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Report of the Government of Bombay  
on the  
Delimitation of Constituencies in the  
Presidency of Bombay and in Sind

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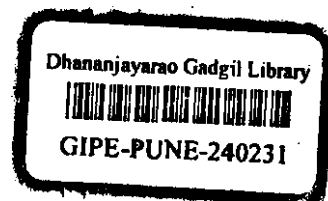
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No. R-336.

POLITICAL AND REFORMS DEPARTMENT.

Bombay Castle, 15th November 1935.

To

THE SECRETARY,  
Indian Delimitation Committee.

*Subject.*—Proposals of the Government of Bombay for the delimitation of constituencies of the Provincial Legislatures of Bombay and Sind and of the constituencies of the Federal Legislature in the Presidency of Bombay and in Sind.

Sir,

I am directed by the Government of Bombay to forward for the consideration of the Indian Delimitation Committee the proposals of the Government of Bombay on the delimitation of constituencies for (1) the Bombay Legislative Assembly, (2) the Bombay Legislative Council, (3) the Sind Legislative Assembly, (4) the Federal Assembly in the Presidency of Bombay and (5) the Federal Council of State in the Bombay Presidency and in the proposed new Province of Sind and on certain questions connected with or incidental thereto. As the election of members to fill the seats provided in the Federal Council of State for the Anglo-Indians, Europeans, Indian Christians, Scheduled Castes and Women and of members to fill the General, Muhammadan, Anglo-Indian, European, Indian Christian and Women's seats in the Federal Assembly is to be indirect (*vide* paragraphs 8, 9, 10, 19, 21 and 22 of Part I of the First Schedule to the Government of India Act, 1935) the question of delimiting constituencies to fill these seats does not arise. Similarly, as there is to be no Provincial Upper Chamber for the proposed new Province of Sind, no question arises of delimiting constituencies for it.

2. The proposals of the Local Government are largely based on the reports of the Committees which have been appointed by them to advise them on the delimitation of constituencies for the Presidency proper and Sind. These reports form the annexures to this letter. The Committees were assisted in their labours by the material prepared for them by the Divisional Commissioners and the Commissioner in Sind after prolonged and detailed investigation and discussion. The Committee for the Presidency proper is presided over by the Honourable Mr. Justice N. J. Wadia, I.C.S., Bar-at-Law, a Judge of His Majesty's High Court of Judicature at Bombay who had considerable previous experience of this work as Deputy Secretary and Secretary to Government in the Legal Department which deals with elections and electoral matters and also as Reforms Secretary to Government at the time of the visit of the Indian Statutory Commission. The other members of the Committee, except the Chief Secretary to Government are all non-official members of the Bombay Legislative Council representing the more important communities. The Committee for Sind is presided over by Mr. G. Davis, I.C.S., Bar-at-Law, Judicial Commissioner of Sind who, prior to his appointment to the present post was also Secretary to Government in the Legal Department. The other members of the Committee except its Secretary, Mr. G. G. Drewe, I.C.S., are non-officials of status and position, one of them being a member of the Indian Legislative Assembly and one a member of the Bombay Legislative Council. Though the Committees are small and business-like, as indeed they ought to be, if they were to do their work properly within the limited time available to them they are fairly representative of the communities and interests which require to be separately represented on them. They were authorised to co-opt members to represent special classes or interests such as women, labour and commerce and the Committees did co-opt members where they considered it necessary to do so.

3. The procedure followed prior to the formulation of their final views by the Government of Bombay was briefly as follows. The statistics and material required for the preparation of a detailed scheme of constituencies were first prepared by the Divisional Commissioners meeting in Conference, and by the Commissioner in Sind, in consultation with the District Officers. The Commissioners submitted their reports to Government who referred them to the Bombay and Sind Delimitation Committees with instructions to consider them and to suggest any modifications which they might think necessary. Both the Committees held several sittings, considered the written representations made to them by the public and submitted their reports to Government. On receipt of these reports Government formulated their provisional views thereon and published both the Committees' recommendations and their own provisional views for public criticism. In order that representative public opinion might have the fullest opportunity of expressing itself copies of the report of the Committee concerned and of the provisional views of Government thereon were also sent to leading associations and individuals representing the different communities, interests or schools of thought and they were asked to send in their criticisms, if any, by a specified date. A considerable volume of public criticism was received in response to this invitation. The total number of written representations received in the case of the Presidency proper *excluding* time-barred representations was 93 and that with regard to Sind 41. The reports of both the Committees were also placed before the Local Legislative Council and were fully discussed by it. Forty-seven members took part in the debates. All these representations and the debates in the Legislative Council have been carefully considered both by the Committees and by Government before their respective final views were formulated and the views provisionally formed have been modified where necessary. The same procedure has been, so far as possible, followed in preparing the scheme of constituencies for the Federal Legislature also, except that owing to the impossibility of allotting any day for the discussion of the Committees' reports on these constituencies during the last session of the Legislative Council, these reports could not be placed before the Legislative Council for discussion. Copies of the reports were, however, distributed to all members of the Legislative Council and to leading associations or bodies and individuals and they were asked to forward their criticisms, if any, to Government by a specified date. The criticisms received have been considered by Government before formulating their final views.

4. It will thus be seen that the recommendations of the Local Government contained in this report are the outcome of deliberation, discussion and labour extending over two years. Both the officials and non-officials concerned have had ample opportunities of expressing their views on the subject. As the views of the Local Government are for the most part based on the recommendations of the Committees and as the Committees have fully stated the arguments in support of their recommendations, it is considered needless to repeat the same arguments in this report. The recommendations of the Local Government are, therefore, concisely stated in the succeeding paragraphs. The subjects are dealt with, so far as convenient, in the order in which they have been dealt with in the Committees' reports.

#### *I. Bombay Legislative Assembly.*

5. *General Principles.*—In framing the territorial constituencies and distributing the seats, the Committee has, broadly speaking, adopted the following principles:—

(1) population has been taken as the main basis and other factors such as voting strength, size or geographical position of the constituency, wealth or commercial or educational importance of the electorate, etc., have been taken into account, where such considerations are of special importance;

(2) a revenue district or a convenient portion thereof has been adopted as the unit in framing the constituencies with a view to administrative convenience;

(3) the size of each proposed constituency, its physical features, the means of transport available within it, the possible number of voters, administrative feasibility, the possibilities of contact between candidates and voters and the difficulties of candidates and voters have been taken into account in framing the constituencies ; .

(4) urban areas have been separated from rural areas where such separation was considered necessary and expedient ;

(5) plural-member constituencies have been formed with the right of cumulative voting ;

(6) the seats reserved for the Marathas, Scheduled Castes, Women and Backward tribes have been distributed, so far as practicable, on the basis of the population of the caste, interest or tribe in the constituency concerned. This rule has been departed from where, owing to the desirability of avoiding more than one reserved seat in the same constituency, or for other sufficient reason, it was thought inexpedient to allocate a seat on the population basis.

In framing constituencies for the representation of special interests, e.g. for Landholders and Commerce and Industry, regard has been had to the standing, importance and influence of the class or association for which separate representation has been provided.

The Government of Bombay are in entire agreement with these principles which have also been generally approved by the Legislative Council and by public opinion. They are satisfied that the constituencies proposed in Appendix I to this letter which with slight modifications explained below are identical with those recommended by the Bombay Provincial Delimitation Committee in their second supplementary report (Annexure G), will be manageable, whether judged from the point of view of their area, or the number of voters or the facilities of communication and that it will be possible for a candidate to maintain effective contact with his constituents.

6. *Distribution of General seats.*—In the Table of seats appended to the Fifth Schedule to the Government of India Act, 1935, 114 General seats have been provided for the Bombay Presidency proper, including the fifteen seats reserved for the Scheduled Castes. In addition to these, five seats have been provided for women and one for the Backward areas or tribes in this Presidency. The Committee has recommended that the seats provided for women and Backward areas or tribes should be reserved in General constituencies and has accordingly proposed a scheme of constituencies accounting for the 120 seats. The total General population of the Presidency to which the 120 seats have been assigned is 16,386,737. This gives a population of 136,556 per seat. The total number of General constituencies proposed by the Committee is forty. Of these fifteen are four-member constituencies, fourteen are three-member and seven are two-member while four constituencies have one seat each allotted to them. The allocation of more than one seat to a constituency is unavoidable by reason of the fact that no less than twenty-one seats are to be reserved. It would be manifestly unfair to allocate a single seat to a constituency and to keep it reserved for a particular caste, tribe or interest. But, apart from this, having regard to the conditions in this Presidency, the Government of Bombay are strongly of the opinion that multi-member constituencies should be established. The reasons are stated at length in paragraph 9 of the main report of the Committee (Annexure A) and paragraphs 27-34 of its second supplementary report (Annexure G) which the Local Government fully endorse. In view of the facts that several important minorities form a feature of the population of this Presidency and that their only chance of representation lies in concentrating all their available voting power on a candidate of their own choice it is considered most undesirable to sub-divide districts into several small constituencies as it would divide their voting power and deprive them of all chance of representation. It is true that theoretically there is much to be said in favour of single-member constituencies but, having regard to actual conditions, the Local Government are unable to recommend the creation of such constituencies. The two-party system is not yet established in this country and voting takes place largely on personal or communal considerations. Small sections of the population can, therefore,

have practically no chance of returning a representative of their choice unless more than one seat is allotted to a constituency. Even large and important sections of the population for whom special representation has not been provided might go unrepresented, if a district is sub-divided into several small electoral areas and their strength is distributed. Also, with single-member constituencies candidates with a merely parochial outlook and of relatively inferior type are likely to be returned and though it is possible to some extent to provide against this danger by dispensing with the requirement that a candidate should actually reside within his constituency it is very doubtful whether, in actual practice, electors would generally favour outsiders as their representatives. In paragraph 13 of their report the Southborough (Franchise) Committee, in making their proposals for the formation of constituencies for the present Bombay Legislative Council, reported that though they contemplated as a general rule single-member constituencies they realized that the special circumstances of the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay might make it desirable to form plural-member constituencies. The Bombay Provincial Delimitation Committee is strongly in favour of multi-member constituencies. Public opinion as expressed in the written representations received and in the Legislative Council is also definitely and unmistakably in favour of such constituencies. The Government of Bombay, therefore, adhere to the view which they have so far consistently taken that in the conditions of this Presidency plural-member constituencies are unavoidable and should be established.

