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## APPENDIX I.

## LIST OF CONSTITUENCIES FOR THE SIND PROVINCIAL LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

Serial No	Name of Constituency.	Class of Constituency.	Extent of Constituency.	No of members.
1	Karachi City North-ern.	General Urban...	Wards Nos. I, II, IV and V of Karachi Municipal District.	1
2	Karachi City South-ern.	Do. ...	Wards Nos. III, VI, VII and VIII of Karachi Municipal District and Karachi and Manora Cantonments and the limits of Karachi Port Trust.	1
3	Hyderabad City ...	Do. ...	Wards Nos. II, III, IV, V and VI of Hyderabad Borough Municipality.	1
4	Women ...	Do. ...	Municipal District of Karachi, Cantonments of Karachi and Manora and limits of Karachi Port Trust, Cantonment of Hyderabad, Borough Municipalities of Hyderabad, Sukkur, Shikarpur and Larkana, District Municipalities of Jacobabad, Rohri, Dadu and Mirpurkhas and Notified Area of Nawabshah.	1
5	Karachi district ...	General Rural ...	Karachi district excluding district Municipality of Karachi and Cantonments of Karachi and Manora and the limits of the Karachi Port Trust.	1
6	Dadu district ...	Do. ...	The district of Dadu ...	1
7	Upper Sind Frontier district.	Do. ...	The district of Upper Sind Frontier.	1
8	Larkana district ...	Do. ...	The district of Larkana ...	1
9	Sukkur Western ...	Do. ...	Shikarpur Borough Municipality and taluka and Garhi Yasin taluka.	1
10	Sukkur Central ...	Do. ...	Sukkur Borough Municipality and taluka.	1
11	Sukkur Eastern ...	Do. ...	Rohri, Pano Akil, Ghotki, Mirpur Mathelo and Ubauro talukas.	1
12	Nawabshah North-ern.	Do. ...	Kandiaro, Naushahro, Moro and Nawabshah talukas.	1
13	Nawabshah South-ern.	Do. ...	Sakrand, Sinjhero and Shahdadpur talukas.	1
14	Hyderabad suburbs and taluka.	Do. ...	Hyderabad taluka apart from Hyderabad Borough Municipality with Hyderabad Cantonment and Wards Nos. I and VII of Hyderabad Borough Municipality.	1

Serial No.	Name of Constituency.	Class of Constituency.	Extent of Constituency.	No. of members.
15	Hyderabad Northern.	General Rural ...	Hala, Tando Allahyar and Dero Mohbat talukas.	1
16	Hyderabad Southern.	Do. ...	Badin, Guni and Tando Bago talukas.	1
17	Thar Parkar Western.	Do. ...	Mirpurkhas, Jamesabad, Digri and Sanghar talukas.	1
18	Thar Parkar Northern.	Do. ...	Samaro, Umerkot and Khipro talukas.	1
19	Thar Parkar Southern.	Do. ...	Mithi, Diplo, Chachro and Nagar Parkar talukas.	1
20	Karachi City Northern.	Muham m a d a n Urban.	Ward No. V of Karachi Municipal District.	1
21	Karachi City Southern.	Do. ...	Wards Nos. I, II, III, IV, VI, VII and VIII of Karachi Municipal District, the Cantonments of Karachi and Manora and the limits of Karachi Port Trust.	1
22	Women ...	Do, ...	Municipal District of Karachi, the Cantonments of Karachi and Manora and limits of Karachi Port Trust, Cantonment of Hyderabad, Borough Municipalities of Hyderabad, Sukkur, Shikarpur and Larkana and District Municipalities of Jacobabad, Rohri, Mirpurkhas and Dadu and Notified Area of Nawabshah.	1
23	Karachi Northern ..	Muham m a d a n Rural.	Tatta and Karachi talukas ...	1
24	Karachi Southern ...	Do. ...	Mirpur Sakro, Ghorabari and Shahbunder talukas and Ketibunder Mahal.	1
25	Karachi Eastern ..	Do. ...	Jati, Sujawal and Mirpur Bathoro talukas.	1
26	Dadu Northern ..	Do. ...	Mehar and Kakar talukas ...	1
27	Dadu Central ...	Do. ...	Dadu and Johi talukas ...	1
28	Dadu Southern ...	Do. ...	Kotri and Sehwan talukas and Kohistan Mahal.	1
29	Upper Sind Frontier Eastern.	Do. ...	Kandhkot and Kashmor talukas.	1
30	Upper Sind Frontier Central.	Do. ...	Thul taluka and Municipal District of Jacobabad.	1
31	Upper Sind Frontier Western.	Do. ...	Garhi Khairo taluka and Jacobabad taluka, excluding Municipal District of Jacobabad.	1

Serial No.	Name of Constituency.	Class of Constituency.	Extent of Constituency.	No. of members.
32	Larkana Northern ...	Muham m a d a n Rural.	Ratodero and Mirokhan talukas.	1
33	Larkana Eastern ...	Do. ...	Larkana taluka ...	1
34	Larkana Southern ...	Do. ...	Labdarya and Warah talukas...	1
35	Larkana Western ...	Do. ...	Kambar and Shahdadkot talukas.	1
36	Sukkur North-Western.	Do. ...	Shikarpur taluka including Borough Municipality of Shikarpur.	1
37	Sukkur South-Western.	Do. ...	Garhi Yasin taluka and Sukkur taluka excluding Borough Municipality of Sukkur.	1
38	Sukkur South-Eastern.	Do. ...	Borough Municipality of Sukkur and Rohri taluka.	1
39	Sukkur Eastern ...	Do. ...	Pano Akil and Ghotki talukas .	1
40	Sukkur North-Eastern.	Do. ...	Mirpur Mathelo and Ubauro talukas.	1
41	Nawabshah Northern.	Do. ...	Kandiaro taluka ...	1
42	Nawabshah North-Western.	Do. ...	Naushahro taluka...	1
43	Nawabshah Western.	Do. ...	Moro and Sakrand talukas ...	1
44	Nawabshah Southern.	Do. ...	Shahdadpur taluka ...	1
45	Nawabshah Eastern .	Do. ...	Nawabshah and Sinjhora talukas.	1
46	Hyderabad Northern.	Do. ...	Hala taluka ...	1
47	Hyderabad North-Western.	Do. ...	Hyderabad taluka including Hyderabad Borough Municipality and Cantonment.	1
48	Hyderabad South-Western.	Do. ...	Guni taluka ...	1
49	Hyderabad Eastern...	Do. ...	Tando Allahyar and Dero Mohbat talukas.	1
50	Hyderabad Southern.	Do. ...	Tando Bago and Badin talukas.	1
51	Thar Parkar Western.	Do. ...	Mirpurkhas, Jamesabad, Digri and Sanghar talukas.	1
52	Thar Parkar North-ern.	Do. ...	Samaro, Umerkot and Khipro talukas.	1
53	Thar Parkar South-ern.	Do. ...	Mithi, Diplo, Chachro and Nagar Parkar talukas.	1
54	Karachi Cantonment European Constituency.	European ...	Karachi Cantonment ...	1

Serial No.	Name of Constituency.	Class of Constituency.	Extent of Constituency.	No. of members.
55	Sind European Constituency.	European ...	The rest of Sind except Karachi Cantonment.	1
56	Upper Sind Jagirdars and Zamindars.	Landholders ...	Larkana, Dadu, Sukkur and Upper Sind Frontier districts.	1
57	Lower Sind Jagirdars and Zamindars.	Do. ...	Karachi, Hyderabad, Thar Parkar and Nawabshah districts.	1
58	Karachi Chamber of Commerce.	Commerce and Industry.	Non-territorial ...	1
59	Sind Commerce ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	1
60	Sind ...	Labour ...	Do. ...	1

*Summary—*

General including one woman...	...	...	...	19
Muhammadan including one woman	...	...	...	34
Europeans	...	...	...	2
Jagirdars and Zamindars	...	...	...	2
Commerce	...	...	...	2
Labour	...	...	...	1
			Total	60

## APPENDIX II.

## MINUTE OF DISSENT BY DIWAN BAHADUR HIRANAND KHEMSING.

I much regret my inability to agree with my colleagues in the view they have taken of subdividing the Constituency of the Landholders of Sind. The considerations which have mainly weighed with me in favour of single-member Constituencies are that there is less room in them for false personation and corruption than in multi-member Constituencies. These considerations are entirely absent in the Landholders' Constituency. The voters are all zamindars and jagirdars of note and no suggestion has been made that these well-known men are open to corrupt practices. The interest of landholders is one single interest and I am not aware of any conflict between the interests of Upper Sind and Lower Sind Zamindars. Hitherto for over fifteen years, the Constituency of the Landholders of entire Sind has been represented by one member and we have never heard that that representative neglected in any way the interests of Upper Sind Zamindars, though he himself belonged to Lower Sind. If there is any conflict of interest, it is between the Hindu and the Muslim landholders. This conflict will be sharply marked when a Land Alienation Bill is brought forward in the Sind Legislative Assembly. The Hindu landholders, paying an annual Land Revenue of Rs. 1,000 and entitled to vote in this Constituency, are about 30 per cent. of the total number of about 1,500 voters, and of the total land of the Province, the Hindus hold about 40 per cent. They form therefore a very considerable minority of this Constituency and can justly claim that of the two seats reserved for this interest, one should be set aside for them. Just as in the case of Commerce, this Committee has allocated one of the two seats to European Commerce, so that if and when a conflict arises between the interests of European and Indian Commerce, the European Commerce may not be at a disadvantage for want of representation, so in the case of landholders, the Hindu Zamindars could with justice ask that when their vital interests are at stake, there should be a member from amongst them to put forward their case before the Sind Assembly.

My proposal, however, is a very modest one. It asks that the Landholders' Constituency be not split up, and that the two seats should be left in a single Constituency to be contested for by members of the two communities. - It will be noticed that in the ranks of non-Muslim land owners, there are a few Parsis and Europeans as well. There will be a chance, a mere chance though, for a Hindu or a Parsi to be elected by the combined vote of non-Muslims. This chance will be utterly lost if the Constituency is separated into two, in both of which the Muslims will be in an overwhelming majority. It is contrary to good policy to create safe seats specially when the electorate is a mixed one. I am sorry that I have not succeeded in persuading my colleagues to agree with me. As I feel very strongly over this question, I have been reluctantly compelled to record this minute of dissent.



## APPENDIX III.

MINUTE OF DISSENT BY MR. B. T. THAKUR.

