm of the ordinary law is not so long as to extend against persons who in the name of protest against compulsion commit atrocious acts. In this connexion, Sir, I venture to submit that very few of the Muslim Members have thought over the issues involved in the question of the compulsory spread of Hindustani. I contend that very few indeed have devoted any attention to the real aspect, the vital nature of this question so far as it affects the Muslim community. Sir, it has been claimed and rightly too that Hindustani is a Muslim language. May I, by the way state that the Government in their orders and responsible Ministers in their speeches have abandoned the use of the word 'Hindi' and have become acclimatized to the use of the word 'Hindustani'? Now, Sir, Hindustani is the language spoken in the cities of Lucknow, Delhi and Allahabad and that is the language spoken by several of us though in a broken fashion in the South of India. That is the language spoken by the Pathans and Deccanis. A very large proportion of the Mussalmans of South India—the Mappillas of Malabar, the Rowthers and the Maracairs—do not yet speak that language. Some smattering of that language is seen only in the Andhra Province. So, what is spoken is the Hindustani language that is sought to be propagated. Sir, so far as the script is concerned, in North India there had been a very keen agitation for long as to whether it should be the Nagari script or the Arabic script. It was stated that at one time even Mahatma Gandhi objected to the use of the Arabic script. But, Sir, that has become a thing of the past. Gandhiji, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and a host of other leaders some of whom were thinking that Nagari should be the popular script have given up the idea because they found it impossible or difficult to develop a new language in a script which has not had sufficient foundation. Now, Sir, by common consent, the language is to be the common language; the script is to be whatever the individual chooses for himself. Now, Sir, on the authority of the Anjumane-Tharaki-ye-Urdu which had its headquarters at Aurangabad and which has shifted itself now to Delhi, I am entitled to say that the question of script

has been settled once for all. There is no more controversy over this. The language is one, the scripts are two.

" Now, Sir, this Government want to propagate this spoken language which is a Muslim language. It is up to the Mussalmans to say ' we welcome this movement '. (Applause.) ' We shall avail ourselves of the opportunity and get facilities, as many facilities as possible, from the Government for the early and speedy learning of this language by the 11 or 12 lakhs of Moplahs in Malabar and the 11 and 12 lakhs of Mussalmans in Tamil Nadu, and an equal number in the Andhra and the Kanarese areas.' Instead of saying that we should be provided with more and more teachers for the learning of this language in the Urdu script, that we should be given greater and greater facilities in the schools maintained by the Government, by the municipalities and district boards all over the country, it is most unfortunate that Mussalmans have been misled into joining hands with an agitation which ought not to be supported by any Muslim. My honest conviction is that and I warn my Muslim brethren and the Muslim community in general—I speak, Sir, with a full sense of my responsibility when I say that they will be committing another big mistake of their life if they are going to be misled by socalled leaders and if they are going to serve as spokes in the wheel of the spread of Hindustani in this province. Sir, when the English language has been made compulsory and also a prerequisite for entry into service, entry into political and any kind of public life, are Mussalmans in this age under false leadership, not going to allow the members of their community to learn the language of the country and of the future? Sir, it was given to the late Sir Sayed Ahmed Khan—honoured be his memory—to point out to the Mussalman community ' that they were going to lose all if they were not going to take to English education and the English language.' Much precious time was lost and what was lost has not been made up yet by the Mussalman community in spite of strenuous efforts. To-day, Sir, the Mussalman community stands as a backward community in every respect. Time and again we have to jump up in this House in order to ask for more and more privileges and facilities for the spread of modern education among the Muslim community. Sir, it is not a very happy thing for us to do. This day, I have had to ask the Hon. the Minister for Education as to why Muslim schools are being abolished, why Arabic Munshis are being sent away and so on and so forth. That is not always a very pleasant thing to do. All the same, owing to the mistake committed by our forefathers and our predecessors, we have perforce to do all these things. Now is the time to wake up and put forth all endeavour in the hope that with the co-operation of this Government, we would make all progress and ere long the Muslim community would be on the same level as the other

7-15 p.m.

communities in the matter of education. I am afraid, Sir, that a similar mistake which will enure for their lives will be committed by the Muslim community to-day, if they are not going to take this opportunity by the forelock and say to the municipalities, the local boards and to the Government, 'Give us more Hindustani teachers, and we want to learn the language in the Urdu script.' Why not say it? Some Muslims know Hindustani already; my friend from Kistna says 'only a miscroscopic minority.' Sir, it may be a microscopic minority; but I ask my Friend in all humility whether, if the 12 lakhs of Muslims in Malabar do not know Hindustani and if the several lakhs of Muslims in the Tamil Nadu and other areas do not know it, this is not a splendid opportunity to make up the lee-way and whether this opportunity should be lost under false leadership and wrong advice. I submit, Sir, there being no compulsion whatsoever in the matter of the script, there can be no justification for Mussalmans for participating in this unwarranted agitation. There has been a mistaken impression going round that the books will be written in the Hindi language, as opposed to the Urdu language. This is merely a confusion born of ignorance and prejudice. The language is one and there is no difference in the spoken language. Sir, a start has been made with the first reader that is to be introduced in the schools in furtherance of the programme of the Government; it will be a common text written in two different scripts, perhaps under the supervision of no greater a person than Abdul Kalam Azad against whom there may be several allegations made now by his mean opponents. I have already had the Nagari text read to me; but I see the Urdu text now for the first time, given to me by Dr. Subbarayan. I had my friend Mr. Sastri to read to me the Nagari text, and I found in it no Sanskrit words. This is only the initial stage. This book which is written in the Nagari script and the one which I hold in my hand written in the Arabic script are both the same, so far as the matter goes, and I have no reason to believe, so far as things stand at present, that the authority that has been constituted. . ."

MR. MAHBOOB ALI BAIG:—"On a point of order, Sir. Is this all relevant to the question before us—this lecture on the merits of Hindustani and otherwise?"

MR. SPEAKER:—"It is not a point of order."

MR. BASHEER AHMED SAYEED:—"I was saying, Sir, that there is no indication, and there is no justification either, to suspect that in the future, the authority that has been constituted to write books, common text-books for the spread of Hindustani in this province, is going to take a different turn and put in a large number of Sanskrit words in the common text-books in such a way as to make Hindustani or Arabic suffer. This is a very

mistaken impression. On the other hand, if the language that is spoken now in Delhi, Lucknow and Allahabad, is the language that is to be propagated in this presidency, there is absolutely no room for the suspicion, that Sanskrit words are going to be introduced. And who are the authors of this book, leave alone Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad who has been caluminated as having been purchased by the Congress for all his life? All stalwart Muslims who represent the height of Muslim culture, Muslim language and Muslim literature in this country, have supported this movement, as being well-conceived. One of them is the Secretary of the Anjumani-Taraki-Ye-Urdu, a revered friend of mine and some others too in this part of the country. He has agreed with me that there is no more room for agitation on the ground of either Sanskrit script or Arabic script. On the other hand, as I said, if Mussalmans are wise, they will catch hold of this opportunity, lose no time and put the Government in the wrong as often as possible by their making demands for the grant of greater and greater facilities for learning this language in all the schools of our province. I admit, at the same time, that there are practical difficulties in the matter of the spread of Hindustani, but it is up to the Mussalmans to see that these difficulties are surmounted; as Mussalmans are few, the Government may not be able to make adequate arrangements for the teaching of Hindustani in the Arabic script. In a school administered, say by a district board or a municipality, on account of want of adequate funds and financial stringency, such a facility may not be possible, and that is why a person knowing both the scripts may be required to be employed; but I am sure nothing prevents the majority in a school from learning it in the Arabic script or the Nagari script or in whatever script they please. It is therefore up to the Mussalmans to say if they choose to, that they do not want the Nagari script, that they want to learn the language only in the Urdu script; and that therefore they should be given facilities for the purpose. And if the municipality or the local body does not rise to the occasion, the Government may be approached for help. In such a case, let the Government come to our help. It will not be an item that could be objected to by the Accountant-General; no audit objection could be raised on that score. The Public Accounts Committee also will not take objection to any such expenditure for the spread of Urdu which is sanctioned by the Government and by this House. On the other hand, as I said, it will be to our detriment, to the detriment of the progress of the Muslim language and the Muslim community in this province, if we should participate in the anti-Hindi agitation. It is sheer folly to say that agitators who cross the bounds of decency and indulge in intimidation and vulgar abuse should not be booked.

" There is also an argument advanced that the local language, the mother-tongue—probably Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam or

Kanarese—will be affected. But no Muslim has spoken that Malayalam is going to be affected, or that Tamil is going to be affected or Telugu or Kanarese. Not at all. It is futile to argue on these lines. There is no warrant for this. On the other hand, as I understand the Government's programme, the counterpart of the spread of Hindustani in this province will be that instruction will be given in all the subjects in our schools through the medium of the mother-tongue. If both these parts are kept together, and if the students and pupils are going to be given instruction in their own mother-tongue, whatever language it may be, then the spread of the Hindustani language in any script cannot kill or interfere in any manner whatever with the spread and development of the mother-tongue. If this is true then the agitation is sheer perversity and must be put down. Sir, we in the University, have had occasion to impress upon the institutions amenable to our control that there should be persuasion as much as possible exercised through the respective administrations, in order to make students take to answering questions at examinations in the vernacular itself; and as a result of that persuasion, there are now nearly 150 to 180 institutions where students have taken to answering their examinations in their own mother-tongue. But this indeed is very slow progress. Compulsion must accelerate this. Similarly, if the Muslims had taken up that kind of agitation and stated that every Muslim child, wherever he might be, must learn the Hindustani language, certainly things would have been much easier and progress would have been tremendous. That was not done, and we have failed in our duty, and the Government have now come forward to our rescue and given us this opportunity. Why not avail of it and why not make the best use of it? That is my simple question to my Muslim brethren. What is it that they lose that they should think of supporting a movement directed against the spread of their own language?

"Again, Sir, the Tamil language has no reason to fear. It is already making headway in the institutions and it will not cease to exercise the healthy influence that it does now, to attract the fascination and the imagination of those people who are acquainted with it and who are intent upon developing it. It may be true that some of the Ministers themselves have not so far acquainted themselves with the Hindustani language, and it may be that Ministers have failed in their duty. It may be that some Ministers have merely supported, but done substantially nothing for the spread of Tamil; but all that is not germane to the issue now before us. The Ministers will very soon learn the Hindustani language. They will speak it very soon, and I hope so. But I know there are Ministers here, if I may be permitted to say so, who are actively encouraging in their individual capacity, I mean in their personal capacity and also in their official capacity, the spread of the mother-tongue. I know instances, but I do not

want to quote them here. All this fear that Tamil or any other language of the province will be seriously affected by the propagation of the Urdu or the Hindustani language is certainly groundless, and merely a cloak for agitation. It is a poor pretext.

