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THE MADRAS LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

Friday, the 24th September 1937.

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

Proceedings commenced with the singing of the Vande Mataram song.

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

I.—DEMANDS FOR GRANTS FOR 1937-38—*contd.*

(24) DEMAND XXIV—CIVIL WORKS—WORKS.

* THE HON. MR. YAKUB HASAN: "Mr. Speaker, Sir, I beg to move that Government be granted a sum not exceeding Rs. 53,12,400 under Demand XXIV—Civil Works—Works.

"Sir, the Demand which is met from revenue is made up of the following:—

	RS.
Original Works—(Buildings)	27,83,500
Original Works—(Communications) ...	8,79,100
Original Works—(Miscellaneous) ...	9,700
Repairs	20,45,000
Total ...	57,17,300
Reduction for probable savings and suspense transactions	4,04,900
Total ...	53,12,400

"As regards buildings, the Demand is mostly for expenditure on works in progress. Most of the schemes for new building works proposed by heads of departments have been excluded as it is considered that they may wait for better times. In consequence of this policy only seven new buildings estimated to cost Rs. 1,61,000 have been included in the budget with a provision of Rs. 23,300 in the current year.

"In the case of communications as in the case of buildings the general policy followed has been to restrict expenditure on new works and to provide for works already in progress. In pursuance of this policy

the proposal to widen the General Hospital bridge at a cost of Rs. 2 lakhs (Government share: Rs. 1 lakh and Corporation share Rs. 1 lakh) has been deferred. Only one new work, viz., the easing of the curve at mile 4/7 of the Ootacamund–Mettupalayam road, has been included in the budget. In this connexion I may point out that the expenditure on certain works provided for under communications is financed from the Central Road Fund. These are—

(1) Experimental road surfacing on the Great Northern Trunk Road;

(2) concreting the road over the Kistna Anicut at Bezwada;

(3) widening and tarring the Ootacamund-Mettupalayam road;

(4) reconstructing the Alipur bridge on the Anamalai ghat road; and

(5) construction of a new bridge across the Eranjoly river in the Malabar district.

"The miscellaneous sub-head is a petty item and provides for repairs to embankment works not chargeable to the irrigation heads and works to prevent coast erosion. These are the items usually brought under this head. The provision for 1937–38 is intended for repairs to the Royakottah embankment in Mangalore and protecting the right margin of the Vamsadhara river in Kalingapatam, Vizagapatam district. The provision under Repairs represents the usual budget provision. The increase in the Budget Estimate for 1937–38 is mainly due to larger expenditure on the maintenance of buildings including rates and taxes owing to the increase in the number of buildings and also the enhancement of taxes by local bodies."

* KHAN BAHADUR MAHMUD SCHAMNAD SAHIB BAHADUR:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, I beg to move—

'that the allotment of Rs. 53,12,400 under Demand XXIV—Civil Works—Works be reduced by Rs. 100.'

"I make this motion, Sir, only to bring to the notice of the Government the huge sums spent on buildings every year. I ask, Sir, whether it is necessary for the Government to follow the same system which was followed by the former Government and construct palatial and luxurious buildings. The Ministers have already set an example in economy by reducing their own salaries. It is high time, Sir, that we stopped this wasting of money on costly buildings, with marble floors and coloured tiles. Look at this very building in which we are sitting, the paintings, the coloured glasses, the towers and the domes and the minarets—all these must cost a lot of money. Will it not be profitable to us if we avoid all this waste of money?

"We see from the budget that Rs. 28 lakhs are provided for buildings alone. We were told that this year most of the money has been allotted for buildings already in progress. It is true, but even then, so many buildings have been just begun and others have only been half finished. In these cases we can cut down expenditure a great deal by

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striking out unnecessary additions. We are told that only Rs. 1 lakh or so have been allotted for new buildings. Could these also not be postponed? If not, I would request the Government to see that simple architectural style is adopted instead of the old costly style of buildings. The other day when I made a similar suggestion to the Hon. Minister for Public Health he said it was necessary to spend money on brick and mortar especially for hospitals for the sake of sanitation and hygiene. These conditions of sanitation and hygiene should be observed not only in the case of hospital buildings but in the case of all buildings. But what I object to is not the spending of money on brick and mortar for such purpose; it is necessary, but it is quite unnecessary to spend money on useless ornamentations. I hope, Sir, that the Government will consider all these things and do the needful."

* MR. T. N. RAMAKRISHNA REDDI: "Mr. Speaker, Sir, as the time is very limited, I shall confine myself to only one aspect of this motion, and that is, rural communications. Sir, in the last Budget, enough money was provided for rural water-supply, and no money was provided for rural communications. Sir, rural communications are as important to the villagers as rural water-supply. Just as food and water are necessary and very essential for the human being, so also wells and rural communications are very essential for the rural population. Sir, important villages have not yet been connected with the important marketing roads, and it is quite essential that they should be so linked, if the agricultural produce in the villages has to find a market. So, Sir, village communications are very essential. 11-15 a.m.

"Sir, it might be said that on account of the prohibition policy pursued by the Government, there is not enough money to spend on village communications and as much as could be gathered has been given for rural water-supply. I beg to submit, Sir, that every year the Government of India have been apportioning a part of the petrol tax for the provinces for the purpose of being spent on roads. Of course the petrol tax which is raised on the consumption of petrol ought, in the usual course of things, to be spent on trunk roads because motor traffic runs only on trunk roads mostly. But if you look into the genesis of this petrol tax, you will find, Sir, that the Jayakar Committee which had recommended the levy of this petrol tax, no doubt recommended that the money raised by tax on petrol should be spent on trunk roads, and at the same time, pointed out that the amount that was till then being spent by the Provincial Governments on these trunk roads should be released for the development of village communications. That was the recommendation of the Jayakar Committee. But what has happened in actual practice? The money that was allotted to the provinces has been till now spent by the previous Government only on trunk roads, on the construction of bridges on trunk roads, etc., and no part of that amount was spent on village communications. There has therefore been a lopsided development of trunk roads at the sacrifice of rural communications. No doubt the previous Government for some years earmarked

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a certain amount for the village development fund, which has been spent on village communications; but after four or five years of working the village development fund was stopped and year after year only a small portion of money was given by the Government for development of rural communications by way of grants. Sir, on account of this lopsided development of the trunk roads, there has been any amount of bus traffic on the trunk roads and so the revenues of the railways began to diminish. Hence the Central Government appointed a Committee to enquire into this matter and make a report. Messrs. Mitchell and Kirkness went round the whole of India and made a report to the Government of India. In that report, it was pointed out that sixty per cent of the trunk roads run parallel to the railway lines and hence when those trunk roads have been put in a very good condition, greater bus traffic was running on the roads to the detriment of the railway earnings. So, Messrs. Mitchell and Kirkness recommended that some portion of the money derived from petrol tax ought to be spent on rural communications. Sir, the question came before the Assembly in 1934, as to whether the petrol tax should continue to be levied for a further period of five years, and if so, in what way the money so derived should be spent? Then, Sir, myself and some others pressed on the Government of India the necessity for earmarking this amount derived from the petrol tax to be spent only on rural communications. Till then, for nearly five years, the whole of this money was spent only on trunk roads. Then the Government of India said that they were distributing the petrol tax to the Provincial Governments on the basis of consumption by each province and that they were not in a position to dictate to the Provincial Governments as to the way in which this money should be spent. Then, Sir, as a sort of compromise the Government of India agreed that they would recommend to the Provincial Governments to spend a portion of this amount on the development of rural communications and also on the payment of instalments, if any loan was taken by the Provincial Governments for the development of rural communications. It has now been resolved that a portion of the petrol tax could be spent on rural communications. This year, we find from the budget that the Provincial Government in Madras has not taken credit for the petrol subvention given by the Government of India for rural development. Hitherto, there were vested interests which had the ear of the Provincial Government and they were able to see that most of the money was spent on the trunk roads and on the construction of big bridges and on tarring roads. But that is not what is required in the rural parts. We want good all-weather roads there, connecting the villages with marketing roads. That is why I wish to appeal to the present Government that they should take up the task of developing rural communications. We are aware, Sir, that the Government have recently circularized all District Boards to prepare a five-year plan of rural communications. That shows that the present Government are very earnest in developing rural communications, and I hope that when the proposals for a five-year plan are sent up to the Government, they will

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see that sufficient money is allotted for this purpose. With this suggestion, Sir, I am in favour of passing the whole Demand moved by the Hon. the Minister."

THE HON. DR. P. SUBBARAYAN:—" Mr. Speaker, Sir, may I point out that the subject-matter referred to in this speech of my hon. Friend does not relate to this Demand but relates to Local Administration? "

* MR. SPEAKER:—" Will the Hon. Minister kindly repeat his observations? "

THE HON. DR. P. SUBBARAYAN:—" The speech of my hon. Friend the Member for Madanapalle—Rural made just now was really one to be made under ' Rural Communications ' which comes under the grant of my hon. Colleague the Minister for Local Administration. It does not relate to public works at all." (Laughter.)

* MR. SPEAKER:—" The Hon. Minister may now reply."

* THE HON. MR. YAKUB HASAN:—" Mr. Speaker, Sir, I thank you for calling upon me to reply to this debate after only two speeches have been made. I thank Mr. Schamnad Sahib for his advice about spending money on buildings. The Government do realize that the building policy of the Government in the past was rather not in keeping with the circumstances of the country. The present Government, as shown here, are making in this respect a change which I am sure will be welcomed by the Members of this House. We do not propose to spend money lavishly on buildings hereafter. This year, as I have pointed out in my introductory speech, new buildings have been undertaken only to the extent of Rs. 1,61,000 and not Rs. 9 lakhs. There too, only about Rs. 23,300 will be spent in the current year. We have postponed the consideration of other building schemes that were laid before us; and in their cases too, we shall see that the estimates are revised and economy is effected and that only such buildings as are absolutely necessary are taken up. Mr. Schamnad Sahib pointed to the roof of this building, the carvings and the paintings and made certain pertinent remarks. It is true that on this building much money has been spent, and yet this building is not suitable for the purpose it was built. It was intended as a Senate House and it does not serve the purpose of a lecture hall. We know how we are inconvenienced in this respect by housing the Legislative Assembly in this hall. I need not say much about buildings, after I have given an idea of the policy that we are going to pursue in this respect.

" As for Mr. Ramakrishna Reddi's speech, the Government do consider that rural communications should be given more attention than was the case hitherto. But, as was pointed out by the Hon. Dr. Subbarayan, this question is rather concerned with the Local Administration Department than mine. The maintenance of roads is mainly entrusted to local bodies. Excluding the roads in the agency tracts, Government maintain only a very few important roads which are for the

most part ghat roads in the Salem, Coimbatore, the Nilgiris, Malabar and the Madura districts and a few roads in the Moplah area of the Malabar district which are considered to be strategic roads. Even in the case of these Moplah roads, there will be no question of strategic importance in future, for the repeal of the Moplah Outrages Act has been creating a good atmosphere there, and there may be no provision necessary for any strategic roads in future; nor may there be any necessity in future for the maintenance of the Malabar special police for housing whom more than Rs. 8 lakhs were sanctioned and nearly Rs.7 lakhs spent last year.

"There is also another cut motion on the agenda to discuss the road construction policy of the Government which was not moved for want of time. I can give the concerned Member also the assurance that all attention will be paid to the important question of road communications and that the Government will be as generous in spending money as can be expected, considering the importance of the subject. I would therefore request the hon. Member to withdraw his cut motion."

KHAN BAHADUR MAHMUD SCHAMNAD SAHIB BAHADUR:—"I beg to withdraw my cut motion."

The cut motion was by leave withdrawn.

The Demand was put and carried and the Grant was made.

(25) DEMAND XXV—CIVIL WORKS—ESTABLISHMENT AND TOOLS AND PLANT.

11-30 a.m. * THE HON. MR. YAKUB HASAN:—"Mr. Speaker, I move that the Government be granted a sum not exceeding Rs. 35,38,200 under Demand XXV—Civil Works—Establishment and Tools and Plant.

"Sir, the establishment of the Public Works Department is a joint establishment for the execution of irrigation and building and road works. The gross establishment and tools and plant charges relating both to irrigation and civil works are included in this demand. The actual expenditure on these charges is distributed after the close of the financial year between irrigation and civil works in proportion to the works outlay under each head. So, the actual establishment and tools and plant charges finally debited to civil works will be only a part of the amount included under this demand. The demand includes the expected expenditure on establishments of the Chief Engineers, the Government Architects, Electrical Engineer, Superintending Engineers, the Executive Engineers and the District Board Engineers, as well as provision on account of tools and plant. Although the Electrical Engineer is under the control of the Chief Engineer for Electricity, charges on his account are shown under the Civil Works Budget, because he is in charge of the electrical installations in Government buildings, the expenditure on which is charged to Civil Works. The demand includes not only the pay of the officers and their establishments but also their travelling allowances and contingencies. The

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provision under Tools and Plant represents the expected expenditure on repairs and purchase of tools and plant and machinery including road rollers and on transporting them to and from the places where they are to be used. A sum of Rs. 1,09,300 anticipated to be recovered on account of recoveries at percentage rates for work done for the Central Government and the local bodies, has been deducted from the gross charges for purposes of the demand. The pay of the I.S.E. Officers amounting to Rs. 7,79,500, the leave allowances and over-seas pay of such officers payable in England amounting to Rs. 1,86,000 are not included in the demand as they are expenditure "charged on revenues." The demand, however, includes a sum of Rs. 2·47 lakhs for expenditure on the pay and allowances of District Board Engineers which is not debitable either to Irrigation or to Civil Works."

* KHAN BAHADUR MAHMUD SCHAMNAD SAHIB BAHADUR:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, I move—

'that the allotment of Rs. 35,38,200 under Civil Works—Establishment and Tools and Plant be reduced by Rs. 100.'

"I have not got much to say in this connexion, for I think Government may not have had much time to consider the possibility of reducing the expenditure under this head. The establishment alone costs 42·09 lakhs and it is a very big sum considering the allotment under the head. However, I think the Government will leisurely consider the matter and see whether there is any possibility of reducing this expenditure, because we find there is a Government Architect, Superintending Engineers, Executive Engineers and so on all trained in the same sort of work. I suggest to Government that in view of this, they may consider whether any retrenchment in this direction is not possible and whether any saving cannot be effected.

"As I already pointed out, Sir, there is waste or unnecessary expenditure on buildings based on the estimates prepared by these Engineers. They are experts, and it is rather difficult for the Government to see which item should be omitted and which modified. I therefore hope that Government will do well to instruct the engineers generally to omit all unnecessary expenditure especially in the matter of ornamentation of buildings and other unnecessary additions so that great savings can be made. It is therefore necessary that Government should instruct the engineers and those responsible for the preparation of estimates to bear this in mind when submitting their estimates."

THE HON. MR. YAKUB HASAN:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, I thank my hon. Friend, Mr. Schamnad Sahib for all the suggestions that he has made and I assure him that they will all be carefully gone into. I request him to withdraw the motion."

KHAN BAHADUR MAHMUD SCHAMNAD SAHIB BAHADUR:—"I withdraw the motion, Sir."

The cut motion was, by leave, withdrawn.

The Demand was then put and carried and the Grant was made.

(26) DEMAND XXVI—CIVIL WORKS—GRANTS-IN-AID.

THE HON. MR. B. GOPALA REDDI:—" Mr. President, Sir, I move that Government be granted a sum not exceeding Rs. 57,16,700 under Demand No. XXVI—Civil Works—Grants-in-aid."

* MR. T. N. RAMAKRISHNA REDDI:—" Mr. Speaker, Sir, I owe an apology to the House for having delivered a speech which ought to have been more appropriate to this demand rather than to Demand No. XXIV. That mistake was due to the fact that I had not got the list of motions before me. I am thankful to the Hon. the Minister for Education and Legal Departments for having drawn my attention to the mistake, but if he had done so earlier I would have been more glad. Now, Sir, I do not want to repeat the speech on this motion. I therefore request the Hon. Minister in charge to consider the remarks which I have made then as having been made under this head."

MR. ABDUL HAMEED KHAN:—" On a point of order, Mr. Speaker, is not a member who has not given notice of a cut motion entitled to speak on the main Demand itself?"

* MR. SPEAKER:—" The point is, nobody who has not given notice of a cut motion, can move it on behalf of another member who is absent."

MR. K. BHASHYAM AYYANGAR:—" Can he not speak opposing the Demand?"

* MR. SPEAKER:—" The hon. Member is perfectly entitled to oppose it. The motion is for discussion and if hon. Members want to oppose this grant, they are perfectly entitled to oppose it."

MR. ABDUL HAMEED KHAN:—" Can they not support it?"

* MR. SPEAKER:—" I suppose the Hon. Minister for Local Administration does not require support."

The Demand was put and carried and the Grant was made.

(27) DEMAND XXVII—FAMINE.

THE HON. MR. T. PRAKASAM:—" Sir, I move that Government be granted a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,00,000 under Demand XXVII—Famine."

* MR. H. B. ARI GOWDER:—" Mr. Speaker, Sir, I move—

' that the allotment of Rs. 1,00,000 *for Famine, be reduced by Rs.* 100 *to discuss policy.'*

" Sir, Government are providing every year a certain fixed sum for famine areas. There are certain communities, such as the hill tribes who are in a chronic state of famine. I therefore urge on the Government to take into consideration the condition of those people which is very much like that of famine. In this connexion, I may point out to the Government that these hill tribes have not been looked after

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properly till now. There is a provision in the Government of India Act, making that subject a reserved subject, because it probably appeared to the framers of the Act that they could not trust the Ministries of this country to do anything for these hill tribes. The old Government which was directly under the control of the British Government were looking after these people for two hundred years nearly and now it is found that they still require protection. I do not know how long the Government will take to see that these people are brought to a stage at which special protection for them will not be required any more. I believe it is the policy of the Congress also to do something for the hill tribes. May I therefore suggest to the Hon. Minister to appoint a committee or an officer with necessary staff attached to him to make an enquiry into the condition of these hill tribes generally in the province? I would even have it as an all-India question. At the time of the last session of the Congress at Faizpur, I had occasion to meet a large number of representatives of the hill tribes and they were all anxious to have an all-India organization to do something for the hill tribes in general. It is time that the Government of Madras took these people under their special care and did something for them. They are in a chronic state of famine."

11-45 a.m.

*Mr. D. ABDUL RAWOOF:—"Mr. Speaker, coming from a district frequently visited by famine, I feel I should say something in connexion with this demand. As I had occasion to say previously, rains have failed in Bellary this year also with the result that the villagers have no other go but to sell away their belongings and leave the district. The Government have been opening famine works in the district. I hope this year also famine works will be started. The wages that are paid to coolies working in the famine works are deplorably low. They range from one and a half annas to two and a half annas. It surprises me to see that the Members of the old Legislative Council were saying that one anna six pies was more than enough for a man to live. We know that on public platforms capitalists have been attacked for giving very low wages to their employees. I wonder how they could be attacked when we think that one and a half annas is quite a sufficient sum for one person. I appeal to the Government to take up this matter and fix the wages at a level which will be sufficient for living above want. I know many of these people are drinking mere conjee water twice a day. They could not afford to have a single square meal. I therefore think that the Government will raise the amounts. I am informed that the establishment employed on famine works is rather costly. This point may also be considered and I am sure the Government will see to it that the cost of establishment does not take away a big slice of the amounts set apart for famine works."