## (CHAPTER X.)

## COMMERCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL CONSTITUENCIES.

I regret it has not been possible for me to agree with my colleagues on some of their fundamental recommendations relating to the Commercial Constituencies. The chief point of disagreement is the basis of division of the two Constituencies. I regard setting apart of one seat for the Karachi Chamber of Commerce whose membership consists principally of Europeans as a reservation for Europeans Commerce. Delimitation of this nature would not only upset the communal balance as sanctioned by the Premier's Communal Award and the Government of India Bill, but would also be against principles of equity and justice.

The Franchise Committee's Report was published before the Premier's Communal Award. It was studied by the Premier and general public. Any questions requiring communal emphasis were pressed for the Prime Minister's consideration. All points having direct or indirect bearing upon communal questions were taken into account by him when making this Award. Nothing has been said in this Award about the allocation of commercial seats between different communities. The J. P. C. Report which came later in the field has also said nothing on the distribution of commercial seats between various communities with the exception of a small note at the foot of Appendix III, Part I on page 349. This note so far as it relates to the Commercial Constituencies of the Sind Legislative Assembly merely expects that initially one European and one Indian would be returned. This is only an expression of opinion which may come out to be true or not and has no statutory force. It is not anticipated that "one European *should* be returned from one of the two seats", as my colleagues mention in the report. In fact the J. P. C. Report says that the composition of the bodies will not be statutorily fixed.

After the J. P. C. Report, came the Government of India Bill. Nothing is said in this Bill about the statutory allotment of one seat to Europeans. It is therefore not possible for me to reconcile myself with the view often alleged that the authors of the Reforms or the Bill had in their mind that one seat should necessarily be provided for a European. If they had any such idea, or any intention of reserving a seat for any particular Chamber whose membership was mostly confined to one particular community, they would have made it clear either in the J. P. C. Report or in the Bill itself particularly when they have not hesitated to provide for the allocation of three non-provincial seats for commerce in the Federal Assembly to certain commercial bodies (*vide* foot-note page 346, J. P. C. Report).

My colleagues, while admitting that the Karachi Chamber of Commerce is predominantly European, feel that this allocation can be justified on several other grounds. Their arguments are mainly based on anticipations of the authors of reforms, uncertainty of adequate commercial representation through the general European constituencies, commercial magnitude, past privilege and performance of the Karachi Chamber of Commerce, possibility of clash between European and Indian commercial interests and impossibility of return of a European through the Commercial Constituencies in any other way.

I have already explained how there is nothing in the Communal Award or J. P. C. Report or Government of India Bill which could be taken as a sanction for the reservation of a seat for European merchants. It is suggested in the report that the membership of this Chamber is not restricted to Europeans. That may be true in a theoretical sense, but it cannot be denied that in practice no one, but a British European would be returned. Out of the total membership of 59, 10 are foreigners who have no right of vote, according to the Government of India Bill and the Rules of the Chamber. There are 7 Indians, but they are members of other Chambers of Commerce as well. In all probability, they would decide to come on the electoral roll for the Indian Commercial Constituency and therefore they would have no voice in the legislative election of this Chamber. There are four public bodies on the Chamber's register, namely, Karachi Port Trust, Karachi Municipality, North-Western Railway and J.-B. Railway. Excepting perhaps the last, the other three would have no right of vote, because of their being Government or semi-Government bodies and also because of their not being liable to income-tax. The voting membership of the Chamber would thus be reduced to 33, out of which there would be 7 partly British and partly Indian and 31 British members. Incidentally it may be remarked that the Imperial Bank of India and North-Western Railway are being considered by the Chamber as British as distinct from British Indian, but there does not appear to be any reason why they should not be classified as Indian. These bodies are eligible for membership of Indian Chambers of Commerce.

There is no doubt that on the estimated basis of effective voting membership of 38, a European would be invariably returned. Because partly British and partly Indian members would have no chance of being ever returned, this constituency would be a pocket borough of about 30 British European voters. This view is also confirmed by the fact that during the last quarter of a century or so, no non-European has ever been returned by this Chamber to the Karachi Port Trust or Karachi Municipality. In the Bombay Legislative Council, no Indian member of the Chamber has been ever returned.

Coming to the question of magnitude of commercial importance, it must be borne in mind that the commerce of this Province does not merely consist of maritime trade. It also embraces internal trade, industry, finance, insurance and so on. Maritime trade in its turn consists of foreign trade and coasting trade. There is no doubt that when these figures are taken into account, the preponderance of Indian commercial interest would be undeniable. The whole of the coasting trade amounting to about Rs. 16½ crores, with the exception of import of minerals and lubricating oils, is mostly, if not entirely, in the hands of Indians. Out of the foreign trade amounting to about Rs. 32 crores, a very large portion is in the hands of foreigners who have no right to vote. Indian interest in this class of trade is also considerable. The whole of the internal trade is in the hands of Indians. Even in finance it is not only the business of Joint Stock Banks that should be taken into account. There are indigenous bankers or Indian Shroffs who are responsible for financing most of the internal trade. Indian share in insurance business is also large. Taking all these facts into account, the portion of trade in the hands of European members of the Karachi Chamber of Commerce entitled to vote is much less than that in the hands of British Indians.

In the note supplied by the Chairman of Karachi Chamber of Commerce to the Committee giving figures of the trade handled by his members, details are not given as to how they have been arrived at. The figures also include the business of foreign firms who have no right to vote. But for the purpose of legislative representation, we have not to give any value to the business of those who are not enfranchised. Viewed from this angle, the figures supplied by the Chamber grossly exaggerate its value. They are not indicative of the true interests of its voting members. And in as much as my colleagues have formed their opinion on these figures, they seem to have missed the issue.

In the report my colleagues mention that the chief trade of Karachi consists of export of cotton and import of piece-goods. I agree with their this view. It will therefore be sufficient if importance of the British European members of the Karachi Chamber in these two trades is discussed. According to the published statement of the Karachi Cotton Association Ltd., 15,35,000 cotton bales were exported during the year 1933-34. This is also confirmed by the Report of the Collector of Customs, Karachi. On pages 32-33 of Cotton Associations Annual for the same year are given the Cotton export figures of all the firms engaged in this trade. If this statement is re-grouped according to the nationality of the exporters, the result would be as under :—

Shipped by		Bales (1,000).	Percentage of total.
British European firms	... ..	404	26
Foreign firms	... ..	649	43
British Indian firms	... ..	482	31
	Total ...	<u>1,535</u>	<u>100</u>

It is clear that the cotton export trade in the hands of Indians is more than in the hands of British Europeans.

The report on the maritime trade of the Province of Sind for the official year 1934-35, gives figures of imports of piece-goods both cotton and woollen. The total imports for the year 1934-35, amounted to roughly Rs. 9½ crores out of which Rs. 5½ crores were from foreign countries and Rs. 4 crores from Indian ports. The latter business represents Indian manufactures and their trade is mostly in the hands of Indians. With regard to foreign imports of piece-goods, we must deduct the business in the hands of foreigners and Indians. Imports from Japan, which are principally handled by Japanese firms, are very substantial. The value of foreign piece-goods handled by British Europeans is expected to be not more than Rs. 3½ crores. This is roughly 35 per cent. of the total and less than the share of Indians.

If to the above results we add the fact that preshipment business in raw cotton and the distribution of imported piece-goods is mostly in the hands of Indians, the great preponderance of Indians in these two lines becomes undeniable.

My colleagues have stressed the present privilege of the Karachi Chamber of Commerce in the matter of legislative representation. At the present moment, there is perhaps some justification for this, because Europeans in Sind have no separate representation in the Bombay Legislative Council. The position would, however, be materially changed under the new reforms because two seats are reserved for Europeans of this Province in the Sind Assembly. When these seats were allotted by the Communal Award, they were not merely given on the basis of population, because on that ground they would not be entitled to so much representation, but all circumstances connected with the European life and activities in this Province, including commercial importance were taken into account. The discussions at the Round Table Conference also disclose that the European community always advanced the importance of its vested interests as a claim for more than proportionate legislative representation. The candidates returning from the general European constituencies would therefore give adequate protection to the British European Commercial interests. This is also otherwise evident because a substantial portion of the European population is engaged in mercantile pursuits and Government officials are not entitled to stand for election. The chances of the return of European merchants from the general constituencies are therefore very large.

That the present privileged position of certain Chambers of Commerce was not only assailed, but even not conceded statutory recognition by the Franchise Committee, is evident from paragraph 323 of their Report where they suggest examination of re-arrangement and redistribution of commercial and industrial constituencies at the stage of delimitation of constituencies generally.

My colleagues say that it is not the function of general constituency to provide experts for special interests. That may be so where the proportion of voting population engaged in special interests to the totality of the voters of their general constituency is small. But in the case of European general constituencies, the special and general interests are more or less co-existent and co-extensive. The opinion of the Franchise Committee to which my colleagues refer would also be inapplicable in the present case, because the difference between the interests of European mercantile community and the interests of the general European Constituencies is very thin indeed and would disappear in actual practice.

If still some doubt is felt about the certainty of representation of British mercantile interests through the general European Constituencies, a method can be easily found to insure it. The Franchise Committee recommend that in the general electoral roll, distinction should be made between rural and urban interests. This distinction does not exist in the case of European, but on the same analogy their interests can be divided between commercial and non-commercial. If the general two seats were distributed on this basis, the danger of European trade interests going by default, though in reality non-existent or small, could be absolutely safeguarded.

I do not wish to say anything on the quality of past performance of the Karachi Chamber of Commerce, excepting that the records and discussion of the Bombay Legislative Assembly tell a different tale. I strongly disassociate myself from the opinion of my colleagues that they "can at present find no other association in Karachi which is so likely by reason of its past performance, its experience and traditions and the interests which it represents, to be so well fitted to fulfil this function." In recommending the claims of the Karachi Chamber of Commerce for a special seat, my colleagues have unfortunately expressed an opinion for which there is little or no material; nor is there any justification for belittling the importance and achievements of other commercial associations. The Karachi Indian Merchants Association and the Buyers and Shippers' Chamber have been doing very creditable work on the local bodies on which they have been given representation. This work is indicative of their possibilities in the legislature and warrants a conclusion to be drawn that their performance in this respect will not be inferior if not superior, to that of any other commercial body. Their members, although standing on individual tickets for the Legislative Council and Legislative Assembly, have done creditable work both from the point of view of their general constituencies as well as from the special points of mercantile interests. The capacity of one such member has been so well-rated that he was found fit to be deputed on behalf of Indian to the Ottawa Conference to discuss the intricate problems of trade agreements and Imperial preference. The associative bodies function through their members and reflect the efficiency and competency of their members; and if the latter have proved their worth as individuals, there is no doubt that if they were returned on the Chamber tickets they would prove equally worthy.