" Sir, already the Hon. the Premier has undertaken and assured us in unmistakable terms that he would very soon try to repeal the Criminal Law Amendment Act and bring in measures which would have the consent or sanction of this very House, for being applied to cases which demand the application of such measures. So, the real point is only a question of time. I do not think it is proper to say that there has been a repressive policy at all. The repression is not against persons who express honest views, not against those who want honest views to spread or who want to mould public opinion in that direction, but only against those who do things which ought not to be allowed to be done, which endanger personal security and personal liberty and excite feelings of hatred and who want to get a name eventually. I want to tell the hon. Member from North Arcot who said that compulsion is different from necessity, that I cannot appreciate the difference. What is compulsion to-day may be necessity to-morrow. If it is necessary to-morrow, I say, why not have it to-day by means of compulsion. Sir, I warn the Muslim community and other communities also, that within the next five or ten years, if not this Government, some other Government which may be then in power, will make this language a pre-requisite for entry into service—that is, a knowledge of Hindustani in the Nagari script or the Urdu script. Then, who will be the losers? Those friends of mine who have already learnt the language would naturally stand to gain, while my Muslim friends who support this unrighteous agitation and their dependants would be completely left behind. I warn them, therefore, that the time has come when every one of us must learn it either in the Urdu script or in the Nagari script and not support the agitation against Hindustani. There is no mincing matters here. I am sure that if I am in the Government, if I take up the reins of Government at any time, I would certainly prescribe such a qualification. And what will be the position of my friends then who are now opposing it, and who are not prepared to avail themselves of this opportunity? I suggest, therefore, that it is very necessary that we should evolve a common tie—and, one of the biggest and the most important ties is a common language. And if this tie of a common language is absent or lacking, then it will take us years and years to come together, and to be called and respected as a nation. Sir, it is said that there is no need for a common language, that the need was there many years ago, but that it is not present to-day. I submit, in all humility, that the need has become all the greater to-day than at any time before in order that we should understand

each other and come closer together. If I am to address an audience, I have to speak in a foreign language . . ."

7-30 p.m. MR. SPEAKER:—"I suppose the hon. Member is only elaborating the point. He should deal with the matter of repression. After all, this is incidental, though relevant enough."

MR. BASHEER AHMED SAYEED;—"I submit, Sir, that the development of the Urdu language either is not going to be affected."

MR. SPEAKER:—"Urdu or Hindi, that is no doubt relevant. But you cannot take up so much time upon harping on the matter."

MR. BASHEER AHMED SAYEED:—"It is said that the Urdu language is not to-day well developed and that it is likely to be affected by the present movement of the Government . . ."

MR. SPEAKER:—"Urdu or Hindi will take care of itself."

MR. BASHEER AHMED SAYEED:—"I agree with you, Sir. I submit that such notions are due to misapprehension. It is not possible at this late stage to develop altogether a new language and a new vocabulary, a new grammar and a new diction. It is impossible in modern days to do it. If any section of the Congress organization is trying to do it, it will be an utter failure. I therefore submit that this agitation is not based on righteousness nor on any just cause. This agitation against the spread of Hindustani is not on a sound basis. It is not warranted. It is stated that the only thing that is objected to is compulsion. That compulsion has been minimised to such an extent, that it means no compulsion really. In so far as it is not going to be made a test for the purpose of promotion where is the compulsion? The methods to ward off compulsion are different from what have been now adopted by the agitators. Let them not send their sons to schools if they choose. Let them take to other means of expressing their dissent from that compulsion. But so long as it is not going to be a test for promotion, where is the wrong in it, and where is the compulsion. Compulsion is completely done away with in a way. I am for compulsion. In this country where Hindus and Mussalmans have lived all along in conservation no reform will be possible without a certain amount of compulsion and from that point of view compulsion is necessary and that compulsion must be by slow stages and the Government is doing but the right thing in having introduced Hindustani only for the first three forms. The said compulsion only amounts to this that it shall be studied, but it shall not be a *sine qua non*, for promotion.

"Sir, I submit that this resolution is not well conceived. It is not in the interests of the Muslim community and of any community whatsoever for the matter of that; and it is misconceived." (Loud laughter.)

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* KHAN BAHADUR P. KHALIF-UL-LAH SAHIB BAHADUR:— "Mr. Speaker, Sir, coming as I do after the long speech of my hon. Friend, Mr. Basheer Ahmed Sayeed, who is the representative of the Mussalmans of South Arcot district, I really feel that the warning that he has given to the community is meant not only to his constituency of South Arcot, not only to the Muslim community of Madras, but to the entire Muslim community of the whole of India. He is a great warner and I am sure this warning is not all required by the community to which I have the honour to belong. As the Hon. Speaker very rightly pointed out he was keeping this House for nearly an hour by irrelevant talk not touching the point which is the subject-matter of the resolution which reads 'This Assembly recommends to the Government to stop its policy of repression against persons who take part in the anti-Hindi agitation.' It was very rightly pointed out that the question before the House was not the question of compulsory introduction of Hindi or non-compulsory introduction of Hindi, but the question was the policy of repression against the persons who took part in the anti-Hindi agitation. If I rise to speak on this occasion, Sir, I do so in order to support the proposition that is before the House, and I do so with all the weight that I can command. First of all, Sir, I beg to point out that even in the interests of the compulsory introduction of Hindi, if I may say so, Sir, this repressive policy is cutting the ground under the feet of the compulsory introduction of Hindi. In the interests of the policy and the principle which is at the bottom of the present day Government, Sir, I submit, this repressive policy must be given up. If I may say so, the country has been agitated not by the anti-Hindi agitation, but it has been agitated most by this repressive policy, by the clapping in jails of hundreds of innocent youths in the name of the Criminal Law Amendment Act. My hon. Friend called this as no repression. This nomenclature is not given by me or my hon. Friend, but one given by the Congress Party to which the Government of the day has the honour to belong. Therefore, Sir, if I call this Criminal Law Amendment Act as a piece of repressive legislation, I am only following the lead given by my Hon. friends on the other side. (Interruption.) I said, I am giving the name which the Congress Party gave; I am not calling it by any new names whatsoever.

"So far as this policy of repression is concerned, Sir, it has been already stated by my friend who came before me that it is really repressive, because, innocent youths who are doing merely Satyagraha are (An hon. Member: 'Satyagraha or Duragraha?') I am not here to answer my hon. Friend. I shall go on."

MR. SPEAKER:—"The hon. Member may be allowed to go on without interruption."

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KHAN BAHADUR P. KHALIF-UL-LAH SAHIB BAHADUR:— "Innocent youths are clapped in jails in the name of this law for six months' rigorous imprisonment and even magistrates are making fun at them by saying that people who come to perform Satyagraha must be prepared to undergo every suffering. This is exactly the very thing which the Congress condemned in unmistakable terms when they were prosecuted by the previous Government. There is not one occasion which they missed when they did not condemn this repressive policy of the previous Government. I cannot refrain from saying 'What a fall was there my countrymen!' . . . (Loud cheers and laughter.) The Congress, the very Congress organization condemned this law as the most repressive and called it a Satanic piece of legislation passed under the direct orders of the Viceroy even without going through the formality of the Legislature; the very same Satanic law is being used as a weapon to safeguard the person of no less a person than the Hon. the Premier of this Presidency of Madras. I wonder what a pass the Government has come to. (Interruption.) Surely, Sir, interruptions are being made I do not know for what purpose. What was I doing, I am being asked I was never using these repressive laws during the very short time that I was in charge of Government. (Laughter.) Surely, there was no need for it and even if there was an agitation, if there was Satyagraha, if there was anything worse than that, I would never have resorted to this Satanic piece of so-called legislation." (Interruption.)

MR. SPEAKER: "I think the House must keep perfectly silent."

KHAN BAHADUR P. KHALIF-UL-LAH SAHIB BAHADUR:— "Coming to the question regarding this repressive policy, I have pointed out that the punishments given are unduly severe and really unthinkable, I would call them. They bear absolutely no proportion to the offence that is alleged against them.

"Lastly, Sir, I have to point out one very important matter in this connexion, namely, whether legally this section 7 of the Criminal Law Amendment Act is applicable to the case of people performing Satyagraha before the house of the Hon. the Premier; because that section reads that 'no person who loiters about the house, etc., of a Government officer'. I submit, Sir, it is my own humble view, and I think, it is correct, that the Hon. the Premier and the other Ministers are not officers of Government; they are Government themselves. Even that Satanic Government which promulgated this piece of legislation, never thought it necessary to extend the provisions of this Satanic Legislation to the Members of the Government themselves. They thought that they could save themselves. But now, Sir, we see the miserable plight of the Hon. the Premier trying to guard his house under section 7 of the Criminal Law Amendment Act. (Some hon. Members: 'Ho!')

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" My hon. Friend, Mr. Palat, has already referred to a statement of Mahatma Gandhi to the effect that there can be no compulsion in any scheme of Ahimsa. The Congress stands for Ahimsa. The Congress Government of Madras stands for Ahimsa and where is the place for compulsion. Where is the scope for compulsion in this regime of Ahimsa, I ask Sir. If only, Sir, my hon. Friend said that every Muslim ought to welcome this compulsory introduction of Hindi or Hindustani or whatever it may be called, I certainly shall welcome the Hon. Premier to introduce compulsory Urdu in every Muslim school in the province. I ask him here and in this House, if he is prepared to introduce compulsory Urdu as it obtains to-day in all the Muslim schools in this Presidency. If it is so, Sir, I welcome warmly the measure. Sir, I refuse to be compelled to read a language, the so-called Hindustani, that is sought to be introduced in the schools. The Mussalman, Sir, sets a very great value upon his culture, not merely upon his language. Now take the text book that is specified for these schools. Not one Muslim boy, not one Muslim child can start education unless it be in the name of Allah. Is that word printed in that book; how dare you compel a Muslim to take this book and start his education when this word does not find a place in the book which is known as compulsory Hindi or Hindustani text book. (Interruption.) I advise very sincerely and earnestly my Muslim brethren not to take up such a book at all. I think, Sir, I can claim that the entire Muslim population stands by me (hon. Members: 'No.') as is clearly shown by the fact that I made a challenge even several months ago, that on this question alone I am willing to fight any hon. Member sitting in this House in his own constituency or any hon. Muslim Member in his own Muslim constituency. I throw out the same challenge in this House (interruption) that if any hon. Member is prepared to resign his seat, I am prepared to resign mine and challenge him to stand in his own constituency." (Interruption.)

MR. SPEAKER:—"The hon. Member may resign, but he cannot call upon other hon. Members to resign."