7. Connected with this question is that of the system of voting. The Government of Bombay agree with the Committee that the cumulative system of voting is the only one suitable for this Presidency as otherwise small minorities will be unable to secure any representation. The system of the single non-transferable vote seems to be unsuitable and is not recommended. It does not appear to have been tried anywhere. It has the advantage of simplicity in working but it will not enable the minorities to secure representation as easily as under the cumulative system. If the aim is to establish a system of party Government in this country, there appears little prospect of that hope being realized in the near future so far as this Presidency is concerned. The method of the single transferable vote is too complicated for adoption and appears to be altogether impracticable.

8. The Government of Bombay also agree with the Bombay Provincial Delimitation Committee that, for the reasons stated in paragraphs 5 and 6 of its main report (Annexure A) and paragraphs 10 and 12-18 of its second supplementary report (Annexure G) Bombay City should, in view of its pre-eminent position as the capital and the commercial and intellectual centre of the Presidency, be given some more representation than that to which it is entitled on the basis of its population and that the amount of representation recommended by the Committee is adequate. On the basis of its General population (994,627) the Bombay City and Bombay Suburban District constituency is entitled to 7.3 seats. The Committee has recommended that it should be given 9 General seats. In the opinion of Government this is sufficient recognition of its special position.

9. *Representation of Urban and Rural Areas.*—Another important question connected with the distribution of seats is how the seats should be distributed between urban and rural areas. The Southborough Franchise Committee were of the opinion that urban areas should, on account of the higher standard of wealth and intelligence in the towns, be enfranchised in a substantially higher proportion than the rural areas. The Indian Franchise Committee differed from this view and have observed in paragraph 95 of their report that "the question of the relative representation of town and country in the legislatures will depend upon the manner in which constituencies are delimited, and at the delimitation stage one of the most important matters to be taken into consideration will be the desirability of making the representation of town and country in the legislatures proportionate to the population in each". The Secretary of State in his letter to Sir Laurie Hammond dated the 31st July 1935 has drawn the special attention of the Committee to the importance of securing a reasonable balance between the representation of town

and country in the new Provincial Legislatures. It is, therefore, necessary to examine the question at some length and after seeing to what extent the problem of urban *versus* rural representation exists in this Presidency to solve it in such a way as to secure the interests of both urban and rural areas. The Government of Bombay are of opinion that the problem is one which for its proper solution, requires to be considered in the light of actual local conditions, and should not be considered merely on theoretical grounds. It is necessary, in the first instance, to decide which areas should, in the conditions of this Presidency, be regarded as urban and which should be treated as rural for the purposes of representation and how far they need to be separated so that a reasonable balance may be secured between the representation of town and country. The question has been dealt with by the Bombay Provincial Delimitation Committee in paragraphs 22-26 of its second supplementary report (Annexure G) and the Local Government agree with the views expressed therein. As stated by the Committee the question is a difficult one to decide from the practical point of view, as it is not easy to draw a line of demarcation between what are really urban and what are purely rural areas in this Presidency. Any distinction based on theoretical considerations such as population, or the enjoyment of some form of local self-government would only be arbitrary and will not square with facts. The interests of the Presidency are predominantly rural, its rural population being 76 per cent. of the total population and most of the urban areas which have a population of say 10,000 or over or are municipalities have none of the characteristics which would differentiate them from the surrounding countryside. It would, therefore, be wrong to classify them as urban. The Government of Bombay actually examined the feasibility of classifying all towns with a population of 25,000 and over as urban areas but came to the conclusion that it would be fundamentally wrong to class them as urban as very few of them differ in their interests, outlook and characteristics in any appreciable degree from the rural areas within which they lie. There is far greater community of interest between the towns and the surrounding rural areas in each district than between towns situated in different districts. There is no conflict of interests between the towns and rural areas in a district. They are identical in respect of their problems, outlook and characteristics. It would be arbitrary to classify such towns as urban and inexpedient to separate them from the surrounding rural areas with which they are in constant contact merely for the purpose of forming urban constituencies. The administrative difficulties would also be greater if the urban areas are detached from the rural areas and linked with urban areas in other districts than if they are merged in the rural areas in the same district under the jurisdiction of the same revenue officer. Nor is it feasible or expedient to group together all urban areas within the same district and form them into urban constituencies. It may also be observed that the majority of the members of the Legislature come from the so-called urban areas. By virtue of their relatively better education and advancement, members from these urban areas are better able to represent the interests of the rural areas than any representatives which the rural areas may be able to find. If, therefore, these so-called urban areas are severely separated from the rural areas, the result may be that the rural areas may not be properly represented or may be very poorly represented. The separation may also result in effecting a cleavage between interests which so far have been identical. The Government of Bombay are, therefore, in entire agreement with the views expressed by the Bombay Provincial Delimitation Committee which have also been almost unanimously approved by the Legislative Council and public opinion. There is nothing to show that the interests of rural areas have suffered or are likely to suffer if they are combined with the urban areas. Nor has any desire been expressed by or on behalf of the purely rural areas that they should be separated from the towns which are included in them. The Government of Bombay are, therefore, of the opinion that under these circumstances the only correct method of classification is that adopted by the Committee, namely, to treat as urban and form into urban constituencies only the bigger cities which have genuinely urban characteristics and whose problems and interests are different from or likely to conflict with those of the areas classed as rural and to treat as rural all other urban areas including them



in the rural constituencies but taking care, at the same time, as the Committee has done, to ensure that voters from urban areas will not have a preponderating influence in the election of the candidates. The Committee is satisfied that even if a candidate from an urban area is returned in any rural constituency he will not ordinarily be able to succeed on the urban votes only. He will have to depend on the urban and rural votes combined and will, therefore, have to look after the interests of both the urban and the purely rural areas in the constituency. The Government of Bombay believe that the interests of the rural areas where they may not be identical with those of the contiguous urban areas will be sufficiently secured by this device and that no radical departure from the existing arrangement is required. It may do the rural areas more harm than good. Government also agree with the Committee that the amount of representation given to the areas classed as urban constituencies on the above basis is adequate having regard to the population of those areas.

10. *Maratha reserved seats.*—The Government of Bombay accept the distribution of Maratha reserved seats proposed by the Bombay Provincial Delimitation Committee. They also agree with the Committee that the allocation of seats proposed by the Committee will give adequate protection to the Allied Castes and that no further protection than that proposed by the Committee is needed for them. The question has been discussed in paragraph 11 of the main report (Annexure A) and paragraphs 38-42 of the second supplementary report (Annexure G) of the Committee. It will be seen that the Committee's recommendations have on the whole been accepted both by the Marathas and Allied Castes and by the Legislative Council. The only representations of any importance which have been received are those from Dr. B. R. Ambedkar and Mr. A. N. Surve. In his written statement Dr. Ambedkar has stated that the distribution of the reserved seats for the Marathas and Allied Castes proposed by the Bombay Delimitation Committee does not conform to any principle underlying the reservation of seats. The intention was to ensure a minimum of representation for the Marathas and not to help them to augment their total strength in the legislature. The recommendations of the Committee will have the opposite effect as, under them, seats have been reserved in areas where the Marathas have no chance of getting in. They will thus have an assured chance in these areas and an equally certain prospect of returning their representatives in other areas where seats are not proposed to be reserved for them but where, owing to their numerical strength they will be in a position to win. They are thus guaranteed a two-fold advantage by the Committee. Dr. Ambedkar has, therefore, suggested that the seven seats should have been reserved in areas where the population of the Marathas is the largest. This, it must be said, is not a correct representation of the real position. The point sought to be made out by Dr. Ambedkar has been specifically considered both by the Committee and Government before they formulated their views. The important point is not whether in any particular constituency the Marathas form a majority or a minority of the population but whether in any given area they have a reasonable prospect of returning a representative of their own choice if they wish to do so. The main problem of the Marathas is that even in areas where they form a considerable majority of the population (e.g. in Ratnagiri District where they form 77.6 per cent. of the population), owing to their backward condition, they have no chance whatsoever of being able to return their own representative unless special protection is given to them. The Committee was satisfied that in the areas in which seats are proposed to be reserved for the Marathas it is desirable that they should be represented but that they would have no chance of returning their own representative even though in some cases they form a majority of the population unless a seat was guaranteed to them. It, therefore, allocated the reserved seats in such a manner as would in its opinion best secure the interests of the Marathas and the Government of Bombay agree with it that this is the correct principle to be followed if the special protection provided for the Marathas is to serve its purpose properly. It will also be seen that in some of the areas in which seats are proposed to be reserved for the Marathas though the population of the Marathas and Allied Castes combined is larger than the rest of the total general population of the area

the population of the Marathas as distinguished from the Allied Castes is smaller than that of the Allied Castes with the result that the Marathas may not succeed in returning a Maratha candidate. The gist of Mr. Surve's request is that all the reserved seats provided for the Marathas and Allied Castes under the Government of India Act should be allotted entirely to the Allied Castes to the exclusion of the Marathas. As stated by the Committee any such arrangement would be manifestly in contravention of the specific provisions of the Government of India Act and Mr. Surve's suggestion cannot, therefore, be entertained. Moreover, as explained by the Committee in paragraph 40 of its second supplementary report (Annexure G) the allocation has been so made by the Committee as to ensure that the Allied Castes will have a reasonable chance of returning representatives of their own, if they wish to do so, to some of the reserved seats.