My colleagues also allude to the possibility of conflict between European and Indian commercial interests. There is justification for anticipating political disagreement between different communities and different races, but in the realm of commerce the dispute would not be on communal or racial grounds, but would only relate to difference in economic views or possibilities. On several economic questions, some sections of European and Indian merchants join hands together against the other sections. Occasions for such opposite mixed alliances are bound to increase in the future. In as much as balance of political power has been given adequate weightage in the allocation of general

seats, no political consideration should intervene in the distribution of commercial representation. The only basis of division of these special constituencies should be territorial or functional, but never communal or political.

The international aspect of the trade of the Karachi Chamber of Commerce has been emphasised by my colleagues in the report, so much so that even the fact of membership of non-British foreign firms has been stressed. I should have no objection to the allotment of the seats between the overseas and internal trades, but when on the ground of international trade monopoly is sought to be created for British-European section of that trade, the division loses its economic aspect and assumes racial colour. The fact of membership of foreign firms like Japanese or Dutch, Swiss, American and so on, deserves no consideration not only because as non-British firms they have no right of vote in the elections, but also because in these days of quotas and imperial preferences, cleavage of interests between the British and non-British sections is daily becoming more pronounced. It is obvious that when the question of raising tariffs on the ground of imperial preference is for Legislative discussion, foreign members of the Chamber would be entirely opposed to any such action. The interests of such members of the Karachi Chamber in this respect are identical with those members of Indian Chambers who are engaged in non-British foreign trade.

I strongly feel that the division of the commercial constituencies should not be made on the basis recommended in the report. If territorial basis for allocation is considered undesirable on the ground that there is affinity of interest in commerce regardless of its location, there are so many other lines of economic division which could be suitably adopted without giving communal or racial aspect to the constituencies. It could also be arranged in such a distribution that the chances of the return of mercantile interests of any community are not unduly large or disproportionately small. For example, if the division is made on the basis of big trade and medium trade or of foreign trade and internal trade and qualification of large payment of income-tax is imposed in the first section of the two divisions, there would be a very fair chance for the return of a European. If the industrial section of commercial constituencies is attached to the Karachi Chamber of Commerce, the communal or racial position would not be so pronounced and there would also be a very fair chance for a European to come in. There is considerable affinity between the Industry of this Province which mainly consists of cotton ginning and pressing, and the Karachi Chamber of Commerce.

Looking to the totality of circumstances, I consider the reservation of one seat for the Karachi Chamber of Commerce not only as a violation of the Premier's Communal Award, but also against the principle of proportion and equity. The least that could be suggested to remove this disequilibrium would be to group the Industries of the Province with the Karachi Chamber of Commerce instead with the proposed Sind Commerce Constituency.

If there had been statutory reservation for European Commerce, I would not have the slightest objection to the arrangement now proposed by my colleagues, but in the absence of any such sanction, I feel that ear-marking a seat for Karachi Chamber of Commerce is uncalled for and is highly prejudicial to the other commercial interests. The two proposed constituencies are greatly disproportionate not only in regard to the magnitude of their operations, but also according to the range and diversity of their activities. In the case of the Karachi Chamber, the predominant element is sea-borne trade of British Europeans with the British Empire. In the other constituency there will be represented the Indian section of such sea-borne trade, the other foreign trade in the hands of Indians, the whole of the internal trade and the industries of the province. There is also tremendous territorial disparity. In the case of the Karachi Chamber, all the voters are located in Karachi whereas in the other the electorate would be spread all over the Province. There is also great discrepancy in the size of their respective electoral rolls.

Coming to the recommendations relating to the Sind Commerce Constituency, I agree in main with the recommendation of my colleagues; subject, of course, to the views expressed above. The points on which I disagree with them are in connection with the qualification of assessable income of Rs. 10,000 for voters. India is not the land of very large concentrations of business or enterprise. Most of the important Indian trading concerns are of medium size, but that should not debar them from exercising their voice in the election of the commercial representative. Take the case of Satnarain Piece-goods Association. The members of this body collectively handle most of the textile trade of the City of Karachi. In fact, it is through its members that this business percolates into the interior. If a large income is prescribed as one of the basis for voting, most of its members would be disfranchised. The Association's voice in the election would be very feeble, though the value of commercial importance of all of its members taken as a whole is very large. I, therefore, propose that the income qualification should be lowered to Rs. 5,000.

If however, it is decided that this amount should remain uncharged at Rs. 10,000, then I suggest that at least in the case of candidates standing for election, it should be

lowered to Rs. 5,000. Competency and intellectual capacity to correctly represent mercantile interests and policies is not always associated with big business and hence this reduction is imperatively necessary.

There is also one other important point in connection with taxable income and membership of commercial bodies. Generally firms and not their individual partners are members of Chambers of Commerce. But for the purpose of income-tax, the firms register their partnership deeds with income-tax authorities and each of the partners is separately assessed to tax. If the income qualification refers to the assessable tax of the members of Chambers of Commerce, there would be no voters or perhaps very few voters in the Sind Commerce Constituency, because most of the members being firms are not assessed to tax as such, but only through their partners. And partners not being members of Chambers in their name even if their income may otherwise come up to the qualification would not be entitled to vote. There is no question of evasion of income-tax. To remove this anomaly in the recommendation of my colleagues, it is necessary that the income of firms which are members of commercial bodies should be interpreted as collective assessable income of their respective partners.

## APPENDIX IV:

## The Karachi Chamber of Commerce, Karachi.

## QUALIFYING MINUTE BY MR. H. S. BIGG-WITHEB.

*Commerce Constituencies.*

I agree that the electoral roll of these constituencies should include only voters of definite standing and that an income-tax qualification is a simple and efficient way of achieving this object. I consider, however, that in view of the fact that the economic depression, which has already lasted over 5 years and is still very little abated in India, has reduced the profits and therefore also the income-tax payments of some of the oldest established and most respected firms in India, both European and Indian, to nil for several years past, it is necessary to amend somewhat the qualification suggested in the Report.

I consider that the payment by a Firm's or Company's employees of income-tax on salaries (received from the Firm or Company) aggregating Rs. 10,000 yearly is just as good a criterion of the Firm's or Company's standing and just as meritorious in every way as the payment of tax on the Firm's or Company's own account. Such payments of income-tax on employees' salaries should, therefore, rank *pari passu* with payment on the employer's profits in conferring eligibility on the employer to vote in these commercial constituencies.

There should be no difficulty in ascertaining the amount of salaries on which tax is paid because every employer is compelled, under the Income-Tax Act, to deduct tax from those salaries at the time of paying them and to render an account thereof to the Income-Tax Collector.

## APPENDIX V.

## LIST OF REPRESENTATIONS RECEIVED.

1. Three articles in the *Sind Observer* by Sir Ghulam Hussein Hidayatallah, K.C.S.I.
2. Three articles in the *Daily Gazette*.
3. Representation from Sir Ghulam Hussein Hidayatallah and others.
4. Representation from Ghulam Mustafa and others.
5. Representation from Mir Ghulam Ali Khan.
6. Representation from Mir Bundali Khan.
7. Representation from Sayyed Miran Muhammad Shah.
8. Representation from Sayyed A. M. Rashdi.
9. Representation from K.B. M. A. Khuhro.
10. Further representation from K.B. M. A. Khuhro.
11. Further representation from K.B. M. A. Khuhro.
12. Representation from N. M. Sayyed.
13. Representation from Sayyed Mahmud Shah.
14. Representation from Muhammad Saleh and others.
15. Representation from Mr. Bhojsing G. Pahlajani.
16. Representation from D.B. Murlidhar J. Panjabi.
17. Representation from Mr. Arjandas Motwani.
18. Representation from Mr. Mangharam Lalchand.
19. Representation from Mr. S. S. Tolani.
20. Representation from Mr. Mangharam Ramrakhimal and others.
21. Representation from Mr. Partabrai Khushaldas.
22. Representation from Seth Udhawdas Thawerdas, President, Thar Parkar Hindu Panchayat.
23. Representation from Mr. Motiram Waljiram.
24. Representation from Mir Bundah Ali Khan Talpur.
25. Representation from Mukhi Gobindram Pritamdas, Mukhi, Sind Hindu Panchayat.
26. Representation from Mr. Tikamdas Wadhmal, President, Sind Hindu Association.
27. Representation from Mr. Gobindam Pritamdas, Mukhi, Sind Hindu Panchayat.
28. Representation from Dr. K. Tarabai, Standing Committee Member, All-India Women's Conference, Sind Constituency.
29. Representation from the Commission Agents' Association.
30. Representation from the Karachi Sat Narayan Indian Piece-Goods Merchants' Association.
31. Representation from Sind Work Merchants' Association.
32. Representation from Karachi Indian Merchants' Association.
33. Representation from Mukhi Gobindram Pritamdas, President, Shroff Association, Hyderabad (Sind).
34. Representation from the Buyers and Shippers' Chamber, Karachi.
35. Representation from the Karachi Chamber of Commerce.
36. Representation by Mr. H. S. Bigg-Wither, President, Karachi Chamber of Commerce.
37. Further representation by Mr. H. S. Bigg-Wither, President, Karachi Chamber of Commerce.

## ANNEXURE I.

### PRESS NOTE DATED THE 13TH AUGUST 1935 CONTAINING A SUMMARY OF THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE SIND PROVINCIAL DELIMITATION COMMITTEE CONTAINED IN ITS REPORT DATED THE 20TH JULY 1935.

The Sind Provincial Delimitation Committee, which was appointed to consider provisionally, with reference to the Government of India Bill, the delimitation of constituencies for the Sind Legislative Assembly under the reformed constitution, commenced its work in Karachi on the 22nd June 1935, and submitted its Report to Government on the 20th July 1935.

2. The Committee was constituted as follows :—

G. Davis, Esquire, I.C.S. ...	...	...	Chairman.	
Khan Bahadur Allah Bakhsh Haji Muhammad			}	
Umar, O.B.E., M.L.C. ...	...	...		Members.
Seth Haji Abdullah Haroon, M.L.A. ...	...	...		
Dewan Bahadur Hiranand Khemsing Advani				
G. G. Drewe, Esquire, I.C.S. (Secretary)				

3. The Committee co-opted Mr. H. S. Bigg-Wither, O.B.E., and Mr. B. T. Thakur to represent European and Indian commercial interests respectively, Mr. Jamshed Nusserwanji Mehta to represent Labour and Mrs. Hatim B. Tyebji and Miss Thakuribai Lakhani to represent Mussalman women and women in the General Constituency respectively.