KHAN BAHADUR P. KHALIF-UL-LAH SAHIB BAHADUR:— 7-45 p.m.
" It is perfectly legitimate on my part to make that challenge. I can safely say that I can beat my hon. Friend by a majority of 99 per cent, if not 100 per cent. (Cries of 'Oh!') There is no use of crying Oh! I have thrown out a challenge. If you are strong and if you are convinced that the people will support you, it is up to you to accept that challenge, resign your seat, and I shall resign my seat this moment, go to your constituency and stand for election on this very issue, and defeat you. I feel confident that the country stands by me. It is only in this view that I am opposed to the compulsory introduction of Hindi in schools. My hon. Friend has completely lost sight of that fact altogether. It is

not compulsory introduction of Urdu in Muslim schools, or compulsory introduction of Hindustani either in Urdu characters or Nagari characters. That is a different matter. These two things are different. If my hon. Friend does not understand it, I am really sorry for him. (Laughter.) It is true that he wanted to hint that twelve lakhs of Mappillas in Malabar, sixteen lakhs of Rowthers in Tamil Nadu and several lakhs in Andhra desa do not know Urdu. I may at once say that I am a Rowther myself; my mother-tongue is Tamil and not Urdu. I am not ashamed of it; I am proud of it. (Rao Bahadur Sir A. T. Pannir Selvam: one does not know Urdu, that one does not wish to know Urdu? if my mother-tongue is Tamil. And does it follow, simply because one does not know Urdu, that one does not wish to know Urdu? And this same thing applies to the twelve lakhs of Mappillas in Malabar, the sixteen lakhs of Rowthers in Tamil Nadu and the several lakhs in Andhra desa. I challenge my hon. Friend representing South Arcot Muhammadan Rural constituency, whether he has gone to that place and ascertained the views of the Rowthers about this subject. I challenge him, is he bold enough to go to South Arcot and show his head before his constituency on this issue?"

MR. BASHEER AHMED SAYEED: — "On a point of personal explanation, Sir, there is a limit for challenging. (Laughter.) I have addressed meetings; I have gone round the whole place, and I understand every Muslim is willing to learn the language of India in the Urdu script, if only opportunity is offered."

KHAN BAHADUR P. KHALIF-UL-LAH SAHIB BAHADUR: — "Sir, this is the first time I hear my friend saying that he has taken the views of his constituency. I have been reading the newspapers regularly and I have not seen anything in the papers about it at all. My only inference on his not accepting the challenge is that he has lost the confidence of his constituency, and therefore he dare not resign his seat and seek re-election on this issue. I am prepared to resign even to-morrow; I do not want to wait a single moment.

"Coming to Criminal Law Amendment Act, the Congress Government, wherever it may function whether in the North-West Frontier Province or in the Madras Province, I thought, would pursue the same policy. I see the same law has been repealed by the Congress Ministry in the North-West Frontier province, and I have seen Dr. Khare telling on more than one occasion that he has repealed this repressive and oppressive piece of legislation. And still, Sir, what do we see in Madras, in our province? Not only that piece of legislation is not repealed, but is being resorted to for defending, as I said before, the Hon. Premier himself from the loiterers in front of his house on the road. Not only that; the use of this Satanic legislation is being defended on the floor of this

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House! My own wonder is how he expects his defence of the use of this law will carry any conviction to the masses, before whom thousands of times the Hon. Premier has said and reiterated that the repeal of this repressive legislation will be the first business of the Ministry, should the Congress Party take charge of the affairs of Government? It is now nearly fourteen or fifteen months since the Congress Party assumed office; and so far, they have done nothing to repeal that Act. They have been waiting; and not only that, they have taken stock of it and have been using it against the very Satyagrahis, against whom, they declared once that this should not be used.

"Sir, since you have ruled that it is irrelevant to speak on Hindi or Urdu or Hindustani, I desist from speaking on that. I say the policy of repression is highly reprehensible, and the earlier that policy is given up, the better for the fair name of Congress, to which Hon. Ministers belong and the hon. Members of the Government Party belong."

* THE HON. MR. YAKUB HASAN:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, I did not intend to intervene in this debate; but now it has taken such a turn that if I keep quiet, my silence is likely to be misunderstood. Therefore, Sir, I wish to say very few words on this subject. Sir, the question before this House in the form of this resolution, which of all the people, the Leader of the Muslim League has chosen to bring forward, and that in this House, is to condemn the alleged repression of the Congress Government. Sir, one would have thought that that resolution would have been discussed on its own merits. The speakers who spoke on this resolution, I thought, would try to expose us, would try to show us that we have been doing something, which as Congress members we ought not to have done. I was eager to hear what they had to say in the matter. Everyone of us cannot see his own fault. For that, we must turn to our opponents to tell us what our faults are we must turn to them to learn our faults, acknowledge our mistakes, if any, convince ourselves whether we are pursuing a right or wrong course, and if found to be wrong, not persist in it thereafter. The Hon. Premier will in his reply deal with this aspect of the question, and deal with it very ably, Sir, and therefore I do not wish to say anything about that.

"Sir, it must be remembered that our fight before the first of April 1937 was against the British Government; it was a fight against a foreign Government; it was a fight of nationalists against a foreign Government; and in that fight we used all that was available to fight the foreign Government and to attain our object of driving it away from this country. The foreign Government brought forward laws, which we called repressive, because they wanted to repress us from carrying on our agitation against

the foreign Government. The same laws cannot be called repressive, if they are used by a popular Government against people who are out to prevent that popular Government from carrying on a legitimate act of spreading Hindustani. Whether a law is repressive or not has to be judged only from the purpose it is used for. When the foreign Government tries to repress the people of a country, and enacts laws to repress them, those laws are called repressive; but when that law is used against a people who are out to annoy the head of the Government, whose sole object is nothing but to annoy him, to make his work at home impossible when he sits at in his house and tries to carry on work there, when those people bawl out, call names and use abusive language against him, you cannot call it repressive. Give me, Sir, some law to prevent that kind of annoyance and nuisance. We find no such law at present in the statute book; and you shall see before long that we will bring such a law; and till we bring that law—till then—we are entitled to use every law that is available in the statute book to prevent such nuisance. (Mr. Basheer Ahmed: 'Hear, hear.') Sir, I do not wish to go into the details of the subject. All I wish to say is that there are a number of people at present who are not very happy on the fact that the Congress Party has come into power. I can understand those people who were a party; or rather I should say I I can understand some members of the party who were in power in the dyarchy, who had some power under British supervision, and had a subordinate position in the British Government of the Madras province; if that party, or some leading members of that party did something in order to make Congress Government unpopular, of course it would be a legitimate thing.

3 p.m. "Unfortunately among Mussalmans the anti-Congress mentality has spread of late with the result that Mussalmans are now mostly condemning everything that the Congress wishes to do for them. Even when the Congress does some good to them, they will have some suspicion about it, and they say that there must be something behind it, and that the Congress is doing it with some ulterior motive. That is the kind of mentality that has unfortunately developed among Mussalmans. I say to the Muslim League members and other Muslim members who do not see eye to eye with the Congress Mussalmans that they may be within their rights to carry on their agitation against the Congress and even against the Congress Government, but I would plead at the same time that they should not lose their sense of proportion and that they should not lose their balance—if I may be excused to say so.

"Now the question is distinct. We the Mussalmans of Madras have been working for the last 40 years to make Hindustani the language of all the Mussalmans of the Madras Presidency. In

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1901 when the All India Muslim Educational Conference was held here, in Madras, under the guidance of Nawab Mohsinul Mulk who was a great supporter of Hindustani . . ."

KHAN BAHADUR P. KHALIF-UL-LAH SAHIB BAHADUR:— "It was Urdu, not Hindustani."

THE HON. MR. YAKUB HASAN:—"Yes, it was Hindustani."

KHAN BAHADUR P. KHALIF-UL-LAH SAHIB BAHADUR:— "Not Hindustani but Urdu."

THE HON. MR. YAKUB HASAN:—"Yes, Hindustani."

KHAN BAHADUR P. KHALIF-UL-LAH SAHIB BAHADUR:— "Not Hindustani."

THE HON. MR. YAKUB HASAN:—"Hindustani language, Hindustani culture. So, Sir, I was going to say that one of the resolutions that were passed at the Conference was that Hindustani should be taught throughout the Presidency. Since that time, we have been working for that end. But unfortunately we made very little headway because the Mussalmans, on account of their laziness, talked much about Urdu but did nothing to spread it. We have been urging upon the Government that if there were twenty Muslim boys in a school, whether their mother tongue was Hindustani or not, there should be a teacher in that school to teach Urdu to those boys. That resolution was also put forward by the Committee which was appointed by the Government to look into the question of Muslim education. That Committee made several other recommendations and some of them were accepted by the Government. One of the recommendations of the Committee was that facilities should be given to Muslims throughout Malabar, Tamil Nad, Andhra Desa and everywhere, to learn Hindustani. However we are a small minority community, and the then Government, I mean the past Government which was British in character, said 'Why should we spend so much money on Urdu education? Why should we make special provision for giving Urdu education to Muslim boys? Why can't they learn Tamil, inasmuch as most of them are Tamilians? Why should they learn Hindustani, and why should district boards and municipalities be asked to have teachers for this purpose?' In this way there was a resistance to the Muslim proposal. We were in a minority, and notwithstanding our agitation, we did not succeed in it. Still we, Mussalman and Muslim National Organizations, who wanted for the last 40 years that Hindustani should become the language of all the Muslims throughout India, that it should be the language of the Muslims in Bengal, in Gujarat, in Maharashtra and elsewhere, have been doing what we could in our own way, and we have succeeded to

a very great extent. If to-day in this Southern India Hindustani is being spoken far and wide, it is because of our efforts. The Conference of 1901 adopted a resolution to the effect that Hindustani should be included among the languages that were recognized as being essential to a Government servant. Government servants were required to know two languages, and in that list of languages for Government servants, Hindustani was included, all because of our efforts. We did not give up our original ambition that Hindustani should be the language for the whole of India, but our progress in this direction was limited, because the majority community, the Hindus, were indifferent and would not learn that language. But now, thanks to the efforts of the Hindi Prachar Sabah, thousands and thousands of people are taking diplomas every year in that language. More and more people are taking to the study of that language, and now there are many Hindus who are very proficient in that language. Such being the case, is it not now the time for the Mussalmans who had all along wished that Hindustani should become the language of India, to support and welcome a measure that seeks to bring about this end? It is easy for them now to do, and I am sure all Mussalmans throughout the Presidency welcome the proposal. Messrs. Abdul Hameed Khan and Ahmed Badsha have in their speeches dragged in irrelevant things. They have not stopped with discussing about repression, but they have brought in Hindustani and Urdu and spoke vehemently about them unnecessarily, and that is the reason why it necessitated Mr. Basheer Ahmed to say something about it. I am also forced to speak on this matter.

"Sir, Mr. Khalif-ul-lah Sahib said that if Government were to bring in a measure to make the learning of Urdu compulsory in all Muslim schools, he would welcome it. There he is caught! (Laughter.) If the Government make the study of Urdu compulsory in all Muslim schools, Mr. Khalif-ul-lah will welcome it! Why does he not welcome it, Sir, when the same language is made compulsory for Hindus also?"

(Interruption by Mr. Khalif-ul-lah Sahib, Mr. Laljan and Rao Bahadur Sir Pannir Selvam.)