11. *Reserved seats for Scheduled Castes.*—Fifteen seats have been reserved for the Scheduled Castes under the Government of India Act, and the Committee has allotted these seats to fifteen General constituencies. The seats have been generally allotted on the basis of the population of the Scheduled Castes in the area concerned, so that as great a proportion of their population as may be practicable may receive representation. This principle has been departed from in cases where a seat had already been reserved for another caste or interest as it was considered advisable to avoid as far as possible reserving a second seat in the same constituency. Another consideration borne in mind by the Committee in allocating these seats was the desirability of distributing the Scheduled Castes' seats in such a manner as to give the minor sub-castes among the Scheduled Castes, such as the Chambhars, a chance of securing some of these seats. It was pointed out to the Committee by the Backward Class Officer for this Presidency that the minor communities among the Scheduled Castes, such as the Chambhars, Mangs and Dhors live mostly in the towns and that, therefore, it should see that some of the constituencies in which it reserved the Scheduled Castes' seats included the headquarter towns of the districts. There are several sub-castes among the Scheduled Castes themselves who are sharply divided from each other and unless seats are so allocated as to provide representation for the majority of them the result may be that the more numerous sub-caste among the Scheduled Castes may capture the reserved seats to the exclusion of the other sub-castes although by itself it may be in a minority and its own interest may be in conflict with those of the majority of the Scheduled Castes. Most of these sub-castes reside in the headquarters of districts and the Committee has as far as practicable allotted the Scheduled Castes' reserved seats to those constituencies within the districts which include the headquarters of the districts so that the sub-castes among the Scheduled Castes may have a better chance of returning their own representatives. The Committee's recommendations are carefully worked out and are fully explained by it in paragraphs 12-14 of its main report (Annexure A) and paragraphs 43-47 of its second supplementary report (Annexure G). They are accepted by Government except that they do not agree with the Committee's recommendation in paragraph 47 of its second supplementary report (Annexure G) that the Scheduled Castes' seat originally allotted by the Committee to the Bijapur North constituency should be taken away from that Constituency and given to the Kolaba District. The Government of Bombay are of the opinion that as the Committee has generally allotted the Scheduled Castes' seats on the basis of the population of those castes and as the population of those castes in the Dharwar North constituency is smaller than that in the Bijapur North constituency and as the needs of the Scheduled Castes in the Bijapur North constituency are, in the opinion of Government, stronger than those of the Dharwar North constituency the Scheduled Castes' seat proposed to be allotted to the Kolaba District should be taken from the Dharwar North constituency and not from the Bijapur North constituency. The necessary change has been made in the Schedule of Constituencies contained in Appendix I to this letter.

12. *Backward Tribes seat.*—For the reasons stated in paragraphs 15-17 of the main report of the Committee (Annexure A) and paragraph 48 of its second supplementary report (Annexure G) the Government of Bombay agree with the Committee that the one seat provided for the backward areas or tribes in this Presidency should be a reserved seat in the West Khandesh West constituency as the population of the aboriginal tribes is largest in the West

Khandesh District. The feasibility of establishing a separate constituency for these tribes has been examined both by the Committee and by Government and both came to the conclusion that a separate constituency is neither practicable nor desirable in the interest of these tribes. There is no "excluded area" or "backward tract" in this Presidency and the Aboriginal and Hill Tribes, though they are fairly numerous, are too scattered and too separated by language, customs and manners to be susceptible to convenient grouping or the formation of a homogeneous electorate. Government are also satisfied that a system of rotation is not practicable. The Committee has recommended that a special low franchise should be prescribed for these tribes in the constituency in which the seat is proposed to be reserved for them so as to bring a large number of them on the electorate. The following franchise is recommended:— "Subject to the provisions of the Sixth Schedule to the Act a member of the backward tribes shall be qualified to be included in the electoral roll for the West Khandesh West General Rural constituency, if he—

(a) holds in his own right or occupies as a tenant alienated or unalienated land, being land in the constituency assessed at, or of the assessable value of, not less than four rupees land revenue; or

(b) is the alienee of the right of Government to the payment of rent or land revenue amounting to not less than four rupees in respect of alienated land in the constituency; or

(c) was at any time during the year ending on the thirty-first day of December next preceding the prescribed date a person actually performing in the constituency the duties of the office of a Patil or of an inferior village office, whether hereditary or not;

Provided that a person who has been dismissed for misconduct and has not been re-employed shall not by virtue of sub-paragraph (c) of this paragraph be qualified to be entered in the electoral roll; or

(d) is in receipt of a cash allowance or salary from Government of not less than ten rupees per mensem.

The qualifications of candidates for this seat have not yet been fixed. It will be for consideration whether to the general qualifications and disqualifications applicable to candidates for the other seat in this constituency a special qualification should be added that a candidate for the seat reserved for the backward tribes should be a member of these tribes.

I am to add in this connection that the Government of Bombay propose to recommend to His Majesty's Government that the Mewasi estates and the Akrani Mahal which are included at present in the West Khandesh District should, in view of their very backward condition and need for special protection, be declared as a partially excluded area under section 91 of the Government of India Act. As a part of the West Khandesh District these areas have enjoyed the right of representation in the Bombay Legislative Council for the last fifteen years and it is intended that this right should be continued to them under the reformed constitution also. The Government of Bombay understand that the declaration of these areas as a partially excluded area does not *ipso facto* disqualify them from being included in a constituency of the Provincial Legislative Assembly and that the question whether they should or should not be included in a constituency depends on the fact whether they are excluded from any constituency by an Order in Council issued under paragraph 5 of the Fifth Schedule to the Act. The Mewasi estates and the Akrani Mahal have, therefore, been included in the West Khandesh West General Rural constituency of the Bombay Legislative Assembly. They will have to be excluded from that constituency if an Order in Council declaring them as unsuitable for inclusion in a constituency is issued under paragraph 5 of the Fifth Schedule to the Act.

13. *Women's seats.*—For the reasons stated in paragraphs 18-20 of the main report of the Bombay Provincial Delimitation Committee (Annexure A) and in paragraphs 19-21 of its second supplementary report (Annexure G) the Government of Bombay agree with the Committee that under the conditions prevailing in this Presidency the formation of special women's constituencies for the purpose of filling the five General and one Muhammadan women's seats which have been allotted to this Presidency is neither practicable nor desirable

and that the best method for securing the representation of women under existing conditions is to reserve seats for them in General and Muhammadan territorial constituencies. As stated by the Committee the general opinion among women themselves is against the creation of any special electorate and it is not possible to form proper women's constituencies from associations representing women. Mrs. Faiz B. Tyabjee who was co-opted by the Committee as a member for considering the question of women's seats and Mrs. Wilkie Brown who attended the Committee's meetings in an advisory capacity when this question was under discussion were both definitely against the creation of separate women's constituencies. It will also be seen from the written representations received and the views expressed in the Legislative Council that the conclusion reached by the Committee and concurred in by Government has been fully endorsed by public opinion and by the Legislative Council.

As regards the distribution of women's seats the Government of Bombay accept the distribution recommended by the Committee so far as the General women's seats are concerned. Government also agree with the Committee that the Muhammadan women's seat should be allotted to Bombay City and that it should be allotted to that constituency in the City which comprises municipal ward Girgaum in which the wealthier and better educated Muhammadans reside.

Government agree with the Committee that the provision of separate polling booths for women, with women as presiding and polling officers, is neither feasible nor necessary and that the needs of women will be sufficiently met if in those constituencies in which the number of women voters is large and there is a demand for special facilities, women are appointed at each polling station whose duty it will be to assist women voters in every way and separate polling compartments with independent entrances and exits are provided for women within the polling stations. The necessary orders giving effect to this suggestion will be issued in due course. The Committee has also recommended that if the conditions laid down in Schedule VI, Part III, paragraph 9 of the Government of India Act are adhered to and if women are not enrolled unless they make applications large numbers of them will fail to be enrolled and that, therefore, printed forms of application should be left at each house by the village officers or others requiring each householder to fill in the forms and return them. As far as possible the person distributing these forms should get them filled in there and then. Where there is any unwillingness to do so the forms should be left with the householders to be filled in and returned if they care to do so. It has added that it should be rendered possible for women to appear before the enrolling officer and satisfy him about their literacy by reading and writing in his presence and that an application written by a woman in the presence of a village officer and attested by him should also be accepted as sufficient evidence of literacy. The Government of Bombay agree generally with the views expressed by the Committee which will be borne in mind when the Governor's rules under paragraph 20 of the Fifth Schedule to the Government of India Act are framed and when orders are issued in connection with the final preparation of the electoral rolls.

The franchise qualifications for women will be those prescribed in the Sixth Schedule to the Act. As regards the qualifications of candidates for the seats reserved for women it will be for consideration at the time when the Order in Council rules are framed whether it should be provided that only women shall be eligible to fill the seats reserved for them and that if no woman candidate is forthcoming in the constituency in which a seat is reserved for them the seat should remain vacant. The Government of Bombay do not, however, anticipate that any such contingency will arise.

14. *Muhammadan representation.*—In the Table of seats appended to the Fifth Schedule to the Government of India Act, 1935, twenty-nine seats have been provided for the Muhammadans of this Presidency (excluding Sind). In addition to these one seat has been provided for Muhammadan women. The Committee has recommended that the seat provided for women should be a reserved seat in the Bombay City South Muhammadan constituency and has accordingly proposed a scheme of constituencies accounting for thirty seats. The total Muhammadan population of the Presidency to which the thirty seats have been assigned is 1,602,385. This gives a population of 53,413 per seat. The total number of Muhammadan constituencies proposed by the Committee is

twenty-two. Of these two are three-member constituencies, four are two-member constituencies while sixteen constituencies have one seat each allotted to them. The Government of Bombay had provisionally accepted the delimitation of Muhammadan constituencies and the distribution of seats proposed by the Committee in paragraphs 21-25 of its main report (Annexure A). Broadly speaking, the Committee in framing the constituencies has followed the general principles of delimitation stated in paragraph 5 of this letter and has, as far as practicable, allotted one seat to each district giving an extra seat to districts in which the Muhammadans on a population basis would be entitled to two seats. The Committee distributed the seats roughly on the basis of population but gave rather more representation to the Northern Division and the City of Bombay on account of their higher voting strength than that to which they are entitled on the basis of their population and took away the extra seats so allotted from the Southern Division which was given two seats less than it is entitled to on its population basis. It also formed Surat and Rander Cities into a separate constituency and allotted one seat to it. The Muhammadan women's seat was allotted to the Bombay City North constituency in view of its large and advanced Muhammadan population. In the second supplementary report of the Committee (Annexure G) these proposals have been revised and Bombay City has been given six seats instead of five, the Muhammadan constituencies of the City have been rearranged in view of the additional seat given to it, the women's seat has been transferred from Bombay City North to Bombay City South Muhammadan constituency as so rearranged, the Surat and Rander Cities constituency has been abolished and the seat so released has been transferred to Bombay City. The Government of Bombay do not accept these recommendations. They agree with the Committee that the seat originally allotted to Surat and Rander Cities should be taken away as, having regard to the population of those cities, they are not entitled to one seat, but they do not agree with the Committee in its proposal to transfer this seat to Bombay City as they think that this additional Muhammadan seat will give undue weightage to the Muhammadans of Bombay. After a careful consideration of the respective claims of the Muhammadans in the different parts of the Presidency the Government of Bombay are of the opinion that the claims of the Muhammadans of the Southern Division which has not received the Muhammadan representation to which it is entitled according to population cannot be overlooked. They therefore propose that the Committee's recommendations regarding the distribution of the Muhammadan seats should be modified as follows :—

(1) Bombay City should be given five Muhammadan seats instead of six as proposed by the Committee ;

(2) Bombay City should be divided into two constituencies and seats should be allotted to those constituencies as follows :—

Name of constituency.	Class of constituency.	Extent of constituency.	Population.	Number of seats.
Bombay City (North) and Bombay Suburban District.	Muhammadan Urban.	The municipal wards Byculla, Parel and Mahim of the City of Bombay and Bombay Suburban District (excluding Ambernath Petha).	116,512	2
Bombay City South	Do.	The municipal wards Fort, Mandvi, Bhuleshwar and Girgaum of the City of Bombay.	113,505	3 (1 for women)

(3) The Muhammadan women's seat should be reserved in the Bombay South constituency;

(4) the seat released by the abolition of Surat and Rander Cities Muhammadan urban constituency should be given to the Southern Division and, having regard to the distribution of the Muhammadan population in that Division, it should be allotted to the Belgaum district. The proposed modifications have been incorporated in Appendix I to this letter.