Mr. S. NAGAPPA:—"Mr. Speaker, I rise to support the demand and in doing so I wish to say a few words about my district. Our district is a dry district and we are expecting famine every year. There was a famine two years ago and again it is threatening us this

year also. I request the Hon. Minister to start famine works in the districts of Bellary, Cuddapah, Kurnool and Anantapur."

* Mr. H. SITARAMA REDDI :—" Mr. Speaker, I only rise to suggest that the Famine Code be amended so as to enable the coolies to be paid at a higher rate than hitherto. My hon. Friend representing the Muhammadan Constituency (Mr. Rawoof) was making a sort of accusation against the previous Governments in the matter of low level of wages for the coolies. May I just tell him through you, Sir, that the whole difficulty has been the rigidity of the Famine Code and unless the Code is liberalized the possibility of any Government giving higher wages is very remote indeed? So, I suggest that the present Government do take early steps to revise the Code. The Congress has always been fighting for a living wage for the wage-earners and I am sure that the present Government will take the necessary steps to make the necessary amendment of the Code.

" The rains have as usual failed in Bellary. The Government, I presume, have recently received several representations from our constituencies urging on them to take up some scheme in our district for the purpose of finding work to the people. May I, in this connexion, suggest to the Government that the present allotment for rural water-supply may be liberally used in the Bellary district to relieve the distress of the famine-stricken people. It would serve a double purpose. It will provide water-supply to the rural areas and will have provided some employment to the people of the famine-stricken areas. This brings me to the question of work for middle-class people who have objections to working in the open roads. In this connexion, I would suggest to the Government to allot a decent amount for hand-spinning in the famine-affected areas so that the middle-class people also may take to it and earn a living. By taking such a step not only would the experiment of hand-spinning be begun but also a considerable number of middle-class people who feel that they cannot break the metal on the roads, can be induced to take to hand-spinning. I appeal to the Government to enquire into the distress in the district of Bellary and take steps in the directions I have suggested."

* Mr. K. SUBBA RAO :—

" సభాపతీ, నిరంతరం క్షామమునకు నిలయముగా ఫుండేటటువంటి జిల్లాలకు నేను ఒక ప్రతినిధిని. 1935 వ సంగిపు క్షామములో మదరాసు గోస్తాలోని స్థానిక సంస్థలు ప్రజలు ఆక్షామ నివారణకుగాను చేసినటువంటి సహాయమునకు యీ సభాభవనమునుండి వారికి వందనములు ఆర్పించుచున్నాను. కాని యిప్పుడు మరల ఆ జిల్లాలలో క్షామము మితిమించి మీద పడుచున్నదని చెప్పుటకు చాల చింతిల్లుచున్నాను. నిన్నటిదినం పత్రికలలో మీరందరు చూచి యుండవచ్చును. కర్నూలు జిల్లాకు ఆనుకొనియున్న గద్వాలు సంస్థానము వారికోటి ముట్టడించి, ప్రజలు వారిని సహరించడానికి శక్తిలేక, పెద్దలూటీచేసి, ధాన్యపు కొట్లు దోపిడిచేసి, తీసుకొని పోయినారనే సంగతి పత్రికలలో వచ్చియున్నది. యిటువంటి పరిస్థితులు జిల్లాలలో అంతటను కూడా జరుగునట్లు కనపడుచున్నది. యీనాటి వార్తలబట్టిచూస్తే, వాన రాలేదు. జనులు చాలాకష్టములలో వున్నారు. ఆప్పుడే యీ సందర్భములో అదృష్టవశాత్తు

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ఆధిపత్యం వహించినటువంటి కాంగ్రెసు మంత్రి వర్గమువారు తగిన సహాయంచేయుదురని గట్టిగా చెప్పగలను. ఆంతేగాక యీ విషయంలో అధికారములోవుండే శ్రీయుత ప్రకాశం పంతులు గారు, గ్రామము సిరంతరము తొండవము అవుచున్నప్పుడు, తాము వారిలో ఒకరై, ఆక్కడ సంచారముచేసి, ప్రజల దుస్థితిచూచి, కంటసీరు పెట్టినవారు యీ దినము అధిపత్యం వహించి నారి. ముఖ్యంగా నేను కొన్ని సూచనలు చెప్పదున్నాను. యిప్పుడే గ్రామమును నివారణ చేయటకు, ముఖ్యముగా యేదైనా అవకాశమున్నచో, అటువంటి ముఖ్యమైనటువంటి పనులు యేర్పాటు చెయవలసిన సందర్భమున్నది. యిప్పుడు గవర్నరుగా వున్నటువంటి వారు గ్రామము సందర్శములో ఆక్కడకు వచ్చినప్పుడు, ఆ ప్రజల పరిస్థితులు, దుఃఖస్థితినిచూచి, దయదలచి, యేదో ఒక కారణమునబట్టి 3 పైసాలు వాళ్లకు యెక్కువ చేసినారు. ఆ Code చక్కగా మార్చి, నిన్నటిదినం ముఖ్యమంత్రిగారు Spinnerలకు 3 ఆణాలు యిచ్చుటకు యేర్పాటు చేసినట్లు ఆదేమాదిగా 3 ఆణాలు లక్కువ లేకుండా కూలియిచ్చి, గ్రామ నివారణ కార్యములుచేసి, ప్రజలను సంరక్షించవలెను. ఆవసరములు అనేక మున్నవి. రాళ్లు కొట్టుట ముఖ్యమైనదికాదు. యే గ్రామములకు ఆ గ్రామ ప్రజలు కష్టపడుచుంచే, వారిని కోస్తాలోచేర్చి, పనులు చేయించి, గవర్నమెంటుద్వారా వారికి డబ్బు యిప్పించి గ్రామ నివారణచేసే పనులు యిప్పించవలెను. గ్రామమును గురించి మంత్రులు వారలు తెప్పించుకొని వెంటనే పని ప్రారంభించవలెనని ప్రార్థనచేయుచున్నాను."

* MR. SPEAKER:—"The hon. Member for Cuddapah rural . . . ." 12 noon.

MR. K. KOTI REDDI:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, . . ."

* MR. SPEAKER:—"The hon. Member is requested to speak through the phone."

MR. K. KOTI REDDI:—"I can make myself sufficiently audible without the phone."

* MR. SPEAKER:—"The hon. Member may come to the nearest phone."

* MR. K. KOTI REDDI:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am glad that an opportunity is given to us, Members of the territory of this Presidency which is often subject to recurring famines, to say a few words. I do not know, Sir, how to express the feelings of some of us just at this moment. We have been waiting for the last three or four days for getting some information about rain and I do not believe, Sir, that at present we have sufficient information which will give us sufficient encouragement and confidence to go before the Government and say that this year at any rate, we do not need any relief on account of famine, Sir. I do not think this is just the time for me to say what we want the Government to do in case we are subject to serious famine this time. I am almost certain that unless it rains very heavily and that very soon, the type of famine that we may be subjected to this year will prove to be as serious as the great famine of 1876–1877 when five millions of the population of this Presidency were starved to death. I hope that God will be kind enough to avert such a serious famine as that. But, however, Sir, I want to bring to the noticfe of this Government a few suggestions for the improvement of the sort of famine relief that we have been hitherto getting and after that if time is available

to me, Sir, I will make a few suggestions in order to find out whether it is not possible for this Government to see that the unhappy position of the Ceded districts subjected to severe and recurring famines, could not be averted.

" Let me first say a few words as to the sort of relief that famine-stricken areas get. I know the Government to-day will be in a better position to accede to the wishes of the people in the matter of the relief to be given to famine-stricken people. Hitherto, Sir, the local Government had to follow a fairly rigorous code under which famine relief was made. The rules that were framed were so hard, the tests that were applied to find out whether famine exists, were such that the only obligation that was undertaken by the Government was to see that the people subject to the famine relief were not starved to death. We no doubt are thankful to the little mercies of the Government. There was a controversy before 1876 whether the State should undertake any famine relief at all. Those days are past. Even before those hard times of 1876 the Government did come to the conclusion that it was the State's duty to prevent people from dying of starvation and it is that central principle that the people should not be allowed to die of starvation and nothing more that reigned supreme in the rules framed under the Famine Relief Code. If I only point out that the rations that were allowed under the Famine Code were much less than the rations that are thought would be necessary for satisfying the hunger of a person in the prisons, you will understand, Sir, what the idea that prevailed in the framing of this Famine Code was. I do not want to go into details. I submitted a memorandum three years ago pointing out to the Government how defective was the Government's treatment of the people receiving famine relief in the famine-affected districts. Now situated as we are, expecting a very serious situation immediately if rains fail, I hope the relief that will be meted out would be adequate, should be such that the Government ought not only to attempt to save life in the affected population but also to give them a little more comfort, a little bit more of the necessaries of life so that they may not deteriorate in health. I would rather prefer that people are allowed to die than made to die slowly. It is much better. You know, Sir, that every civilized country is making a serious attempt to see that the people do not deteriorate in health, that people are kept in sufficient comfort so that by the healthy living the people will attain maximum efficiency for the purposes of the nation. But the rations that are now being allowed to the people affected by famine are such that nothing short of slow death is the result.

" There are a number of other suggestions which I thought necessary to be made but I rather like, as the time at my disposal is limited, to make those suggestions as the result of the experience that I have gained in the administration of famine relief during the last famine in Ceded districts on another occasion. I only plead on this occasion that the Government should immediately appoint a committee consisting of officials and non-officials to suggest the changes in the Famine Code

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which are necessary. For example, I would just quote one instance. In the famine relief works, people who actually work are not given any food but are given wages sufficient to buy rations just enough for mere existence. With regard to their dependants, children and old people who cannot work in the famine relief camps, feeding arrangements are made on the spot itself, the spot where the people work. What happens in this. The children are given some food at about 9 o'clock or 10 o'clock and the people who actually work in the famine relief camps are expected to come and begin work much earlier than the time at which these little children are fed. And these famine-stricken people who work in the camps, I suppose, want some food. They cook food at home and they eat it as early as 5 o'clock or 6 o'clock in the morning because sometimes people have to walk long distances, ordinarily five or six miles and sometimes ten miles. Is it possible for the parents, when they eat, to resist the temptation of giving to the children some food? What happened was these poor parents to whom wages were given which was not even sufficient to buy rations to satisfy their hunger would give a portion of the food to their children. The result was that these poor parents were starved. Last time I brought this matter to the notice of the Famine Commissioner and placed a number of suggesions for remedying this state of things. Though I have no wish to weary the House with a number of suggestions, as a man who had some experience of famine relief during the last famine in our district, I wish to bring these suggestions to the notice of the Government for their consideration and I hope Sir, that Government will not delay to appoint a committee in order to find out what the necessary amendments that have to be made in this Famine Code are. As a matter of fact the Famine Code is so defective as it was meant only to save the lives of the people from death and not to give them comfort and healthy living. I think a radical change in it is absolutely necessary in order to provide for a humane living.

" The second point—and that is the point I want to strongly urge on this occasion—is this. We cannot any longer postpone the measures necessary to set right this state of affairs. Famines in Ceded districts occur every four or five years and severe famines once in twenty or thirty years. It is not enough the Government budget some more money for this purpose than what was given during the last famine two years ago in Anantapur, Bellary, etc. Some probably would say ' that relief and no more.' But then consider the amount of loss involved in the sufferings of the people and the amount of deterioration in the health of the people and the amount of actual work that was lost on account of this deterioration. Is there no way to relieve this state of affairs?

" Sir, as long ago as 1887, a committee was appointed to consider ways and means to prevent this state of things, viz., recurring famines. It was a committee consisting of two Europeans and one Indian and the recommendation that they made was that because the Ceded districts and districts like them are entirely dependent upon agriculture

as their prime industry and there is no other industry on which they could depend to support them when the rains failed, other occupations must be found for them. That is why these people are often subjected to famines. A way ought to be found and one suggestion that was made by the committee was the starting of industries in that particular area. A second suggestion and a suggestion which was brought forward prominently before the Government many a time since, was the construction of Irrigation Works. Take the case of the great Thungabadhra Project about which some hon. Friend opposite has given notice of a cut motion; there was a lot of investigation about it and a sum of 11 lakhs was spent on that for investigation and in the year 1908 when there was absolutely no controversy either from the Mysore Government or the Hyderabad Government for the share of waters the matter was stopped on the ground that the project was not remunerative, that it did not bring in a return of 5 per cent or 6 per cent so on. I do not want to weary the House with the details of that scheme. I hope another occasion will arise for doing so. What I wish to point out now is that whatever standards the Government may apply with regard to this question of a project being remunerative or not, so far as the national economy and public weal is concerned it is rather unhappy that Government should take into account only the revenue that they get out of the irrigation projects. If they had only taken into consideration the full benefit that would accrue to the people and not merely the revenue that they would get, most of these projects would have been by this time constructed and there would have been very little complaint with regard to famine in the Ceded districts. That is so far as big projects are concerned. But there are a number of smaller projects which, if carried out, would serve the needs of the people in the famine-stricken areas not served by this Thungabadhra Project. But it was said that if this Thungabadhra Project could be taken up, small schemes could not also be taken up because there was not enough water available. The Government can now easily reduce the amount of percentage return that they demand from these projects from 5 per cent to 3 per cent in consideration of the provision that is made in the Famine Code and the recommendations that are made by the Famine Commission, the Irrigation Commission, that in the case of the Ceded districts and such other areas which are subject often to recurring famines, protective irrigation works should be constructed and for protective irrigation works the percentage of revenue that the Government demands ought to be less. To-day there is a sum of 20 lakhs of rupees available in the Famine Relief Fund and this 20 lakhs could be spent on protective irrigation works in the Ceded districts. There are a number of small projects, involving not very big sums, sometimes about two lakhs, sometimes three lakhs, sometimes ten thousand, which could be constructed. A number of river channels could also be dug. Again, supply channels could be dug from rivers at no great cost which would supply water for a number of tanks. That is one suggestion. There is another suggestion, a suggestion that I made some time back but for which there

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was not sufficient response. I know this House or Government may treat it as chimerical, the chimera of an idealist. But I believe in it and that is one of the practical ways by which the serious famine situation in the Ceded districts could be averted. If to-day there is a wrangle between Hyderabad, Mysore and Madras with regard to the Tungabhadra and other projects it is because, the waters in that river is not sufficient for supplying the needs of the people. The wet cultivation of black cotton soil is not so remunerative as the dry cultivation. But because even the little amount of rain that is needed for dry crops, we are not having, we were practically driven to look to this irrigation project.

" But there is a method by which the waters that are now used for the wet soils could be made to serve a greater area than at present. The black cotton soils do not require much water for dry cultivation. What happens at present is that the canal ryots who pay a certain fixed amount per acre for the use of water use this water for dry irrigation. The soil consumes a lot more of water than is really needed for the purpose. There is thus no use of resorting to flow irrigation for dry irrigation in black cotton soils. The large amount of water that is used does not, besides, go to the creation of good crops at all. On the other hand if you devise some mechanical means of using water as is now being adopted in countries like America for the spraying of garden trees in California, if a mechanical method of spraying is adopted there will be enough water available for dry cultivation and there will be no famine in the Ceded districts. The amount of water for a process like this will not be more than one-sixth of the water required by the ordinary flow method. Even if Hyderabad and Mysore do not give us enough water, the water that is given will be probably enough for dry irrigation throughout almost the whole of the Ceded districts. That is a means by which it would be possible to utilize water to cultivate much of the dry area. 12-1 p.m

" In the matter of industries, Sir, I would appeal to the Hon. the Chief Minister not to forget the situation in the Ceded districts with regard to the development of the cottage industry of spinning. If there is one tract of country in the Presidency more suited than any other for the development of the spinning industry, it is the large tract of black cotton soil in the Ceded districts where cultivation does not occupy people for more than five or six months. All the rest of the period they have nothing to do. Spinning could be established on a fairly large scale and it would be a relief to many. Even to-day, apart from the impetus given by Mahatma Gandhi and Congressmen, without any knowledge of this the khaddar industry is still going on in a number of villages. But it was given up in a fairly large number of villages. One suggestion that I want to make to the Government is this. As I find, in spite of the efforts made by Congressmen, practically no man has yet taken up to spinning. In the black cotton soil it is the men that have more leisure and not the women. Most of the women

get up at 5 o'clock and they have not only to attend to their children and domestic work but to agriculture also. This work occupies them from 5 a.m. to 9 o'clock in the night. They not only cook but attend to agricultural work also whereas men have ample leisure and it is practically impossible to get the men to take to spinning. I would suggest one method, Sir, to induce men to take to spinning. We have got an improved charka, call it by some other name, by whatever name you like, something like a singer machine. Probably it may be possible to produce more yarn in it. I have seen one. Some other machine of a similar type could be produced. If you purchase a lot of them and supply them to them, these people, I am fairly certain, could be induced to use them."

THE HON. MR. C. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR:—"If he was very brief, Sir, I would not have risen. If it has to be elaborated it is a pity that it was not done at the right time and has been raised on the famine code."

MR. K. KOTI REDDI:—"I only wanted to mention these various things in order to show the ways and means by which the unhappy economic situation in the Ceded districts could be overcome. I thought that in the matter of cottage industries, spinning could be easily developed in the Ceded districts and that most of the money now provided should be set apart for the Ceded districts. There are other industries which, if developed, can give us some occupation. Take the industry of what are called Cuddapah slabs. Most of us use them. Unfortunately they are now being replaced by cement slabs which are uncouth and unpolished. But for want of encouragement and particularly on account of the heavy freight imposed by railways the industry has almost languished. If the freight is reduced, and if a mechanical process is adopted for polishing, cutting, etc., we can supply the slabs to the whole of India if not to other countries. We have got any amount of slabs available in the whole of the Ceded districts. I would recommend to the Hon. the Minister for Industries to take steps to develop it and to give it all the necessary assistance possible.

"In this connexion I might mention that I was hoping that the Government would some day supply us with electricity, as they have done in the southern districts and as they are attempting to do in the northern districts. I hope they would not forget the Ceded districts, and I even expected that a provision would be made in this year's budget for a generating station somewhere in the Ceded districts. By developing electricity, it not only helps to start small industries but helps to start a number of cottage industries. Unhappily the department does not seem to take into account the possibilities of developing small cottage industries. If to-day Japan and Germany have become industrial it is not by their large scale industries. Fifty per cent of their industrial production is by cottage industries and most of them are developed by the use of electricity. Electricity is being

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developed in such a large scale that practically every home even in villages could use it. I hope the Hon. Minister for Electricity would not forget this and take immediate steps to see if at least one generating station, if not more, is started in Ceded districts without any delay.