4. The Committee worked on the basis of certain proposals on the subject formulated by the Commissioner in Sind. Representations were received by the Committee from various persons and bodies in response to the Commissioner's Press Note No. G.-3057, dated the 13th June 1935, and the Committee duly considered the claims put forward therein.

5. According to the table of seats appended to the Government of India Act, the Sind Legislative Assembly, under the reformed constitution, is to be constituted as follows :—

General	...	...	...	...	18 seats.
Muhammadan	...	...	...	...	33 „
European	...	...	...	...	2 „
Commerce and Industry					2 „
Landholders	...	...	...	...	2 „
Labour	...	...	...	...	1 seat.
Women (General)	...	...	...	...	1 „
Women (Muhammadan)	...	...	...	...	1 „
				Total	60 seats.

#### THE BASIS OF THE COMMITTEE'S PROPOSALS.

6. The Committee decided that so far as the Muhammadan and the General Constituencies were concerned, no district as such should go unrepresented in the Assembly and it has kept the boundaries of the constituencies within or coterminous with the boundaries of the districts. It came to the conclusion that having regard to the existing conditions and the ultimate purpose of the enfranchisement of the people, single-member constituencies offered overwhelming advantages as against multi-member constituencies. In its opinion, as the franchise is to be greatly extended and the new Government of India Act is to bring into existence a Government responsible to the people in far greater measure than hitherto, it is above all things necessary that contact between the Government and the people through their chosen representatives should be as close, simple, direct and effective as possible, and this in the Committee's opinion could not be the case where multiple representation divides responsibility. It was further of the opinion



that apart from the fact that in the case of multi-member constituencies, the costs of canvassing and of an election for a wide area must debar from candidature men of ability who could serve their country well and who were not rich, such constituencies, by reason of their plural nature, their larger area, the lesser contact between the people and those who represent them, the multiplicity of votes, of voters and of representatives, offered greater opportunities for manipulation and intrigue, impersonation, evasion of responsibility, the practice of deception and for the buying and selling of votes than did single-member constituencies where one representative is alone answerable to a smaller number of electors. It has been remarked by the Committee that the argument in favour of multi-member constituencies that they enable minorities to secure representation, must lose much of its force in view of the Communal Award, particularly in a Province like Sind where there is no division or disunion within the Hindu Community nor disunion within the Muhammadan Community and that for the rest it is open to any other minority to influence its representative by its votes and the electorate by its arguments. With regard to the argument that candidates only of a poor calibre would be forthcoming for single-member constituencies, the Committee has remarked that there appears no reason why residence within the constituency should be a necessary qualification for election or to suppose there would not be forthcoming from among those entitled in the future to stand for election, men of honour, courage and ability. The Committee has therefore divided all the seats into single-member constituencies on the principle that there should be "one man, one vote and one representative". The Muslim and the General seats have been distributed amongst the constituencies as a rule on population basis. But in view of the fact that constituencies have been made single-membered and that the boundaries of the taluka have been kept intact, the Committee has been unable to avoid some disparities of population between certain constituencies. In a few cases the disparity in the number of population is considerable, but this disparity is only within the district. Between the districts themselves, with one exception, there is no greater disparity than is involved in providing that no district goes unrepresented in the Assembly.

7. Where the towns, by reason of their population and situation, lent themselves to the formation of separate constituencies, they were recognized by the Committee as such, but in other cases the Committee came to the conclusion that there was greater community of interest between towns and the surrounding countryside than between towns set miles apart. It has, therefore, in many cases included towns and the surrounding countryside in one constituency. It has not accepted the argument that the towns, by reason of their greater reputed wealth and the political enlightenment and experience of the inhabitants, should have a greater representation in the Assembly than the country. In this conclusion, it finds support in paragraphs 92 and 95 of the Report of the Indian Franchise Committee.

#### MUHAMMADAN CONSTITUENCIES.

8. The Committee allotted the thirty-three Muslim seats among the districts on a population basis and gave to each one its quota according to the nearest whole number to the number of seats actually due. There remained one seat over, which it gave to Nawabshah district, as it had the largest remaining fraction. The average Muslim population per seat is 85,714. The Muslim Constituencies suggested by the Committee, each of which is single-membered are as detailed below:—

Name of the Constituency.	Extent of the Constituency.
URBAN.	
1. Karachi City Northern	... Municipal Ward No. V (Lyari Quarter) of Karachi City.
2. Karachi City Southern	... Karachi Municipal District, excluding Ward No. V, Cantonments of Karachi and Manora and Karachi Port Trust limits.
RURAL.	
3. Karachi Northern	... Karachi and Tatta talukas (excluding Karachi Municipal District, Cantonments of Karachi and Manora and Karachi Port Trust limits).

Name of the Constituency.	Extent of the Constituency.
4. Karachi Southern	... Ghorabari, Mirpur Sakro and Shahbunder talukas and Ketibunder Mahal.
5. Karachi Eastern	... Sujawal, Jati and Mirpur Bathoro talukas.
6. Dadu Northern	... Mehar and Kakar talukas.
7. Dadu Central	... Dadu and Johi talukas.
8. Dadu Southern	... Sehwan and Kotri talukas and Kohistan Mahal.
9. Upper Sind Frontier Eastern	... Kandhkot and Kashmor talukas.
10. Upper Sind Frontier Central	... Thul taluka and Jacobabad District Municipality.
11. Upper Sind Frontier Western	... Jacobabad taluka (except Jacobabad District Municipality) and Garhi Khairo taluka.
12. Larkana Eastern	... Larkana taluka.
13. Larkana Northern	... Mirokhan and Ratodero talukas.
14. Larkana Southern	... Labdarya and Warah talukas.
15. Larkana Western	... Kambar and Shahdadkot talukas.
16. Sukkur North-Western	... Shikarpur Borough Municipality and taluka.
17. Sukkur South-Western	... Garhi Yasin taluka and Sukkur taluka, excluding Sukkur Borough Municipality.
18. Sukkur South-Eastern	... Sukkur Borough Municipality and Rohri taluka.
19. Sukkur Eastern	... Ghotki and Pano Akil talukas.
20. Sukkur North-Eastern	... Mirpur Mathelo and Ubauro talukas.
21. Nawabshah Northern	... Kandiaro taluka.
22. Nawabshah North-Western	... Naushahro taluka.
23. Nawabshah Western	... Moro and Sakrand talukas.
24. Nawabshah Eastern	... Nawabshah and Sinjhor talukas.
25. Nawabshah Southern	... Shahdadpur taluka.
26. Hyderabad Northern	... Hala taluka.
27. Hyderabad North-Western	... Hyderabad Borough Municipality, Cantonment and taluka.
28. Hyderabad Eastern	... Tando Allahyar and Dero Mohbat talukas.
29. Hyderabad South-Western	... Guni taluka.
30. Hyderabad Southern	... Tando Bago and Badin talukas.
31. Thar Parkar Western	... Mirpurkhas, Jamesabad, Digri and Sanghar talukas.
32. Thar Parkar Northern	... Samaro, Umakot and Khipro talukas.
33. Thar Parkar Southern	... Mithi, Diplo, Chachro and Nagar Parkar talukas.

#### GENERAL CONSTITUENCIES.

9. Of the eighteen general seats, the Committee has allotted one seat to the Upper Sind Frontier district, as in its opinion no district as such should go unrepresented in the Assembly. The remaining seats have been allotted by it among the other districts on a population basis, each of which, with the exception of Thar Parkar district, has been given its quota according to the number of seats actually due. The Thar Parkar district has been allotted three seats instead of four. This reduction has been made in the case of the Desert Sub-Division which has been allotted one instead of two seats in view of the fact that a large majority of the people of this Sub-Division are of nomadic habits with an electorate so small that it would be difficult to

justify the allotment of two seats to them. This seat remaining over has been allotted to Hyderabad district which, upon the population basis, is next entitled to it. The average general population per seat works out to 58,316. The General Constituencies proposed by the Committee, each of which is single-membered, are as detailed below:—

Name of the Constituency.	Extent of the Constituency.
URBAN.	
1. Karachi City Northern	... Wards Nos. I, II, IV and V of Karachi Municipal District.
2. Karachi City Southern	... Wards Nos. III, VI, VII and VIII of Karachi Municipal District, the Cantonments of Karachi and Manora and the limits of Karachi Port Trust.
3. Hyderabad City Central	... Wards Nos. II, III, IV, V and VI of Hyderabad Borough Municipality.
RURAL.	
4. Hyderabad suburbs and taluka.	Hyderabad Borough Municipality (excluding Wards Nos. II, III, IV, V and VI), Hyderabad Cantonment and the rest of Hyderabad taluka.
5. Hyderabad Northern	... Hala, Tando Allahyar and Dero Mohbat talukas.
6. Hyderabad Southern	... Guni, Tando Bago and Badin talukas.
7. Karachi district	... Karachi district, excluding the area of the two Urban Constituencies of Karachi City.
8. Dadu	... Dadu district.
9. Upper Sind Frontier	... Upper Sind Frontier district.
10. Larkana	... Larkana district.
11. Sukkur Western	... Shikarpur Borough Municipality and taluka and Garhi Yasin taluka.
12. Sukkur Central	... Sukkur Borough Municipality and taluka.
13. Sukkur Eastern	... Rohri, Ghotki, Pano Akil, Ubauro and Mirpur Mathelo talukas.
14. Nawabshah Northern	... Naushahro, Kandiaro, Moro and Nawabshah talukas.
15. Nawabshah Southern	... Sakrand, Sinjhoró and Shahdadpur talukas.
16. Thar Parkar Western	... Mirpurkhas, Jamesabad, Digri and Sanghar talukas.
17. Thar Parkar Northern	... Khipro, Umarkot and Samaro talukas.
18. Thar Parkar Southern	... Mithi, Diplo, Chachro and Nagar Parkar talukas.

10. In the delimitation of the two General Constituencies for Karachi City shown above, one of the objects of the Committee was to group the bulk of the minority communities, such as Anglo-Indians, Parsis and Jews, into one constituency, so that their voice would be more effectively heard.