15. *European and Anglo-Indian constituencies.*—The Government of Bombay agree with the Bombay Delimitation Committee that of the three seats provided for the Europeans in this Presidency in the Provincial Legislative Assembly, two seats should be allotted to Bombay City and Bombay Suburban District and one seat should be allotted to the rest of the Presidency.

They also agree with the Committee that of the two seats provided for the Anglo-Indians in this Presidency one seat should be assigned to Bombay City and Bombay Suburban District and the other to the rest of the Presidency. As regards the method of voting to be introduced in these constituencies the Committee's recommendation in paragraph 28 of its main report (Annexure A) appears to be suitable. The Returning Officer will send voting papers to the Collector of each district in which European or Anglo-Indian voters reside. The Collector will hold the election at the district headquarters and distribute to each taluka headquarter a sufficient number of ballot papers for the voters residing in that taluka. The voting will take place between certain hours at the Collector's office and at the Mamlatdar's office. The voters will fill in the ballot papers which will be attested by the Collector or the Mamlatdar, who will after the conclusion of the election, send the voting papers by registered post to the Returning Officer in Bombay. The voting in the Bombay City European and the Bombay City Anglo-Indian constituencies will be direct.

16. *Indian Christian constituencies.*—For the reasons explained in paragraph 53 of the second supplementary report of the Committee (Annexure G) the Government of Bombay accept the Committee's recommendation that the three seats allotted to the Indian Christians in this Presidency should be distributed as follows :—

Bombay City	...	...	...	1 seat.
Thana and Bombay Suburban Districts	...	...	...	1. „
Poona and Ahmednagar Districts	...	...	...	1 „

Indian Christian voters in these constituencies will not vote in a general constituency. Indian Christian voters outside these constituencies will vote in a general constituency.

17. *Commerce and Industry constituencies.*—In view of the fact that there had been some divergence of opinion on the Committee's proposals for the formation of Commerce and Industry constituencies and the allocation of seats to them this question has been considered in great detail both by the Committee and Government. As the subject is an important one the Committee co-opted Sir Purshotamdas Thakordas as a member to represent the interests of Indian commerce and Sir John Abercrombie to represent the interests of European commerce. The considerations which weighed with the Committee in making the recommendations which it has made are fully stated in paragraphs 30-37 of its main report (Annexure A) and in paragraph 54 of its second supplementary report (Annexure G). Subject to the observations made in the second succeeding sub-paragraph, as regards the proportion of representation of European and Indian Commercial interests the Government of Bombay accept *in toto* the proposals of the Committee for the formation of these constituencies and the distribution of seats provided for them.

Seven seats have been provided by the Government of India Act for the representation of Commerce and Industry in the Provincial Legislative Assembly. Government agree with the Provincial Delimitation Committee that Commerce and Industry in this Presidency should be represented through their respective associations as heretofore as this is the only suitable method of their representation and that all the associations which have enjoyed separate representation under the existing constitution should be formed into constituencies for that purpose. The commercial and industrial organisations now recognised for the purpose of representation in the legislatures are fully capable of representing the interests of Commerce and Industry generally in this Presidency. Of the seven seats provided for Commerce and Industry, six are accordingly proposed to be allocated to the Associations which have

enjoyed representation for the last fifteen years. There then remains the question of forming a constituency for the seventh seat. The Government of Bombay have no hesitation in recommending that the seventh seat should, as recommended by the Committee, be given to the East India Cotton Association. This Association represents the interests of the cotton trade, probably the most important trade in this Presidency which has been represented up till now by a nominated seat. The Indian Franchise Committee suggested that the nominated seat for the cotton trade should be retained under the new constitution but on an elective basis and the Divisional Commissioners and the Bombay Delimitation Committee are unanimous in their recommendation that the seat should be given to the East India Cotton Association. This recommendation has also been approved both by the public and by the Legislative Council. The Government of Bombay, therefore, agree with the Bombay Provincial Delimitation Committee that the seven seats allotted to Commerce and Industry in the Bombay Legislative Assembly should be distributed as follows :—

Bombay Chamber of Commerce	...	...	2 seats.
Bombay Presidency Trades' Association		...	1 seat.
Bombay Millowners' Association	...	...	1 „
Ahmedabad Millowners' Association	...	...	1 „
The Indian Merchants' Chamber	...	...	1 „
The East India Cotton Association Ltd.		...	1 „

There is one point connected with the distribution of Commerce and Industry seats which is of sufficient importance to deserve specific mention for the consideration of the Indian Delimitation Committee. In the Table of seats appended to the Communal Award seven seats are allotted to the Bombay Presidency (without Sind) and in note (a) to this table it is stated that the composition of the bodies through which election to these seats will be conducted, though in most cases either predominantly European or predominantly Indian, will not be statutorily fixed. It is accordingly not possible in each province to state with certainty how many Europeans and Indians respectively will be returned. It is, however, expected that initially the numbers will be approximately as follows :—

Bombay (without Sind)	...	...	{ 4 Europeans.
			{ 3 Indians.

This note has given rise to a good deal of speculation and misunderstanding. The Government of Bombay are of the opinion that the intention of His Majesty's Government is that the Commerce and Industry seats should be so distributed as to ensure the return of four Europeans and three Indians. They, therefore, in their provisional views on their main report of the Bombay Delimitation Committee (Annexure A) made it clear that they accepted the Committee's recommendations for the allocation of these seats provided it is not considered to infringe the provisions of the Communal Award of His Majesty's Government. They cannot, however, guarantee that the Committee's recommendations with which they are in agreement will always result in the return of four European representatives of Commerce and Industry to the Provincial Legislative Assembly.

Both the Committee and Government have considered the claims put forward by various Indian commercial associations, other than those which at present enjoy representation, to either a separate seat or to inclusion in one of the existing commerce constituencies and they have both come to the conclusion that none of them is of sufficient importance to be entitled to representation in a commerce constituency, either singly or combined with others and that none of them is better entitled to represent Indian commercial interests than the three associations to which seats are proposed to be allotted, namely, the Indian Merchants' Chamber, the Bombay Millowners' Association and the Ahmedabad Millowners' Association.

The Government of Bombay accept the Committee's recommendation in paragraph 38 of its main report (Annexure A) that, for the reasons stated, the

new electoral rules should remove the difficulty in regard to the registration of partners by providing that, in the case of a Commerce and Industry constituency, if the person registered on the electoral roll for the time being in force of the constituency is a firm, company or corporation, any person who on the date on which the poll is taken is entitled to exercise the rights and privileges of membership on behalf of and in the name of such firm, company or corporation shall be entitled to vote at an election of a member or members for the constituency.

The following qualifications should be prescribed for electors and candidates in these constituencies :—

*Qualifications of electors.*—A person shall be entitled to vote in the choice of a member to fill a seat in a Commerce and Industry constituency—

(a) if his name is entered in the list of members, for the time being in force, of the association forming such constituency, or

(b) if on the date on which the poll is taken he is entitled to exercise the rights and privileges of membership on behalf of and in the name of any firm, company or corporation entered in such list of members.

*Qualifications of candidates.*—A person shall not be qualified to fill a seat in a Commerce and Industry constituency unless he is entitled to vote in the choice of a member to fill a seat in that constituency :

Provided that a person shall be qualified to fill a seat in any such constituency if on the date of his nomination as a candidate he is entitled to exercise the rights and privileges of membership on behalf of and in the name of any firm, company or corporation entered in the list of members for the time being in force of the association forming such constituency.

As regards the method of voting and the procedure at election it should be, so far as it applies, the same as is in force at present in these constituencies.

18. *Landholders' constituencies.*—The Committee's recommendation in paragraph 39 of its main report (Annexure A) that of the two seats provided for the landholders of this Presidency in the Provincial Legislative Assembly one seat should be allotted to the Gujarat Sardars and Inamdars and the other to the Deccan Sardars and Inamdars (Central Division and Southern Division combined), is accepted. The following franchise qualifications, which are the qualifications prescribed at present, are recommended :—

A person shall be qualified to be included in the electoral roll for—

(a) the constituency of the Deccan Sardars and Inamdars if his name is entered in the list for the time being in force under the Resolution of the Government of Bombay in the Political Department, No. 2363, dated the 23rd July 1867, or if he, on the prescribed date, was the sole alienee of the right of Government to the payment of rent or land revenue in respect of an entire village situate within the constituency ;

(b) the constituency of the Gujarat Sardars and Inamdars, if his name is entered in the list for the time being in force under the Resolution of the Government of Bombay in the Political Department, No. 6265, dated the 21st September 1909, or if he, on the prescribed date, was the sole alienee of the right of Government to the payment of rent or land revenue in respect of an entire village situate within the constituency, or was the sole holder on talukdari tenure of such a village.