" I have been seriously considering as to how to meet the situation. I think there is one way out. People are crying that the reserved forests should be thrown open for them for grazing of cattle and cutting of wood, and taking leaves for manuring. Naturally on the part of the Government, they are anxious to conserve the forests not only for their income but for the so-called dependence of rain on the existence of forests. This dependence, may or may not be true. I can tell you, Sir, that in the Ceded districts there are vast tracts which are practically deserts and where horsegram is sometimes grown but the yield is practically very little. If a market could be found for the utilization of wood, great plantations could be planted in some of these tracts where the average yield of grain is very little. That will give some income to the ryots. For that purpose of developing plantations, concessions from the railway and the Hon. the Revenue Minister would be necessary. The ryots should be encouraged to plant trees like margosa and aloes and also fodder trees so that they may be useful also to serve the purpose of a fodder crop. An attempt ought to be made in that direction by Government. I do not want to take any more of the precious time of the House. If the Government can give us an assurance that an honest attempt will be made to devise means in order to see that our people are prevented from semi-starvation and to save these people from constantly recurring famines, I shall be satisfied. I shall take proper opportunity to make some more suggestions. I hope the Government will not delay any longer the appointment of a committee to revise the Famine Code and also investigate the possibilities of seeing that the Ceded districts are prevented from the vicissitudes of recurring famines."

* Mr. K. ABDUR RAHIMAN KHAN:—" Mr. Speaker, Sir, my hon. Friend Mr. Koti Reddi has almost exhausted the points that we wanted to deal with. He has made a very strong appeal to the Minister in charge for the various relief measures that can be taken so far as the Ceded districts are concerned and I have not got much to say after his eloquent speech. But I shall add a few words in order to say a few things about my district. The problem that has arisen is an important problem. It was only last night that we heard the eloquent statement from the Hon. the Premier of this House. He has pointed out to us in very suitable words that it is the agriculturist who feeds us, it is he who suffers for us and is in a state of starvation and it is but necessary to see that his interests are properly served at our hands and it is our duty to see that some sort of relief is given to him as he is in need of it. Apart from his problem being a very important one it is, Sir, a very pitiable one also. To us who do not know very much about him it looks as if the agriculturist sows seeds in the land that he cultivates. But

if we see from his point of view we learn that he actually sows money. He sows the money that he earned with hard labour, money saved from the hands of the money-lender, money saved at the cost of starvation, not only his own but of his children too. It is this money that he wanted to get back from the soil. Unfortunately Providence does not always come to his help. Very often we find that rains fail with the result that he finds himself in great difficulties. It is the duty of the Government to do its best and come to his rescue. This can be done by starting measures which can be of permanent value. I would not have much faith in temporary relief works. I should invite the attention of the Hon. Minister to the fact that it is detrimental to our interests as also the ryot to postpone these problems to any further date. I strongly appeal to the Government to take up at once the execution of the Tungabhadra project. I should suggest, to the Government, in the meanwhile to improve, clean and repair tanks in my district like the Cumbum tank and this will do immense good to the agriculturists.

12-30 p.m. "The Hon. Minister in charge of the portfolio may be aware, Sir, that rains have failed in our district this year. Representations have already been made by people from Nandyal taluk and other parts of my district that they are in a miserable plight. I wish the Hon. the Revenue Minister, who was kind enough to pay a visit to us a few months ago, would be good enough to take early opportunities of coming to us again and seeing with his own eyes the sad plight in which we are placed at present and take the necessary steps for relief. I have not much to add, Sir, and therefore I take my seat."

* THE HON. MR. T. PRAKASAM:—"Sir, when the rains started in the early hours of this morning here, I was hoping and wishing that this general rain would be extending over the districts about which the hon. Members of this House have been addressing now. The hon. Member Mr. Koti Reddi was cautious when he said that he was not in a position to say yet whether the rains had failed altogether. He was expecting definite information during the last three or four days but it has not come until now. No doubt, famine has been threatening by the rains holding back. This year, rains started a bit early, and when the proper time came they have been holding back. In the West Godavari district, which I always believed was free from famine, one part of the dry area was threatened with famine. This question was brought to the notice of the Government in the Upper House by one of the hon. Members there a few days back. Of course, famine in the western districts of Bellary, Cuddapah, Kurnool and Anantapur has become a common thing. If there is rain in time, there would be plenty of crop; and the dry crops when they yield yield well, and the people will have the opportunity to lay by something for one or two years to come which might again become famine years. But in the recent years, famine has become very frequent in those districts. There is nothing which I have not known about the famines of those western districts. Those are areas where when there was the worst famine some of us had the opportunity to go and see exactly the conditions. So, all that has been said by the

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hon. Members here is true to my own knowledge. What is the way by which we can relieve people if there should be a famine? Which is the way to prevent the recurrence of this famine? These are the questions which have been engaging the attention of the Government. It is not merely the responsibility of the Minister who is in charge of this particular portfolio. It is a joint responsibility of all of us. Every one has been giving his best consideration to this big problem. Perhaps only yesterday or the day prior to that, I was discussing with my Hon. Colleague in charge of Public Works about the extension of electricity to these districts. Those districts are very peculiarly situated geographically; they are very close to and some of them are on the border land of areas where there will be plenty of rain; still they do not get rain. We were considering it. The Government as a whole will give the best attention to that proposal. Apart from that, I feel that in the past money had been spent by way of giving relief whenever famine had come, sufficiently or insufficiently. But nothing enduring had been done except perhaps one railway between Bellary and Hospet. There are so many rivers which many of you may not have had the opportunity to see which carry the flood when there are rains. There is rain some time or other in the year and the whole of it would be washed out into the sea. For a few days, the flood will be there and the water discharges itself into the sea; not that there is no water coming into the rivers. When you go through that area, you will find big tanks dug in ancient days, tanks which would take any quantity of water and supply the same for irrigation purposes and for drinking purposes, but they have not all been in use all these days. Whenever I happened to go through those areas, that was the one feeling which I carried with me. Of course, the hon. Member Mr. Koti Reddi has been referring to it. Which is the best way of doing something to dam these rivers and impound the water in the existing tanks and in the reservoirs, so that future famines may be prevented? We have just begun our Government; and this is the last day of the budget discussion. We have been discussing all these days as to how we can make both ends meet in this year and also in the coming years while giving effect to the programme and the policy that we have to carry out.

" The hon. Member Mr. Ari Gowder referred to the hill tribes. Hill tribes there are who have not been attended to hitherto. Not only hill tribes, there are other people also scattered all over who have not been receiving the attention which they deserve, and it will be the duty of the Government not to neglect either the hill tribes or others.

" Mr. Abdul Rawoof spoke about the cost of the establishment when famine relief is given. I may say that, that point also will be considered by the Government.

" Mr. Sitarama Reddi, Mr. Koti Reddi and some other Friends stressed on the revision of the Famine Code. That point will be considered by the Government. Reference was made to higher wages that

should be given. That is a point that would be considered in the light of all the circumstances wherever sufficient relief should be given, and it will be undertaken by the Government. Nothing will be done so as to prevent relief reaching the persons concerned.

"Handspinning was referred to. I agree, Sir, that all those four districts constitute an area where cotton is grown, and handspinning, if only adopted, could be carried on very effectively. But we have got used to so many of the modern luxuries. So much was said about handspinning in the course of the discussion in this House yesterday, and a reply was given by the Premier, that I do not think anything more can be said on that question. But, how will it be possible to make all the people of those four districts really take to spinning, to make use of the cotton which they produce in their fields and make themselves self-sufficient? If the hon. Member Mr. Koti Reddi and other Friends expect the Government, which is a Government of the people to-day, to be always ready with money to dole out for the purpose of promoting handspinning, it will be too big a task for the Government. The point was raised here by the hon. Member representing the European community on the question of two lakhs of rupees given for spinning. Two lakhs were given for spinning, not with a view to give relief to the whole population of this Presidency, or to the people who were in need of money. It was an industry that should be revived. If an impetus is given, if an encouragement is given to that industry, and if people understand the real message and usefulness of handspinning and if it spreads, there will be no trouble for the Government in future. There would be no trouble for the people concerned. So, I am submitting this to Mr. Koti Reddi and other friends who are representing other districts to make it a point that the people undertake it and make money out of it.

12-45 p.m.

"Reference was made to the Tungabhadra project and other projects. They are all projects which ought to have been accomplished long ago. Tungabhadra project is as old as nearly 45 years. There were other projects which were started but were suspended for some reason or other. This is not the first time that we are thinking of projects to give relief to the famine-stricken areas, to prevent future famines. All these were thought of for a long time. Schemes and projects were proposed, but it so happened that they (were not) could not be given effect to. Now, so far as this Government is concerned they would do everthing that is possible to see that real effective measures are taken to give relief to the famine-stricken people and also to adopt measures which will in future prevent these famines as far as possible.

"With these words, Sir, I request the hon. Member who moved the cut motion to withdraw it."

The cut motion was by leave withdrawn.

The Demand was put and carried and the Grant was made.

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(28) DEMAND XXVIII—PENSIONS.

THE HON. MR. C. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR:—" Sir, I move—'That the House do grant a sum not exceeding Rs. 69,68,400 to meet the charges under Demand XXVIII—Pensions.' "

MR. H. B. ARI GOWDER:—" I beg to move, Sir—

'*that the allotment of Rs.* 69,68,400 *for Pensions be reduced by Rs.* 100.'

" Sir, in moving this motion I should like to stress the desirability of substituting the provident fund system for pensions. I wish to suggest that the pensions also may be curtailed. I am sure I am making a very unpopular suggestion from the point of view of officials. But consistent with the policy of the Government, this may be done which will save them a good lot of money. My reason is that men in service have been enjoying their salaries for 25 or 30 years. So they may be content with very much less after they retire as the unemployed have to be given some relief.

" With these few words, I move the cut motion."

MR. ABDUL HAMEED KHAN:—" Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am afraid my friend, Mr. Ari Gowder, seems to have adopted a policy of out-heroding Herod. Already the Government has decided to cut the salaries of officers and then they are going to bring about also lower scales of pay for new entrants. When once the salaries are cut, the pensions also will automatically be reduced for these officers of the Government who receive reduced salaries. I cannot understand the suggestion for the reduction of pensions. This would inflict great hardship on Government servants. I hope the Hon. the Premier will not take serious notice of the suggestion of the hon. Member, Mr. Ari Gowder."

* THE HON. MR. C. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR:—" Sir, the question of considering any new system with regard to the pensions has been agitated by some members of the House even before the present Government took up office and it has been found that at present it would not be practicable. I may assure those who are thinking that any new system may solve the position which we may have to deal with, that the matter will receive more consideration. But as the hon. Member, Mr. Hameed Khan, said, I do not think there is any intention of cutting pensions. At all events, pensions stand on a different footing. Of course as he observed, if a gentleman in service gets lesser salary at the end by reason of the change in salary scales he will get less pension. It is well known that our pension burden is high and our successors will have to solve this very very difficult problem, and I think they will have to be much harder than hon. Members are. But we make no proposals now to deal directly with pensions in the manner that some persons are apprehending. There is some reason for my saying this, because I find loose language employed in some communications that appeared in the papers as if Government was proceeding to cut down pensions also. If it is simply a kind of agitation to blacken us one can quite understand,

but there is also a genuine fear in the minds of some people probably arising out of the pricking of one's own conscience, out of a consciousness that they are drawing too much from the tax-payer. But apart from that, I think there is no proposal just now in that respect. I hope the House will grant us this Demand without any difficulty and the cut motion that was formally moved may be withdrawn."

The cut motion was by leave withdrawn.

The Demand was put and carried and the Grant was made.

(29) DEMAND XXIX—STATIONERY AND PRINTING.

THE HON. DR. P. SUBBARAYAN:—"I move—'That the Government be granted a sum not exceeding Rs. 17,31,000 under Demand XXIX—Stationery and Printing'."

* MR. H. B. ARI GOWDER:—"Sir, I move—

'that the allotment of Rs. 17,31,000 under Stationery and Printing be reduced by Rs. 100.'

"Sir, I just wish to bring to the notice of Government the desirability of purchasing Indian-made materials for use in Government Press. I understand that the papers used are not Indian-made.

"Apart from that, I hear a great deal of grouse on the part of the employees of the Government Press. I believe there was a meeting of the employees at which I understand some hon. Members of this House were present and listened to the grievances. The new Lino Instructor seems to find it difficult to get on with a large number of his men. It is said he is very unpopular with one section. I don't know the other side of the story, but from what I hear there are quite a number of things that require to be looked into. I suggest that Government will be pleased to institute an enquiry either by appointing a committee or through their own officers. It appears that a large number of compositors or piece-workers are very often thrown out of work, and the Government Press work is given to outside people. I hear there are two rival unions and the one recognized does not represent the majority of the workers. There also appears to be an extraneous influence at work to split the workers. As all these will undermine the discipline of the Government employees, I trust Government will lose no time to set matters right."

At this stage the House adjourned to meet again at 3 p.m.

(After Lunch—3 p.m.)

MR. H. B. ARI GOWDER:—"Sir, there is only one more remark I have to make and that is about the desirability of the Government holding up the proceedings launched against the workers pending the completion of the enquiry I have suggested.

"As regards the other matters, there are other hon. Members who would speak on them."

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* MR. P. R. K. SARMA:—" Mr. Speaker, if I rise to speak on this Demand, I do so only to point out some aspects of the working of the Government Press and also the Stationery department which demand the serious attention of the Government.

" Sir, speaking last night, the Hon. the Minister for Labour and Industries, with his great experience, stressed the need for the workers being guaranteed fair wages and decent conditions of service, not to speak of sympathetic and civilized treatment at the hands of the employers, while also emphasizing that the workers should do a fair day's work for a fair day's wages. While this declaration is most welcome and the workers are most thankful to the Hon. Minister, it is, however, a matter for regret that the Government have not at all set an example to private industrial undertakings in regard to the treatment that should be given to the workers by the manner in which they treat the workers in their own industrial undertakings. The Government Press, falling under this Demand, can be taken as an illustration of this point. The Government Press employs about 1,000 workers and is probably one of the few large enterprises of the Government that have survived the early enthusiasm of the Government for industrial undertakings. It is a very well-equipped and staffed organization and is capable of meeting all demands made on it; yet it is found that the Government works are still being executed by private printing presses. For example, a large portion of the work of printing the electoral rolls for the recent elections was made over to private presses. The reasons put forward by the Government for so doing are not at all convincing to those who know how well-equipped the Government Press is and what staff the press has to meet this sort of work. While Government work is being thus diverted to private presses, it is most painful to find compositors in the Government Press starving without work, often for long periods. I appeal to the Hon. Minister to remedy this anomaly and see to it that no part of the work of the Government is diverted from the Government Press to private presses. The condition of the workers in the press has never received the serious attention of the Government at any time in the past. I hope that, at least, the present Government will make up its mind to take up the matter seriously.

" Sir, the composing section in the Government Press is made to work on a piece-work system. Three hundred to four hundred workers are paid under this particular system. They have no guaranteed wages. They have no definite scales of pay. They are paid only on the amount of work turned out by them according to certain scales laid down by the Government. Sir, we find that, very often, the compositors have to go to the press and stay there from morning till the evening without getting any work at all. At the same time they are not allowed to stay away even when they want leave. On occasions when they want leave, they have got to go to the press and wait there till the leave is granted and not leave the place till then. Still they are not guaranteed the wages for the day. Under this

system, for long periods, the compositors do not have any earnings at all, and during some months we find that they do not get even enough to live on, though they are supposed to be efficient and skilled workers. They have put before the Government a request that the piece-work system should be discontinued and substituted by a regular system with graded scales of pay which would assure them stable monthly salaries.

" Next, Sir, though the press is a Government undertaking and the employees are governed by the Fundamental Rules, the Civil Service Regulations and the other statutory provisions, we find that insecurity of service is very great in the press. For example, people are dismissed arbitrarily though the statutory rules lay down certain formalities and procedure which have to be gone into and observed before a man could be finally sent away. Especially, during the last few years, we have been having a number of instances where the statutory rules have been violated in dealing with the staff.

" Then, Sir, with regard to punishment, it is often out of proportion to the complaints alleged against the workers. Workers are suspended, discharged and heavily fined without proper enquiries and justification; and then, if they make appeals, the appeals, more often than not, find their way into the waste-paper basket of the Superintendent. The workers have, in these circumstances no remedy at all. For example, only yesterday, a lino-operator with long service was suspended for two weeks, and God knows for what real reasons. He has been suspended for two weeks continuously. I am citing this only as an instance to show how the punishments inflicted on poor wage-earners are disproportionate to the complaints put forward against them. In most cases the complaints are not at all well-founded. In spite of the Wages Payment Act, recently enacted by the Central Legislative Assembly, we find that fines are still being inflicted on the workers in the press and deducted from their wages.

" With regard to leave for the workers, Sir, though the press is a Government undertaking, the provision for it is not at all adequate. We find that the workers are experiencing very great difficulty in obtaining even the leave for which they are entitled. If a day's leave is required, the worker has to go to the press personally at 9 o'clock and stay there till the Superintendent turns up and sanctions the same. This sometimes takes place at 4 o'clock and till then the man has to remain there and cannot leave the place. In a recent case, a man lost his child, and leaving the corpse at home, he went to the Government Press and waited there to get his leave sanctioned for the day. By the time the leave was sanctioned it was past 4 p.m.

" Then, Sir, with regard to promotions we find that the rule of seniority which is strictly followed in Government departments is not observed in the Government Press. While seniors are being overlooked for promotions, we find that accelerated promotions are given

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in a few cases to those who are the favourites of the Superintendent or the Assistant Superintendents. In one case a binding foreman, named Mr. D'Cruz, was given two promotions in one year. This case has been already put before the Government and yet the workers have not secured any redress.

"Sir, in every industrial undertaking, in every workshop, some time is allowed to the workers to turn up to work in the morning. For example, in the railway workshops, 10 minutes are allowed and in other places 15 minutes are allowed; but in the Government Press, where they had this privilege previously, it is now denied to the workers. The workers there have to get into the press the moment the bell is sounded and, oftentimes, the warning regarding the time is not at all loud enough to be heard by one and all. We have been requesting the Government to restore this elementary concession, but we have not been able to secure it.

"In printing presses the compositors have to stand rooted to their places while composing. They have to stand like that for seven or eight hours a day and do the composing. Standing in a fixed posture like that for hours on end is detrimental to the health and efficiency of the workers. They are, therefore, provided with stools to sit upon whenever they feel tired of standing. It is impossible for anybody to work standing or even sitting all the time. They must be enabled to sit for a while and then stand for a while. Stools had been provided for this purpose to the compositors; but after the present Superintendent assumed charge, the first reform that he brought about in the press was to deprive the poor compositors of the stools on which they used to sit and work for a while when they were tired of standing and working. This matter was reported to the Government when the Interim Ministry was in office and also to the other officers of the department, and yet the workers have not succeeded in getting redress till now.