HON. MEMBERS:—"Order, order."

KHAN BAHADUR P. KHALIF-UL-LAH SAHIB BAHADUR:—"On a point of personal explanation. My hon. Friend, Mr. Basheer Ahmed said that Mussalmans cannot have any objection and that they ought to welcome this proposal for compulsory Hindi or Hindustani. In reply to that I said that so far as Mussalmans are concerned, if the Hindi or Hindustani that is now sought to be introduced in schools is such as was being taught for ages past, we would all welcome it. Surely, the insinuation made by my Hon. Friend . . ."

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* MR. SPEAKER:—" I think this is not a personal explanation. It is an endless speech which the hon. Member is not entitled to carry on."

THE HON. MR. YAKUB HASAN:—" Sir Pannir Selvam said that Hindustani is not the language of the Hindus, and he thinks, Hindus are justified in opposing it. But what I said was that if Mr. Kalif-ul-lah would welcome its being taught to Muslims compulsorily, he should also welcome the same being taught to Hindus also. With regard to Hindus of Tamil Nad, the case is somewhat different. They say that this is not their language, and the Tamilians take objection to it, on the ground that it will harm their language. I can understand that, and the question can be discussed on its own merits. I have no quarrel with them. But I have got a quarrel with that Mussalman, whether he is a Tamil Mussalman or whether he is an Andhra Mussalman or a Malayalee Mussalman or even a Karnataka Mussalman, who says that he wants that his children should learn Hindustani and at the same time wants to deny that privilege to his Hindu brethren. It is an admitted fact—and even Mr. Khalif-ul-lah Sahib, the arch-agitator in this case, admits that he will welcome it if all the Muslim children are made to learn Hindustani—that Mussalmans will welcome the proposal whereby all Muslim boys will be compelled to learn Hindustani. When once that is admitted, why do you not welcome a proposal whereby all boys, including Hindus, will be enabled to learn Hindustani. In fact the Mussalmans ought to welcome such a proposal, and I know that it has been welcomed for it is the triumph of the cause which Mussalmans were upholding so long.

" Now as regards the books and other things, we have taken the precaution to see that only pure Hindustani is taught. So, it does not matter in what script it is taught, whether in Nagari script or in the Urdu script. It makes no difference. Teachers are required to know both the scripts. There would have been valid ground for objection if Government had insisted that Muslim boys should learn Hindustani in Nagari script only. Had such been the case, the Mussalmans would have been justified in agitating against Hindustani or even carrying on satyagraha against it, if they like. In that case I would have certainly resigned my seat in the Cabinet and joined them." (Applause.)

* RAO BAHADUR SIR A. T. PANNIR SELVAM:—" Mr. Speaker, Sir, I do not propose to deal with the propriety of the arbitrary order of the Government in the matter of compulsory introduction of Hindi in the schools; nor do I propose to deal with the question of agitation against this order of the Government; nor do I intend to question the extravagant assertion made by some Members of the Government that this agitation is only the work of a few disgruntled persons; nor do I wish to say anything about the allegation made on behalf of the members of the Government

that this agitation was started by their political opponents; nor am I worried with the Government's seeking to minimize the volume of opinion in the country regarding this question. If they are not aware of the volume of opinion that is gathering against them, or if they will be willingly blind to that, I am not at all concerned with that. In fact as a political opponent, I would welcome such an attitude on their part.

" If I raise to speak on this occasion, it is only because I find that there has been a considerable attempt on the part of the Hon. Minister for Public Works, and Mr. Basheer Ahmed to confound the issue. The question at issue now is not one of Muslim versus non-Muslim. Nor is it a question of Hindi against Hindustani or Urdu. The agitation is mainly that of the Tamilians who feel that they are being forced to learn—whether it is a Muslim language or a Hindu language or whether you take it in a middle way, namely Hindustani—a foreign language. To Tamilians it is a language which is foreign in script, in words, in culture and in tradition. It is a language with which we have absolutely nothing to do. Language as you know has much to do with civilization and culture, and the Tamilians believe that by the introduction of this foreign language their own language, their own civilization and their own culture will be seriously affected. This is the issue that has to be kept now in our view. It is that issue that has been kept in front."

THE HON. MR. YAKUB HASAN :—" This is going to be in a Swaraj of Tamilians; you will be happy to live in it."

8-15 p.m. RAO BAHADUR SIR A. T. PANNIR SELVAM :—" Quite so, when I think of Swaraj. I look forward to a Government of the Tamilians by the Tamils for the Tamils. I am not thinking of the Dravidian civilization being sacrificed for the Aryan civilization. I do not wish for the subordination of Dravidian culture to any other culture. If you are going to drive out the British, drive them out. But then it should be only for a real Swaraj for our own people. But this is just a diversion caused by an interjection of the Hon. Minister for Public Works.

" My main object is to congratulate the Government on the consistency with which they have been carrying on the administration ever since they took up office, i.e., consistency in completely throwing overboard every one of the election pledges. One of the main items of the election pledges was the separation of the judiciary and the executive. This very Criminal Law Amendment Act as was pointed out by previous speakers was to be fought against and removed from the Statute book. That was one of the election pledges. Then again you were going to relieve the burden on agriculturists by the reduction of land revenue. There has been no relaxation in their burden. But a further burden

in some form or other is imposed on them. Then, as for the separation of the judiciary from the executive, verily because the country is being governed by the elected representatives of the people, the necessity for the separation has evaporated. So at least says our Premier. As regards the Criminal Law Amendment Act much has been said against it, that law was an anathema, that law was an Act of the bureaucratic Government. But you say, 'we people are here to put you down,' or in the language used by the Minister for Public Works 'to crush you down with this Act.' Because again you are the representatives of the people, all that was evil before has now become good, because they are to be used by you.

"Again, on the very question of Hindustani or Hindi where are the election pledges? Does this find a place in your programme? You say: 'We have been elected by the people, we are the representatives of the people; we are the custodians of the lives and privileges of the people, and what we do is right; we have come into power and we think it is right.'

"There were dictators before in our country and they were ruling for the benefit of the people under them. But you, with this very odious Act, want to put down the Dravidian language and substitute it by Aryan culture. By introducing the Hindustani language you are attempting to impose a foreign language, foreign in culture, foreign in tradition. Again you are surprised that we should protest against Hindi when we have been submitting meekly to the study of English. I can only say that for the original introduction of English, I was not responsible. It was introduced 150 years ago, when the people were helpless. It was a foreign language. But to-day it has become one with us, and come to stay with us. If there is to be a choice between Hindi and English, I should welcome English, because it is better than Hindi as a language of the public. But if you say that Hindi must be the language, the Andhras may ask why not Telugu. The Andhras have been agitating for a separate province. So they may press for it. Inevitably there will be a clash between Tamil and Hindi in our own province. Why should any Government have any common language, which must be imposed on all? Why should we anticipate what our future generations will want? Why should my friend Mr. Basheer Ahmed threaten us with the rule of the Tamil Nadu being the rule of Hindi-speaking people? Why should we anticipate these conflicts? Is it not calculated to injure the Dravidian culture which has been fighting for centuries against the domination of any foreign culture? This conflict has been going on for ages between Dravidian culture and Aryan culture. Take our Ramayana. Is it not merely symbolical of the clash of these cultures? Do you want to perpetuate it again? You want to make this

a province to be ruled over by Aryan culture in which the people of the country are going to have no voice, no power. The real reason for the agitation is because we want to fight against this concealed danger. This agitation is not artificially brought about. It is not the work of merely a few disgruntled persons, nor even that of your political opponents. Your Education Minister has himself openly admitted the genuineness of the feeling of the people on this question. If you are going to ignore it, do so by all means. Have resort to the Criminal Law Amendment Act, adopt repressive measures, and try and stifle public opinion. Do all this, and do more, to keep yourself floating; but the day is not far off when you will also rue it."

* THE HON. MR. T. PRAKASAM:—" Sir, this debate has become rather very hot. We have been anxious on this side to win the sympathy and support of the Opposition in this House, not only in this House but outside this House as well. But what do we find? When discussing the resolution Mr. Khalif-ul-lah was challenging and Sir Pannir Selvam was thumping his table, and the foundations of the building were shaking as it were. I was reminded, Sir, of what I witnessed so long ago in the German Parliament, Reichstag. As I was sitting in the upper gallery I saw two gentlemen getting up and challenging each other for a duel and walking out of the House. I did not have the opportunity of seeing the duel and seeing the result of it.

8-30 p.m. " Why this heat? Why this excitement, I am not able to understand. Members of the Opposition as well as Members on this side have got certain privileges. They have got the privilege of free speech. The privilege of free criticism is given to everyone here. They are free to use that privilege and criticise us and we are here to receive those criticisms and examine them to see whether there is anything that could be accepted by us with a view to correct our position. But there is a limit to the use of this privilege. The privilege should not be abused in a manner to let the public believe that the attack is not a genuine attack against a certain measure, but that it is an attack made for a different purpose altogether. I am glad, and I congratulate Sir Pannir Selvam, a Minister at one time, a gentleman who had been educated in a foreign country and has been practising the legal profession as a barrister, for his talk about the Tamil language and for his desire to have the country for the Tamilians and none else. As I was listening to his speech I was wondering whether it is the same Sir Pannir Selvam who had his education in England, who has been practising here and who held high offices till now, who was talking. Should he forget the constitution of this country? Should he forget the condition of his people? Should he forget that the Government to-day or tomorrow will not be the Government of the Tamils only for the

Tamil province, the Andhras only for the Andhra province and the Malabar people only for the Malabar province? He should know, as a gentleman who held so many offices that there is a Central Government, that there is Federation coming. Federation is coming upon him and upon his children. He will see before long that the Federal Government will come into operation and, when members are sent from this province to the Centre, he will probably be one and a Minister even and, at that time, his own children will not care for him or for his advice if that is going to be against the learning of Hindi or Hindustani."

RAO BAHADUR SIR A. T. PANNIR SELVAM:—"A word of personal explanation, Sir. I am not against the learning of Hindi or Hindustani or Urdu; but I am against compulsion being applied on any boy for learning a language against his will. There is a fundamental difference between that and what the Hon. Minister has been attributing to me."