As regards the qualifications of candidates paragraph 12 (a) of the Fifth Schedule to the Government of India Act provides that the qualifications of candidates in the constituencies therein specified shall be such as may be prescribed. The Landholders' constituency is not specified in this paragraph. It is, therefore, believed that the provision in paragraph 12 (b) of that Schedule will apply to candidates in Landholders' constituencies. If so, a person will not be qualified to fill a Landholders' seat unless he is entitled to vote in the choice of a member to fill that seat or a seat in any other Landholders' constituency in the province. The result may be that a person enrolled in the electoral roll of say the Gujarat Sardars and Inamdars' constituency would be entitled to stand as a candidate in the Deccan Sardars and Inamdars' constituency and *vice versa*. This is not the case at present.



The method of voting and the procedure at election in these constituencies should be the same as are in force at present.

19. *University constituency.*—The Government of Bombay accept the Committee's recommendation in paragraphs 40-41 of its main report (Annexure A) that the one seat provided for the representation of University in this Presidency should be allotted to the Bombay University and that the existing method of election in the University constituency, which has been found satisfactory, should be continued; but they do not accept the recommendation in paragraph 56 of its second supplementary report (Annexure G) that the franchise should be so modified as to enable graduates of five years' standing to be qualified as electors in the constituency. In agreement with the Divisional Commissioners the Government of Bombay are of opinion that the existing qualification which extends the vote to graduates of seven years' standing and above should be retained. The following qualifications should be prescribed for electors and candidates in this constituency :—

*Qualifications of electors.*—A person shall be qualified to be included in the electoral roll for the Bombay University constituency if he has, for a period of not less than one hundred and eighty days in the previous financial year resided in a house in the province and is a member of the Senate or an Honorary Fellow of the University or a graduate of the University of not less than seven years' standing.

A person is deemed to reside in a house if he sometimes uses it as a sleeping place, and a person is not deemed to cease to reside in a house merely because he is absent from it or has another dwelling in which he resides if he is at liberty to return to the house at any time and has not abandoned his intention of returning.

*Qualifications of candidates.*—A person shall not be qualified to fill the seat in the University constituency unless he is entitled to vote in the choice of a member to fill the seat in that constituency.

20. *Representation of Labour.*—The question of the method by which representation should be provided for labour is one of great difficulty and complexity so far as this Presidency is concerned. Labour has been represented uptill now by three nominated seats. The method of election has not yet been tried and the difficulties in the way of forming a suitable electorate which would be really representative of labour are formidable. On the one hand while it is recognised that well-organised trade unions provide the most suitable channel for labour representation, the absence of such unions in parts of the Presidency makes this method of representation not altogether satisfactory throughout the Presidency. On the other hand, the difficulties in the way of establishing territorial labour constituencies whether in selected areas or in selected industries or all over the Presidency appear to be so great that the Local Government feel that they must reject any proposal to establish such constituencies in this Presidency as impracticable and undesirable in the best interests of labour. The Bombay Provincial Delimitation Committee has exhaustively dealt with this question in paragraphs 42-54 of its main report (Annexure A) and in paragraphs 57-59 of its second supplementary report (Annexure G) and the Government of Bombay have little to add to its conclusions. When the proposals of the Committee contained in its main report (Annexure A) were published for public criticism the Government of Bombay did not express their own views on them but in view of the importance of the subject and of the desirability of ascertaining public opinion thereon put forward alternative proposals for public criticism. The following extracts from the Press Note issued by Government, No. R-319—III, dated the 9th September 1935, on the proposals of the Committee for labour representation (Annexure D) are relevant :—

“ Government fully agree with the Committee that strongly organised trade unions form the most suitable constituencies for special labour

representation but they are inclined to think that the question is of sufficient importance to deserve further discussion on certain points, namely—

(1) Is it desirable that *all* registered trade unions throughout the *whole* Presidency should be formed into a number of constituencies? Commerce will be represented only by members elected by representative bodies and there is possibly a case, at this stage for similar arrangements being made in the case of labour. Thus labour in the textile industry would be adequately represented by three members elected by registered trade unions in (a) Ahmedabad City, (b) Bombay City and (c) Sholapur City, one seat being allotted to each of these areas.

(2) It has been implied in No. (1) above that a constituency like the "Deccan and Karnatak Textile Labour Unions" covering the whole of the Deccan, Khandesh and Karnatak is too scattered and might be effectively replaced by a trade union constituency in a representative area like Sholapur City if properly organised trade unions existed there. Similarly, the "General Trade Unions" constituency for the whole Presidency might be effectively represented by one or more trade unions for representative trades in a restricted area.

(3) Well-organised trade unions already exist for the textile industry in Ahmedabad, on the railways, and for seamen, dock-workers and Port Trust employees but in the case of the proposed Bombay City and Suburban Textile Labour Unions' constituency and the Deccan and Karnatak Textile Labour Unions' constituency (or alternatively, the Sholapur City constituency), trade unions are so poorly organised that it is a question for consideration whether other arrangements should not be made for the textile industries in these areas till the unions represent more fully textile labour in the areas. At the time the Bombay Provincial Delimitation Committee reported the membership of textile unions in Bombay City and Suburbs was only 5,835 and in the Deccan, Khandesh and Karnatak was only 214 for a single union at Dhulia. There are practical difficulties in forming special labour constituencies but they appear to have been overcome in other provinces and their possibilities seem to require further examination for the Bombay Presidency.

(4) To sum up: if it is assumed that the railway unions are not over-represented by giving two seats, Government are inclined to accept the following trade union constituencies:—

(i) textile labour unions either for all Gujarat or alternatively for Ahmedabad City only—one seat:

(ii) railway unions registered in the Bombay Presidency—two seats:

(iii) registered trade unions of seamen, dock-workers and Port Trust employees—one seat.

For the remaining three seats Government invite the views of the public and public bodies interested on the suggestions for

(a) a special textile labour constituency in Bombay City and suburbs:

(b) a special textile labour constituency in the Deccan, Khandesh and Karnatak, preferably by limitation to Sholapur City;

(c) the desirability of substituting for the general trade unions' constituency either a more limited trade unions' constituency for representative industries preferably in a limited area or a special labour constituency covering the same or similar industries.

Any persons or bodies who advocate special labour constituencies may forward their views to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bombay, Political and Reforms Department, not later than the 20th September 1935. Views are also invited on the suggestion made at (i) above for the establishment

It should be open to the delegates to elect to the Assembly any person who is a voter in that particular trade union constituency, and not necessarily one of themselves, that is, one who is enrolled in the electoral college of delegates.

21. The constituencies for the Provincial Legislative Assembly recommended by the Local Government, the extent of each constituency and the number of seats including reserved seats proposed to be allocated to each constituency are shown in Appendix I to this letter. A statement showing the population and probable number of electors in each of territorial constituencies proposed is appended (Appendix VII).

## *II. Bombay Legislative Council.*

22. Under the Table of Seats for Provincial Legislative Councils appended to the Fifth Schedule to the Government of India Act, twenty-six elective seats have been provided for the Bombay Legislative Council,—twenty General, five Muhammadan and one European. The proposals of the Bombay Provincial Delimitation Committee for the formation of constituencies for the purpose of filling these seats and for the allocation of seats to them are contained in paragraphs 4 to 8 of its first supplementary report (Annexure E) and paragraphs 2 to 7 of its second supplementary report (Annexure G). In framing the constituencies the Committee has adopted the constituencies suggested by the Divisional Commissioners for the Federal Council of State in this Presidency and in distributing the seats it has taken both population and voting strength combined as the basis. The Government of Bombay agree with the Committee's recommendations which have apparently been approved by the public also. They also agree with the Committee in regard to the method adopted by it in paragraphs 2 to 7 of its second supplementary report (Annexure G) with a view to secure that, as nearly as may be, one-third of the members of the Provincial Legislative Council holding seats of each class shall retire every third year as laid down in paragraph 18 of the Fifth Schedule to the Government of India Act. The proposals of the Local Government which are based on the Committee's recommendations will be found in Appendix II to this letter. A statement showing the population and probable number of electors in each of the constituencies proposed is appended (Appendix VIII).

The qualifications of electors for the Provincial Legislative Councils have been prescribed in the White Paper recently issued by His Majesty's Government. The question of prescribing the qualifications of candidates in addition to those prescribed in the Fifth Schedule to the Act is under consideration.

## *III. Constituencies of the Federal Assembly in the Bombay Presidency.*

23. Having regard to the provisions of the First Schedule to the Government of India Act it appears that proposals have to be made for the delimitation of constituencies for the Commerce and Industry, Landholders and Labour seats only provided for this Presidency in the Federal Assembly.

The recommendations of the Bombay Provincial Delimitation Committee are contained in paragraphs 9 to 15 of its first supplementary report (Annexure E.) The Committee's proposals were based on the views provisionally reached by Government.

24. *Commerce and Industry constituencies.*—The Government of Bombay agree with the Committee that of the three seats allotted to Commerce and Industry in the Federal Assembly one should be given to a constituency formed of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce and the Bombay Presidency Trades' Association combined, one to the Indian Merchants' Chamber and one to the Bombay and Ahmedabad Millowners' Associations in rotation. This arrangement will maintain the present proportion of representation for the European and Indian commercial interests in the Central Legislature. The members of the commercial bodies for the time being should be qualified as electors for the constituency comprising the body or bodies of which they are members and the qualifications of electors and the method of election should

generally be the same as those prescribed at present for the Commerce and Industry seats allotted to this Presidency in the Indian Legislative Assembly. [Legislative Assembly Electoral Rules, Schedule II, Part II, Rule 9 and Legislative Assembly (Bombay) Electoral Regulations, Part VII.] The qualifications of electors may accordingly be the following :—

“ A person shall be entitled to vote in the choice of a member to fill a seat in a Commerce and Industry constituency—

(a) if his name is entered in the list of members, for the time in force, of the association or of any of the associations forming such constituency, or

(b) if on the date on which the poll is taken he is entitled to exercise the rights and privileges of membership on behalf of and in the name of any firm, company or corporation entered in such list of members.”

The qualifications of candidates may be the following :—

“ A person shall not be qualified to fill a seat in a Commerce and Industry constituency unless he is entitled to vote in the choice of a member to fill a seat in that constituency :

Provided that a person shall be qualified to fill a seat in any such constituency if on the date of his nomination as a candidate he is entitled to exercise the rights and privileges of membership on behalf of and in the name of any firm, company or corporation entered in the list of members for the time being in force of the Association or of any of the Associations forming such constituency.”