"Sir, a large number of workers have been classified as temporary workers and are kept on for years together as temporary hands. We have several times requested the Government that they should be confirmed so that they may be admitted to the privileges available to the permanent employees. I am anxious, Sir, that on this occasion when this demand for Printing is made the matter should be properly emphasized.

"Then, Sir, I regret to say that the general attitude of the officers towards the workers is anything but sympathetic. While the Superintendent remains absolutely indifferent to what is going on in the press, never hears complaints and never answers petitions and sits there in his place like a big Nawab, the Assistant Superintendents act according to their whims and fancies and the workers fall victims to their prejudices and perversions. The result of it all is that to-day in the press the atmosphere is one of deep discontent and serious unrest. Unless the Hon. Minister gives his serious attention to this state of

affairs in the press, I wish to state, as one intimately connected with the workers there, that the situation may not continue as it is to-day and probably the Government might soon be faced with a crisis about which none of us will be able to feel proud of.

"There are five Assistant Superintendents in the press to-day which employs only about 1,000 workers. These five Assistant Superintendents are inexperienced men. Some of them are not sufficiently qualified and are lacking in experience. To these officers have been delegated the power of punishing the workers and the result is that, with their lack of experience, their likes and dislikes they often misuse
3-15 p.m. the dangerous power vested in them. Some workers are favoured while others are persecuted. This cannot but undermine the efficient working of the press. It is immediately necessary to withdraw the power to punish the workers delegated to these irresponsible and inexperienced Assistants with a view to protect the workers and promote peace and harmony in the press. This is the least which the Government should do without delay.

"About the Linotype section and the vagaries of the Assistant in charge of it, the least said the better. I have put a series of interpellations on the floor of this House about the matter and for want of time I am unable to deal with it at any length. The Assistant who, I understand, is a product of the Interim Ministry, and was appointed over the heads of the Service Commission, is responsible for much of the discontent in the press and has become a problem for the department. The operators are to be confirmed in October next and the Assistant Superintendent has already commenced to damn those who are not in his good books so that they may be denied the benefit.

"One minute more, Sir, and I shall finish. I have to refer to a most important matter. Speaking last night on the floor of this House, the Hon. Minister for Labour assured that in regard to their policy towards the workers the Government would stand by the Karachi resolutions of the Congress. If the Hon. Minister knows the fate of the workers' union in the press, he would find that the Government cannot congratulate themselves on what have happened. Of course I know, Sir, that the present Government are not responsible for it and it is a legacy of the past. But they have to show that they stand by a different programme and policy. A union of the workers has been existing in the press for the last many years. It has been fulfilling the objects of a constitutional trade union and commanding the unstinted support of almost the entire staff of the press. It was registered as soon as the Trade Union Act was enacted. But we had to surrender the registration under Government's compulsion and continue as an unregistered trade union for many years. Thanks to the recommendations of Royal Commission on Labour and the Rules made by the Government of India in pursuance of them, for registration and recognition of unions of Government industrial workers, the union was registered again afresh last year and it applied to the department.

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for official recognition. It was on the eve of the last elections to this Assembly. An expelled official of the union who is an ex-nominated member of this House got up a rival body with a few workers only in the twinkling of an eye and got it registered.

" The Government hastily accorded recognition to this rival body without enquiring about its bona fides, or ascertaining whether it had any following among the workers, and overlooking the application of the real union of the workers pending before them already. The rival union was supported and encouraged by the officers of the press, some of whom had an unmistakable hand in its formation. Some of them actually went about canvassing members for that union, though they are prohibited from such activities. Some of them even worked against me in the elections on account of my connexion with the workers' union, though according to the rules they cannot participate in such activities. That union has neither a real membership nor any support and yet continues to enjoy the recognition of the Government even after they have been enabled to understand the situation. Sir, we have placed before the Government all the relevent facts and it would be a very sad commentary on the solicitude of the present Government to encourage honest and constitutional trade union movement if the recognition of the mushroom union is continued even a minute longer.

" There are many more matters regarding the press but I do not wish to take up the time of the House for narrating them now. I only wish to emphasize that the present state of affairs in the press, from every standpoint, is absolutely rotten not only on account of the workers' miseries but also in other respects. I urge upon the Hon. Minister in charge of the department to appoint a committee of this House immediately, to enquire into every aspect of the press, so that not only workers' plight might be remedied but the efficient, economic and peaceful management of it may also be secured and ensured. I thank you, Sir, for the great indulgence shown to me."

* THE HON. DR. P. SUBBARAYAN :—" Mr. Speaker, Sir, there have been two speeches on this cut motion. One was made by the Member for Nilgiris, who pleaded that the Government should think of purchasing Indian articles with regard to stationery. I am sure the hon. Member realizes that the present Government are interested as much as the hon. Member himself in such matters and they will try to do what they can in the matter.

" The second speech was made by the hon. Member who represents the Madras Non-union Labour. He is naturally very interested in the Government Press Workers' Union. May I point out to him, Mr. Speaker, that the Government Press is not an industrial enterprise at all? He is mistaken in thinking that the Government Press is an industrial enterprise. The Government Press does not take outside work, nor is the press there to make any profit like other industrial and commercial concerns. The Government Press is there because

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the Government have to get their printing work executed and there is also a certain amount of work of a confidential nature which has got to be printed in the Government Press and which cannot be printed in outside presses; because it would be impossible for the Government to print documents of a confidential nature in presses outside. In the first place, I feel rather constrained to say that it is difficult to allow a trade union in the Government Press itself. My own position is this: Can we think of a Government Civil Service Union trying to create a strike in the Government offices? I would like to point out to the hon. Member that the employees in the Government Press stand in the same position as any other employee of the Government and as a Government, I for one cannot agree to the proposition that we could have a trade union in the Government Press as referred to by my hon. Friend, because in a day the administration may be brought to a standstill by a strike. Any civilized Government, even though it be a democratic country, cannot afford to have a strike in a Government department."

* Mr. G. SELVAPATHI CHETTI:—

"இதுவரையில் எந்த சர்க்கார் தொழிலாளர்களுக்கு அனுகூலமாக இல்லை என்று சொல்லப்பட்டதோ அந்தத் தரப்பிலிருக்கிற காங்கிரஸ் மந்திரி அவர்கள் இந்த முறையில் பதில் சொல்லுகிறது பொறுப்பற்றதென்பது என்னுடைய அபிப்பிராயம்."

The Hon. Dr. P. SUBBARAYAN:—"I am sorry that the point of order raised by the hon. Member representing the Union Labour for the City of Madras does not amount to any point of order at all."

Mr. P. R. K. SARMA:—"May I know whether the Hon. Minister's attitude is consistent with the Government of India's rules for the recognition of Government industrial unions which were issued some time ago and according to which our union was allowed to be registered?" (A voice: 'That is no point of order.')

Mr. MAHBOOB ALI BAIG:—"Sir, may I know as to who should decide whether there is a point of order or not, yourself, Sir, or the Minister?"

* Mr. SPEAKER:—"That was no point of order at all. It was simply called a point of order. The mere fact that a thing is called as 'point of order' will not make it a point of order."

The Hon. Dr. P. SUBBARAYAN:—"Sir, hon. Members cannot have it both ways. I have myself said that the Government Press is not a commercial concern. In commercial concerns of Government we find that they are treated as commercial concerns and profit and loss accounts are maintained. I can understand trade unions being formed in such concerns and in such cases it is only right that Government should recognize such trade unions. But in the case of Government Press, I have made a declaration that it is not a commercial concern. It is a concern entirely run for getting work of a confidential nature done and, therefore, you can either treat it as an

industrial enterprise and claim all the rights of an industrial enterprise, or you can treat it as a mere department of Government—which I hold the Government Press is—wherein you cannot claim any right of trade unionism. (Mr. Abdul Hameed Khan: 'Question.') The hon. Member for Muslims for the City of Madras questions that statement. But that is my view . . ."

MR. ABDUL HAMEED KHAN:—"That is not the view of the Government."

THE HON. DR. P. SUBBARAYAN:—"I say that that is the view of the Government. I am speaking on behalf of the Government. I am sure the Muslim Member for the City of Madras must realize that I am not speaking in my individual capacity, but as a Member of a responsible Government."

(Mr. Abdul Hameed Khan interrupted sitting in his seat.)

* MR. SPEAKER:—"If the hon. Member, Mr. Hameed Khan, wants to speak, he may rise up in his seat and speak."

MR. ABDUL HAMEED KHAN:—"Sir, if I may be allowed to submit, I think, these interruptions are quite Parliamentary."

* MR. SPEAKER:—"That is why I ask him to rise in his place and speak through the microphone so that the whole House may hear him."

MR. ABDUL HAMEED KHAN:—"I have not got a microphone."

* MR. SPEAKER:—"There is a microphone close to the hon. Member."

THE HON. DR. P. SUBBARAYAN:—"Sir, as there are two sides to this question, I am prepared to say that the view that I am putting forward is not final and I am prepared to consider the suggestion of hon. Members (hear, hear). But at the same time hon. Members must realize that this is not an industrial enterprise. It is an enterprise conducted on behalf of the Government for the purpose entirely of getting their own work done with no profit and loss account at all. I am sorry that the hon. Member for Non-union Labour for the City of Madras laid so much stress on the acts of individual officials of the press, that, unless I am satisfied that the charges levelled against them are correct, as long as I remain in this office, I am bound to defend the officers of the Government who are under Government employ, for the simple reason they are not in this House and they cannot defend themselves against allegations made by hon. Members. They can only expect to be defended by the Member of the Government in charge of a particular portfolio. If there are any foundations in the charges made by the hon. Member and if he would give me evidence on that point, I am prepared to deal with them. But at the same time as far as I know the officials of the Government Press, I must say that the complaints of the hon. Member as made on the floor of this House have not reached me. I am not certain whether these complaints are based on actual facts. There has been a complaint with regard to the Assistant

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Superintendent in charge of the Linotype machine. I hope to take that on hand and I am sure that the Superintendent of the Government Press, when the allegations made by the hon. Member are brought to his notice, will also take into consideration the charges levelled against the officials in general. I am sure the employees of the Government Press will realize that in spite of my statement that they have no right to call themselves a trade union, they will have every right that is permitted by the rules of the Government. What I meant was: You cannot call yourself a trade union and strike work and at the same time have Government service rules applied to you. That is all I have to say in regard to this matter."

The cut motion was by leave withdrawn.

The Demand was then put and carried and the Grant was made.

(30) DEMAND XXX—MISCELLANEOUS.

3-30 p.m. THE HON. MR. C. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR:—"Sir, I beg to move that Government be granted a sum not exceeding Rs. 4,51,100 under Demand XXX—Miscellaneous.

"For the benefit of new Members I may just draw the attention of the House to page 128 of the Financial Secretary's Memorandum. Demand XXX consists of various items of all sorts. They are—

Allowances to State prisoners,

Donations for charitable purposes,

Charges on account of European vagrants,

Rewards for the destruction of wild animals,

Rewards for the destruction of wild animals,

Irrecoverable temporary loans and advances,

and things like that. I do not think there is anything particular to be said about these various items except that these are items on which expenditure has been incurred year after year."

* MR. H. B. ARI GOWDER:—"Sir, I formally move that the allotment under this Demand be reduced by Rs. 100. I want to ask the Government to see whether it is not possible for them to make a recommendation to the Government of India to show clemency to State prisoners, still under custody. I do not know if there is still more than one State prisoner; I believe there is only one and he is in the Punjab. If that be the case, I request the Government to recommend to the Government of India to show clemency to that prisoner."

* MR. T. S. CHOKKALINGAM PILLAI:—

"அக்கிராசனதிபதி அவர்களே! ஒரு முக்கியமான விஷயத்தைப்பற்றி சொல்ல விரும்புகிறேன். ஒவ்வொரு மந்திரிக்கு ஒவ்வொரு இலாக்காவாகப் பிரித்துக் கொடுக்கப்பட்டிருக்கிறது. அந்தந்த இலாகாவைப்பற்றிய சர்க்கார் கொள்கையை

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அந்தந்த மந்திரிகள் சொல்லுவது மிகவும் உசிதமாக இருக்குமென்று நினைக்கிறேன். தற்சமயம் தொழில் இலாகாவைப்பற்றிய விஷயத்தில் கனம் மந்திரி (கல்வி மந்திரி) டாக்டர் சுப்பராயன் அவர்கள் அபிப்ராயத்தைச் சொன்னார். அந்த அபிப்ராயத்தில் தொழில் சங்கம் சர்க்கார் ஸ்தாபனங்களில் இருக்கலாமா இருக்கக்கூடாதா என்பதைப்பற்றியு பெரிய பிரசினையை கிளப்பிவிட்டிருக்கிறார். அது தொழில் இலாகா மந்திரியைச்சேர்ந்த விஷயமாக இருக்கிறதினால் அவரே (தொழில் இலாகா மந்திரி) முடிவான அபிப்ராயத்தை சொல்லுவது நலமாக இருக்கும். ஆகவே அதைப்போல் எல்லா விஷயங்களிலும் அந்தந்த இலாகா மந்திரி அந்தந்த இலாகாவைப்பற்றிய சர்க்காருடைய கொள்கை என்னவென் பதைத் தெரிவிக்கும்படி நான் எல்லா மந்திரிகளையும் கேட்டுக்கொள்கிறேன்."

THE HON. MR. C. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR:—" Sir, two points were raised in the course of this debate. I could not catch one very well because these microphones do not suit certain voices though they seem to suit certain other voices. The distance between the microphone and the speaker has to be adjusted with reference to the quality of the speaker's voice. Though the hon. Member from Nilgiris has very constantly used the phone and has spoken more than once, I have not succeeded in hearing him distinctly. I was unable to see whether it was one particular State prisoner or State prisoners in general that he was referring to. If it was about one particular State prisoner, I submit that the fact that we have a debit in one account and a credit also in another account with regard to the expenses for State prisoners, will not give us a right to make recommendations in respect of particular State prisoners sent to us from another province. These expenses incurred in respect of State prisoners are really only book matters; we really do not spend any money ourselves except perhaps the money necessary in the Stationery department for the transfer of accounts and the like.

" As regards the other point, about the responsibility of the various Ministers for the various pronouncements, I might inform the hon. Member who raised that point in a timely manner though not in a very relevant manner that such remarks are official remarks and not private ones. That was what the Member referred to. But it does not mean that the policy can be settled so easily merely in the course of the discussion over a particular cut motion dealing with a particular department. It is true that the Demand now under discussion refers to Miscellaneous and contains a number of items. But the policy cannot certainly be decided by the Minister in charge of Miscellaneous. The substantial policy involved in any particular matter will have to be examined in a substantial manner and though a statement may be official it may not be final. If you will allow me to explain what was in the mind of the Hon. Minister—I can speak about it on this Demand, Sir, only with your indulgence—I must say that what was being referred to was the difficulty in adjusting two statuses with reference to a particular position. It is difficult to adjust the status of a certain class of servants who are neither pure labour nor pure Government servants and in that matter a certain amount of understanding and

adjustment is necessary. The hon. Member need not get into a state of excitement over a statement of a difficulty of that kind. Hon. Members will understand that claims are made for casual leave, privilege leave, pensions and other contributions. How can all that be done till we come to the time when we organize labour as if they are all public servants which they are in one sense? Therefore it is that the executive Government in the course of the administration may be in difficulty to find out what classes of servants should be treated in what manner, and particularly in a mixed department it will be very difficult to define all those who are engaged in printing Cabinet notices as labour. If they are to have all the liberty of wage-earners I think it will be very difficult to carry on. Therefore no one need get excited over the matter. This much for the matter that was raised by the second speaker on this debate wherein I think we have agreed to sacrifice relevancy for the sake of importance. As regards the main motion, inasmuch as there is no objection raised, I submit, that the House will agree to have the formal cut withdrawn and the grant made."

MR. H. B. ARI GOWDER:—"On a matter of personal explanation, I did not refer to prisoners belonging to other provinces detained in Madras but to a prisoner belonging to our own province confined in another province, I think, in the Punjab. I am told his name is Amir Hyder Khan."

THE HON. MR. C. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR:—"Yes, I know the name more than the hon. Member. But it is wholly irrelevant to the subject that we are discussing. No miscellaneous expenditure under Demand XXX is incurred upon that prisoner. That prisoner is not our prisoner at all; he is a prisoner of the Government of India. He is in a different province. Except historically, this Government has nothing to do with that prisoner."

The cut motion was by leave withdrawn.

The Demand was put and carried and the Grant was made.

(31) DEMAND XXXI—CAPITAL OUTLAY ON IRRIGATION.

THE HON. MR. YAKUB HASAN:—"Sir, I beg to move that Government be granted a sum not exceeding Rs. 23,70,700 under Demand XXXI—Capital Outlay on Irrigation.

"Sir, in connexion with this Demand I have only to say one thing and that is that the expenditure on the specially accelerated programme for improving minor irrigation works has been debited to capital with the sanction of the Secretary of State. I may also mention that provision has been made for a new work, namely, the extension of the Uyyakondan channel in Trichinopoly and Tanjore districts."

The Demand was put and carried and the Grant was made.

(32) DEMAND XXXII—CAPITAL OUTLAY ON INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT.

* THE HON. MR. V. I. MUNISWAMI PILLAI:—" Sir, I beg to move that the Government be granted a sum not exceeding Rs. 100 under Demand XXXII—Capital Outlay on Industrial Development.

" Sir, I may draw the attention of the House to page 132 of the Budget Memorandum where the necessity for this grant is explained. The capital debit of the Anamalai plantations is Rs. 1·50 lakhs while the expenditure is Rs. ·17 lakh. This amount is required for the cinchona plantations in the course of development on the Anamalais. The value of the bark harvested in the Anamalai plantations is adjusted in reduction of the capital outlay on the plantations previously debited to the capital head. The capital debit to the Anamalai plantations is at present much smaller than the credit allowed for the bark harvested from them. The net result of the transaction under the capital head is usually the minimum debit. As the expenditure on capital outlay is subject to the vote of the Legislative Assembly I have moved this Demand before the Honourable House."

The Demand was put and carried and the Grant was made.

(33) DEMAND XXXIII—CAPITAL OUTLAY ON ELECTRIC SCHEMES.

THE HON. MR. YAKUB HASAN:—" Mr. Speaker, Sir, I beg to move that the Government be granted a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,18,54,900 under Demand XXXIII—Capital Outlay on Electric Schemes. Expenditure of a capital nature on hydro-electric and thermal electric schemes is debited to ' 79. Capital Outlay on Electric Schemes.' 3-45 p.m.