#### EUROPEAN CONSTITUENCIES.

11. Of the two seats assigned to the Europeans, one has been allotted to Karachi Cantonment and the other to the rest of Sind. This division by which Karachi City (excluding Karachi Cantonment) has been combined with mofussil of Sind, has been made with a view to effect an equitable division of the European community into two single-member constituencies and to make of some consideration to candidates the vote of mofussil Europeans whose interests, in the opinion of the Committee, might differ from those of Europeans living in Karachi.

## WOMEN'S CONSTITUENCIES.

12. The Committee has recommended that the area for the Muslim Women's Constituency and the General Women's Constituency should be the same; and that the qualifications of the electors should also be the same. It has remarked that the constituencies should represent the interests of women of Sind as a whole, but to impose upon a woman candidate the duty of canvassing among the women generally throughout the Province, would be to impose too heavy a task. It therefore came to the conclusion that each of the two Women's Constituencies should include—(1) the district headquarter town of each district so that each district might have some direct interests in the constituency, (2) the City Municipalities as being centre of women's education and women's work, and (3) Rohri, a town of considerable size adjacent to Sukkur. Thus each of the two Women's Constituencies proposed by the Committee comprises the City of Karachi and the towns of Hyderabad, Sukkur, Rohri, Shikarpur, Larkana, Jacobabad, Mirpurkhas, Nawabshah and Dadu. It has been stated by the Committee that it has every reason to believe that the women who would come forward to represent the Women's Constituencies proposed by it, would regard as closely the welfare of the women in the villages as in the towns, as notwithstanding the differences in the conditions of life of women in the towns and in remote villages, there is a certain community of interest between all women in Sind.

13. The Committee has recommended that there should be included in the Women's Constituencies proposed by it, all those women entitled to vote in the Territorial Constituencies and that men should not participate either as candidates or as voters in these constituencies.

14. The Committee has made the suggestion that, except in the case of women qualified on account of literacy in whose case it thinks it right that they themselves should apply in writing to be put upon the electoral roll, applications for entry in the roll required from women in other cases should be permitted to be made in writing either by the woman herself or by her husband or other near male relative on her behalf.

## LANDHOLDERS' CONSTITUENCIES.

15. Of the two seats assigned to Landholders, one was claimed by the Jagirdars, but the Committee did not think that the reservation of a seat to Jagirdars was justified by their relative number and importance. The Committee has therefore, with the exception of Dewan Bahadur Hiranand Khemsing, recommended that these two seats should be divided between the two constituencies of—(1) Lower Sind comprising Karachi, Thar Parkar, Hyderabad and Nawabshah districts, and (2) Upper Sind comprising Sukkur, Larkana, Dadu and Upper Sind Frontier districts. It came to the conclusion that the present franchise qualification of the payment of Rs. 1,000 as land revenue should remain. Dewan Bahadur Hiranand in a minute of dissent has recorded that the two seats should be formed into a single constituency, as thereby there would be a chance for a Hindu or a Parsi to be elected by the combined vote of non-Muslims. The remaining members of the Committee were not, however, satisfied that this would be the case, but even were it so, they thought they could not properly allow the communal question settled by the Communal Award to influence them in the allocation of seats in special constituencies as the two seats reserved to landholders were to represent the interests of landholders as such and not as Hindus or Muhammadans. As the constituency is to represent the special interests of landholders and not of moneylenders, they could not agree to the proposal that the seats should be allocated on the basis that the Hindu landholders being largely the moneylenders required representation as against their borrowers. The division of the two seats into two single-membered constituencies has been made in consideration of the facts that a constituency covering the whole of the Province would be a very large constituency and the interests of landholders in Upper and Lower Sind are not the same in all respects.

## LABOUR CONSTITUENCY.

16. The Committee found labour organised in Unions in Karachi only. It could not therefore agree that representation of labour through Unions was for the present an adequate representation of labour throughout the Province of Sind. It decided therefore that the Labour Constituency should be a mixed constituency of organised and unorganised labour. With a view to making the constituency representative of labour throughout the Province and at the same time to keep the area of the constituency and the number of the electorate within reasonable bounds, it has recommended that there be included in the Labour Constituency—

- (1) all duly registered Trade Unions within the Province whose members (men as well as women) should be enrolled upon the general electoral roll for the constituency subject to such restrictions as would prevent the formation and inclusion of bogus unions within the constituency and the enrolment of members within a union merely to increase the number of its votes; and
- (2) all adult manual workers (men as well as women) of—
  - (a) factories in Sind registered under the Indian Factories Act;
  - (b) industrial concerns of public utility, such as Tramways, Electric Light and Gas and Water-Works; and
  - (c) local bodies, such as the Port Trust, the Municipalities and the Local Boards.

17. It has been recommended by the Committee that for the present any person qualified to stand for election in any of the constituencies within the Province, should be allowed to be elected to represent the Labour Constituency.

## COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY CONSTITUENCIES.

18. Of the two seats assigned to Commerce and Industry, the Committee has allotted one seat to the Karachi Chamber of Commerce and the other to the Indian Commerce and Industry. The Committee has suggested that the constituency other than the Karachi Chamber of Commerce should be called the Sind Commerce Constituency.

19. It has been proposed by the Committee that it should be prescribed that a person would be entitled to vote for the Sind Commerce Constituency if he—

- (a) is a member of a Commercial Association whose rules are approved by Government whether such Association be in Karachi or in the Commercial centres of Hyderabad, Sukkur, Larkana, Shikarpur and Rohri, or in the remaining district headquarter towns; or
- (b) is an owner of a registered factory under the Factories Act; or
- (c) is a joint stock company registered under the Companies Act;

provided such member, owner or joint stock company has paid income-tax on an income of not less than Rs. 10,000 for any one year in any of the three years previous to the election.

The Committee has proposed that the provision *re* the approval of the rules of Commercial Associations by Government and that the franchise qualification of the payment of income-tax on an income of not less than Rs. 10,000 suggested by the Committee in the case of electors for the Sind Commerce Constituency should be prescribed in the case of Chamber of Commerce Constituency also.

20. It has been recommended by the Committee that firms, owners of factories and joint stock companies, entitled to vote for a Commerce Constituency, should be allowed to vote through nominees and that a firm or individual entitled to vote in both of the Commerce Constituencies should be required to decide in which one of the two constituencies the right to vote is to be exercised by it.

21. Mr. B. T. Thakur, the member co-opted to present the Indian Commercial interest, has recorded a minute of dissent to the effect that the reservation of a seat for the Chamber of Commerce is tantamount to the reservation of that seat for European Commerce which would not only upset the communal balance as sanctioned by the Premier's Communal Award and the Government of India Bill, but would also be against principles of equity and justice. The other members of the Committee were, however, of the opinion that although there was no statutory reservation of any seat to European Commerce, reference to paragraph 326 of the Report of the Indian Franchise Committee and to the foot-note to the table of seats, printed at page 349 of the Report of the Joint Parliamentary Committee on the Indian Constitutional Reform, showed that it was anticipated that one European should be returned in one of the seats in the Commercial Constituency and that they were satisfied that on the merits of the case it should be so.

22. Mr. Thakur has also disagreed from the remaining members of the Committee in regard to the qualification of assessable income of Rs. 10,000 for voters, on the ground that thereby most of the members of Commercial Associations would be disenfranchised. He has proposed that this income qualification should be lowered to Rs. 5,000. He has suggested that if it is decided that this minimum income of Rs. 10,000 proposed in the case of electors should remain unchanged it should be lowered to Rs. 5,000, at least in the case of candidates for election by the Commerce Constituency so as to widen the field for selection of candidates. He has further suggested that the income of firms which are members of commercial bodies and are registered under the Indian Income Tax Act should be interpreted as collective assessable income of their respective partners in computing the income of the firm for the purpose of determining the right of the firms to be electors for the Commerce Constituency.

23. Mr. H. S. Bigg-Wither, O.B.E., the member co-opted to represent the European Commercial interest, has recorded a qualifying minute to the effect that payment of income-tax on salaries of employees of firms or companies should rank *pari passu* with payment on the employer's profits in conferring eligibility on the employer to vote in the Commercial Constituencies proposed by the Committee, as in his opinion the payment by a firm's or company's employees of income-tax on salaries (received from the firm or company) aggregating Rs. 10,000 yearly, is just as good a criterion of the firm's or company's standing and just as meritorious in every way as the payment of tax on the firm's or company's own account.

#### FURTHER DETAILS.

24. Further details of the Committee's Scheme may be obtained from its Report which is on sale at the Library of the Commissioner in Sind at a price of annas four per copy.

#### REPRESENTATIONS.

25. The report is under the consideration of the Government of Bombay and their views on the recommendations contained therein will be published shortly. Any persons or bodies desiring to submit their representations to the Indian Delimitation Committee with reference to the recommendations of the Sind Provincial Delimitation Committee or otherwise, should forward their written statements to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bombay, Political and Reforms Department, not later than the 1st September 1935.

## ANNEXURE J.

### PRESS NOTE DATED THE 27<sup>TH</sup> AUGUST 1935 CONTAINING THE PROVISIONAL DECISIONS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF BOMBAY ON THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE SIND PROVINCIAL DELIMITATION COMMITTEE CONTAINED IN ITS REPORT DATED THE 20<sup>TH</sup> JULY 1935.

In the concluding paragraph of the Commissioner's Press Note No. G.-4211, dated the 13th August 1935, on the Report of the Sind Provincial Delimitation Committee, it was stated that the Report was under the consideration of the Government of Bombay and that their views on the recommendations contained therein would be published shortly. Government have since considered the Committee's recommendations and their views on them are briefly stated below. It may be made clear that these views are provisional and are subject to revision after Government have considered the views of the public which have been invited in the Press Note cited above and of the members of the Bombay Legislative Council before whom the Committee's Report will be placed for discussion at the session to be held in September-October 1935.

2. The provisional decisions of Government on the various recommendations of the Committee are as follows :—

(1) *General Principles*.—The general principles enunciated by the Committee, namely, taking population as the basis of representation as far as possible, adopting as the unit the revenue district or a part of it and favouring single-member constituencies, are accepted. In the opinion of Government, the conditions in Sind in favour of single-member constituencies are peculiarly strong.

(2) *Scheme of Constituencies and distribution of seats*.—The scheme of constituencies and distribution of seats recommended by the Committee are accepted.

(3) *Muhammadian Constituencies*     .. }  
(4) *General Constituencies*         .. } The Committee's recommenda-  
(5) *European Constituencies*        .. } tions are accepted.

(6) *Women's Constituencies*.—The Committee's recommendations for the formation of separate Women's Constituencies and the allocation of seats to them are accepted. Their suggestion that applications for registration may be made by the women themselves, but that only their husbands should be allowed to apply in their behalf, is also accepted.