THE HON. MR. T. PRAKASAM:—"There is no good confusing issues by attempting to offer explanations in the middle of my speech. I have not digressed from the point raised by the hon. Member. He said about the Tamils only governing the Tamil province forgetting everything else in India. That is why I had to point out to the hon. Member that there is another Government to which he himself would go and where he or his sons would be Ministers. There would be no English language in which they can address the Chamber. And he is against the learning of Hindustani which is spoken by about 20 crores of people in India as stated by the Hon. Muhammad Pasha Saheb, and which will be the language of the Federal Assembly at no distant date. Those who carry on this agitation against Hindustani or Urdu, whatever you may call it, are committing a sin against their children. I said that elsewhere and I repeat it today. Educating one's children is the primary duty of the parents. The parents will not be always permitted to prescribe the language that should be taught to their children. Next to them, or even before them, the State would come in in this matter. It is for the State to prescribe the language in which the children should be educated. (Sir A. T. Pannir Selvam: 'Question.') The hon. Member says: 'Question.' He can never question a fundamental doctrine applicable to the whole universe. (Loud laughter.) A doctrine of that kind can never be questioned so lightly. The State has taken up in this province this subject and has prescribed Hindustani as a compulsory subject for the children. Has this been sprung upon this country for the first time? The name 'Hindustani' might have been used on account of the objections taken with a view to satisfy those friends and to get Sir Pannir Selvam's support also. The subject of Hindi has been before this country ever since the political movement was

started by that single man who has been quoted often by everybody. My Hon. Colleague, Mr. Yakub Hasan, says that I might use the name 'Hindustani' only and not 'Hindi.' I may in this connexion tell my Hon. Colleague and this House, Sir, that during a recent research work I was doing in another connexion, I came upon this word 'Hindi' in a book called 'Ain-i-Akbari' written in the days of Emperor Akbar about the revenue system prevailing in those days. And that system, Sir, has become the basis of the present revenue system of the Government to-day. I cannot go beyond that and I do not wish to enter into any controversy over that matter. I shall use the word 'Hindustani' only as advised by my Hon. Colleague. Sir, some 20 years ago when Gandiji started this movement, he did not dream of these elections and he never knew that the Provincial Governments would come into the hands of Congressmen. He started it with a vision and it has been before the public for 20 years. Sir Pannir Selvam speaks of the Tamil country for the Tamilians alone. Has he ever tried to know the extent to which Hindi has already spread in the Tamil districts? Has he tried to know to what extent little boys and girls and even elders have learnt Hindi during the last 20 years? Ignoring these things he should not attempt to clutch at anything that comes in his way and turn it against his political opponents. But I must congratulate Sir Pannir Selvam in that he has not concealed his mind. He said that, as a political opponent, he would take advantage of anything that comes in his way. In our anxiety to make friends with him and to take him with us, may I be permitted to tell him, Sir, that he should not adopt the policy of catching hold of anything that comes in the way and with it attack his political opponents? Anyhow, Sir, that is not a policy that should be adopted in a matter connected with education.

"Now, what is it that they have made out of this Hindi question? Sir, it is said that it was a wrong move to have made this compulsory. Sir Pannir Selvam himself and almost all the members of this House who have studied in schools have had to go through a compulsory course of English language. Can any one come forward and say that English was the language of those who were ruling us before the British came into this country? And yet, Sir, that language has been accepted by all of us and it has been forced on our children also. Did any one then say that the English language should not be forced on him? I am glad, Sir, that some of the hon. Members who were speaking with some authority have stated the previous history of Hindi. I am one of those who have the privilege to stand up before this House and say that 50 years ago I was learning Urdu in some little place here in the north of Madras. As the previous rulers were Muslims, their language was still there. It was taught in schools and I

learnt Urdu in a school more than 50 years ago. That being the case, what can be the justification on the part of hon. Members of the Muslim community for their opposition to this question and for the spirit in which they have been opposing it? There is absolutely no justification. We are anxious to be with you, to work with you and carry on the administration with your help. Is this the way in which you should treat this Government because it is coming forward, because it is pressing forward to make friends with you, even with you repeatedly? That is not the spirit in which you should view it. You have joined issue on a wrong point altogether. We are here to face any criticism of yours; we are here to meet your challenge when it comes legitimately. Why do you come on a wrong issue and put yourselves in a hole like this? (Loud applause.)

"Sir, one hon. Member had had the courage to say here 'Look at the pitiable and miserable condition of the Prime Minister.' He should not have said that light-heartedly. He is one who occupied the position of a Minister for some little time before we came into office. He should have thought awhile before he used that expression. What is there in the condition of the Hon. the Prime Minister to-day which he has thought fit to call miserable? If the Prime Minister is in a miserable condition, everyone of the Ministers is in the same miserable condition; and not only the Ministers, but every one sitting on this side or that is in the same miserable condition. (Cheers.) We are not in a miserable condition. People should not come here and get up and make speeches in that way forgetting their responsibility to the outside world and saying that the Government are committing a crime in calling upon the young men of this country to learn a language which would help them in forming the Central Government and running the administration there. Is there anything of a crime in this? Can you not think awhile and judge for yourself? Supposing we are your opponents, is it right that you should get up and take advantage of a procession with black flags decrying the compulsory introduction of Hindustani? You are expected to exercise your judgment, examine the whole position and see whether your political opponents sitting here are really committing any crime. If they are committing any crime, certainly you are entitled to challenge them. (Rao Bahadur Sir A. T. Pannir Selvam: 'We are charging you. You are committing a crime.') Sir Pannir Selvam says so. I have told him and those who think with him that they are committing a sin against themselves and their children. (Loud cheers.) When you deny to your children the benefit of the education that the State offers and has a right to offer, you are committing a crime of the worst kind and worse even than that is the crime which those misguided men are committing to-day by

standing in front of the Hon. the Premier's house and making a nuisance of themselves (applause) using filthy language against him.

8-45 p.m. "Now let us examine what is going on in front of the Premier's house. I am a man who has travelled much in the outside world. I am a man who came into this movement at an advanced stage and age also. What is it that is going on in front of the Premier's house? Any dispassionate gentleman who takes an impartial view, if he goes and sits in front of the Premier's house for a few minutes, would see for himself the hell of noise made and foul and filthy language used by the boys (Cries of 'Shame, shame'). And who are there in the house? Is it the Prime Minister? The Prime Minister goes on tour from one end of the Presidency to the other. These people go and sit in front of the Premier's house, day in and day out, and they go on using foul language and making hell of noise when only ladies and children are in the house. (An hon. Member: 'No, it is not so.') It is worse than a crime. I say it is a crime of the worst character. (Interruption by Rao Bahadur Sir A. T. Pannir Selvam.) I have not yielded yet, Sir. Do not make statements which are not supported by evidence. I appeal to Sir Pannir Selvam and his friend not to be carried away by excitement. This is not a matter for excitement. This is a simple proposition, a resolution on which we should not have to talk such things and you will be free in your turn to make speeches."

AN HON. MEMBER:—"We are not allowed."

THE HON. MR. T. PRAKASAM:—"No, no. You are allowed. You are only anxious to interrupt, that is all. I want to tell you one fact. Mr. Appadurai Pillai is a steady politician, who will not always speak his own opinions. (Laughter.) (Sir Pannir Selvam interrupted and suggested that Mr. Pillai was attacked.) He would try to fortify what he would like to express by quoting authorities. I don't mean anything else. You need not be in a hurry to set him up. (Laughter and applause.) Mr. Appadurai Pillai referred to Pandit Kunzru's speech and another speech and another speech. Speeches are made by Pandit Kunzru and others, but they have not witnessed what is going on in front of the Premier's house. From the speeches made by the Opposition members, it would appear to the outside world that there was really some question of civil liberty being interfered with. There is not any question of civil liberty here, Sir, allow me to tell all the hon. Members of the House, no civil liberty is being interfered with here. If there should be any provision under which these people could be removed or dealt with, we would have done so. Somebody said there was a provision in the Nuisance Act; why could they not be removed under it. But there is no provision in the Acts, so far as we have been advised and so far as

we have known under which this sort of thing, the new crime that has been now created could be removed or could be dealt with. That was the real situation that has arisen and what is to be done under those circumstances? We have no objection to an agitation of this sort with the marching of processions with black flags, from Cape Comorin to Madras and to the northern parts of the Presidency. But what is done in front of the Premier's house is not that. Should they sit down and see all these things being done? It was a nuisance for which there was no provision in the law. They sit in front of the Prime Minister's house and make it intolerable for the inmates of the house to live there. I will take the House into my confidence and tell the House a small incident. I advised the Prime Minister: 'This nuisance has become so serious. Can we not do something? We are the Government. Can we not do something by appointing our officers to prevent these people from coming in front of the Premier's house altogether?' I will tell you what answer the Premier gave. He did not give me an answer at once. It looked as if he was inclined to agree with me. But when I asked him after a day or two, whether he had given effect to it, he said: 'How can I give effect to it? If there is a nuisance in front of my house, can I remove it to the front of somebody else's house, and make them suffer? Let them be only here. I do not want to put a policeman there and a policeman here and remove them to make trouble in front of other people's houses.' That is the sort of Prime Minister you have got. He was characterized as a dictator (Hear, hear) on the application of the Criminal Law Amendment Act. We do not deny we attacked it; we do not deny that we suffered under it but our sufferings were under altogether a different set of conditions. Never was such a crime committed in front of the house of the head of the Government in the manner in which it has been done. The Criminal Law Amendment Act would not be on the statute book for a long time. We will take it away when we get from this House some other law which would prevent crimes of this character that have been newly invented with a view to embarass the Government. Do not believe that this Government would run away by this sort of obstruction and by this sort of support given in an ill-advised manner. We will face it. The Government will face it. There is no difficulty about it. I may tell you what happened in Ireland and what happened here. What happened in Ireland may happen in India, under the same circumstances, only without bloodshed. Cosgrave was in office: De Valera was in opposition. Cosgrave framed laws with a view to suppress De Valera and his followers. The Act provided that there need not be direct evidence or even circumstantial evidence. If there was suspicion, they could be booked and they could be sentenced, even to capital punishment. Another thing I forgot to tell you. There was to be no appeal from that sentence. De Valera survived. (Rao Bahadur Sir A. T. Pannir Selvam: 'So will we.')