" Sir, generation of electricity, its transmission and supply in bulk are conducted as State enterprise wherever it is economically feasible, by a series of central stations, hydro-electric or thermal. In pursuance of this policy, the Pykara Hydro-Electric Scheme was sanctioned and is now in the fifth year of operation. The Metttur Hydro-Electric scheme is nearing completion and the Vizagapatam and Bezwada thermal schemes are under construction. These schemes will serve a major portion of the Presidency. Retail distribution of power to the villages in the Coimbatore district is wholly in the hands of Government. Extensions to rural parts are sanctioned if a gross return of 12½ per cent on the capital cost of the extensions is forthcoming. The Government have decided to extend this policy to other areas and consider individual schemes of rural distribution under all Government systems on their merits and execute them as and when circumstances permit.

" The Pykara system is serving the Nilgiris, Coimbatore, Madura and part of Malabar districts. The rate of growth of demand on the power-house at Pykara has necessitated the installation of additional generating machinery. A scheme costing Rs. 45 lakhs for additional machinery at Pykara was sanctioned in 1936 and work is now proceeding. An extension of Pykara power to Madura was also sanctioned in 1936 and supply to Madura is expected to be given in December 1937.

A further extension of supply from Madura to Virudunagar and Rajapalaiyam in the Ramnad district has been sanctioned, and this work also is in progress. The mills at Koilpatti have now agreed to take Government power and it is proposed to extend the supply to Koilpatti at an initial cost of Rs. 5·11 lakhs. The transmission system from Pykara to Coimbatore which was originally of 66 K.V. operation has been gradually converted to 110 K.V. operation to meet the increased load. As a final step in the conversion, it is proposed to make modifications in the Coimbatore station and in two other sub-stations at a net cost of Rs. 2·84 lakhs. The total provision required for the Pykara system during 1937–38 is Rs. 71,53,100.

"The Mettur Hydro-Electric Scheme was sanctioned at a cost of Rs. 147·6 lakhs (revised estimate). Construction commenced in April 1936. Power-house construction is practically completed and a partial supply of power through one unit was commenced in July 1937. All the units are expected to be in operation in December 1937 and the whole construction work completed by the end of 1938. In view of the prospective loads coming earlier than anticipated, extension of Mettur power to Tiruvannamalai, Villupuram and Conjeeveram involving a total outlay of Rs. 19 lakhs was sanctioned in 1936. It is also proposed to extend the supply of Mettur power from Kaveripakkam to Arkonam at a cost of Rs. 2·07 lakhs. The total provision required during 1937–38 for the Mettur main scheme and extensions is Rs. 26,10,300.

"The thermal schemes serving Dindigul, Virudunagar and Palni will be closed and the area will be incorporated in the Pykara system. The thermal scheme serving Theni, Periyakulam and Bodinayakanur will continue to function as a thermal scheme for a year or two more and will be shut down as soon as a link line from Sembatti in the Madura district under investigation is constructed.

"In areas where there is no prospect of any big hydro-electric scheme operating, the Government decided to generate and supply energy in bulk from thermal stations. A scheme for the establishment of a fresh thermal station at Vizagapatam was sanctioned in July 1936 at an initial cost of Rs. 18·7 lakhs. It is intended to serve Anakapalle, Chittivalasa, Vizianagram, Garbam and Bobbili. Construction is now in full swing and a sum of Rs. 16,89,200 is required for the purpose during the current year. It is expected to be in operation early in 1938.

"A similar thermal scheme for the establishment of a central power station at Bezwada for supply of power to Gudivada, Masulipatam and Ellore was sanctioned in September 1936 at an initial cost of Rs. 17·35 lakhs. This work also is now in full swing and it is hoped that power will be supplied from the middle of 1938. The provision required during 1937–38 for this scheme is Rs. 13,85,300.

"In order to minimize lapse in the provision for works outlay, the Government decided that a lump deduction should be made in the estimate under capital works at 5 per cent on the demand for works

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in progress and 10 per cent on the demand for new works. On this basis, a lump deduction for probable savings is estimated at Rs. 6,41,200."

* MR. SPEAKER:—"As there is no motion for the reduction of this Demand, I shall put the Demand to the vote of the House."

The Demand was put and carried and the Grant was made.

'(34) DEMAND XXXIV—CAPITAL OUTLAY ON CIVIL WORKS.

THE HON. MR. YAKUB HASAN:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, I beg to move that the Government be granted a sum not exceeding Rs. 13,84,100 under Demand XXXIV—Capital outlay on Civil Works.

"Sir, works or groups of works the cost of which cannot reasonably be financed from current revenue and is more than Rs. 5 lakhs each are provided for under this head. The amount is made up as follows:—

	RS.
General administration	4,61,000
Police works	3,72,800
Medical buildings	7,04,000
	15,37,800
Less 10 per cent for probable savings	1,53,700
	13,84,100

"The main items provided for are—

"(1) Construction of official residences in Adyar, five of which are now completed or are nearing completion while three residences are in progress.

"I may mention, Sir, that in regard to some of the items which are included in the budget, it need not be taken as granted that they will all be spent; sanction is asked for them, but we will consider the various schemes carefully and as and when necessary, we will take up the construction to the extent absolutely necessary.

"(2) Works necessitated by the reforms, such as the adaptation of the Senate House for accommodating the Legislative Assembly and provision for a building to house the new legislature. The question of a suitable site for the construction of the Parliament House is still under examination.

"(3) Comprehensive housing scheme for the police. The policy has been to carry out this scheme in instalments. In the current year's budget, however, no provision for new schemes is included in view of the need for economy.

"(4) Remodelling the General Hospital and the construction of an administrative block for the General Hospital and Medical College, Madras.

" (5) Construction of a new headquarters hospital at Madura.

" (6) Construction of new buildings for the headquarters hospital at Cocanada. These provide for the construction of up-to-date hospital buildings. They are well in progress."

* MR. SPEAKER :—" There being no motions for the reduction of this Demand, I shall put the Demand to the vote of the House."

The Demand was put and carried and the Grant was made.

(35) DEMAND XXXV—COMMUTED VALUE OF PENSIONS.

THE HON. MR. C. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR :—" I move, Sir, that the House do grant a sum not exceeding Rs. 8,32,000 to meet the expenditure under the head ' XXXV—Commuted Value of Pensions.

" Sir, all that I have to say in this connexion is that we know now on the average how much is demanded under this head year after year. There is no doubt an increasing demand in this matter, because cash is more popular than an annuity. It is known already to the Members of the House that we are meeting a certain amount under loan account in this respect. This is a Demand which therefore is already understood, and I hope that the House will have no difficulty in granting this, because there is no question of retrenchment in this matter."

* MR. SPEAKER :—" There being no motions for the reduction of this Demand, I shall put the Demand to the vote of the House."

The Demand was put and carried and the Grant was made.

(36) DEMAND XXXVI—INTEREST-FREE ADVANCES.

THE HON. MR. C. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR :—" Sir, I beg to move that the House be pleased to grant a sum not exceeding Rs. 9,40,900 under the head ' XXXVI—Interest-free Advances.'

" Here also, there is not much of a new feature, and I hope the House will grant this sum."

* MR. SPEAKER :—" There being no motion for the reduction of this Demand, I put the Demand to the vote of the House."

The Demand was put and carried and the Grant was made.

(37) DEMAND XXXVII—LOANS AND ADVANCES BEARING INTEREST.

4 p.m. THE HON. MR. C. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR :—" Sir, I have the privilege of moving the last demand and without the guillotine coming into operation. The House will have the privilege also of acceding to this demand by vote, of Rs. 75,52,100, below which the Government propose to keep the expenditure under this head, ' Loans and Advances bearing Interest'."

* THE ZAMINDAR OF CHALLAPALLI :—" Mr. Speaker, Sir, we have almost reached the tail-end of the budget discussion on the grants and I do not therefore propose to remain long at the mike and

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tire the patience of hon. Members. At the outset, Sir, I would be failing in my duty if I do not heartily acknowledge the gesture of goodwill made by the Hon. the Premier in his memorable budget speech. He has rightly stressed that the real question with regard to the ryots is the adequate relief of the indebtedness which will release the cultivator from the stranglehold of unredeemable insolvency . . . ."

MR. R. RAGHAVA MENON :—" On a point of order, Mr. Speaker. The hon. Member has not formally moved the cut motion and so I wish to know whether he can speak on the motion."

MR. SPEAKER :—" The hon. Member may now move his cut motion."

THE ZAMINDAR OF CHALLAPALLE :—" I am very sorry Sir, I am not accustomed to legislative procedure. I move, Sir—

> *' that the allotment of Rs. 75,52,100 under Demand XXXVII be reduced by Rs.* 100.'

" In moving this cut motion, Sir, I wish to say that it is not my desire to get the already meagre provision made in the budget under Agricultural Loans reduced by a further sum of Rs. 100, but it is with the intention of bringing to the notice of the Government the urgent necessity of introducing suitable legislation for the scaling down of agricultural debts with a view to their final eradication. I am of course aware of the magnitude of the task and the several complicated questions involved therein, and my appeal for declaring a moratorium also arises out of the fear that some time will be taken to devise suitable measures to tackle the problem. The story of the agricultural indebtedness of this province is an old one and has been often narrated in the press, on the platforms and in the previous legislatures, but very little has been done so far to eradicate this indebtedness. Between 1880 and 1895, the agricultural indebtedness of the province was estimated at 45 crores of rupees; in the year 1930 the Provincial Banking Enquiry Committee estimated it at 150 crores, and Mr. Sathianathan, I.C.S., the Special Officer, in 1934 put the figure at 204 crores. The above figures clearly reveal the progression in the amount of indebtedness. Again, Sir, the fall in the prices of agricultural products has not yet been overcome and there is no prospect of a rise in prices in the near future. I may point out, Sir, that in the Kistna district, which is mainly deltaic, the abnormal fall in the price of paddy has reduced the land values, so that the credit of the ryot has almost become nil and because his credit has become nil, he is placed at the disposal of the Marwadi and the local money-lender. The previous Governments sought to tackle the problem by means of various legislative measures, such as the Debt Conciliation Act, the Agricultural Loans Act and the Usurious Loans Act, but they have not been able to relieve the ryot very much. These measures can prevent the ryot from future indebtedness, but will not help in the matter of eradicating his past and present indebtedness. Now, Sir, from the

Press Communiqué which was issued on the 7th of this month, it is clearly seen that by the working of the Agricultural Loans Act in the two faslis 1345 and 1346, only a debt of Rs. 26,45,593 out of a total debt of 204 crores is wiped out. I am afraid, Sir, if this slow progress is maintained, it will be absolutely impossible to eradicate this huge indebtedness. It may also be mentioned here that the ryots also are not unreasonable in the matter of repayment of the moneys borrowed by them and they do not want to completely evade payment. What they want is only relief measures to make them pay off their debts without much loss to the creditors. In this connexion, I venture to suggest a few of the requirements of the ryots. The relief should not be restricted to debts below Rs. 500 as is the case under the Debtors' Protection Act. The rates of interest also are excessive and hence should be reduced to a reasonable figure in respect of both secured and unsecured debts. The voluntary basis of conciliation of debts between the debtor and the creditor under the Debtors' Conciliation Act should also be removed and an element of compulsion should be introduced. The debtor should not be made to pay any sum more than twice the amount borrowed actually. Steps should also be taken to set up conciliation boards all over the Presidency. And until such changes are effected moratorium should be declared to prevent the creditors from rushing to courts and compelling the debtors to pay their pounds of flesh. I can say with confidence that there is a persistent demand from the ryots in all parts of the Presidency for measures such as these.

"In the circumstances, I think the present amount for agricultural loans provided in the budget is not adequate to meet the needs of the present situation. I therefore request the Government to bring forward suitable legislation to eradicate this indebtedness at a very early date."

* Mr. MAHBOOB ALI BAIG:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am glad to associate myself with the suggestions made by the hon. the Raja Saheb of Challapalli in moving his cut motion. In doing so, I may assure you, Sir, that it is not the intention of either the Raja Saheb or myself to encourage the debtors to be dishonest and evade payment of debts. It is really dishonest for a person not to pay his debts and it would also affect the economic life of the country if any such measures are introduced. But, Sir, the justification for requesting the Government to undertake these measures is the conviction that in the present circumstances obtaining in the country, such drastic and bold steps of scaling down the debts, reducing the rate of interest, and declaring a moratorium pending legislation are, I consider, not only not immoral but are necessary for establishing economic equilibrium in the country. We know, Sir, that money as such has no value. Its value depends upon its purchasing power; in other words, how many articles, a rupee can fetch. We are all aware, Sir, that for reasons beyond our control, beyond India's control, this economic depression affected India along with other countries. Here I need not discuss the reasons for such an economic depression. Whether it is due to the.

hoarding of gold in America and France, or whether it is due to over-production, or, in the case of India besides the above two causes, whether it is due to the artificial exchange ratio, it is not necessary for us to go into now. But the fact remains that although there has been chronic rural indebtedness from the past, it has assumed huge proportions during recent times.

" The reason for such increase of indebtedness in recent times is that prior to 1929 the prices were very high, that is to say, the purchasing power of the rupee was very low. Subsequently, on account of the economic depression, prices of commodities fell very low; in other words, the purchasing power of the rupee rose. Whereas the ryot who took a loan of, say, a hundred rupees prior to 1929, if he sold away a certain quantity of his produce, could have liquidated his debts, now even if he sold away four or five times that quantity, he could not liquidate that debt. As I have shown, while the purchasing power of the rupee has risen, the price of the articles has fallen. Although I have stated that it is immoral and against the conceptions of a gentleman to evade the repayment of debt or to ask for its being scaled down, there is sufficient justification in the circumstances I have explained for taking measures for scaling down debts and to reduce the interest on account of the disturbance in the economic world, so that re-establishment of economic equilibrium may be effected. I go further and say that this is not only not immoral but that it is a dire necessity. It is from that point of view that the Raja Saheb of Challapalli has moved his cut motion. It may be said that the Government also intend to give relief to the extent of Rupees 75,00,000 towards the reduction of land-tax, etc., and that Rs. 30,00,000 has been allotted for giving loans to the ryots. But, Sir, the reduction in land-tax can to some extent relieve distress in future. As regards this Rs. 30,00,000, I may state at once that it would not even touch the fringe of the question of rural indebtedness. Further, it is said that the debt conciliation boards could do much to reduce indebtedness. I have always held the view that these boards cannot secure anything in so far as they cannot reduce the rate of interest and the question of debtors and creditors coming together for an agreement is beset with so many conditions which are not easy of fulfilment. There is, therefore, no hope for this institution being depended upon for sweeping away rural indebtedness. Unless the ryot is relieved of all his debts, there is no hope of his being able to lead a new and full life. You may give him some relief by way of land-tax; but as long as the loans remain like a load on his neck mounting up day and night, he could not lead a contended and full life. Although the Government should not in ordinary circumstances interfere with the right of private persons to receive back the money given on the basis of a contracts, still extraordinary circumstances require extraordinary remedies and drastic measures have to be adopted. The legislative measures passed in the past have not been of any avail. The only method according to me is to take courage in both hands and wipe out

4–15 p.m.

this 212 crores of rupees which represents the indebtedness of the ryots. Only then will our duty to the ryots have been done. I understand that the Government are going to introduce a Moratorium Bill in the Assembly. I congratulate them on their having taken a step in the right direction and I hope it will restore the economic equilibrium of the country."

* Mr. K. KOTI REDDI:—" Mr. Speaker, it augurs well for the ryot population of this province that this cut motion should have been moved by an aristocrat who represents an interest which has stood in the way of the improvement of the economic condition of the ryots of a large tract in the Presidency. The one thing that stood in the way of the relief of indebtedness of the ryots was the unwillingness of that class to accept the element of compulsion in the matter of scaling down of debts. Year before last, when the Debt Conciliation Bill was brought before the Legislative Council at the instance of a private member, the party which represented the landed and capitalist interests was against the introduction of the element of compulsion. It was pointed out then that, in spite of some of the useful provisions of the Bill, it was bound to prove an utter failure if compulsion was not introduced in the scaling down of debts. If to-day that community, the landed aristocracy, is prepared for the introduction of that principle, the House will, I am sure, be very glad that the ryots of this Presidency would soon be relieved of their debts. I am also glad for one more reason. When once the vested interests, interests of the monied classes and the landed classes, are prepared in the interests of the general happiness of the people to accept the principle of compulsion in the matter of scaling down of debts, the time will not be far off when they cannot complain of the sanctity of contracts and arrangements but will have to allow their interests to be touched for the benefit and happiness of the ryot population. Till now they have been saying that there is the solemn contract entered into between certain individuals, their ancestors and the East India Company and it has to be respected. They contended that the arrangements entered into with them ought to stand for ever. I hope the time will not be far off when they will consent to the re-opening of the question of a new relationship with their tenants. It is a fact too well known that the indebtedness of the ryot is chronic. The special officer who was appointed to investigate into their conditions has reported that their debts amount to 200 crores. It was only five or six years ago that the Banking Enquiry Committee estimated the debt of the rural population at 150 crores. Fifty crores increase within six years is rather too much. I hope that the Government will take early steps to wipe out the debts of the ryots altogether. I would suggest to the Premier to take courage in both hands and float a big loan. The credit of this province is very high and money is easily available. We can even get loans at two per cent. It is right to remember that the ryot is now paying at least 12 per cent by way of interest. The first question is the relief of the ryots from the present indebtedness and the second question is the question of extricating the ryots for the future from the

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clutches of the money-lenders. It ought to be the interest of the State to keep the ryots out of their clutches by encouraging the starting of co-operative societies and land mortgage banks. By this means sufficient and cheap credit may be made available to them. Even if they are now relieved of their debts, they will degenerate into indebtedness if suitable measures are not taken to provide them with cheap money. The hon. Member (Mr. Baig) has referred to the Bill to be introduced by the Government for the relief of rural indebtedness. I learn that the Government is moving in the matter. It is well to remember that the western countries have already attempted the relief of indebtedness in so many ways. In this country, some provinces. United Provinces, Bengal and lastly Madras have attempted to do something. But except in Bengal no other province has introduced the principle of compulsion.

"And even in Bengal the amount of compulsion that was introduced was not enough. The result was that there has been very little relief in the matter of rural indebtedness and if to-day, Sir, this Government is prepared to relieve the ryot altogether from his indebtedness they must introduce compulsion. They must adopt a method by which the ryot could pay off the debt to the creditor entirely and the one direction in which this could be done safely, could be done with fairness, and without affecting either the ryot or the banker would be the direction which was pointed out by my hon. Friend, Mr. Mahboob Ali Baig. Suggestions were made that interest should be struck off. Suggestions were made that the principal need not be paid, suggestions were made that a definite proportion of interest and principal could be given. But all these proposals are of no avail. It would not be the proper remedy. Indebtedness of the ryot in the past years was not very serious. If to-day the problem has become very serious, it was on account of the catastrophic fall in the price of commodities. As my hon. friend put it, if you take into account the economic value of the rupee, the purchasing power of the rupee in discharging the debts due to the creditor, there is absolutely no unfairness in this matter. The value that the banker gets in the shape of purchasing power will be just the same. And I dare say, Sir, that the Government will proceed in that direction. We take into account the economic value of the rupee at the time the amount was borrowed, at the time when part-payments are made, if any, at the time when the full amount has to be paid to the creditor. And the agency through which this could be done is now to be considered. I believe, Sir, it would be really much better, if instead of entrusting this affair to the land mortgage banks, the Government itself took up this responsibility. As I have already stated, Sir, the Government could raise enough money in the form of cash loans and if that is not possible, it is easy for the Government to float redemption bonds which could be negotiated, and the creditors made to accept them either wholly or partly."