(7) *Landholders' Constituencies*.—The Committee's recommendations are accepted.

(8) *Labour Constituency*.—Government are of opinion that—

- (a) registered trade unions should be included in the constituency with such restrictions as are proposed by the Committee, but that the remainder of the constituency should be limited to Karachi City and Cantonment, including the limits of the Karachi Port Trust and Manora Cantonment, Hyderabad City and Cantonment and the Municipal Boroughs of Sukkur, Shikarpur and Larkana only. Otherwise the constituency would be unmanageable. If necessary, factories in all towns of more than 10,000 inhabitants should be included in addition to those in the Borough Municipalities ;
- (b) there seems to be no advantage in including public utility companies. In particular, most of them would probably be "factories" under the Indian Factories Act ;
- (c) the Railway in Sind and the Karachi Port Trust should be represented through their respective unions ;
- (d) labourers of local bodies should not be included in the constituency as there is no gain in including them ; and
- (e) a necessary qualification should be entry in the books of the factory or membership of the union concerned for six months previous to the preparation of the roll.

(9) *Commerce and Industry Constituencies*.—The two seats allocated to Commerce and Industry Constituencies in Sind should be allotted to (1) the Karachi Chamber of Commerce and (2) the Karachi Indian Merchants' Association and the Karachi Buyers' and Shippers' Chamber. There should be no income-tax qualification.

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**ANNEXURE K.**

**Report of the Sind Provincial Delimitation Committee dated the 21st September  
1935 containing its provisional recommendations on the constituencies  
of the Council of State.**

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Karachi, 21st September 1935.

To  
THE CHIEF SECRETARY  
TO THE GOVERNMENT OF BOMBAY,  
Political and Reforms Department, Poona.

SIR,  
I have the honour to forward the Report of the Sind Provincial Delimitation Committee on the constituencies for the Council of State.

I have the honour to be,  
Sir,  
Your most obedient servant,  
(Signed) G. G. DREWE,  
Secretary, Sind Provincial Delimitation Committee.

THROUGH  
THE COMMISSIONER IN SIND.

The Committee assembled at short notice on the 19th September 1935 to consider the scheme of constituencies for the five seats allotted to Sind in the Council of State.

Our terms of reference are contained in No. R.-327, Political and Reforms Department, dated 10th September 1935, and are as follows :—

To place before the Committee the scheme of constituencies for the five seats allotted to Sind in the Council of State called for from the Commissioner in Government memorandum No. R.-327, dated 21st August 1935, with a request to report by 20th September 1935.

We gather from the papers placed before us by the Commissioner that our recommendations were to be governed by certain conditions :—

First, the electorate should not exceed 2,500 ;

Secondly, at least 10 per cent. of the electorate should be women ; and

Thirdly, that the number of persons qualified to vote by payment of land revenue should be to the number of voters qualified to vote by payment of income-tax in the ratio of three to one.

We had also before us suggested qualifications referred to in Government memorandum No. R.-327, dated 21st August 1935 :—

M.As., M.Sc.s., M.Com.s., M.E.s., M.Ags., LL.M.s., M.D.s., M.Ss., D.Hys., D.Sc.s., of five years standing.

Members of Legislatures, past and present ; Presidents and Vice-Presidents, of Borough Municipalities and District Local Boards, present ; Fellows or Members of the Senate of the University of Bombay, present ; Presidents of certain specified Chamber of Commerce, present ; Chairmen of Central Co-operative Banks ; Judges of the High Court, past ; Holders of Indian titles of Raja and Nawab and higher titles ; Holders of all English titles ; Shams-ul-Ulema and Mahamahopadhyayas ; Members of Executive Council ; Vice-Chancellors of Universities, past and present.

Persons in receipt of a pension from Government of not less than Rs. 250 per mensem.

Sardars and Inamdars or alienees in respect of entire villages [*vide* Bombay Electoral Rule 5 (1) and (2)].

Wives of—

(a) holders and tenants of land assessed at not less than Rs. 1,001 land revenue,

(b) persons assessed to income-tax on an income of not less than Rs. 25,000 per annum.

In Government telegram, dated 3rd August, the suggested qualifications for Indian title-holders were altered to holders of titles of and above Rao Bahadur and Khan Bahadur.

Of the five seats in the Council of State for the Province of Sind allotted in the First Schedule to the Government of India Act, 1935, three are allotted to the Muhammadan and two to the General Constituencies.

From the select character of the electorate it is clear to us that the constituencies cannot be formed on the basis of population, for the electorate is to represent not numbers so much as status and experience. It was therefore considered desirable so to arrange the constituencies as to include within each, so far as the local condition would permit, its due proportion of voters.

We desired to keep the district as a unit and we found it was possible without undue variation in the number of voters in each constituency to keep the district intact and thus maintain its unity for electoral purposes.

Our work was much facilitated by Tables of figures under the various heads of qualifications prepared by the Commissioner in Sind, and we have based our recommendations upon these Tables.

We append to this Report a statement showing the number of voters under the various heads of qualifications against each district.

As the number of electors in this case is arbitrarily fixed, it is clear that the qualifications finally to be accepted are those which will produce in requisite proportions the number of voters required. We considered whether it was intended that the proportion of three to one between those qualified by payment of land revenue and those qualified by payment of income-tax should be maintained in the electorate as a whole or in each of the five constituencies in the two separate electorates, Muhammadan and General.

It was clear to us that we could not maintain this proportion within each of the five constituencies, for in each of the three Muhammadan Constituencies those not qualified by the payment of land revenue would be in a large minority. We found we could not maintain this proportion within the separate communal electorates, because in the Muhammadan electorate the number of those qualified by the payment of income-tax was so small, that, in order to obtain the required proportion of three to one, the qualifying income would have to be so lowered as to compare unfavourably with the qualification of those qualified by the payment of land revenue.

Moreover to lower the qualification in one electorate and not to lower it in the other would, in these particular circumstances, be anomalous.

We found that it would be possible by maintaining the required proportion of three to one in the electorate as a whole so to arrange the districts, that those qualified otherwise than by the payment of land revenue would obtain an adequate opportunity of representation.

The qualifications that we have recommended by payment of income-tax and by payment of land revenue maintain the required proportions and at the same time provide an electorate of the requisite number. -

We have found the payment of a minimum land revenue of Rs. 1,000 and the payment of income-tax on an income of at least Rs. 10,000, with certain other qualifications, provided the required electorate.

These other qualifications we recommend should be :—

Members of the Legislatures, past and present.

Mayors and past Mayors and Presidents of the Karachi Municipal Corporation.

Presidents of Borough Municipalities and District Local Boards of Sind, past and present.

Fellows and Members of the Senate of the University, past and present, to which the Sind Colleges are affiliated.

Chairmen of the Central Co-operative Bank, past and present.

Chief Justices and Judges of the High Court, Judicial Commissioners and Additional Judicial Commissioners of Sind, past and present.

The holders of Indian Titles of and above Rao Bahadurs and Khan Bahadurs.

The holders of English Titles.

Members of the Executive Councils, past.

Vice-Chancellors of the University to which Sind Colleges are affiliated.

Commissioners in Sind, past and present.

Persons in receipt of a Government pension of not less than Rs. 250 per mensem.

First and Second Class Jagirdars.

The provision for the enfranchisement of women can be, we think, adequately provided, within the limits imposed upon us, by enfranchisement of the wives of persons assessed to income-tax on an income of at least Rs. 30,000 per annum and of the wives of persons paying land revenue of at least Rs. 5,000 per annum.

The number of wives of persons paying income-tax on an income of at least Rs. 30,000 per annum and of persons paying land revenue of at least Rs.3,000 per year have been worked out and are as follows :—

Muhammadans—291 women out of a total electorate of 1,495, or 19 per cent. of the electorate.

General—131 women out of a total electorate of 999 or 13 per cent. of the electorate.

These exceed the minimum of 10 per cent. which has been laid down.

The only disadvantage in the enfranchisement of women on this basis is that it will result in the electorate of 2,500 being exceeded by some 94. Bearing in mind the fact that the number of wives enfranchised on their husband's qualifications will well exceed the prescribed minimum, we think it equitable that a reduction, if any be necessary, be made in the class of women enfranchised on their husband's land revenue qualification. On the figures supplied there are only 40 women who would be enfranchised on their husband's income-tax qualification. So no reduction can be effected in this class.

Presuming that the figures which have been placed before us are approximately correct, we recommend that the three Muhammadan Constituencies should be constituted in this way :—

- (1) Karachi, Dadu and Hyderabad, to be called "Western Sind Constituency";
- (2) Thar Parkar and Nawabshah, to be called "Eastern Sind Constituency";
- (3) Larkana, Sukkur and Upper Sind Frontier, to be called "Northern Sind Constituency";

and the two seats in the General Constituencies should be constituted in this way :—

- (1) Karachi and Hyderabad, to be called "Southern Sind Constituency";
- (2) Thar Parkar, Nawabshah, Dadu, Larkana, Sukkur and Upper Sind Frontier, to be called "Northern Sind Constituency".

We thus maintain the unity and contiguity of the districts and a fair apportionment of the electorate.

Owing to the short notice given us, Seth Haji Abdullah Haroon was unable to be present; we have had therefore to make these recommendations in his absence.

(Sd.) G. DAVIS.

(Sd.) ALLAH BAKHSH.

(Sd.) HIRANAND KHEMSING.

(Sd.) G. G. DREWE.