In the case of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce and the Bombay Presidency Trades' Association constituency it may be further provided that if a person is a member of both the Associations he shall be entitled to be registered in the roll and to vote only once. The Returning Officer should be the Secretary of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce. Necessary provisions in the Electoral Rules will be made accordingly.

25. *Landholders' constituency.*—As recommended by the Committee the one Landholders' seat in the Federal Assembly provided for this Presidency may be filled by persons voting in a territorial constituency covering the whole of the Presidency proper as in the case of the present Gujarat and Deccan Sardars and Inamdars, constituency of the Indian Legislative Assembly and the qualifications of electors and the method of election may also be similar to those prescribed at present for that constituency [Legislative Assembly Electoral Rules, Schedule II, Part II, rule 8(2) and Legislative Assembly (Bombay) Electoral Regulations, Part IV]. The qualifications of electors may accordingly be the following :—

“ A person shall be qualified to be included in the electoral roll for the Gujarat and Deccan Sardars and Inamdars' constituency if his name is entered in the list for the time being in force under the Resolutions of the Government of Bombay in the Political Department, No. 2363, dated the 23rd July 1867 and No. 6265, dated the 21st September 1909, or if he, on the prescribed date, was the sole alienee of the right of Government to the payment of rent or land revenue in respect of an entire village in the Presidency of Bombay or was the sole holder on talukdari tenure of such a village.”

The qualifications of candidates may be the following :—

“ A person shall not be qualified to fill a seat in the Gujarat and Deccan Sardars and Inamdars' constituency unless he is entitled to vote in the choice of a member to fill that seat.”

26. *Labour constituencies.*—The Government of Bombay agree with the Bombay Provincial Delimitation Committee that Labour should be represented in the Federal Assembly through registered trade unions of industrial workers only but they do not agree with the Committee that the two Labour representatives of this Presidency in the Federal Assembly should be elected by a trade union constituency covering the whole Presidency. Such a constituency would be unwieldy and may prove unrepresentative of the

interests which really need to be represented in the Federal Assembly. The Local Government think that the interests of Labour will be served better if representation is restricted to trade unions in certain selected areas only. They therefore propose that—

(a) Labour should be represented in the Federal Assembly through registered trade unions of industrial workers only ;

(b) that there should be two Labour constituencies—one comprising all the registered trade unions in Ahmedabad City and the other comprising all the registered trade unions in Bombay City and that one seat should be allotted to each of them ;

(c) that the qualifications of electors and candidates and the method of election should, as far as possible, be the same as those prescribed for the trade union constituencies of the Provincial Legislative Assembly, the system of election being indirect through an electoral college of delegates elected by the unions comprised in the constituency.

27. The constituencies for the Federal Assembly in this Presidency referred to above and the distribution of seats proposed by the Local Government are shown in Appendix III to this letter.

#### IV. *Constituencies of the Council of State in the Bombay Presidency.*

28. In the table of seats appended to the First Schedule to the Government of India Act sixteen seats have been allocated to this Presidency. Of these, seats for the Scheduled Castes and Women are to be filled by indirect election (*vide* paragraphs 8 and 9 of Part I of the First Schedule to the Government of India Act). Proposals for the delimitation of constituencies are therefore required for filling the ten General and the four Muhammadan seats allocated to this Presidency only. The proposals of the Bombay Provincial Delimitation Committee are contained in paragraph 16 of its first supplementary report (Annexure E) and paragraphs 2 to 7 of its second supplementary report (Annexure G). They were based on the recommendations of the Divisional Commissioners who examined the subject in conference in detail. As in the case of the constituencies for the Bombay Legislative Council the Committee has taken both voting strength and population combined as the basis in distributing the seats. In framing the constituencies it ignored the revenue divisions and grouped together contiguous districts, having regard to their population and voting strength, and allocated one seat to each constituency so formed. The Government of Bombay entirely agree with the Committee's recommendations regarding the constituencies of the Council of State in this Presidency and the allocation of seats to them. They also agree with its proposals regarding the retirement of members of the first Council of State as contemplated in paragraph 13 of Part I of the First Schedule to the Government of India Act. The scheme of constituencies recommended by the Local Government is shown in Appendix IV to this letter.

### SIND.

#### I. *Sind Legislative Assembly.*

29. *General Principles.*—The proposals of the Sind Provincial Delimitation Committee for the delimitation of constituencies for the Legislative Assembly of the proposed new province of Sind are contained in its main report dated the 20th July 1935 and in its supplementary report dated the 4th October 1935 (Annexures H and M respectively). In the Table of seats for Provincial Legislative Assemblies appended to the Fifth Schedule to the Government of India Act, sixty seats have been provided for Sind. Of these, eighteen are General, thirty-three are Muhammadan and two are European seats while two seats have been provided for Commerce and Industry, two for the Landholders, one seat has been provided for Labour, one for General women and one for the representation of Muhammadan women. In framing the territorial constituencies and distributing the seats the Committee has, broadly speaking, adopted the following principles :—

(1) Population has been taken as the basis for the distribution of seats. This principle has been modified in some cases where on administrative considerations it was thought expedient to do so ;

(2) a revenue district or a convenient portion thereof has been adopted as the unit in framing the constituencies. So far as the Muhammadan and General constituencies are concerned the constituencies have been so framed that no district as such would go unrepresented in the Assembly and the boundaries of constituencies have been kept within or coterminous with the boundaries of the revenue districts. Within the district the Committee has generally made the boundaries of talukas the boundaries of constituencies ;

(3) the size of each proposed constituency, its physical characteristics, the facilities for communication, the possible number of voters and the possibilities of contact between candidates and voters have also been taken into account in framing the constituencies ;

(4) urban areas have been separated from the rural areas so far as such separation was considered expedient ;

(5) in striking contrast with the principle adopted by the Delimitation Committee for the Presidency proper, the Sind Provincial Delimitation Committee has recommended single-member constituencies throughout ;

(6) separate constituencies have been framed for women with the recommendation that men should not be permitted to participate in these constituencies either as candidates or as voters.

In framing constituencies for the representation of special interests, e.g. landholders, commerce and industry and labour, the object aimed at seems to have been so to devise the constituencies as to make them really representative of the interest for which representation has been provided.

The Government of Bombay are generally in agreement with these principles which have also been generally approved by the Legislative Council and by public opinion in Sind. They are satisfied that the constituencies proposed in Appendix V to this letter which, with some modifications which are explained below, are identical with those recommended by the Sind Provincial Delimitation Committee, will be manageable, whether judged from the point of view of their area or the number of voters or the facilities of communication and that it will be possible for a candidate to maintain effective contact with his constituents.

30. *Single-member and plural-member constituencies.*—The question has been discussed in Chapter III of the main report of the Committee (Annexure H). The Committee is strongly in favour of the creation of single-member constituencies in Sind and the Government of Bombay fully endorse the conclusions reached by it as conditions in Sind in favour of single-member constituencies are peculiarly strong. From the written representations received and the views expressed in the Legislative Council it appears that opinion in Sind is divided on this question. Both the Committee and Government have considered the criticisms received but have seen no reason to modify their opinion. The arguments in favour of single-member constituencies advanced in the public criticisms received are not new and had already been considered both by the Committee and Government before they formulated their final decisions. As stated in paragraph 6 of this report, with reference to the Presidency proper, the question of establishing single-member or plural-member constituencies is one which ought to be decided in the light of actual local conditions. The main ground for recommending multi-member constituencies in the case of the Presidency proper is that such constituencies give a chance of representation to minorities. Minorities in Sind are neither as substantial as in the case of the Presidency proper nor is their problem as acute. As stated by the Committee in paragraph 17 of its report the Communal Award has made necessary provision for the representation of the more important minorities in Sind. Under these circumstances the proper course to adopt, as has been done by the Committee, is to arrange that a minority, when living together, is included within one constituency. The vote of the minority may then be a vote well worth winning. Single-member constituencies seem to offer as against plural-member constituencies, obvious advantages in the conditions in Sind and as no case has been made out for modification of the conclusions

reached by the Committee and provisionally accepted by Government the Government of Bombay finally agree with the Committee that single-member constituencies should be established in Sind.

31. *Representation of urban and rural areas.*—There appears to be some divergence of opinion on the question of urban versus rural representation also in Sind, but the Government of Bombay see no ground for suggesting any modification of the proposals of the Sind Delimitation Committee in this behalf. It is interesting to note that on the general principle of classification of urban and rural areas the Sind Provincial Delimitation Committee has, broadly speaking, taken the same view as the Bombay Provincial Delimitation Committee, namely, that the division should not be effected on the basis of any theoretical considerations but that it should be made with due regard to local conditions and should be so made as to secure in the best manner which may be practicable the interests of urban and rural areas. The observations made in paragraph 9 of this letter in relation to the Presidency proper apply to a great extent to Sind also. The principle followed by the Committee in delimiting the urban and rural constituencies is explained in paragraphs 11-12 of its report. Where the towns by reason of their population and situation lend themselves to the formation of separate constituencies the Committee has recognised them as such, but in other cases where it could discern no such conflict and divergence of interests between the inhabitants of towns and the surrounding countryside as would justify its joining town to town in non-contiguous constituencies it has combined the urban areas with the rural constituencies. It came to the conclusion that in such cases there is greater community of interest between the towns and the surrounding countryside than between towns set miles apart. The Committee has added that it regards stability as a vital element in the new Government of Sind and that therefore it is essential that the country districts should be given their full share of representation.

32. *Muhammadan constituencies.*—Thirty-three seats have been provided for the Muhammadans in Sind. The total Muhammadan population of Sind is 2,830,800 and, therefore, the average population per seat comes to 85,714. The Committee first allotted the seats among the districts on a population basis and then delimited the boundaries of the constituencies in the districts and allotted seats to each of them. Of the thirty-three constituencies proposed by the Committee for these seats two are urban and the rest are rural and all of them are single-member constituencies. Both the urban seats have been allotted to Karachi City. In its supplementary report dated the 4th October 1935 (Annexure M) the Committee has adhered to its previous recommendations except that it has modified its original recommendation in regard to the delimitation of constituencies in the Upper Sind Frontier district in deference to the public criticisms received and has recommended 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. As a result of this modification the Muhammadan constituencies in the Upper Sind Frontier district will be the following:—

Name of constituency.	Extent of constituency.	Number of seats.
(1) Upper Sind Frontier East (Muhammadan Rural).	Kandhkot and Kashmor talukas.	1
(2) Upper Sind Frontier Central (Muhammadan Rural).	Thul taluka ... ..	1
(3) Upper Sind Frontier West (Muhammadan Rural).	Jacobabad and Garhi Khairo talukas.	1

The Government of Bombay accept the Committee's recommendations with the modification proposed in its supplementary report.