4-30 p.m.

Mr. Speaker rang the bell as a signal for the Member to stop.

MR. K. KOTI REDDI:—" I won't take more than a minute. The creditors should be paid after settling the amount due to them under the arrangement that is made by the Government for scaling down the debts—a portion of the amount due in cash and the rest in redemption bonds. That is quite enough. As the matter stands to-day, on account of various circumstances, on account of the depression and on account of loss of credit of the ryot, no banker is prepared to lend money to him. And if to-day the ryots got cash from the Government or negotiable bonds were floated by the Government, their debts could be easily settled. And as other countries have done, these loans to the ryot could be recouped from the ryot by a large number of instalments, not less than thirty, and the rate of interest must be so low as to make the ryot able to pay this amount easily. They could also be recovered as land revenue as it was done in other countries."

* MR. SPEAKER:—" The Hon. the Premier will now reply."

THE HON. MR. C. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR:—" This is our last item and I congratulate the House on fulfilling your desire, Sir, that we should this time go through all the demands without the application of any artificial rule of ending the debate. On this last item it was indeed a rare surprise to find hon. Members like the Zamindar of Challapalle and Mr. Mahboob Ali Baig lending the great weight of their support to measures, compulsory measures to be taken in order to relieve agriculturists of debt. I do not think, Sir, that I am stating it wrongly or over-pitching it when I say that, if this House succeeds in getting a measure passed for compulsorily cancelling any fraction of the debt of the agriculturists, it would be the first achievement in that direction in legislative processes. We know that Conciliation Boards have been appointed, Arbitration Boards have been appointed, Acts have been passed against alienation and all that. But to have legislative compulsion for the purpose of cancelling a contract, which is prejudicial to the interests of the State in that it saps the strength of the agricultural population and makes them unfit for work, unfit for productive capacity, would, I think, be a precedent of which this House could well be proud; and when we were wondering as to the effect such a proposal would have, when we were being agitated in our own minds as to whether such a proposal may not be deemed revolutionary and perhaps destructive of the credit that is at the basis of all administrative operations, it is, indeed, a great satisfaction and a great encouragement that a gentleman of the position of our hon. Friend, the Zamindar of Challapalle, who is well-known to be one of the premier Zamindars of our province and far above the difficulties under which certain other zamindars might be suffering, comes forward and not only says 'Yes' but even tries to forestall us and says 'you must declare a moratorium pending legislation.' When it is supported by Mr. Mahaboob Ali Baig who is not either a debtor or a creditor but who is in between as a lawyer, who is not a gentleman belonging to the majority community but to what is commonly called the minority community, we feel that there is no difference of opinion on this point. The voice of the tenant,

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the voice of the zamindar who is absolutely entrenched behind the walls of wealth and position and power and the voice of a lawyer of a minority community who knows the law and the dangers of which may lead anything to anything, if these gentlemen have, beforehand, anticipated us in fact and have declared in so many terms that a moratorium is not only permissible but absolutely necessary for carrying on the affairs of this province, what more have we to do, Sir, than to congratulate ourselves on such abundant encouragement, strength and support? Hon. Members who have had time to see the daily newspapers or the gazette may know that we have already caused a notification of the Moratorium Bill to be published in the *Fort St. George Gazette*, and within six days of that publication, if the House will permit and expedite the other business that is before the House, we intend bringing that Bill and placing it before the Members of the House. Especially when I see that such a proposal has been already anticipated by gentlemen sitting opposite, I think we need not spend more than at the most one hour over the ceremonial of the rules with reference to legislation when that Bill is before the House. It was suggested, it was said that the agriculturists were steeped in debt. There is no need for stating it, Sir, or trying to prove it. There is no need for spending any time over it. Everybody knows it and all sections of the House know it to their cost. They know also that it is not a real debt. The men about whom we say they are in debt are not really in debt. What I mean is they have paid over and over what they have borrowed. They have paid, first of all, by their labour. They have paid by their services. They have paid actually the principal, and I think I am not over-pitching the statement of the facts when I say that they have paid the principal and what is due is only exorbitant interest. If every debt is taken up and every debt is calculated properly, people would see, anybody can see, that really this load of debt is merely a load of law and not of debt. They have given back what they have taken and given back more than what they have taken. What remains is the load that the law has placed upon the man. He cannot get out of it except through legislation. That is the position. I promise, therefore, the House that this moratorium that is asked for in the cut motions and all the demands that are made from all sections of the House, we will seek to give. But the provisions exactly as to how we shall relieve indebtedness, cannot be so easily and so quickly disposed of and that is is why a mere moratorium is what we propose to ask for at once. The thing will have to be studied, will have to be examined, not only by Members of the House but also by people outside the House interested in the welfare and the credit of the province. Therefore that we are not rash, that we have not slipped over, is all that we can claim now. What is proposed is only legislation to provide that these debtors cannot be dragged to court and their properties cannot be disposed of while we are studying the position. That is the moratorium law that we have notified in the gazette and which we propose to bring in, in accordance with this cut motion, Sir. So I submit

that as the Zamindar's cut motion has been that the grant should be reduced by Rs. 100 so that the grant may be enormously increased, it can as well be given up in view of what I have stated and the demand may be passed. I also wish to state that even the statement contained in this cut motion that the provision that we have made in the budget is not satisfactory, is not quite fair to us. Taking the provision that was made for loans under this head last year, we find loans to municipalities, loans to district and other local fund committees, to municipalities and so on. Leaving all that aside, take 'Loans to cultivators.' The preliminary accounts of 1936–37 show us 26·26 lakhs whereas now the provision under that sub-head is 37·23 lakhs, 11 lakhs above the actuals of last year and much above the actuals of any previous year. So that after all, the provision that we have made here is not insignificant. But it is true that this provision is not adequate and that is why we are proceeding with other measures. Indeed it may be admitted that if our proposals are executed and carried out other measures will either lapse into insignificance or get merged and this is the position. I have explained so much, Sir, in order to show that the House and the Government are well aware of their responsibilities in this matter and that we are grateful for the cut motions that have been made, especially in view of the personal factors, important factors, that I drew the attention of the House to at the outset. I hope, Sir, that the Demand will be granted."

The cut motion was by leave withdrawn.

The Demand was put and carried and the Grant was made.

4-45 p.m. * Mr. SPEAKER:—"The second stage of the budget, namely, the voting of Demands for Grants is concluded. All the Members of the House should be congratulated upon the complete co-operation amongst themselves in bringing the discussion to a regular conclusion without any necessity for any Demand being guillotined and the hon. Members of the House deserve sincere congratulations upon the night session of yesterday. It was a regular business session and the House had a very excellent experience of a night session.

"The budget having been concluded, we proceed to the next item of business, viz., Travancore Temple Entry Proclamation Resolution."

II—NON-OFFICIAL RESOLUTION.

RESOLUTION *re* TRAVANCORE TEMPLE ENTRY PROCLAMATION.

* Mr. D. RAMALINGA REDDIYAR:—"Mr. Speaker, I commend my resolution for the acceptance of the hon. Members of this House. While doing so, I hope and expect that all indulgence usually shown to a junior Member of the House will be shown to me by the Chair and the hon. Members of the House.

"The resolution before the House is this and I beg to move it—

'This Assembly recommends to the Government to convey the appreciation of the House to His Highness the Maharaja of

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Travancore, Her Highness the Maharanee Srimathi Sethu Parvathi Bai and His Highness's advisers for the gracious and statesmanlike proclamation issued by His Highness in respect of the State temples, and its congratulations to the people of Travancore, on this great and peaceful achievement of social and religious reform of far-reaching value.'

" Sir, the Royal Proclamation of His Highness Sri Chitra Thirunal of Travancore was issued on the 12th day of November 1936, the festival of Deepavali and the anniversary of the redemption of the world from a fierce demon. By one of those happy coincidences which are full of significance to the superstitious Hindu, it was also the 24th Birthday of His Highness. Rarely Sir, could it have fallen to the lot of any Prince to give himself and his people so glorious and so memorable a birthday gift. On that day of Deepavali the dark demon of untouchability, who is still stalking over the rest of India, was driven out of Travancore. Narakasura has been wounded and his prestige badly damaged by the blow that His Highness gave him. The day of his final extinction is not far off. No wonder, Sir, this reform has been acclaimed by all lovers of Truth as the greatest event in the recent history of Hinduism. Mr. Mahadeva Desai, a man who, as we all know, weighs his words as if they were grains of gold, truly calls this great action of the Royal hero as ' the epic of Travancore.'

" Sir, a hero of epic magnitude, this young prince certainly is. I hope I am not taking away from the religious merit and the deep spiritual nature of His Highness when I say that the most conspicuous quality he has displayed is courage, straight, simple, forthright, manly courage, at once the keen sword and radiant armour of an epic hero. Perhaps, Sir, no Papal assembly in mediæval Europe wielded such powers as the ecclesiastical councils of Travancore do to-day, for these can ex-communicate anyone, the Sovereign not excluded. What makes the Maharaja Sri Chitra Thirunal really great, and a symbol of the youth of modern India, is that he dared and scorned the direst consequences in doing his duty as a Hindu ruler.

" Sir, that this great act was conceived and carried through as the legitimate duty of a Hindu ruler, that the Proclamation had an authentic background and a lineage truly Hindu, has been made convincingly clear by His Highness's learned adviser, Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Ayyar, in the lectures which he recently delivered under the Sastri Foundation of the University of Madras. The claim that he advanced, Sir, ' the greatest contribution to posterity made by the Hindu Tradition was broad-mindedness and sympathy and tolerance of different views, which existed almost alone in India among the civilized countries of the earlier days,' this claim would be a mere theoretical apologia without its embodiment in the great Proclamation. It extended to all Hindus, Sir, those by faith as well as by birth, the freedom of worship in all the temples in the State.

" Sir, a barren controversy, now happily and finally over, raged around Mahatma Gandhi's part in bringing about this event of vast

all-India importance. But there never has been and there never can be any doubt as to who in all-India and in all the world felt the deepest ecstacy and poured forth the sincerest gratitude for the Proclamation. In the chorus of praise, Sir, which greeted His Highness, the humblest and the most moving were Gandhiji's speeches which he delivered during his special thanks giving pilgrimage, early this year, as he retraced step by step and from temple to temple, the earlier tours of anxious agitation and desperate knocking at closed doors. Sir, 'The sins of past ages,' said Gandhiji, 'have been obliterated by literally a stroke of the pen. Though it was the name of the Maharaja that traced the signature over the Proclamation the spirit behind was that of the Lord Padmanabhaswami.' Sir, if Mahatmaji was thus overjoyed, His Excellency Lord Erskine, restrained by office from uttering all that he felt, welcomed the Proclamation as a 'remarkable' event. Our excessively sober and meticulously cautious Finance Minister, Sir, became lyrical in his joy and behaved like an emancipated slave or a school boy on the first day of his long vacation. Diwan Bahadur R. Srinivasan and our friend Rao Bahadur M. C. Rajah tendered their congratulations to the Maharaja, and expressed their gratitude to God for the way He led the Harijans from the house of Bondage to Freedom.

"Sir, even Sir P. S. Sivaswami Ayyar, always extremely moderate in his views, became, on this occasion, moderately extreme and couched his approval in terms which made a dangerous approach to warmth. The Advocate-General, Sir, gave it as his free and considered opinion that the reform 'was the greatest in Hinduism since Ramanuja's days.'

"Next to the young Maharaja himself, Sir, the highest praise must go to the gracious lady Her Highness Srimathi Sethu Parvathi Bai, whose enthusiasm for all good causes, and especially for emancipation of the down-trodden, has been an inspiring example to the womanhood of India. Without the Queen Mother's guidance and encouragement, so bold a step could not have been taken by so young a ruler. To shake off the burden of ages, to rise superior to the weight of custom and the stifling counsels of a mere wordly wisdom, the courage born of affection such as only an enlightened and affectionate mother could give was necessary and in this instance was forthcoming.

"Sir, the terms of the Proclamation deserve our careful study.

"The proclamation runs as follows:—

'Profoundly convinced of the truth and validity of our religion believing that it is based on divine guidance and on all-comprehending toleration, knowing that in its practice it has throughout the centuries adapted itself to the needs of the changing times, solicitous that none of our Hindu subjects should by reason of birth, caste or community be denied the consolation and solace of the Hindu faith, we have decided and hereby declare, ordain and command that, subject to such rules and conditions as may be laid down and imposed by us for preserving their proper atmosphere and maintaining their rituals and observances there should henceforth be no restriction placed on any Hindu by birth or religion entering and worshipping at temples controlled by us and our Government.'

"Sir, Mr. Austin, I.C.S., and Sir Mohammad Habibullah, as Diwans of Travancore, have earned the eternal gratitude of all of us for doing the

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spade work in this behalf. But Sir, for the proper shaping of the Proclamation no small credit belongs to Sir C. P. Ramaswami Ayyar. As the years pass relentlessly over the rest of us, leaving us worn out and weary and cynical, they seem to have a contrary effect on Sir C.P. He is growing every day younger, more energetic, more buoyant in his enthusiasm, more hopeful of the future. Scaling height after height of achievement he seems ever more eager for fresh summits to capture. We in Madras, Sir, are proud of him and of his fruitful services to our own province. Law and Order, Police and Irrigation in Madras, owe their present strength, and the great and beneficient works at Mettur and Pykara owe almost their very existence, to his rare combination of imaginative vision and executive ability. Sir C.P. has shown his 'Roman Hand' in the clarity and iron strength of the wording of the Proclamation. As the chief adviser of His Highness, Sir, in the most delicate situation, perhaps that a modern ruler can be called upon to face, he had the greatness to counsel, not timid prudence and petty safety, but the high courage which, knowing the possible, searches beyond it into impossible things, unlikely ends, and so adds new chapters of freedom to the history of the human soul.

"There may be some sceptics, Sir, who believe that worship in temples is mere superstition and that the new freedom conferred on the Harijans is nothing precious. But Mahatma Gandhi has rightly impressed on us the value and significance of the temples in the life of the Hindu. People who pooh-pooh temple entry, and pour scorn on Prohibition, do not realize, Sir, Mahatma Gandhi's belief in the efficacy of inserting first and foremost the thick end of the wedge. In social matters, he believes, not at all in the inevitableness of gradualness, but in the beauty of complete unquestioning surrender to absolute right. Allowing Harijans entry into courts, then into offices, then into streets and so on, that is not his method. Since the larger includes the lesser, Sir, give them equality in the temples and you have assured them equality everywhere else. Moreover, to the vast majority of the Hindus, as to Mahatma Gandhi himself, the temples are the visible symbols of God's power and authority. Houses of God, in which we should from time to time remember our obligations to humanity and renew our vows of loyalty to God and man, and rededicate ourselves to their service from day to day. From this right and duty, Sir, it is unjust and unreasonable to exclude, on the mere ground of birth a large body of Hindus. May I, Sir, in this connexion quote an English rendering of an aphorism of Vemana, the great Telugu poet and saint: 'Why should we deride a pariah whose flesh and blood were born like to ours? What caste is He who doth dwell in all we see!'

"Again, Sir, consider for a moment the formula given in Saccharitra raksha, page 77 on the question of temple entry—

चक्राङ्किताः प्रवेष्टव्याः, न अचक्राङ्किताः ।

"All those who have been initiated formally into the respective forms of worship are entitled to be let in, while others, who are not so may not be allowed.

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" Any member of the same faith may easily be initiated if one is so minded. In this connexion, Sir, I may bring to the notice of the hon. Members of this House the view-point of Vedanta Desikar. In Desika Prabhandam, Adhikāra Sangraham, the 17th stanza runs as follows:—

5 p.m.

அந்தண ரந்திய ரெல்லோயி னின்ற
வனைத்துலகும்
நொந்தவ ரேமுத லாக நுடங்கி
யனன்னியராய்
வந்தடை யும்வகை வண்டக வேந்தி
வருந்தியநம்
அந்தமி லாதியை யன்ப ரறிந்தறி
வித்தனரே.

[தேசிகப்பிரபந்தம், அதிகாரஸங்க்ரஹம், 17.]

" It means, Sir, this: ' our seers out of love for us, have realized and expounded to us the nature of our Eternal Lord, who waits in great concern with his boon of mercy for the whole of mortals inclusive of *Andanas* and *Anthyas* (high and low) alike, who weighed down by affliction seek refuge in Him *alone*.' Why then, Sir, despise our unfortunate brethren when they want to offer their prayers inside the precincts of a temple observing all standards of personal purity?

" I have no doubt, Sir, that among the great and illustrious reformers who have helped in the renaissance of our ancient Indian civilization and culture, His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore will hold a place equal in eminence, though different in kind, to Swami Vivekananda and Mahatma Gandhi. What they felt and preached, he was able to enforce in action. He translated their dreams and their passionate desires into a hard historical fact.

" Mr. Speaker, Sir, as this Legislative Assembly under the scheme of Provincial Autonomy has met for the first time, it is good that we should take this opportunity to convey to His Highness, the ruler of the neighbouring State of Travancore, His Highness's Gracious Mother and His advisors, our appreciation of their wisdom in bringing about this most momentous and benevolent reform. In sending this message of congratulation, I wish to add only this, viz., the benediction which the poet *Kalidasa* pronounced at the end of his immortal poem, *Sakuntala*:—

' प्रवर्ततां प्रकृतिहिताय पार्थिवः । '

' May the King act for the good of his subjects.'

" I hope, Sir, the Hon. the Premier will send this also along with the resolution."

* MR. B. S. MURTI:—" Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise to second the resolution so eloquently moved by the hon. Member Mr. D. Ramalinga Reddiyar. I do not think that I should make any long speech on this occasion, but in seconding this resolution, I think I may place a few points before the House. We all know that Southern India stands condemned as a place of untouchability. I mean by this that though

in other parts of India untouchability is in existence, it is not so rigorous as in this Presidency. Here, as we all know and as reference was also made before, we not only have untouchability but unseeability, unapproachability and, if I may say so, unthinkability and unmentionability.

"Now, the Proclamation of His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore has given the greatest blow to this demon of untouchability. Certainly we should be proud of this, because the Maharaja who is a South Indian has given the first blow. He has laid the axe at the root of this sin, which was made much of by the Sanatanists. If by Sanatanism is meant progressive Hinduism, I can understand it, and every one of us here would be a Sanatanist. If on the other hand Sanatanism means deterioration, I think most of the hon. Members would call themselves non-Sanatanists, and they would be ashamed to call themselves Sanatanists. We know that the conditions obtaining in the Native States are very different from those in British India. But if we are aware of the difficulties under which the untouchables are labouring, I think every one of us should try to do something in the immediate future to eradicate the sin of untouchability. In this connexion, I wish to recite a Telugu poem, which is as follows:—

శా॥ కారే రాజులు? రాజ్యములుండవవే? కడ్వోన్నతిన్ వెండరే?
వారేరీ? సిరిమూట గట్టుకొని పోవ జాలిరే? భూమిపై
పేరైనంగలదే? శిబిప్రముఖులన్ బ్రోతిన్ యశఃకాములై
యీ రోర్వుల్ లు? నారలన్ మఱచిరే యిక్కాలమున్ భార్గవా?