Statement showing estimated number of prospective electors for the five seats allotted to Sind in the Council of State under the Reformed Constitution—3 Muslim and 2 General :—

District.	Income-tax assesses on Rs. 10,000 or more		1st and 2nd class jagirdars and zamindars paying not less than Rs 1,000 land revenue.		Others, including wives of persons paying income-tax on Rs 30,000 or land revenue not less than Rs. 3,000.		Total.		Deductions on account of overlapping.		Net number of electors.		Totals in constituencies.		Grand Total in constituencies.
	Men.	Women.	Men.	Women.	Men.	Women.	Men.	Women.	Men.	Women.	Men.	Women.	Men.	Women.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
<b>MUSSALMANS.</b>															
Karachi ..	45	1	66	..	24	14	135	15	8	..	132	15	401	47	448
Dadu ..	2	..	59	..	6	9	67	9	6	..	61	9			
Hyderabad ..	1	..	187	11	27	13	215	24	7	1	208	23	338	125	463
Thar Parkar ..	9	..	216	3	10	100	235	103	9	..	226	103			
Nawabshah ..	4	..	106	2	12	20	122	22	10	..	112	22	444	140	581
Larkana ..	6	..	127	2	14	47	147	49	14	..	133	49			
Sukkur ..	1	..	102	1	23	20	126	21	9	..	117	21	..	..	..
Upper Sind Frontier.	..	..	195	2	8	68	203	70	9	..	194	70			
Total ..	68	1	1,058	21	124	291	1,250	313	67	1	1,183	312	..	..	1,495
<b>GENERAL</b>															
Karachi ..	212	11	83	5	67	27	312	43	5	..	307	43	484	68	552
Hyderabad ..	70	1	77	1	30	23	177	25	..	..	177	25			
Thar Parkar ..	15	..	76	1	4	31	95	32	3	..	92	32	458	89	547
Nawabshah ..	5	..	54	4	5	5	64	9	5	..	59	9			
Dadu ..	11	..	41	1	1	9	53	10	..	..	53	10	..	..	..
Larkana ..	13	..	85	..	3	18	101	18	..	..	101	18			
Sukkur ..	59	2	61	..	18	10	138	12	7	..	131	12	..	..	..
Upper Sind Frontier.	1	..	22	..	1	8	24	8	2	..	22	8			
Total ..	386	14	449	12	129	131	964	157	22	..	942	157	942	157	1,099
Grand total ..	454	15	1,507	33	253	422	2,214	470	89	1	2,125	469	..	..	2,594

## ANNEXURE L.

PRESS NOTE DATED THE 5th OCTOBER 1935 CONTAINING A SUMMARY OF THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE SIND PROVINCIAL DELIMITATION COMMITTEE CONTAINED IN ITS REPORT DATED THE 21st SEPTEMBER 1935 AND THE PROVISIONAL VIEWS OF GOVERNMENT THEREON.

Sind has been allotted three Muslim and two General seats in the Federal Council of State under the Government of India Act, 1935. A scheme of constituencies for these seats formulated by the Commissioner in Sind was forwarded for consideration to the Sind Provincial Delimitation Committee, the constitution of which was published in the Commissioner's Press Note, No. G.-4211, dated the 13th April 1935. The Committee assembled for the purpose on the 19th September 1935, and submitted its report to Government on the 21st idem.

2. The Committee recommended the following persons to be enfranchised for election to fill the seats mentioned above :—

Persons paying land revenue of at least Rs. 1,000 per annum.

Persons paying income-tax on an income of at least Rs. 10,000 per annum.

Members of the Legislatures, past and present.

Mayors and past Mayors and Presidents of the Karachi Municipal Corporation.

Presidents of Borough Municipalities and District Local Boards of Sind, past and present.

Fellow and Members of the Senate of the University, past and present, to which the Sind College are affiliated.

Chairmen of the Central Co-operative Bank, past and present.

Chief Justices and Judges of the High Court, Judicial Commissioners and Additional Judicial Commissioners of Sind, past and present.

The holders of Indian Titles of and above Rao Bahadurs and Khan Bahadurs.

The holders of English Titles.

Members of the Executive Council, past.

Vice-Chancellors of the University to which Sind Colleges are affiliated.

Commissioners in Sind, past and present.

Persons in receipt of a Government pension of not less than Rs. 250 per mensem.

First and Second Class Jagirdars.

Wives of persons—

(i) assessed to income-tax on an income of at least Rs. 30,000 per annum, or

(ii) paying land revenue of at least Rs. 5,000 per annum.

3. The Committee came to the conclusion that from the select character of the electorate, the constituencies could not be formed on the basis of population for the electorate was to represent not numbers so much as status and experience. It therefore considered it advisable so to arrange the constituencies as to include within each, so far as the local conditions would permit, its due proportion of voters. They wished to keep the district as a unit and found that it was possible without undue variation in the number of voters in each constituency to keep the district intact and thus maintain its unity for electoral purposes.

4. The constituencies suggested by the Committee, each of which is single membered, are as detailed below:—

Name of the Constituency.	Extent of the Constituency.
<b>MUHAMMADAN.</b>	
1. Western Sind	.. Karachi, Dadu and Hyderabad districts.
2. Eastern Sind	.. Thar Parkar and Nawabshah districts.
3. Northern Sind	.. Larkana, Sukkur and Upper Sind Frontier districts.

**GENERAL.**

1. Southern Sind	.. Karachi and Hyderabad districts.
2. Northern Sind	.. Thar Parkar, Nawabshah, Dadu, Larkana, Sukkur and Upper Sind Frontier districts.

5. Further details of the Committee's scheme may be obtained from its Report which is on sale at the Library of the Commissioner in Sind at a price of one anna six pies per copy.

6. The Committee's Report has been considered by Government who have provisionally decided to accept the Committee's scheme for the delimitation of constituencies for the five seats in question, subject to the modification that the name of the second of the two General Constituencies should be "Northern and Eastern Sind Constituency" instead of "Northern Sind Constituency".

7. According to the proposals of His Majesty's Government, contained in the White Paper published on the 1st October 1935, the revised franchise qualifications for the Sind constituencies of the Council of State are as under:—

- (1) Being resident in the constituency; and
- (2) (a) being a first or second class jagirdar in Sind; or
  - (b) being a person who in each of the three revenue years preceding the publication of the roll has paid not less than Rs. 1,000 land revenue; or
  - (c) being assessed to income-tax on an income of not less than Rs. 12,500 per annum; or
  - (d) being or having been—
    - (i) a non-official member of any Legislature in British India; or
    - (ii) a member of any Executive Council or a Minister in British India; or
    - (iii) a Pro-Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor, Fellow or Honorary Fellow or Member of a Senate or Court of any University legally constituted in British India; or
    - (iv) a Judge of any High Court, Chief Court, or Judicial Commissioner's Court in British India; or
    - (v) a Sheriff or Mayor of any Municipal Corporation in British India; or
    - (vi) a Chief Officer (non-official) of certain local bodies and Central Co-operative Banks; or
  - (e) being the holder of any title or honour conferred by His Majesty the King Emperor or of a title not lower than Rai Bahadur, Rao Bahadur, Sardar Bahadur, or Khan Bahadur, conferred by the Viceroy; or of the Kaiser-i-Hind Medal; or
  - (f) being in receipt of a Government pension, civil, military or political, of not less than Rs. 250 per mensem.

*Differential qualification for women.\**

- (3) Being the wife of a person who is—
- (i) liable to payment of land revenue of not less than Rs. 3,000 per annum; or
  - (ii) assessed to income-tax on an annual income of not less than Rs. 30,000.

8. The educational qualification (M.As., M.Sc.s., &c.), of which mention has been made at the beginning of the Committee's Report are not included amongst the revised franchise qualifications published in the White Paper.

## REPRESENTATIONS.

9. Any persons or bodies wishing to submit their representations to the Indian Delimitation Committee with reference to the Sind Delimitation Committee's recommendations or otherwise, should forward their written statements to the Commissioner in Sind not later than the 11th October 1935.

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\*Registration of women qualified in respect of the wife-hood qualification will be on application only.



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**ANNEXURE M**

**Supplementary Report of the Sind Provincial Delimitation Committee  
dated the 4th October 1935 containing its final recommendations  
on the constituencies for the Sind Legislative Assembly.**

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Karachi, 5th October 1935.

To

THE CHIEF SECRETARY TO GOVERNMENT,  
POLITICAL AND REFORMS DEPARTMENT,  
Poona.

SIR,

I have the honour to forward herewith the final recommendations of the Sind Provincial Delimitation Committee.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(Sd.) G. G. DREWE,

Secretary, Sind Provincial Delimitation Committee.

THROUGH

THE COMMISSIONER IN SIND.

Our terms of reference are contained in No. R.-327, Political and Reforms Department, dated 10th September 1935, and are as follows :—

“To place before the Committee all written representations with reference to its report on the delimitation of constituencies for the Sind Legislative Assembly received by Government passed on by them to the Commissioner in Sind (*vide* Government Memorandum, Political and Reforms Department, No. R-321, dated the 30th August 1935), and to forward to Government its final recommendations with regard to the delimitation of constituencies of the Sind Legislative Assembly.”

The Committee re-assembled on Saturday, September 28th, 1935, and met again on 3rd and 4th.

We have carefully considered all the representations received from Government, and we confirm the recommendations made in our report with the following modifications.

(Sd.) G. DAVIS.

(Sd.) HAJI ABDULLAH HAROON.

(Sd.) ALLAH BAKHSH.

(Sd.) HIRANAND KHEMSING.

(Sd.) G. G. DREWE.

4th October 1935.

## MUHAMMADAN AND GENERAL CONSTITUENCIES.

1. *Single-Member Constituencies.*—We have considered all the representations and criticisms forwarded by Government, but we can find little that is fresh or of any value. They consist for the most part of arguments already placed before us which we considered and which we found ourselves unable to accept. We found on consideration that these arguments gained nothing by repetition.

We can imagine no greater disservice to Sind than that we should endeavour to discover or create differences and divisions, where none such exist, for the purpose of politics.

2. *Urban and Rural Constituencies.*—We feel that our proposals regarding Urban Constituencies may have led to misunderstanding owing to the fact that, finding no provision in the Schedules for Mixed Constituencies, we designated as Rural Constituencies those constituencies not purely urban.

We are working for an Assembly where the urban as well as rural interests shall be fairly represented and fairly treated, but we cannot believe that one extra seat on one side or the other will make in practice any real difference; and we have no doubt that on the proposals we have made, when the Assembly meets, it will be found townsmen and urban interests are adequately represented.

Our proposals are not ideal, but the practical solution of a problem.

### *Distribution of Seats.*

3. (i) *Thar Parkar.*—It was not in our power to devise special qualifications for the franchise so as to give the Hindus of the Desert Division the benefit of the seat which, on the numerical basis should be allotted to them, and in the meantime we see no reason why this seat should be taken from Hyderabad district to which it was given.

(ii) *Upper Sind Frontier.*—In joining Jacobabad town to Thul takula in the Upper Sind Frontier Central Muhammadan Constituency, we departed from our principles with reluctance, and in view of the objections we have received, we consider that Jacobabad town should be joined to the two talukas of which it was originally the headquarter town, and thus be included in Upper Sind Frontier Western Muhammadan Constituency. Thul taluka will thus by itself constitute the Upper Sind Frontier Central Muhammadan Constituency.