33. *General constituencies.*—The Committee has formed eighteen single-member General constituencies for the eighteen General seats provided for the Legislative Assembly in Sind. The total general population in Sind is

10,49,694 and the average population therefore comes to 58,316 per seat. As in the case of Muhammadan constituencies the Committee first allotted the number of seats to each district on the basis of its population and then delimited the boundaries of the constituencies in the districts and allotted one seat to each of them. This principle has been departed from in the case of the Upper Sind Frontier and the Thar Parkar Districts, for the reasons stated in paragraphs 36 and 37 of the Committee's report. Of the eighteen General constituencies three are urban and the rest are rural constituencies. The urban constituencies are confined to Karachi and Hyderabad cities. In delimiting Karachi City the bulk of the minority communities such as Anglo-Indians, Parsis and Jews have been grouped into one constituency so that their voice may be more effectively heard. The Government of Bombay accept the constituencies and the distribution of General seats proposed by the Committee. They do not think that any case has been established by the written statements received or by the arguments urged in the Legislative Council for a modification of the Committee's recommendations regarding the General constituencies in the Thar Parkar District.

34. *European constituencies.*—Two seats have been provided for the Europeans in Sind in the Table of seats for Provincial Legislative Assemblies appended to the Fifth Schedule to the Government of India Act. The Committee had recommended in its main report (Annexure H) that two European constituencies should be formed for the two seats provided for the Europeans, viz., one comprising the Karachi Cantonment and the other comprising the rest of Karachi and the rest of Sind. In the supplementary report dated the 4th October 1935 (Annexure M) the Committee has modified this recommendation and has proposed 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. It has also suggested that the constituencies should be named Karachi and Sind European constituencies respectively. The Government of Bombay agree with the Committee's recommendations. The Committee has further recommended in its supplementary report that in view of the frequent transfers and absence on leave of Europeans the electoral rolls of European constituencies should be revised every six months. The difficulty pointed out is common to the Europeans in the other parts of India also. The suggestion if adopted will entail extra cost and may stimulate similar demands by other communities also. In view, however, of the peculiar difficulties of the Europeans in this connection the Government of Bombay commend the Committee's recommendation for the consideration of the Indian Delimitation Committee.

35. *Women's constituencies.*—The Sind Provincial Delimitation Committee is of the opinion that, having regard to the peculiar conditions in Sind and to the wide prevalence of the purdah system especially among Muhammadan women, the two seats provided for the women of Sind in the Sind Legislative Assembly (i.e. one General and one Muhammadan) should be filled in two constituencies specially formed for women and that the electorate and the candidature in the separate constituencies so formed should be restricted to women only. Men should not be allowed to participate in these constituencies either as candidates or as voters. It has also proposed that the constituencies for both General and Muhammadan seats should be co-extensive and that in order that they may be manageable by women they should be limited to certain urban areas. According to the Committee's recommendations both the women's constituencies will include the city of Karachi and the towns of Hyderabad, Sukkur, Rohri, Shikarpur, Larkana, Jacobabad, Mirpurkhas, Nawabshah and Dadu. In the delimitation of these constituencies the Committee was assisted by two co-opted women members, viz., (1) Mrs. Hatim B. Tyebji as representative of Mussalman women and (2) Miss Thakuribai Lakhani as representative of Women in the General constituencies who were also of the opinion that the constituencies proposed by it would not be too large or too scattered for proper contact to be maintained between the representatives and the electorate. The Government of Bombay accept the Committee's recommendations which appear to be appropriate to the conditions of Sind.



The franchise qualifications for the women voters in these constituencies will be the same as for women voters in the General and other territorial constituencies.

As regards the Committee's recommendation that the electorate in the separate Women's constituencies proposed by it should be restricted to women only the Government of Bombay understand that this is not the intention of His Majesty's Government. In its supplementary report (Annexure M) dated the 4th October 1935 the Committee has stated some cogent reasons why it cannot agree to the participation of men in women's constituencies in Sind and it has concluded with the remark that so strongly does it feel upon this question that it finds itself unable to accept the responsibility of making any alternative recommendation and it regrets that it cannot suggest alternative constituencies. The Government of Bombay are in agreement with the sentiments expressed by the Committee and suggest for the consideration of the Indian Delimitation Committee that, in view of the relatively less advanced condition of women in Sind and of its peculiar local conditions, the feasibility of restricting the electorate and candidature in women's constituencies to women only should be considered.

The Committee has lastly recommended that where application for registration as a voter in the proposed women's constituencies is required it 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. The Government of Bombay accept the Committee's recommendation except that they are not in favour of an application being allowed to be made on behalf of a woman by any person other than her husband.

36. *Landholders' constituencies.*—The Government of Bombay agree with the Sind Provincial Delimitation Committee that the two seats allotted to the Landholders in Sind should be filled in two separate constituencies, one comprising the districts of Larkana, Dadu, Sukkur and Upper Sind Frontier and the other comprising Karachi, Hyderabad, Thar Parkar and Nawabshah districts. Some public criticism has been received on the Committee's proposal for the formation of these constituencies. The main points urged in the written statements received and in the views expressed in the Legislative Council are that a separate seat should have been allotted to the Jagirdars in Sind as their problems are different from those of the Zamindars and that the division of Sind into two Landholders' constituencies will deprive the Hindu landholders of all chance of returning a representative of their own choice as the voting strength of the Hindus in these constituencies is much lower than that of the Muhammadans. These points were considered both by the Sind Provincial Delimitation Committee and by Government when their provisional views were formulated and as no fresh points have been put forward in the criticisms made on the Committee's main report and the provisional views of Government thereon (Annexure J) the Government of Bombay see no reason to suggest a modification of the recommendation of the Committee. The qualifications of electors in the two Landholders' constituencies may be the following:—

“A person shall be qualified to be included in the electoral roll for a Jagirdars and Zamindars' constituency, if he—

(a) is a Jagirdar of the first or second class in Sind, or

(b) in each of the three revenue years preceding the prescribed date has paid not less than one thousand rupees land revenue on land situate in the constituency ;

Provided that no person shall be entitled to vote in more than one Landholders' constituency and such provisions, if any, as may be prescribed shall have effect for the purpose of preventing persons being included in the electoral roll for more than one such constituency.”

As regards the qualifications of candidates in these constituencies it is believed that the provisions made in paragraph 12 (b) of the Fifth Schedule to the Government of India Act, 1935, will apply and that accordingly a person will not be qualified to fill a seat in either of these constituencies unless he is entitled to vote in the choice of a member to fill a seat in either of them.

37. *Labour constituencies.*—In Chapter IX of its main report (Annexure H) the Committee recommended the creation of a mixed Labour Constituency comprising both trade unions and unorganised labour all over Sind for the purpose of filling the one seat provided for Labour in the Sind Legislative Assembly. In its supplementary report dated the 4th October 1935 (Annexure M) it modified its original recommendation and proposed 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. The Government of Bombay do not agree either with the Committee's recommendation as contained in Chapter IX of its main report or with the modified proposal as contained in its supplementary report. They have carefully considered the facts stated in the Committee's report and the criticisms made in the written statements received. In their provisional views on the main report of the Committee they even favoured the establishment of a mixed labour constituency in Sind comprising both trade unions and industrial workers in certain selected areas. On further consideration of the whole question they have, however, come to the conclusion that a mixed constituency for labour in Sind will not be in the best interests of labour. The Government of Bombay consider that as they have accepted trade unions as the proper method of labour representation in the case of the Presidency proper although in the Karnatak there is only one trade union with 214 members they see no reason why the same method of labour representation should not be adopted in the case of Sind also. They are satisfied that special labour constituencies will be unworkable in Sind and they, therefore, recommend that labour should be represented in Sind through registered trade unions of manual industrial workers only as in the case of the Presidency proper. It is stated in paragraph 55 of the Committee's report that labour unions exist in the city of Karachi and that the Port Trust, railway and municipal employees have the three biggest unions and the feasibility of providing representation for labour through these unions may be considered. The qualifications of electors and candidates and the method of election in the constituency so formed may, so far as may be practicable, be the same as in the case of the Presidency proper (*vide* paragraph 20); the system of election being indirect through an electoral college of delegates elected by the trade unions comprised in the constituency.

38. *Commerce and Industry constituencies.*—The recommendations of the Sind Provincial Delimitation Committee for the formation of constituencies for the purpose of filling the two seats provided for commerce and industry in Sind are contained in Chapter X of its main report (Annexure H). The Government of Bombay agree with the Committee that, of the two seats provided for Commerce and Industry, one should be allotted to the Karachi Chamber of Commerce as representing European commerce in Sind for the reasons stated in paragraphs 58—63 of the Committee's report; but they do not agree with the Committee that the other seat should be allotted to a constituency formed in the manner proposed in paragraphs 64—66 of the report, subject to the qualifications therein suggested. In their provisional views on the main report of the Committee the Government of Bombay stated that the two seats allocated to Commerce and Industry constituencies in Sind should be allotted to (i) the Karachi Chamber of Commerce, (ii) the Karachi Indian Merchants' Association and the Karachi Buyers and Shippers' Chamber and they see no reason to modify that opinion. They have carefully considered the further arguments stated in the supplementary report of the Committee dated the 4th October 1935 (Annexure M) and also the written representations received and the views expressed in the Legislative Council on this subject but have finally come to the conclusion that the second seat provided for Commerce and Industry in Sind should be allocated to the Karachi Indian Merchants' Association and the Karachi Buyers and Shippers' Chamber and that there should be no income-tax qualification as recommended by the Committee. The qualifications of electors may be the following:—

A person shall be entitled to vote in the choice of a member to fill a seat in a Commerce and Industry constituency—

(a) if his name is entered in the list of members, for the time being in force, of the association or of any of the associations forming such constituency, or

(b) if on the date on which the poll is taken he is entitled to exercise the rights and privileges of membership on behalf of and in the name of any firm, company or corporation entered in such list of members.