Welcome, welcome to take this office in the legitimate course. Do not lend yourselves to support such things. (Hear, hear.) What happened? Shortly after this Act was attempted to be applied against De Valera, De Valera came into office. (Rao Bahadur Sir A. T. Pannir Selvam: 'Hear, hear.') He must wait a little longer and see. De Valera had the whole administration of the country in his hands and had full work to do. But Cosgrave started giving trouble. Cosgrave thought that because De Valera opposed the law which he had framed, he would not apply it against him. He was mistaken. De Valera had no time to think about anything. He applied against Cosgrave and his followers the laws he had framed. Allow me to tell the Members of this House, during the past one year, this Government has been endeavouring to do its best, with the support of you all, with your sympathy and support. You must wait for your opportunity to defeat this Government on issues which are legitimate and proper. (An hon. Member interrupted.) Sir Pannir Selvam admitted that he would take anything that came his way as a political opponent. Pray, don't do that. Here we have had hardly time to get through the programme that we chalked out during one year. Wonderfully in an unexpected way some gentleman who had not been satisfied with himself and with the whole world itself starts a movement and then leads it to the front of the Premier's house to make a hell of noise, to-morrow to my house and then to the house of every one who has given us the vote and put this Government in office. Will that be tolerated? You will find, Sir, that it is not out of love for this Criminal Law Amendment Act that it has been applied. It has been applied under strange circumstances, and you will find, that this is not the Government that tries to carry on by a repressive policy. There is no repression here at all. On the other hand, the tolerance was too much and it was misunderstood. The Prime Minister suspended arrests for some time. What happened? Some gentleman, Pandit Kunzru came and talked and some other gentleman and some other gentleman talked. They thought they had gathered strength on account of Pandit Kunzru's speech. Then what happened? Because arrests had been suspended for some days, a larger force came in and began to make a hell of trouble and distribute all sorts of literature in front of the Premier's house. I am telling all this to this hon. House with a view to impress upon their minds that there was no desire on the part of the Government with regard to the enforcement of repression in putting down this agitation. None could have shown greater tolerance than the Prime Minister and his Government in regard to this matter. The Act was applied only because there was no sufficient interval to frame another measure, another piece of legislation. We are loath to use it. We do not like the Criminal Law Amendment Act ourselves. But if you want to do such acts with a view to find anything as a weapon to attack this Government, we have to defend ourselves and

we have defended ourselves. Never go under the impression, no one hon. Member should go under the impression that any intolerance has been shown in regard to this matter. Let the movement thrive; let it gather strength, if it can. If they can persuade the nation, the country, that what has been done by the Government is wrong, well then, the Government will have to pay for it. If you are having a perfectly legitimate and constitutional movement, I will even go the length of allowing these misguided young men to adopt even unconstitutional methods. But let it be through non-violence which was adopted by those who fought for the freedom of the country. With these words, I sit down."

* KUMARARAJA MUTHIAH CHETTIYAR OF CHETTINAD: — 9 p.m.
" Mr. Speaker, Sir, the discussion on this resolution has taken a varied course. The resolution that has been moved and the resolution given notice of by a Member of our party, Diwan Bahadur Appadurai Pillai, are both fairly similar in character and relate to the repressive measures of the Government. The discussion that has followed has been to a very large extent on the question of the compulsory introduction of Hindi. At one stage during the debate there was a doubt whether it was proper to discuss more elaborately the question of the introduction of Hindi and whether it was not proper to confine the discussion to the measures adopted by the Government to put down the agitation against Hindi. But inasmuch as discussion has been allowed on both the points I hope I will be permitted to speak on both the points. I assure you, Sir, I will not take up the time of the House as it is already 9 o'clock and there must be some time for the Government to reply after I have finished.

" Sir, the object of the resolution is to bring to the notice of the House the very strong feeling in the Province that the Criminal Law Amendment Act should not have been invoked in the manner it has been done in the last few months. Many like me, feel very strongly that it was absolutely unnecessary to have introduced Hindi compulsorily. Myself and members of my party have made our views very plain on this question when the demand for grant in this connection came up in the House during the last Budget session. I do not want to repeat the arguments advanced by hon. Members on this side of the House on this point on that occasion. It should be clearly understood, however much the Government might be anxious to introduce Hindi compulsorily, that it has provoked serious opposition in the country. Though some hon. Members may think that the opposition to Hindi is directed by political opponents, I for one am not prepared to accept that statement *in toto*, for I believe strongly that this opposition is being carried on to-day not only by political opponents of the Congress Party but by many persons who had never been in politics all their life. I only wish to impress upon the Government

the natural apprehensions created in the minds of many persons interested in the welfare of Tamil culture and literature. I do want the Government to appreciate the sincerity of quite a number of persons in the Tamil country in opposing Hindi and to understand that these persons have been actuated by very good motives for the future of Tamil literature and culture.

" The agitation that has been carried on for the last few months is mainly with the object of impressing upon the Government that it is unnecessary to introduce Hindi compulsorily. The opposition would have died down if the Government had conceded their point. I know that they have conceded to a small extent, viz., that boys are not compelled to pass an examination in Hindi. Even that has not allayed the apprehensions, for they feel that though it is not compulsory to get a number of marks in Hindi and pass an examination in it now. . . "

THE HON. MR. T. PRAKASAM:—" That has been there from the very beginning."

KUMARARAJA MUTHIAH CHETTIYAR OF CHETTINAD:—" I stand corrected. I am much obliged to the Hon. Minister for giving me the information. I am happy to think that the Government have to that extent agreed with us. Still why should there be this apprehension on the part of the people? They think that after some time the passing of an examination will be made a qualification for appointments and other things. We should be glad to know from the Government about this. But how can the Government give a guarantee for what will happen in the distant future? Even if they give a guarantee now who can say who will be in power after five years or seven years? Even assuming that the Congress party is in power it will not be possible for the present members of the Congress Cabinet to envisage what the members of a future Congress Cabinet would do? If many lovers of Tamil in this country have come forward with this agitation it is due to their real apprehensions in this matter.

" Sir, we are now primarily concerned in this resolution with the application of the Criminal Law Amendment Act. On the question of the necessity for a compulsory study of Hindi many hon. Members have spoken eloquently. My hon. Friend, the new addition to this House from North Arcot, the Muslim Member, has very intelligently put forward arguments to show that there is no necessity for compulsion and that if there is to be a language for all India it should evolve of its own accord and not by compulsion. I heartily agree with most of his arguments to the effect that there is no necessity for compulsion. If I remember rightly, Sir,—I would stand corrected if I am wrong—the Government have stated that the people are with them in regard to the

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compulsory introduction of Hindi. If people are with them why then do they resort to this compulsion? They could easily rely on the strength of their great organisation in the country. If they feel that the majority of the people are with them there should be absolutely no difficulty in introducing Hindi on an optional basis and at the same time seeing to it that most of the boys learnt Hindi. Suggestions have been made that indirect help and encouragement may be given to boys who take up Hindi by way of prizes, fee concessions and other things. The Government will realize the volume of objection if they meet some parents who have real apprehensions in the matter. There has been much genuine agitation in this respect however much the Government might think that there are only a few persons who carry on this agitation. However, if the persons are so few as the Government think them to be, there is no necessity for Government to worry.

" With regard to the application of the Criminal Law Amendment Act, I do not want to detail the history of that Act as my hon. Friend Diwan Bahadur Appadurai Pillai has already given a learned discourse on the history of the movement for the repeal of the Act and of how Congressmen have been ardently urging the repeal of the enactment. I do not want to repeat those arguments. Sir, it has been a surprise to many people in this province to find that the Congress Government are still trying to use this Act which they never intended to use. The bitterest critics of the measure have all been Congressmen, and one of their election pledges was that these repressive laws would cease to function as soon as Congressmen came into power. Perhaps they may say now, that circumstances have changed. But I do say that circumstances have not changed so as to warrant the use of such measures however provocative the Government may consider the methods of the anti-Hindi agitators. What will the public think, Sir, particularly after the advent of Provincial Autonomy? What will they feel, Sir, when they find that the Government is run with the aid of repressive laws? I would like the Prime Minister to realize the full implications of a popular Government being run with the aid of repressive laws. Apart from casting to the winds your election pledges, are you right in taking shelter behind an Act, the main object of which is the suppression of civil liberty? I may remind the House that the Executive Committee of the Civil Liberties Union recently passed a resolution to the effect that while they disapprove of the methods of the anti-Hindi agitators they were constrained to disapprove the action of the Government also in applying the Criminal Law Amendment Act. The whole position reduces itself to this: The present laws are quite enough to deal with the situation without resorting to the Criminal Law Amendment Act. There are many friendly critics of the Congress who think that the provisions of the ordinary law are quite enough. I am not a lawyer myself and I cannot offhand mention the laws.

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But if I am given time I will give the codes and the sections. For the moment I do not think I need take the time of the House any further than saying that the ordinary laws of the country are quite enough to deal with the situation. It has been admitted that the Criminal Law Amendment Act was promulgated and used in times of emergency by the then Government. I ask, Sir, whether that emergency has arisen to-day? I do not think the Government will go to the extent of saying that such an emergency has come as to make the laws of the country quite inadequate. It is the firm conviction of friends like me that the present laws are quite enough to deal with the situation, even if the Government want to put down this agitation.

"Sir, the Government or the Members of the Government in their various speeches have said that it is necessary to implement the resolutions of this Legislature particularly in the matter of Hindi. If the Government should realize their allegiance to the Legislature, I ask them, should they not realize also that the ultimate body to which they owe their allegiance is the electorate to whom they have already given a pledge to the effect that the repressive laws will be repealed. Sir, my main argument is that the application of the Criminal Law Amendment Act is absolutely not necessary and is not warranted by the situation, and we expect the head of the Government to recognise that for a popular Government it is absolutely unnecessary to continue the application of the said Act and that repressive laws must cease to apply."

MR. ABDUL HAMEED KHAN:—"When will I have my turn to reply, Sir?"

MR. SPEAKER:—"After the Prime Minister's speech."

9-15 p.m. * THE HON. MR. C. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR:—"Sir, it is a matter of great regret that we have been the cause of so much inconvenience to hon. Members who have had to stay so long for this. I should have requested you, Sir, under ordinary circumstances, to have taken private members' resolutions to have lapsed last night. But I should have been the cause of justifiable misunderstanding if we did not give ample, and more than ample time for this, what may practically be called an attempt to censure the Government. There is no difference between a vote of censure and the resolution now proposed. It is in that spirit and in that view that we thought it our duty to give the whole of to-day for private members' resolutions. It is a pity that some part of it was taken up by certain other matters, and that members would have to wait probably till ten o'clock to-night. At the same time, let me thank you, Sir, for giving us this opportunity of defending ourselves. The question has been debated on from all points of view; some of the points were very interesting, but at this late hour, being irrelevant to the main issue, they would have to be put aside by me. The whole question of whether the particular dilect we seek to introduce in the schools is one that ought to be

encouraged by the Mussalmans in their own interests or whether it is one that the Mussalmans according to their traditions accept as what they should love, as distinguished from a variant dialect, or whether it is the dialect spoken in Lucknow and Delhi alone or perhaps in Agra also, or whether it is a purer form of the language that Mussalmans in South India are speaking as their mother-tongue, and whether it is not really the standardized mother-tongue of some of the gentlemen who have spoken on this resolution here—all these are very interesting, and important also; but I submit for the vote of censure that is on the table to-day, they are irrelevant. Therefore it is that I do not go into all that, though I should have loved to discuss those questions rather than a question of this kind.