4. *Separate Representation of certain Communities.*—We have received applications for separate representation from Sikhs, Anglo-Indians and members of the depressed classes. We are, however, bound by the Communal Award, according to which no seats are allotted to these communities in the Sind Legislative Assembly.

## EUROPEAN CONSTITUENCIES.

We have received fuller details regarding the figures of the European electorate and we consider that an equitable division on the population basis will be made, if Karachi Cantonment and Ward No. 7 of the Karachi Municipality (Civil Lines) form one constituency, and the rest of Sind the other.

The constituencies may be known as Karachi and Sind European Constituencies respectively.

In view of the frequent transfers and absence on leave of Europeans, we consider that the electoral rolls of those constituencies should be revised every six months.

## WOMEN'S CONSTITUENCIES.

There was placed before us a letter from the Reforms Department of the Government of India which was worded as follows :—

“ The recommendation that women only should vote in Women's Constituencies in Sind was considered by the Secretary of State with a view to the possible inclusion of a special provision in the Sixth Schedule to the Bill (as

in the case of Bengal, Bihar and Assam): In this connection the Government of the Punjab, in reply to an inquiry received from the Secretary of State, stated that a provision restricting the electorate of the Sind Women's Constituencies to Women only would be likely to simulate a similar demand in the Punjab, but that public feeling at present is generally against such a restriction, particularly among the Muslims. The Secretary of State has now intimated that he does not, in these circumstances, propose to take any step to restrict the electorate for the women's seats in Sind to women only."

We do not wish to speak of conditions, needs, or sentiments, elsewhere, but we speak with knowledge about Sind, and we believe that a constituency in which men and women vote will be a Women's Constituency only in name. We feel that men of right feeling will, at the present state of Sind's social development, resent a proposal whereby women will be compelled to seek the suffrages of men, and this proposal will result in the exclusion of just that type of woman which Sind most needs in her political life. The creation of this mixed constituency will place women and their special interests and problems at the mercy of men.

One purpose of this constituency is to encourage women's active participation in political life, and we would go so far as to say that without the active participation of women in political life, the new Province will not attain a full and true development. For the happiness of the people must depend upon just social laws, and for this the assistance and understanding of Indian women is necessary. Sindhi women are shy of political life, and unless they are able to begin with the constituency as we propose, we believe that their entry into political life will be delayed. And we think that insistence on the proposal will frustrate the very purpose of this constituency.

The constituencies proposed were manageable in size, having within them a centre of women's political activity in every district. Any proposal of a mixed constituency must, by the limited nature of its area, exclude women in the districts, who, under our proposals, would have an opportunity however small of an introduction to political life and of political influence.

So strongly do we feel upon this question that we find ourselves unable to accept the responsibility of making any alternative recommendation, and we greatly regret that we cannot suggest alternative constituencies.

We also desire to point out that a mistake occurred in Government's Press Note regarding our recommendations for the registration of women voters. We recommended that women who are qualified on account of literacy should apply in writing to be put on the electoral roll, and that in other cases where application for registration as a voter in these two special constituencies is required, application should be permitted to be made in writing either by the woman herself or by her husband or other near male relative on her behalf.

Our lady colleagues with whom we have discussed this question are in entire agreement with the views set out above.

#### LABOUR CONSTITUENCY.

In view of the provisional decision of the Government of Bombay on our previous proposals which were published in the Press Note of August 27th, we recommend that, in addition to the Trade Unions, there should be included in the constituency workers in factories in all towns of more than 10,000 inhabitants. Had there been Trade Unions in the mofussil and in sufficient numbers in Karachi City, we should indeed have been glad to recommend a Trade Union Constituency, but we must take conditions as we find them, and that being so, we believe our proposals will encourage rather than discourage the Trade Union movement, by introducing factory workers to the use and value of the vote.

We regard this Labour Constituency as a temporary measure until Trade Unions are sufficiently important to constitute the constituency themselves.

#### COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY CONSTITUENCIES.

The Government of Bombay has provisionally decided in the Press Note of August 27th, that the two seats allocated to Commerce and Industry Constituencies

in Sind should be allotted to (1) the Karachi Chamber of Commerce and (2) the Karachi Indian Merchants' Association and the Karachi Buyers' and Shippers' Chamber, and that there should be no income-tax qualification.

According to our information there are large Commercial interests in Karachi such as the Sat Narain Piece Goods Association which are not represented on these associations, and we feel that it is not possible to ignore the very large and important business interests which exist outside Karachi, and are represented for instance by the Sind Work Merchants' Association whose members do business amounting to crores. We can see no reason for the discrimination which provides a monopoly for these two Karachi Associations, and we recommend that the Indian Commerce Constituency should include registered associations with approved rules from Karachi and, at least, Hyderabad, Sukkur and Shikarpur.

It may not be realised how small are the membership subscriptions of the Karachi Associations which according to Government proposals, are to constitute the Indian Commerce Constituency. Reference to the lists of membership will show that many of their members are in a very small way of business. We again recommend that the income-tax qualification should be retained, but we feel that the qualifying income may be reduced from Rs. 10,000 to Rs. 5,000 per annum.

We also realise that trade depression might temporarily disfranchise a firm of high repute and standing if the qualifying tax was to be paid by the firm itself. We recommend therefore that a firm may qualify through payment of income-tax on behalf of its employees.

#### APPENDIX.

##### MUHAMMADAN CONSTITUENCIES (REVISED).

Serial No.	Name of Constituency.	Class.	Extent of Constituency.	Area in square miles.	Population.	Seats due on population basis.	Seats allocated.
10	Upper Sind Frontier Central.	Rural ..	Thul taluka ..	497	56,162	0.65	1
11	Upper Sind Frontier Western.	Rural ..	Jacobabad and Garhi Khairo talukas.	534	30,452	0.94	1

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**ANNEXURE N.**

**Report of the Sind Provincial Delimitation Committee dated the 13th October  
1935 containing its final recommendations on the constituencies  
for the Council of State.**

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Karachi, 13th October 1935.

To

THE CHIEF SECRETARY TO GOVERNMENT,  
Political and Reforms Department, Poona.

Sir,

I have the honour to forward herewith the final recommendations of the Sind Provincial Delimitation Committee on the Constituencies for the Council of State.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(Signed) G. G. DREWE,

Secretary,

Sind Provincial Delimitation Committee.

Through the Commissioner in Sind.



*The Committee reassembled on October 12th, 1935.*

Our terms of reference are contained in paragraph 4 of letter No. R. 327 of the Political and Reforms Department dated 10th September 1935, and are as follows :—

“To re-assemble the Committee again on the expiry of the period prescribed for the submission of written statements on the recommendation of the Committee and the provisional views of Government thereon regarding the constituencies of the Federal Council of State in Sind, to consider the public criticisms on them and to forward the final report of the Committee of the delimitation of these constituencies as soon as possible.”

We received but few objections. The objections proposing a regrouping of districts related to the general constituencies only, but we found that any of the proposed regroupings would involve a far greater disparity in voting strength than we could agree to, in view of the fact that the basis of the constituency cannot be territorial but the special qualifications as expressed in voting strength. Moreover in none of the regroupings was there an opportunity for a return of a representative of the income-tax payers which we have provided.

Representations from certain Commercial Associations suggested so many changes as to alter radically the nature of the electorate and to ignore to a large extent the numerical restrictions placed upon us.

We have no doubt that Commerce and Industry will obtain adequate representation from among those who are qualified by payment of Income-tax under our proposals.

We considered the proposals of His Majesty's Government, published in the White Paper, in relation to Sind; and we find few differences between the recommendations therein contained and the recommendations which we have made.

After considering the proposals contained in the White Paper and the objections we have received to our proposals, our final recommendations are as follows :—

- (1) Being resident in the Constituency, and
- (2) (a) Being a First or Second Class Jagirdar in Sind, or
- (b) Being a person who in each of the three revenue years preceding the publication of the roll has been assessed to not less than Rs. 1,000 land revenue to the Government of Sind; or
- (c) Being assessed to income-tax on an income of not less than Rs. 10,000 to the Government of India in the financial year preceding the publication of the roll; or
- (d) Being or having been—
  - (i) a non-official member of any Legislature in British India; or
  - (ii) a member of any Executive Council or a Minister in British India; or
  - (iii) a Pro-Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor, Fellow or Honorary Fellow or Member of a Senate or Court of any University legally constituted in British India; or
  - (iv) a Judge of any High Court, Chief Court, or Judicial Commissioner's Court in British India; or
  - (v) a President of a Borough Municipality or a District Local Board in Sind; or a Mayor of the Municipal Corporation of Karachi.
- (e) Being the holder of any title or honour conferred by His Majesty the King-Emperor or of a title not lower than Rai Bahadur, Rao Bahadur, Sardar Bahadur, or Khan Bahadur conferred by the Viceroy; or of the Kaiser-i-Hind Medal First and Second Class; or
- (f) Being in receipt of a Government pension, civil, military or political, of not less than Rs. 250 per mensem.

We have altered the wording in (2) (b) from “paid” to “assessed” as the word “paid” will exclude the case of a landowner who, having been assessed at more than Rs. 1,000, pays less owing to remission or rebates.

*Differential Qualification for Women.*

- (3) Being the wife of a person who is—
- (i) assessed to payment of land revenue to the Government of Sind of not less than Rs. 5,000 in each of the three revenue years preceding the publication of the roll; or
  - (ii) assessed to income-tax on an income of not less than Rs. 30,000 to the Government of India in the financial year preceding the publication of the roll.

We have considered carefully the qualification of Rs. 10,000 in the case of income-tax and the qualification of Rs. 5,000 of wives qualified by payment of land revenue by their husbands, as we appreciate the fact that the relevant figures in the White Paper are Rs. 12,500 and Rs. 3,000 respectively; but any alteration of the figures we have proposed would have destroyed the proportion between the different classes of voters which we had to maintain.

We are not in favour of plural voting, and should it result from any of the qualifications than a person is entitled to vote in two or more constituencies, whether within or without the Province, we recommend that he should be put to the choice of the constituency in which he wishes to exercise his franchise.

On the figures supplied us, the electorate falls short of the maximum of 2,500 by 90, and we consider this only a reasonable margin in view of the inevitable fluctuations that must take place.

We think the term "per annum" used in several qualifications is inappropriate, as we find in Stroud's Judicial Dictionary that "per annum" means "yearly".

(Signed) G. DAVIS,  
 ( " ) HAJI ABDULLAH HAROON,  
 ( " ) ALLAH BAKHSH,  
 ( " ) HIRANAND KHEMSING,  
 ( " ) G. G. DREWE.

13th October 1935.