This, if translated into English, would mean that there are several rulers, rulers will come and rulers will go; all are not rulers, but only persons who do real service to humanity are real rulers. If that analogy is to be applied to this House and to the Government, it will come to this: Governments will exist and Governments will expire, but that is the real Government which will take note of the conditions and the circumstances and the difficulties of the people, and try and endeavour with all its energies to see that all the people enjoy liberty and equality. With these few remarks, I commend this resolution to this honourable House."

SRIMATHI LAKSHMI BHARATI:—

"கனம் தலைவர் அவர்களே! இத்தீர்மானத்தை நான் அளவிலாத மகிழ்ச்சியுடன் ஆதரிக்கிறேன். கடவுளின் நிகற்ற குழந்தைகளாகிய ஹரி ஜனங்களே திருவாங்கூர் மகாராஜா அவர்கள் ஆலயங்களில் தரிசிக்க விட்டிருப்பது எவ்வளவோ போற்றத்தக்க விஷயமாயிருக்கிறது. அதற்காக என்னுடைய மனமார்ந்த சந்தோஷத்தைத் தெரிவித்துக்கொள்கிறேன். திருவாங்கூர் மகாராஜா அவர்கள் இளம் வயதாக இருந்தாலும் தைரியமாக இப்பெருங் காரியத்தைச்செய்து என்றும் அழிவிலிலாததோர் புகழைப்பெற்றுள்ளார். மகாராஜா அவர்களின் தாயார் மகாராணி சேது பார்வதிபாய் அவர்கள் இப் பெரிய காரியம் வெற்றியடைவதற்கு அதிகப் பங்கெடுத்துக்கொண்டார்களென்று நினைக்கும்போது பெண்கள் குலத்திற்கே பெருமையளித்த திலகமாக நான்

எண்ணி மகிழ்வடைகிறேன். பெண்கள் பெரிய காரியங்களுக்கு லாயக்கில்லை என்று இன்னும் நினைக்கிறவர்கள் சிலர் இருக்கிற சந்தர்ப்பத்தில் இவ்வளவு பெரிய சீர்திருத்தத்தில் மகாராணி சேது பார்வதி பாயின் பங்கை நினைத்து அவர்களைச்சிறிது யோசித்து சிந்திப்பார்களென்று நான் நம்புகிறேன். காலம் சந்தர்ப்பம் வந்தால் "ஆணுக்குப் பெண் இளைப்பில்லைகாண்" என்ற பாரதியாரின் வாக்கை மெய்ப்பிக்க நாங்கள் (பெண்கள்), தயாராக இருக்கிறோமென்பதை வணக்கத்துடன் தெரிவித்துக்கொள்கிறேன். திவான் சர். சி. பி. ராமசாமி ஐயர் அவர்களுக்கும் நம்முடைய நன்றியைத்தெரிவித்துக்கொள்வோமாக. நாம் செய்யுங் காரியங்களில் ஹிருதயபூர்வமாக நம்பிக்கை வைத்து அஹிம்சையான முறையில் நடந்துவந்தால் எக்காரியமும் நிச்சயம் வெற்றியடையும் என்பதில் சந்தேகமில்லை. திருவாங்கூர் காட்டிய வழியை நமது மாகாணமும் விரைவில் அடையும் என்று நம்புகிறேன். இது விஷயத்தில் கனம் பிரதம மந்திரி அவர்கள் அதிக சிரத்தை எடுத்துவருகிறார்களென்பது எல்லோருமறிந்த விஷயம். அந்த சுபதினம் விரைவில் இங்கு ஏற்படுமாறு எல்லாம் வல்ல இறைவனைப் பிரார்த்தித்துக்கொள்கிறேன்."

* RAO BAHADUR M. C. RAJAH:—" Mr. Speaker, Sir, on behalf of the community I have the honour to belong and to represent in this House, I have very great pleasure to support the resolution which has been so ably moved by my hon. Friend Mr. D. Ramalinga Reddiyar. We are indeed grateful, Sir, to His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore and Her Highness the Maharani for their historic tolerance and all-comprehending protection of all castes, creeds and races in their State. Sir, let me remind this House that this Proclamation of His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore commanding all temples of the State to be thrown open to all Hindus, not only by birth but also by faith, carries out to the full, the aim and spirit of the Poona Pact. The pact, as you all know, is to enfold within the Hindu society large groups of people who are on the fringe, doubting whether they belong to the Hindu community or not, and are ready to go out of it wherever they could find fresh pastures and flowing water.

" Untouchability, Sir, is a canker eating into the every vitals of the Hindu society. This canker has travelled far beyond its limits and is sapping the very foundation of Hindu society. The subject of untouchability is a huge subject and a serious subject too, so serious that Mahatma Gandhi was prepared to stake his life for its removal. On an occasion like this, it is but right that we should re-call to our minds the historic efforts of that great man, Mahatma Gandhi, in starting the Harijan movement, and we are also grateful to those other great workers like Mr. G. D. Birla, Mr. A. V. Thakkur and also to our Premier, the Hon. Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar, for the enormous amount of work they have carried out in order to achieve this result.

" Sir, this Proclamation of His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore has knocked the bottom out of any exodus movement which is intended to bring about a communal migration without personal religious conviction. My heart is too full, Sir, for an adequate expression of gratitude to His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore. I trust that the Proclamation is a marching order given to Hindus of

every denomination all over the country to promote equality in every department of Hindu social life and a challenge to the legislators of this province to call upon them to do likewise and to extend the borders of this movement. It is really a charter of emancipation, social, economic and religious. It is to be implemented and executed by Hindus all over of the country, particularly the Hindus of Southern India.

"It is easy for people to say that the Ruler of an Indian State can do things which the Prime Minister of a Province with a large majority in the Assembly, and representing a large majority in the country cannot do. I don't believe this. What one august personage in an Indian State can do by a single Proclamation can be done by a legislature in such a representative Assembly as this consisting of 215 elected members, and the legislation need not be in the first instance a mandatory one. It may be a permissive legislation empowering the temple authorities to throw open the gates of temples to all Hindus by birth and caste. When compulsion is being applied to other measures, social, economic and cultural, I fail to see why a similar legislation should not be introduced for purifying the religious institutions and for throwing the gates of temples wide open for all Hindus to worship. We are profoundly grateful to His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore for this Proclamation." 5-15 p.m.

* Mr. L. SATTANATHA KARAYALAR:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise with a sense of peculiar personal pride to support this resolution that has been so admirably moved by my hon. Friend from Cheyyar and supported by Rao Bahadur M. C. Rajah. Belonging to a family who are loyal subjects of His Highness the Maharaja, having spent the first twenty years of my life in Travancore and having been connected with the social activities there, I think nobody is more qualified than myself to speak on this subject. To whatever section of the House hon. Members may belong, I am sure they will all join in the tribute we are paying to His Highness the Maharaja for his bold action, and for his sincerity and nobility.

"Hon. Members on either side of the House may not have first-hand knowledge of Travancore except those who have the fortune to be lawyers and had the misfortune to fail in the First examination in Law. It is thought that Travancore is not such a big State. I may say that Travancore has four times as many people as there are in New Zealand and twice as many as there are in Norway. Its population is only a little less than that of the Continent of Australia, and the number of people in Ceylon is not greater than the number in Travancore.

"His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore ascended the *masnad* in 1925 and, since then, successive Diwans have been in Travancore. Diwans had come and Diwans had gone, but nobody took courage

in both hands except Sir C. P. Ramaswami Ayyar, the political magician, the father of social reform movement in Travancore, to put this reform on the Statute Book. The Maharaja is the wisest of politicians and one of the youngest. He is prepared to effect any social reform in his State if only proper advice based on sound experience is given by his Diwan. It will be interesting to know that many great statesmen were Diwans including Diwan Bahadur Sir M. Krishnan Nair of buttermilk fame or, better still, no buttermilk fame. When early in November last year, Sir Ramaswami Ayyar assumed the reins of office, he thought that communal harmony there, was not as it should be, and, having thought over the matters deeply, he came to the conclusion that nothing in the nature of a temporary reform would meet the situation. Sir C. P. I may say reached the zenith of his fame when this Proclamation was made.

"It was said by people in certain quarters who were condemning this, that it was bound to fail as the Proclamation is considered to be irreligious. But it will be found that the number of such people is so small and so rare that they are fit to be sent to weekly markets in up-country villages or provincial headquarter museums to be exhibited there.

"It has been often said that reforms must come from within. This Proclamation gives the lie direct to that statement and it will not be long before the other Native States and also this Province follow the noble example of Travancore. On this occasion let us convey our grateful thanks to His Highness the Maharaja and also to Maharani Sethu Parvathi Bai whose is always a name to conjure with and whose work in the cause of womanhood and social welfare is only too well-known to hon. Members of this House, and let us pray for their long life and prosperity. Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am glad I have been given this opportunity to speak. I have done."

MR. E. KANNAN:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, in supporting this resolution I have to congratulate my hon. Friend Mr. Ramalinga Reddiyar for having brought this motion before the House. Hon. Members are already aware of the agitation that has been going on in this country and particularly on the West Coast for the removal of untouchability and for entry into the temples by the so-called Avarnas. I am not one of those who believe in the psychology of temple movement, and I do not think that entry into temples will advance the moral and spiritual prosperity of the people. But from the point of view of the removal of untouchability, this question has assumed importance on account of the fact that temples are the citadels of caste Hindu orthodoxy fostering untouchability and when once this citadel falls to the beseige of the Reformers, the task of removing untouchability becomes easier. Looking at the question in this light and with due regard to the obstacles that confronted the Maharaja, it must be admitted that his Proclamation is an act of true courage, great heroism and wise statesmanship. But apart from the question of the removal

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of untouchability, the Temple Entry Proclamation of Travancore has an added importance because, had it not been for this Proclamation, the Hindu society would have degenerated further and the cry of the depressed classes to embrace other faiths would have received greater support and unexpected stimulus.

"Hon. Members have pointed out the significance of this Proclamation both from the point of view of the untouchables and of the Hindu community. Of those who are connected with the movement, besides the Hon. the Prime Minister whose zeal in the cause everybody is aware of, I am happy to say from my own personal knowledge of things that Hon. Dr. T. S. S. Rajan deserves much of our congratulations for the part he has played in this matter; and I hope that all those valiant gentlemen who were connected with the movement have rightly to be remembered on this occasion with gratitude and admiration. I will not say anything further. I will only to appeal to the Hon. Members of the Treasury Bench to receive inspiration from the illustrious Maharaja and see that this cancer of untouchability which is now eating into the vitals of the Hindu community is removed once for all. The humiliations, indignities and oppressions which the depressed classes are receiving day to day under this monstrous system of untouchability have now become too bad to be tolerated any longer. Some of us, when by our education and contact with enlightened people get our eyes opened to the light of modern times are finding ourselves in a very intolerable position because we feel that it is unworthy of subjects of a civilized nation to be subject to such oppressions as this barbarous system of untouchability affords. I believe that the present Government would realize the situation and will take time by the forelock to redeem the depressed classes in the Madras Presidency from the oppressive nature of this cruel custom. If this custom is not abolished it will not be proper for any Government to call itself a civilized Government."

* SWAMI A. S. SAHAJANANDAM:—

"கனம் தலைவர் அவர்களே, திருவாங்கூர் மகாராஜாவுக்குச் செலுத்தக்கூடிய இந்த நன்றியில் நானும் பங்கெடுத்துக்கொள்ளச் சந்தர்ப்பம் கிடைத்ததற்காக ரொம்பவும் சந்தோஷப்படுகிறேன். திருவாங்கூர் மகாராஜா அவர்களை சாதாரண மான மனிதனுக நான் கருதவில்லை. அவர்களை சாக்ஷாத் தெய்வமாகக் கருது கிறேம். எவ்வளவோ பெரியபெரிய மகான்களாலும் மகாத்மாக்களாலும் செய்துவைக்க முடியாத ஒரு பெரிய காரியத்தை அவர்கள் செய்து வைத்தார்கள். ஆகையினுல் அவர்களைத் தெய்வமாகக் கருதுகிறேம் என்று சொல்லுகிறேன். அவர்கள் ரொம்பவும் இளவயதுள்ளவராக இருந்தாலும் அவர்கள் குலசேகர ஆழ்வார் குலத்தில் பிறந்தவர் சேரமான் நாயனுர் குலத்தில் பிறந்தவர் என்று சொல்லுகிறேன். அவர்களுடைய குல வேலையைச் செய்து முடித்து விட்டார். ஹிந்து மதமே அழிந்துபோகக்கூடிய நிலைமையிலிருந்ததை உயிர்ப் பித்துவிட்டார். ஹிந்து மதத்திலிருக்கப்பட்டவர்கள் கிறிஸ்தவ மதத்திற்குப் போவதினுல் ஹிந்து மதமே அழிந்துபோகக்கூடிய நிலைமையிலிருந்ததை அவர் செய்த இந்தப் பெரிய காரியத்தினுல் மாற்றி விட்டார். இந்து மதத்திற்கே பெரிய கைங்கரியத்தைச் செய்தார். அதன் மூலம் ஆலயங்களைப் பரிசுத்தப் படுத்தினுர் என்று சொல்லுகிறேன்.

[Mr. A. S. Sahajanandam] [24th September 1937

"இப்பொழுது ஆலயங்களில் மிகவும் பாவங்கள் நிறைந்திருக்கின்றன என்று சொல்லலாம். ஒரு மனிதன் விபசாரஞ் செய்தால் திருடினுல் அல்லது வேறு ஏதாவது கொலைக்குற்றஞ் செய்தால் அப்படிப்பட்டவனைத் தண்டிப்பார்கள், கொன்றுபோட வேண்டுமென்று இருந்தால் அங்கே பாவங்கள் நிறைந்திருக்கின்றன என்று சொல்லலாம். ஆலயத்திற்குப் போனுல் பாவம் போகிறதென்று சொன்னுல் அங்கே தெய்வமிருக்கிறதென்று சொல்லலாம் அந்த ஆலயத்திற்குப் போனுல் கொலைக்குற்றஞ் செய்தவனை தூக்குகிறமாதிரி தூக்குகிறதென்று இருந்தால் அந்த ஆலயத்தில் தெய்வமில்லை என்று ஏற்படுகிறது. திருவாங்கூர் மகாராஜா தன்னுடைய ஆட்சியின் கீழிருக்கும் இரண்டாயிரங் கோவில்களை ஹரிஜனங்களுக்கு திறந்து விட்டதன் மூலம் அந்தக்கோவில்களில் சுவாமி இருப்பதாக ஏற்படுத்தி விட்டார். மகாராஜா அவர்கள் செய்த ஒப்பற்ற இந்தப் பெரிய சீர்திருத்த வேலையை வாயினல் வாழ்த்த முடியாது. அதை வாழ்த்த வாய் போதாது. இந்த உலகத்தில் ஒருவன் குடித்தோ அல்லது மற்ற தீய ஒழுக்கங்களினுலோ கெட்டுப்போகிறதாயிருந்தால் அவனை சீர்திருத்தமடையச் செய்ய வேண்டியது பெரியோர்களின் பொறுப்பு. அப்படி இருக்கும்போது எங்களைக் கெட்டவர்கள் கெட்ட ஒழுக்கங்களிலிடுபட்டவர்கள் தீண்டப்படாதவர்கள் என்று சொல்லுகிறீர்கள். நாங்கள் நல்ல ஒழுக்கங்களிலிடுபடுகிறோம். நல்லவர்களாகிறோம் சன்மார்க்க வழியில் நடக்கிறோம். ஆலயங்களில் செல்ல அனுமதி கொடுக்கவேண்டுமென்று சொன்னுல் வேண்டாம் வேண்டாம் குடித்துக் கெட்டுப்போ தீண்டப்படாதவனுக என்றென்றும் இரு என்று சொன்னுல் அது பொருந்தாத நியாயமாகும்.

"மகாத்மா காந்தியடிகளும், ராஜாஜி அவர்களும், டாக்டர் ராஜன் அவர்களும் பிரயாசைப்பட்டு திருவாங்கூர் ராஜ்ஜியத்தில் கோவிலை ஹரிஜனங்களுக்குத் திறக்கும்படி ஏற்பாடு செய்தார்கள். அப்படிப்பட்ட இம்முயற்சியைச் செய்தவர்கள் இந்த கவர்ண்மென்டில் மந்திரிகளாகவந்து அவர்கள் கையில் அதிகாரமிருக்கிறது. இப்பொழுது அதனுல் திருவாங்கூர் மகாராஜா தன்னுடைய ராஜாங்கத்தில் ஹரிஜனங்களுக்கு ராஜாங்கத்தின் கீழுள்ள கோவில்களை திறந்து விட்டதற்காக மகாராஜா அவர்களை வாழ்த்த வந்திருக்கிறோம். நம்மை மற்றுமுள்ள சமஸ்தானங்கள் பின்பற்றும்படி செய்ய வேண்டியது நமது கவர்ண்மென்டின் கடமையாகும். சென்னை அரசாங்கம் என்ன செய்யப் போகிறதென்பதை கொச்சி சமஸ்தானம் எதிர் பார்த்துக்கொண்டிருக்கிறது."

* MR. SPEAKER:—"The hon. Member should not mention anything about Cochin."

SWAMI A. S. SAHAJANANDAM:—

"இந்த சமயத்தில் திருவாங்கூர் மகாராஜாவுக்கு செலுத்தக்கூடிய வாழ்த்தை நாங்கள் எங்கள் மனப்பூர்வமாக ஆதரிக்கிறோம்."

5-30 p.m. * THE HON. MR. V. I. MUNISWAMI PILLAI:—"Mr. Speaker, I will be failing in my duty if I do not rise on this occasion to pay my humble homage and gratitude to His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore for the greatest royal lead that he has given in India in throwing open the doors of the Hindu temples to all those who profess the Hindu religion. Sir, on this auspicious day when the whole of India is celebrating the Harijan Week and the non-violence day that has commenced to-day by the great sacrifice of Mahatma Gandhi, I think, Sir, this House should pay this tribute to His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore, who proved by his noble action that Hinduism is a religion of toleration. It has been stated in the Vedas that the religion which gave birth to the greatest rishis in India is a

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tolerant religion and it has been practically proved by the greatest wisdom of the young Ruler of Travancore in a practical way. Swami Vivekananda said that an ounce of practice is worth 20 tons of tall talk. Here we see in the young Prince the greatest wisdom and the greatest courage in the noble action that he has taken. When the great epoch-making declaration reached India, Sir, I know millions of hearts of Harijans and others of India were filled with unbounded joy. For, as one who has sat at the feet of a master and learnt religion, I always thought that it was a great shame on the part of caste Hindus not to allow the Harijans to enter the citadels of the Hindu temples.