"What is the charge against the Government? There again, there are two currents of thought running, not perhaps plainly expressed, but still plainly running. There are some who feel 'Oh, satyagraha, picketing, Criminal Law Amendment Act, repression! You are paid in your own coin. Great satisfaction to us!'. Embarassing us by itself gives great satisfaction to some people, because these Congressmen have been paid in their own coin. But that current of thought I need not deal with to-day. The other current of thought is: 'We thought that these people were opposed to repression by nature, by up-bringing and by their own suffering; they have condemned repressive laws; now we have discovered a situation and a method by which they have no alternative but to use these repressive laws; they cannot use these repressive laws, or they won't use these repressive laws, and so we can successfully embarass them'. And they tried. But lo! and behold! 'This inconsistent Prime Minister says he will use this Act, this repression; he has broken his implicit promise; we will charge him with dishonesty and inconsistency.' They are very bitter. They feel extraordinarily disappointed that when they had depended on the creed of the Congress, on the statements of the Congress that they will not hinder the course of opposition and defiance in this way, in parrot-like copy of the Congress methods—they are grievously disappointed with our resorting to the methods and to the very law under which we ourselves had suffered. This disappointment, I say, they deserve. I have no apology to make on that basis. Much reference was made to the creed of the Congress, to the creed of the non-co-operators and to the statements made by all and sundry. The Criminal Law Amendment Act was also dealt with. Let me summarize the position for the hon. Member who seconded the proposition—Mr. A. Appadurai Pillai—Innocent Soul!—I must deal with him first. He says this is a good movement. He says 'If only you drop compulsion, the whole thing will go.' Let me tell him, Sir, the whole thing will not go if I drop this, and if I drop anything else also. Because, the object is clear. The object is *not* to prevent Hindustani from being learnt by

boys and girls; the object is to obstruct this Government, to defy this Government, if obstruction won't do; to do anything to stop this Government which anything else will not do. Gentlemen opposite refer to our creed. I do not think that I need go beyond the author of this creed, Mahatma Gandhi. I am not fond of quoting him; I have not consciously quoted him up till now in this House; but since those who wish to move this censure against the Government quote him, I want that he should be quoted properly. That is why I quote him. Sir, those who have started with the stream, or rather the fish which have started so to say at the source, at Hardwar, know the Ganges as it runs along. They need not make tests to find the quality of the water. When we have started with that stream of satyagraha and with these doctrines, I do not think I shall be presumptuous if I say that we instinctively understand it like fish understanding their own water. But, as I said yesterday in the same connexion, a compounder is different from a doctor. The compounder goes by labels, but the doctor goes by ultimate knowledge. I shall not presume to be the doctor; that is why I quote Mahatma Gandhi himself. Now, in the year 1925, when the boycott of law courts was in full swing, the law courts were under lock and key against all Congressmen; they were not allowed to go to courts and plead or take cases without losing their caste in the Congress, not like now; again, they were at that time in the same manner as now people do, beginning to what they call 'picket'—I do not call it picketing. I would call it by its true name, as my colleague called it a few minutes ago in his speech concerning picketing. In the same manner as these gentlemen in their activities thought that the Congress Ministry was not going to use any repressive measures as they call them, they thought 'well, we will be prosecuted for nuisance perhaps; we will be taken to honorary magistrates who will perhaps inflict a fine of Rs. 5. That is all, there is money available; Rs. 3,000 at the rate of Rs. 5 each for 600 boys does not matter.' 'Or well, even if it be a month's imprisonment,—that is very unlikely, but even if it is so much as that—we will certainly come back. It is a fairly good joke.' They thought like that and they were disappointed. The great, long and terrible punishment of six months' imprisonment is given. Sir, to those who have talked the language of Satyagraha, six months used to be a shame. Nothing less than two years would satisfy our hearts then. The six months' man would hang down his head as soon as the sentence was pronounced for the shame of having received a light sentence. Well, six months is referred to as very terrible. I do not want to go into that; but a disappointment such as I referred to, was shared by another set of people in 1925 in another case I am referring to. In those days, people borrowed money from our khadi boards, from our Congress Committees, and they would not pay; they wanted to deceive and said: 'You cannot go to law courts, you have promised us that you would not go to courts.' Just like

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some friends to-day, then too there were friends who thought that we could not go to law courts as we were boycotting them, that it would be a damn shame if we did and we would be losing our caste. Therefore we would let money go and we won't prosecute or do anything. Here is what Mahatmaji stated at that time:—

'An Andhra friend writes'—that is how he begins—'Many people are taking undue advantage and not paying the amounts due to Congress Committees and Khadder Boards, knowing it for certain—that they would not proceed against them in British Courts. This of course amounts to misappropriation and cheating, if not worse. In view of what you have written already regarding misappropriation of funds and now the removal of ban on courts, I am quite sure that the Congress Committees can proceed in courts under these circumstances.'

"That is the quotation from the letter, and Mahatmaji has replied thus:—

'I have already given my opinion in such a case. I have no doubt that even when the boycott of courts was on foot, it was the duty of Congress Committees to proceed against fraudulent and defaulting debtors. The boycott was not meant for the Congress to commit suicide. It presupposed honesty on the part of those who dealt with the Congress.'

"Sir, the principle is the same. If we had been robbed or cheated of our money, there was no boycott of courts or this or that. That is the compounder's label. But I want to tell you that this principle is not in one article of 'Young India'; I can quote a few more, but I do not want to take time, because it is a definite, well-established principle from the very beginning. If I have a rope and use it to draw water or give it to a child to draw water, the rope is to be used for drawing water only, not to entangle the child's legs and to put the child into the well to die there. These creeds, doctrines and principles are intended for honest application, for those who believed in them,—not as false defences, not as subterfuges for those who would escape and not for those who knew nothing of those dotcrines and who want to take advantage of them for their own benefit or gain. Sir, suppose Japan to-day started telling China—not the Japanese soldiers but the camp followers—'You are Buddhists, you are against killing; you have sworn to that effect, how can you attack the Japanese soldiers; why are you using these weapons which Buddha did not allow'—would it not be ridiculous? It will be equally ridiculous for people who have done anything which Mr. Prakasam has just described, or people who have instigated them to do those things or people who have paid them to do those things, or for people who have tolerated them to do those things—I come to the last class, because it is not for them even to tolerate them, apart from actually giving encouragement to them—Is it for them to say that we should not use an Act which we wanted to be repealed in the year 1935 and which we then objected to? It is ridiculous.

"Sir, I do not claim to be a perfectly patient man. I do not claim to be a perfectly non-violent man, but I claim I have been

patient, I have been non-violent. 'Repression' is the word used. I had intended, Sir, to describe what was done. I was intending to describe the offence first before describing what was done with the offenders; but I am very glad that I am saved that by my colleague.

What is it that is done by the offenders? I do not mind—one of my hon. Friends who spoke referred to it—the *noise*. I have one ear which is working and another ear which is deaf. I can sleep in a railway train, in a market, if necessary, with the wrong ear up and the right ear down. (Laughter.) I do not mind the noise at all. But there is a noise which I mind very much—a noise which tells people to 'hate one another,' a noise which rouses hatred of the worst type, a noise which gives voice to ideas which are dangerous for the country—hatred between class and class. Do hon. Members know how this Government is described by those boys, who are made to describe without understanding it? They describe by caste, describe by their sacred thread, describe by the tuft of hair on their head. (Hon. Members: 'Shame!') Is that noise there? If would cut hon. Members to the quick if similar language were used which could be understood or felt by hon .Members who spoke here before on behalf of the resolution, even if it were whispered in the slightest tone in the ear. Well, it is not because I was annoyed that I am displeased with it, but because it is positively dangerous to the country; it would be suicidal to the progress of the country if such things were allowed. These communal hatreds, if they were developed for real communal hatred, I would tolerate them gladly, because the hatred is there and it is good to know it; but if the hatred is developed in boys who have no such hatred and developed for petty purposes of their own, I am angry. This communal hatred is nothing. We are bound to deal with this communal hatred and we can deal with it, Sir. The previous Government that was in possession—I am not referring to the temporary Ministry—the permanent Government that was before in power—they might have been indifferent to the permanent evil of communal hatred. They only cared for peace and order; communal hatred disturbed order and so they did not want it. But, surely we have a greater interest in preventing these communal hatreds and the development of communal hatreds. They could have been satisfied with just enough arrangement of law, police and order and machinery to meet communal hatred to the point of and not allowing its development into a communal disturbance. We cannot be satisfied with the minimum, because it will kill like itself, if we allow these things. That is the reason why, Sir, we want to stop it. It is not enough to give Rs. 2 fine or As. 4 fine for such things. It is an annoyance to the national heart and not merely annoyance to a gentleman who wants to sleep or carry on his work. What is being done with them?

18th August 1938] [Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar]

" ' Repression '—we used the word, Congressmen used the word ' repression,' but they never used the word ' repression ' for the trial of a man for any offence or any trial with all the paraphernalia of lawyers, appeals, witnesses and adjournments of courts, with rights of appeal, with rights of stay application, with right of arguments to be carried on interminably and ending in three months, four months, five months, six months, or one year's imprisonment. Did we ever call it repression? Never. When people were not prosecuted or tried or arrested, but were beaten, bones were broken and physical injuries mercilessly dealt, we used the word repression; but even then, not we, but others used the word ' repression.' Sir, those who are now in Government here never complained about trials, perhaps, never complained even about repression, never complained certainly about trials. This resolution which is placed before this House to-day refers to repression. Not even the vilest abuse that I have read with these eyes, printed in literature, multiplied by the tens of thousands and circulated among ignorant masses, not even the vilest abuse and falsest statements made therein, had been made the subject-matter of prosecution. Have I taken two lakhs of rupees from the Shermadevi Gurukula? Yet, I have read it with my own eyes in this connexion,—printed and published. Have I asked for a prosecution? No. Has a single procession been stopped? Has a single demonstration been ordered not to be conducted under section 144? Some men told me, ' Why not you simplify matters? This Criminal Law Amendment Act is objected to. Get an order passed under section 144 and it will take its own course. Men are used to it. Nobody will call it repression.' I said ' No.' I cannot ask a false statement to be made that there was going to be a breach of the peace in front of my house, because of this; there would be no such breach of the peace. I won't allow such a statement to be made. I cannot ask for an order under section 144 or 107. I cannot say under section 504, that I was going to commit a breach of the peace or that any others were going to commit a breach of the peace, whatever may be the provocation. It would be wrong to say, therefore, that there is ground for applying those sections.

" ' Compounders ' tell me " why don't you apply section 107? ' Section 107 cannot be applied unless I make a false statement that they are going to commit a breach of the peace. They are only going to insult. They would commit a breach of the peace only if I went out of the picture. It would not be right to make that statement and apply either section 107 or 144. The only other section that any legal compounder can tell me is 290, i.e., to take him to an honorary magistrate and ask the latter to fine for a casual nuisance. Why, you have seen with your own eyes how a casual nuisance offender is treated with a light heart. A man

with a naked knife goes up to the platform in an enormous crowd. He is sent home with a fine. No quarrel with that. But is this a casual offence? It is deliberately organized by people who remain behind. Boys who do not know to read or write a word of Tamil, come and say ' Let Hindi perish for ever ' ' Let Aryan rule perish ' and those boys do not even know how to pronounce properly the Tamil words they utter. They are made to suffer. Those who instigate them are prosecuted for abetment and that is called repression. I say an abetter is the principal offender in that case, not the boy who comes and shouts. The man who comes on a bicycle and fixes the boys is the principal offender, not the boys who stand there. Therefore, Sir, there is no repression about it. I say to the House with a clean conscience, there is no picketing about it. I say with a clean conscience, it is not picketing. What is picketing? If a man goes to drink and I want to ask him not to drink, if a man goes to work in a shop where we agree under the trade union not to work, I ask him not to go, that is picketing; but if I do more, it is not picketing. But here what is it that he is asked to do, the man there? What is it that he asks me not to do or any body else not to do? Nothing. The only thing, he does is to irritate, to provoke, to annoy and to insult. He does not ask anybody not to do anything or to do anything. That is not picketing in any definition. There is no picketing, there is no Satyagraha about it. That is the offence and this is the repression. Sir, therefore, it is idle to attempt to make out here that this is a case of breach of promise or breach of Congress doctrines. If, supposing Sir, there has been a failure on our part to be true to our principles, how is it a basis for this resolution? This Government can be removed by those who are responsible for those doctrines. It is not for the man who borrowed from the Khaddar Board to say that the courts should be boycotted: it is for Gandhiji to say that courts should be boycotted, not for the man who borrowed from the Khaddar Board and is trying to cheat the Khaddar Board. This resolution, therefore, Sir, has no legs to stand upon. It has no morality behind it. It has no principle of good government behind it.

" Mr. Appadurai Pillai gave us a constructive remedy worthy of consideration. ' Remove this compulsion. Let these Satyagrahis go. Let these anti-Hindi agitators go.' Agitation it is called. There is no agitation about it. All agitation is permitted. There is no repression against agitation whatsoever. These people ask persons to commit these ill-advised and deliberate vulgar offences before those who wish to do their public duty. ' What you have to do is to give preferential treatment to those who have learnt Hindi optionally.' Bless the innocent soul of Mr. Appadurai Pillai! Without knowing it he has advised me to commit the gravest of crimes that could possibly have been committed by

me in the eyes of those who are conducting this activity. Mr. Appadurai Pillai does not know what is being said, what is being argued by these people—leaders of those people. Sir A. T. Pannir Selvam gave away the show, or was it the Leader of the Opposition who gave away the show, as he has every right to do? He said, 'even if you do not give preferential treatment, what guarantee is there that your successor who will come later on will not give preferential treatment. Therefore, do not have Hindi at all.' He failed to see that he was contradicting his good friend, Mr. Appadurai Pillai's suggestion. Mr. Appadurai Pillai is entitled to lead me into danger and give me away to the wolves afterwards. If I accepted Mr. Appadurai Pillai's advice and said 'let Hindi be optional. We will appoint people who know Hindi,' surely I would have walked into the mouth of the wolves and the Leader of the Opposition and his friends would have devoured me altogether. We won't teach a few boys and give them preference.

"Sir, it is because I have no communal feeling in my heart, and because I can instinctively understand what is good for people of all communities that I said 'No, this shall not be optional.' Because, these few will take advantage of it and we will be opening ourselves before those who come behind to the charge that we began a thing which gave preference for certain boys and it did not give equal justice to all boys. And after all, how can children understand their own needs? You can best understand what is good for them. It is the duty of the Government to say what is bad and what is good to learn for them. Therefore, even at the risk of abuse, even at the risk of misunderstanding, even at the risk of being hauled up before Congress courts by persons who might have little to do with the Congress, I say that this must be done and we should give equal opportunities for people who will have their chance in future India. But what is the idea behind Mr. Appadurai Pillai's recommendation? Would it be right to allow boys to grow up without a knowledge of the essential thing which we know is good for them? Never mind other reasons. What is the duty of the Government with regard to Education? Much false emphasis has been laid on compulsion. Let me tell hon. Members, in the Government Order about which all this fuss is made, there is no use of the word 'compulsion' at all. The order simply says, 'this becomes an essential part of the daily curriculum of the schools.' It is no longer an after-class teaching; it is not teaching which a boy can run away from; it is just as essential as arithmetic; it is just as essential as his multiplication table, which he cannot run away from and which is prescribed as good and essential for him. There is no more compulsion in it. Not as a result of this opposition—it does not matter even if it is—if at any time it is found to be not good—agitation or no agitation—it will be given up. But I know it is good; I know the whole thing. I had

opposed compulsory introduction of Hindustani for the elementary schools myself, for I knew it was not good for tender children. I have opposed compulsory khadi for peons; and I have opposed compulsion for many other things. But here, I said, boys *must* be taught; the compulsion is on the teacher. If the boy does not read and if he fails, still he will be promoted; there is no compulsion. That is the compulsion to which I am a party. There is much more compulsion for other subjects, but not for this. This is a concession, given even before the agitation—and even if it were on account of the agitation, I have no hesitation in giving credit to it. To give it up, not because it was not right, but simply to put out of the way some difficulty I am faced with—it would certainly be a wrong thing to do.

"What is it that I would be doing in giving it up? If I yield to it I am doing a wrong thing with regard to the education of our boys. If I yield to it I am going against all our plain commonsense with regard to the future of India; I am also killing self-government to that extent. Gentlemen opposite quoted parliamentary conventions, Sir, about your going to England or Europe for the study of the working of parliamentary institutions there. I said on the other day that the mere passing of the budget provision is not compulsion to incur the expenditure. You, Sir, explained yourself and said it was only permission, and therefore it does not bind you to do it. What is the budget provision about Hindustani? (Interruption.) There was a discussion over it; it was allowed. What is the consequence? Those who now raise objection, should not object, having allowed it before. This House, having permitted the estimates in respect of Hindustani, has no right to take it up again—members have no right to raise it again—because once it is accepted, in principle, it is finished. Therefore the only thing that can be taken up now is "repression" and not Hindustani. But there is a further and more substantial difference. As I said about the Speaker's voyage, there are certain subjects where a grant means an expectation that the Government will carry it out; and there are other matters where it is left to the person to do or not to do a thing. Suppose a provision is made in the budget sanctioning the purchase of a motor car for the Premier. It is permitted to me to spend the amount or not. I may or may not buy. Suppose a provision is made in the budget for the opening of an Agricultural College. It would be absurd to say it is permissible. Therefore I say it is not a right analogy. But it was said, 'you can give it up.' What will be the meaning of it?

"To oppose foreign rule is one thing. But has a minority in parliamentary government the right continually to defy the decision of the majority? It was stated that we were offering passive resistance, and so, it should be good enough even now. It would be the denial of the whole parliamentary system of government if that

were allowed. A nation which is subject to foreign domination—I say it here in the clearest terms on the floor of the House—is always at war with the dominating nation, and there is no question of parliamentary rules to be applied to the conflict between the people and the Government in that case. But if, under a system of parliamentary government we wish to carry on our own affairs, we must accept the limitations of parliamentary practice. A minority, however small, has a right to oppose, has a right to discuss, has a right to demonstrate, has a right to question, has a right to go on writing in the press and try to change the people's mind. Let there be no mistake about it. The other day a leading newspaper misunderstood me and commented. I do not deny the right of continual agitation, whatever the decision may be. But what I do deny in parliamentary government is the right of the minority to *defy* the Government of the majority and make Government impossible. Once a decision is arrived at, parliamentary system of government demands that the minority as well as the majority should combine, and there should be no defiance. There need be no end to parliamentary agitations, such as in elections, bye-elections or appeals to the electorate, or in the press or on platform without let or hindrance in any way. But certainly parliamentary government is impossible if the minority can defy majority government for all time without break. This is against all conventions of parliamentary government. But I am not quoting Westminster now. I say that self-government in India would be impossible if we adopt it. Sir, suppose we retire now from Government; and to-morrow another Government comes into power. Are we to go and picket the houses of Members of Government, and then contra, and then contra, and so on. The whole thing would be an open invitation to the powers of the world to come to India if we carried on like that. Sir, I shall not detain the House any longer. If the Leader of the Opposition had spoken before Hon. Mr. Prakasam, I would not have spoken at all. I would have said, Mr. Prakasam's speech is mine, and the Government reply is there, and the debate would have closed. But it would not have been courtesy if I did not rise and offer a word of explanation of Government's position after the Leader of the Opposition spoke.

"I submit, Sir, that the House should, without hesitation, throw out this resolution."

MR. ABDUL HAMEED KHAN:—"Sir, I am sorry some of the speakers have misunderstood the significance of the resolution and dealt with the question of language at length. I object to resorting to oppression against our own people. I have grown twenty years older in the hope and aspiration for achieving freedom for my motherland and 260 millions of my fellow countrymen. Freedom to me means civil liberty. But when a responsible Government employs repressive legislation against our own people who are

opposing a Government measure in connexion with a language in exercise of their civil right my disappointment and sorrow are profound. The Government have shown to us that they can get through any legislation in the briefest possible time. They could have repealed the Criminal Law Amendment Act and had the criminal legislation that the Hon. the Premier has been speaking of passed in the Legislature instead of using the condemned lawless law. Poison is always poison. My conception of freedom has been shaken by the conduct of people's Government. My opposition is therefore to 'repression' and not to the language that is to be imposed on the people."

The resolution was put to vote and lost without a division.

The House adjourned to meet again at 3 p.m. the next day.

TAMILNADU LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY
வாய்மையே வெல்லும்
TRUTH ALONE TRIUMPHS

## APPENDIX.

[Vide answer to starred question No. 77 asked by Mr. R. B. Ramakrishna Raju at the meeting of the Legislative Assembly held on the 18th August 1938, page 262 supra.]

*Statement showing the industries carried on in the various jails.*

| | Name of the jail. | Names of industries. |
|---|---|---|
| (1) | Central Jail, Rajahmundry .. | Carpentry, cumbly-weaving, cotton-weaving, and book-binding. |
| (2) | Do. Vellore .. .. | Carpentry, leather goods, cotton-weaving, tailoring and book-binding. |
| (3) | Do. Trichinopoly .. | Carpentry, cumbly-weaving, cotton-weaving, kora and aloe mat-weaving and book-binding. |
| (4) | Do. Coimbatore .. | Cotton spinning and weaving, tailoring, tent-making and book-binding. |
| (5) | The Penitentiary, Madras .. | Carpentry, stationery tags, sealing wax and wax cloth and printing. |
| (6) | Central Jail, Cannanore .. | Carpentry, coir work, cumbly-weaving and book-binding. |
| (7) | Do. Salem .. .. | Carpentry, cotton-weaving, smithy and aluminium work and book-binding. |
| (8) | Do. Bellary .. .. | Carpentry, cotton-weaving, wool spinning and weaving and book-binding. |
| (9) | Do. Vizagapatam .. | Carpentry, cotton-weaving, tailoring, jute work and book-binding. |
| (10) | District Jail, Cuddalore .. | Cotton-weaving and book-binding. |
| (11) | Do. Madura .. .. | Cotton-weaving, book-binding and brick-making. |
| (12) | Presidency Jail for Women, Vellore. | Hand-spinning, handloom weaving, embroidery, tape-weaving, stitching and money bag making. |

TRUTH ALONE TRIUMPHS