" Sir, on this occasion, I think congratulations are also due to the many thousands of people of Travancore who created real public opinion which was really responsible for the Maharaja of Travancore to take this noble action. (The Hon. Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar: 'Hear, hear.') Sir, congratulations are also due to one of the great statesmen that hailed from the Madras Presidency, the Diwan, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Ayyar for this proclamation. He is a noble son of India. The other day when Sir C. P. Ramaswami Ayyar delivered his lecture in the Gokhale Hall, he narrated the circumstances that led to this great Proclamation. Sir, on behalf of the millions of Harijans that inhabit India, and especially the Madras Presidency, I think I should thank His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore, his noble mother and the great statesmen of Travancore who all took their share in this noble action."

* THE HON. MR. YAKUB HASAN:—" Mr. Speaker, Sir, perhaps it may appear strange that a Muslim should take part and speak on a resolution of this nature; but, Sir, I am actuated by a great ideal, and, actuated as I am by a great ideal, I think it my duty that I should join the House in congratulating His Highness the Maharaja, Her Highness the Maharani and the Diwan Sir C. P. Ramaswami Ayyar for the great and bold step that the Travancore Government have taken in this respect. Sir, when Gandhiji started the campaign for the removal of untouchability and made that one of the planks in the platform of the Congress, the late Pandit Shradhdhananda and many other leaders of the Hindu Maha Sabha said that this is a purely religious question and Congress ought not to meddle with religious questions. They said that the Congress in which Muslims and others are members should not meddle with religious questions. I stood up and fought for this principle, viz., that the Congress is the proper organization to handle a question like this.

" Sir, there is a certain peculiarity in the Indian civilization which has created the caste system and which has developed the exclusiveness of the caste system. Every caste keeps itself aloof from the other; its homes also are not open to the other castes and the question of pollution has been given a significance in India which does not exist anywhere else in the world. As long as this exclusiveness remains in India we cannot hope to make any real progress in social matters, and,

if we cannot make any progress in social matters, we cannot bring about the social evolution that will make us ideal human beings and our society a perfect and ideal society. We cannot expect to make political progress too. Many obstacles are standing in our way and it is a question of first-class political importance that this exclusiveness should go and should be removed as early as possible. It was, Sir, on account of this exclusiveness that though the Muslims came and settled here 800 years ago, they too have become divided into castes and the caste system has affected Muslims also. There are many castes among Muslims and one caste does not inter-marry with another caste. This may appear strange, but it is a fact, and the caste system is doing much harm and it ought to be abolished. Muslims went to China and in China there are millions of Muslims who have become part and parcel of the Chinese people. So much so, the Chinese Muslims and Confucian Muslims cannot be distinguished one from the other. It is only in the temples and mosques that any distinction can be made. The mosque and the temple too do not differ in their style of architecture. It can be truly said that they are one and the same people in every respect. That kind of fusion could have and should have taken place in India. If that fusion had taken place we would not have the communal differences which have become a grave problem in Indian politics.

" Sir, in a note handed over to me just now, it is said that Swami Shradhdhananda did not raise any objection to Congress taking up the untouchability question and that he was for Congress vigorously tackling the question. It means that what I said about him was not correct. Sir, I may in reply say that when Pandit Shradhdhananda came to Madras, a great reception was given to him on the beach and about 30,000 people had assembled. I had the honour and privilege to preside over the meeting and at that meeting Pandit Shradhdhananda referred to this question and said Congress ought not to have taken it up. So I am stating with authority on this subject. On that occasion I spoke of the part Congress should play in regard to untouchability. But this reference is by the way, only as a reply to the note handed over to me.

" Looking from that point of view, Sir, I am glad that untouchability is being removed, to a very very large extent. Untouchability is not confined to Harijans; it has even extended to Muslims. It was not possible some time ago for a Muslim of India to sit side by side and eat with a Hindu. But now it has become a common thing. So untouchability is going from the Hindu homes. Now the temples alone remained shut to Harijans. People were fighting shy on the temple entry question. This was purely a religious matter. Outsiders should not say a word or that the Congress should not do anything. There was the line of demarcation so far and no further. In this state of affairs, our grateful thanks go to the Maharaja of Travancore for removing that demarcation and that dead wall by opening out the temples to Harijans. He has done a reform of a very high order and

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it is welcomed by all nationalists throughout India. In that way I look upon this event and it is my duty and my privilege to join you all in congratulating the Maharaja, the Maharani and the Diwan."

* MR. T. T. KRISHNAMACHARIAR:—" Mr. Speaker, Sir, it is unfortunate that I should be the first person to strike a discordant note in the discussion that is going on on the floor of the House this evening. I move for the rejection of the proposal before the House, the resolution moved by Mr. D. Ramalinga Reddi. Sir, in moving for the rejection of the motion I wish to make my own position very clear. I am not asking for the rejection of this resolution because I do not approve of the sentiment expressed on the floor of this House by my Harijan friends. But my feeling is that this House is not concerned in any manner whatever with the proclamation that was pronounced in a neighbouring State eleven months back. I wish it should be clearly understood here on the floor of this House that I am second to none in my profound admiration of the courage and the political foresight of that youthful and illustrious Ruler of Travancore, the result of which is the subject of the resolution that we have before us congratulating him on the glorious act by which he has made it possible for all Hindu subjects of his to enter all the temples in Travancore. But my feeling is, is it the concern of the House to felicitate a foreign ruler on an act which is entirely domestic to that State. I feel, Sir, it is not a concern of the House to discuss this subject or pass a resolution on the lines asked for by the hon. Mover. Sir, praising a person also implies the right to criticize and condemn. Section 52 of the Government of India Act debars us from the right to condemn any ruler of an Indian State. If the converse cannot be possible, why should we praise a ruler? If the House cannot condemn a ruler, I submit that we cannot also praise him.

" Besides, Sir, is it our duty to be censors of what is being done in Native States? Is it our legitimate duty to praise them if they do a right thing when we have so much other work, and other more serious work to do? 5-45 p.m.

" Sir, possibly there may be some Members in this House who might be in sympathy with those unfortunate peoples of Spain and China. Are we passing resolutions expressing our sympathy with them? In this connexion I may mention what took place in the Indian Legislative Assembly some time back in a matter of great topical relevancy when somebody there sought to move a resolution sympathizing with the people of China. It was ruled out."

THE HON. MR. C. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR:—" Mr. Speaker, Sir, it is open to any Member to oppose a resolution. But is it open to any one to raise a point of order in this manner? "

KUMARARAJA M. A. MUTHIAH CHETTIYAR OF CHETTINAD:—Mr. Speaker, as I understood the speech of the hon. Member for Indian Commerce, I was not able to see that he raised any point of order

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therein. He was opposing the motion before the House and he was giving reasons for opposing it."

MR. T. T. KRISHNAMACHARIAR:—"I submit I am not raising any point of order."

* MR. SPEAKER:—"Does the Hon. Premier press his point of order?"

THE HON. MR. C. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR:—"It was for the Member who was speaking to say whether he pressed his point of order or not. But as he has said that he was not raising any point of order, I have no point of order."

MR. T. T. KRISHNAMACHARIAR:—"Sir, as a matter of fact the issue is very much bigger than a point of order, because I move for the rejection of the resolution by this Assembly."

* MR. SPEAKER:—"Am I to understand that the hon. Member is opposing the resolution and does he want a vote to be taken on it?"

MR. T. T. KRISHNAMACHARIAR:—"I am opposing the resolution and I am giving reasons for it. I cannot at this stage say whether I want a vote to be taken or not. It may be that some of the Members of the Opposition might support me.

"Sir, is there any precedent in any part of the world for passing a resolution like this? Did the House of Commons whose example we are supposed to follow pass a resolution commending the action of the United States in abolishing slavery? Did the House of Commons pass a resolution congratulating the French Government when they overthrew the Bourbons? It may be, by passing a resolution of this kind, that we may be congratulating the action of some neighbouring State. But there are other States who are opposed to this policy and who view this question in a different manner. Will it not lead to the irresistible conclusion that this resolution impliedly condemns them?

"My next point is really that the resolution cannot be supported on its merits. I say we are not in a position to consider this resolution. By reason of the view that has been put forward by the Government on the floor of the House last Saturday we are estopped from a consideration of this resolution. My authority for this is the statement of the Hon. the Leader of the House. While speaking on one of the several Budget Demands on the floor of this House, he made a statement some time ago that temple entry and such other reforms could not be effected by Government Acts. If the issue raised by the hon. Member Swami Sahajanandam during the course of a discussion on this particular Demand was rejected by the Hon. the Premier on this ground, I ask where are we now? Can we not legitimately and reasonably apply the same dictum here? Is not the action of the neighbouring State of Travancore in direct violation of the principle laid down on the floor of this House? I say further. Is it right to pass a resolution congratulating the Ruler of Travancore for an act which we consider to be unsound according to all canons of legislation and sound policy?

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Besides, in amplification of what the Hon. the Premier said, I heard him emphasizing that when the Poona Pact was concluded it was made clear that no Government, either Swaraj or any other Government, can, by Governmental Acts, remove untouchability and allow entry into temples. I am not quoting the exact words, but I am merely mentioning the substance of what he said. But the principle underlying the proclamation of the Travancore Government is in reality a direct violation of this statement of legislative properties made on the floor of this House by the Prime Minister himself.

" My next point is that we will not be sincere in passing this resolution. The party in power will acknowledge that it has got voting strength—a solid and disciplined majority—and if they want they can pass a legislation on the lines identical with those in the Proclamation of His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore. We are saying in this resolution, ' What is good for you in Travancore is not good enough for us in Madras.' What you have done is very good and we congratulate you, but we feel that we shall be violating the first principles of legislation if we undertake the passing of a legislation of this kind. It offends all Parliamentary proprieties. We cannot bring about any reforms by Governmental Acts. I mean to say that if we cannot pass a legislation in this House when the Government has such a big majority, we cannot go and praise His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore for any action of his on ground of proprieties.

" I will close with drawing the attention of hon. Members of this House to this fact: We must not, in order effectively to build up sound Parliamentary traditions in this infant democratic endeavour of ours, descend from the high standards of Parliamentary proprieties, sound policies and accepted legislative canons, and accept a resolution which, in effect, shows that we are not willing to abide by our own convictions. I ask this House to reject the resolution before the House, because it is a bad precedent and it is bad on merits and thoroughly in bad taste."

* KUMARARAJA M. A. MUTHIAH CHETTIYAR OF CHETTINAD:—

" Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise to join with those who have offered congratulations to the Travancore Government on the courageous step they have taken in throwing open the State temples to the depressed classes. His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore, a young and enlightened Ruler, has, in this great endeavour of his, been assisted by his talented mother and the able statesman, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Ayyar. Sir, this step which is in conformity with the enlightened spirit of the times goes a great way to remove the religious disabilities of the depressed classes. It is very gratifying to find that the action of the Travancore Government has received an abundant measure of support in the Travancore State, and has also been welcomed throughout India. Sir, the removal of religious disabilities and such other things which go along with the word ' disabilities ' particularly with reference to the depressed classes community is a thing which is all for

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the well-being of the common weal. Everywhere we find an earnest endeavour on the part of parties and individuals to contribute their best for the amelioration of the depressed classes of this country and to-day I will be right when I say there is no single party which is not bound by declaration and by action to remove the social, political and economic disabilities of the depressed classes. Mr. Speaker, I may take some pardonable pride on this occasion in saying that the Justice Party to which I have the honour to belong has for the last two decades done a great deal for the emancipation and uplift of the depressed classes. I will not take up the time of the House in detailing to you the various measures that the Justice Party took during the last 20 years, except to say there has not been a single prominent Member of the depressed classes who has not acknowledged in handsome terms the good that has been done by the Justice Party to the depressed classes in this Presidency. Mr. Speaker, Sir, a legitimate question would be asked: how is it the same amount of activity and enthusiasm has not been in evidence in the matter of the removal of religious disabilities of the depressed classes? It is a very legitimate question and if we are not able to answer that question to the satisfaction of the depressed classes, we have only to say that we have been suffering under various limitations and there is no lack of will on the part of the other Hindu communities. This is because age-long honest convictions of many people and communities have to be respected. I shall only say that we should sincerely appreciate those persons who hold different opinions. Mr. Speaker, we should not condemn them as a perverse lot. They have strong faiths and strong opinions, but we should think of the remedies. How are we to bring them in line with us? That should be the problem for those persons who feel very strongly in favour of the removal of disabilities of the depressed classes. I am one who would not despair at the thought that there is a section in this country who are opposed to the removal of religious disabilities; for I am sure the times are propitious and it should be possible to educate public opinion to create an atmosphere for the unanimous acceptance of the proposition that there should be common worship. The success of a measure relating to religious matters does not depend upon the nice sentences in which a proclamation or a statute is couched, but upon the measure of support that it can command from the public. The lead given by the Travancore Government is very welcome and I once again join in offering our congratulations to His Highness the Maharaja and his Government."

6 p.m. THE HON. MR. C. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR:—"Sir, it is my privilege to join most wholeheartedly in this resolution. I do not think, Sir, that when I was in Travancore immediately after the proclamation was issued, I said anything that needed qualification when I said then that one was reminded of no less historic figures than Akbar and Asoka when thinking and speaking about this proclamation. And I repeat it to-day lest anybody should imagine that what I said then was said in a vein of emotion and that it was pitched too high. Even as what is near to us is not seen clearly and what is distant is

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seen better, sometimes we see the greatness of past historic figures and fail to see the greatness of men moving around us. The heroic courage that was shown by the Maharaja of Travancore has no parallel in historic times and I say that again.

"Sir, a point was raised that however good a thing may be, however great a thing may be, however illustrious and remarkable the men may be who were concerned in this great act, relevancy and constitution prevent us from expressing our opinion. Sir, it is not merely a right, but it is a wise thing that we pass this resolution. It is right because I claim, Sir, that this House has the right of expressing its opinion on any matter except those that are specifically excluded by law. And when the hon. Member raised the objection on the score of a technical bar with reference to the limitation against discussing the affairs of Indian States, I say that the point that was raised was altogether wrong. And I say that if the law prevents us from doing a certain thing, that and that alone is the limitation on our powers. We have the privilege and the right to express our opinion on any matter on which we hold an opinion. To say, therefore, that because we cannot pass resolutions blaming any activities of certain Indian Rulers we cannot also appreciate them is to wholly confound what was excluded with what is apposite. 'We cannot blame, therefore we cannot praise': this is a wrong proposition. If we feel that we should praise, and if it is not prevented, we have a right to praise. We have a right to appreciate. If we feel that we can blame, we have a right to blame but for the fact that we are prevented from blaming. Therefore the logic of it is wrong, however seemingly right it might appear to be. Therefore there is no infringement, open or covert, in our recording appreciation of the acts and the glories of people around us, as no section in the Government of India Act prevents us from doing so. It is wise and not merely right and for this I refer hon. Members to the beautiful speech that the hon. the Leader of the Opposition made and what was expressed by the members of the Harijan community in support of this proposition when they rose successively to speak and spoke to appreciate. Sir, do we not know the meaning of it all? Do we not know it was an expression of disappointment, of discontent and almost of despair? Are we not to deal with this discontent and despair and how are we going to deal with it if we do not even appreciate a thing like this which has happened around us? I say, Sir, it is not merely appreciation. In appreciating the act we lay the foundation for that public opinion which the Leader of the Opposition said was necessary in order that we may proceed with activities on our own part. Sir, when I join in this congratulation to His Highness the Maharaja in terms which, I do not believe, however high-pitched, are an exaggeration, when I do so, I do it with a feeling in the back of my mind: How I wish I had the powers, how I wish I had the rights and the prerogatives which the Sovereign of Travancore has. If I had the right to issue a proclamation, or if this House had the right to issue a proclamation of that kind, would I not urge you, Sir, to get a resolution of proclamation

issued to-day and now? But it was pointed out and rightly that we have the right to do it provided we go the right way to do it. We have to secure not merely a statesman like the Dewan to the Maharaja of Travancore, not merely a mother like the Maharani of Travancore to sit amongst us as one of our Members, but we have to secure public opinion which would welcome such a proclamation even as the proclamation of the Maharaja of Travancore was welcomed in the realm of the Maharaja of Travancore. We have prepared much; we have done much work. All parties, all men have done much work. This is not the occasion for appreciating and evaluating the relative proportions of the work done by various parties and people. It is a matter of joy and it does not matter who does the work if the work is done, or how much of it is done by each if the work is done at the end of it all. Much as we have done—all of us—it is not enough. It is quite enough for the opening of all schools, quite enough for the opening of roads and wells, for the giving of all civil rights. It is enough to laugh out all old prejudices. It is enough to sit together and eat and drink if we like, but it is not enough for this House to clear its way to throw open its temples. We had a humble measure before the Central Legislature through the energetic efforts of some of us who are here in this House to-day, but it could not be done. But even that effort was very humble; it was not to throw open the temples, but to remove the legal disabilities against throwing open the temples if people desire to worship in a certain temple. That kind of measure we can introduce, but it would be a flash in the pan, a damp squib, if public opinion is not ready to utilize that optional legislation. Therefore the priceless measure over which we are congratulating His Highness the Maharaja is great and valuable not only for the people of Travancore, for the Maharaja of Travancore and all of them but valuable even for us. There are some families here who can go to the same temples with the same Gods in Travancore and worship there but are prevented from doing that inside a few miles of our border. What is good in Travancore is good for us and is bound to come and spread in our land if only we proceed on right lines. This resolution is not an idle resolution merely to flatter some people. It is not an irrelevant resolution. Another point was raised: 'Is it right, is it decent, is it in good taste if you praise up a thing when you are unable to do it?' Yes, Sir, I say we do it not in the spirit of sycophancy or flattery or courtiership. We do it in order to strengthen ourselves and enable ourselves to do better than we have done. It is right. It is not merely a congratulation proceeding from a cringing temperament of sycophancy, but it is a humble confession of those who feel hungry for food and cannot get it. It is in that spirit we say that we praise where praise is due.

"Sir, it will not be long before such a potent and priceless thing will find its fruits even in our own land. Therefore it is a wise and practical thing, that I claim, that we are doing to-day. It was said: 'Why don't you do it then? Why can't you do it? It is a sad

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confession you are making; therefore put the resolution aside.' I have already stated why we are unable to do it. I have also said how we can be enabled to do it. That is why we send our greetings to the Maharaja. I join with Members who have already proposed and ably supported this resolution and I do hope that the House will pass this resolution, if not unanimously, at least without any opposition on the score of technical grounds."

The resolution was put and carried.

The House adjourned to meet again at 10 a.m. the next day.