The qualifications of candidates may be the following :—

A person shall not be qualified to fill a seat in a Commerce and Industry constituency unless he is entitled to vote in the choice of a member to fill a seat in that constituency :

Provided that a person shall be qualified to fill a seat in any such constituency if on the date of his nomination as a candidate he is entitled to exercise the rights and privileges of membership on behalf of and in the name of any firm, company or corporation entered in the list of members for the time being in force of the association or of any of the associations forming such constituency.

In the case of the Indian Commerce constituency, if a person is a member of both associations, he shall be entitled to be enrolled and to vote only once. The Returning Officer should be the Secretary of the Karachi Indian Merchants' Association.

The method of election should be similar to that prescribed for Commerce and Industry constituencies in the case of the Presidency proper.

The constituencies for the Legislative Assembly of Sind and the allocation of seats to each of them proposed by the Local Government are shown in Appendix V to this letter. A statement showing the population and probable number of electors in each of the territorial constituencies proposed is appended.

## II. Constituencies of the Council of State in Sind.

39. In the Table of seats appended to Part I of the First Schedule to the Government of India Act, 1935, five seats have been provided for Sind in the Council of State, two General and three Muhammadan, and the distribution of seats for purposes of triennial elections prescribed in part (ii) of that Table shows that all these five seats will be filled for three years only at the time of the first election to the Council of State under the reformed constitution. No proposals are, therefore, required prescribing the method by which the retirement of members will be secured. The Committee has, in its report dated the 21st September 1935 (Annexure K), recommended the following Muhammadan and General constituencies :—

### *Muhammadan.*

- |                  |     |     |   |
|------------------|-----|-----|---|
| 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 |

with one seat allotted to each of them. In framing these constituencies the Committee has adopted the revenue district as a unit and has so arranged the constituencies as to include within each, so far as the local conditions permitted, its due proportion of voters. The Committee was of the opinion that from the select character of the electorate it was clear that the constituencies could not be formed on the basis of population, for the electorate is to represent not numbers so much as status and experience.

The Government of Bombay accept the scheme for the delimitation of constituencies and the allocation of seats recommended by the Committee 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".

The constituencies proposed by the Local Government for the Federal Council of State in Sind and the distribution of seats to each of them are shown in Appendix VI to this letter.

40. The Government of Bombay have also considered the various points mentioned in the Secretary of State's letter to Sir Laurie Hammond, K.C.S.I., C.B.E., dated the 31st July 1935. These points have been fully dealt with in the reports of the Committees and in the foregoing paragraphs.

41. Nine copies of this letter are forwarded herewith.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

**C.W.A. TURNER.**

Chief Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Political and Reforms Department.

## APPENDIX I.

## List of Constituencies for the Bombay Legislative Assembly.

Name of Constituency.	Class of Constituency.	Extent of Constituency.	No. of seats.	Reserved seats.			
				Marathas.	Scheduled Castes.	Women.	Backward tribes.
Bombay City (North) and Bombay Suburban District (General).	General Urban.	Municipal ward Mahim of the City of Bombay and the Bombay Suburban District excluding Ambernath petha.	2	1	...	...	...
Bombay City (Byculla and Parel) (General).	Do. ...	Municipal wards Byculla and Parel of the City of Bombay.	3	...	1	...	...
Bombay City (Fort, Mandvi, Bhuleshwar and Girgaum) (General).	Do. ...	Municipal wards Fort, Mandvi, Bhuleshwar and Girgaum of the City of Bombay.	4	...	...	1	...
Ahmedabad City (General).	Do. ...	The municipal borough of Ahmedabad, the cantonment of Ahmedabad and the notified areas of Kankaria, Asarwa, Ellis Bridge and Sabarmati.	8	...	...	1	...
Surat and Rander Cities (General).	Do. ...	The municipal borough of Surat and the Municipal district of ...	1	...	...	...	...
Poona City (General) ...	Do. ...	The Poona City and Poona Suburban municipal boroughs and the cantonments of Poona and Kirkee.	2	...	...	1	...
Sholapur City (General) ...	Do. ...	The municipal borough of Sholapur.	1	...	...	...	...
Ahmedabad (General).	North General Rural.	The North Daskroi Taluka (excluding the municipal borough of Ahmedabad, the cantonment of Ahmedabad and the notified areas of Kankaria, Asarwa, Ellis Bridge and Sabarmati), Prantij, South Daskroi and Viramgaum talukas and the Sanand and Modasa mahals of the Ahmedabad District.	3	...	1	...	...
Ahmedabad (General).	South	Dholka and Dhandhuka talukas and Gogha mahal of the Ahmedabad District.	1	...	...	...	...
Kaira District (General) ...	Do. ...	The District of Kaira ...	4	...	1	...	...
Panch Mahals West (General).	Do. ...	Godhra and Kalol talukas and Hajol mahal of the Broach and Panch Mahals District.	2	...	...	...	...
Panch Mahals East (General).	Do. ...	Jhalod Mahal and Dohad Taluka of the Broach and Panch Mahals District.	1	...	...	...	...
Broach (General) ...	Do. ...	Broach sub-division of the Broach and Panch Mahals District.	2	...	...	...	...
Surat District (General) ...	Do. ...	The District of Surat excluding the municipal borough of Surat and the municipal district of Rander.	4	...	1	...	...
Thana North (General) ...	Do. ...	Palghar, Dahau and Bassein talukas and Wada, Mokhada and Umbergaon mahals of the Thana District.	3	1	...	...	...
Thana South (General) ...	Do. ...	Thana mahal and Kalyan, Bhivandi, Murbad and Shahapur talukas of the Thana District and Ambernath petha of the Bombay Suburban District.	3	...	1	...	...
Ahmednagar (General).	North	Kopergaon, Nevasa, Sheegaon, Rahuri, Sangamner and Akola talukas and Pathardi petha of the Ahmednagar District.	4	...	...	...	...
Ahmednagar (General).	South	Ahmednagar, Parner and Shrigonda talukas and Karjat and Jamkhed pethas of the Ahmednagar District.	3	...	1	...	...
East Khandesh (General).	East	Jalgaon, Bhusaval, Raver, Yaval and Jamner talukas and Edlabad petha of the East Khandesh District.	4	...	1	...	...
East Khandesh (General).	West	Chopda, Erandol, Amalner, Parola, Chalisgaon and Pachora talukas and Bhadgaon petha of the East Khandesh District.	4	1	...	...	...

## APPENDIX I—contd.

Name of Constituency.	Class of Constituency.	Extent of Constituency.	Number of Seats.	Reserved Seats.			
				Marathas.	Scheduled Castes.	Women.	Backward Tribes.
West Khandesh (General).	East	General Rural.	Dhulia, Sakri, Sirpur and Sindkheda talukas of the West Khandesh District.	3	1	...	...
West Khandesh (General).	West	Do.	Shahada, Nandurbar and Taloda talukas, Navapur Petha and Arrani Mahal and the villages belonging to the following Mehwasai chiefs, namely, (1) the Parvi of Kathi, (2) the Parvi of Nal, (3) the Parvi of Singpur, (4) Walvi of Gachali, (5) Wassawa of Chikhli and (6) the Parvi of Navalpur in the West Khandesh District.	2	...	...	1
Nasik West (General)	...	Do.	Nasik, Dindori, Niphad, Sinnar and Igatpuri talukas and Peint petha of the Nasik District.	4	...	1	...
Nasik East (General)	...	Do.	Kalvan, Nandgaon, Malgaon, Baglan and Yeola talukas and Chandor petha of the Nasik District.	3	...	...	...
Poona East (General)	...	Do.	Bhimthadi, Indapur and Purnadhar talukas and Sirur and Dhond pethas of the Poona District.	3	...	...	...
Poona West (General)	...	Do.	Junnar, Khed, Meval and Haveli talukas (excluding the Poona City and Poona Suburban municipal boroughs and the cantonments of Poona and Kirkee) and Ambegaon and Mulshi pethas of the Poona District.	4	...	1	...
Satara North (General)	...	Do.	Satara, Koregaon, Wai, Javli and Khatav talukas and Man and Mahableshwar pethas of the Satara District.	4	...	1	...
Satara South (General)	...	Do.	Karad, Pakan, Walva, Tasgaon and Khanapur talukas and Shirala petha of the Satara District.	4	...	...	1
Sholapur (General).	North-East	Do.	Sholapur taluka (excluding the municipal borough of Sholapur), Barsi, Madha and Karmala talukas of the Sholapur District.	3	...	1	...
Sholapur (General).	South-West	Do.	Pandharpur, Sangola and Malasiras talukas of the Sholapur District.	2	...	...	...
Belgaum South (General).	...	Do.	Belgaum, Khanapur, Sampgaon and Parasgad talukas and Chandgad petha of the Belgaum District.	3	...	...	...
Belgaum North (General).	...	Do.	Athni, Chikodi, Gokak and Hukeri talukas of the Belgaum District.	4	...	1	...
Bijapur North (General).	...	Do.	Indi, Sindgi, Bijapur, Bagewadi and Muddebihal talukas of the Bijapur District.	3	...	1	...
Bijapur South (General).	...	Do.	Bagalkot, Badami and Hungund talukas and Bilgi petha of the Bijapur District.	2	...	...	...
Dharwar North (General).	...	Do.	Dharwar, Kalghatgi, Gadag, Navalgund, Hon and Hubli talukas and Nargund and Muidargi pethas of the Dharwar District.	4	...	...	...
Dharwar South (General).	...	Do.	Karsagi, Ranabennur, Hangal, Kod and Bankapur talukas of the Dharwar District.	3	...	...	1
Kanara District (General).	...	Do.	The District of Kanara	3	...	...	...
Kolaba District (General).	...	Do.	The District of Kolaba	4	1	1	...
Ratnagiri North (General).	...	Do.	Chiplun, Dapoli, Khed and Sangmeshwar talukas and Guhagar and Mandangad pethas of the Ratnagiri District.	4	1	...	...
Ratnagiri South (General).	...	Do.	Ratnagiri, Rajapur, Devgad and Malvan talukas and Venguria petha of the Ratnagiri District.	4	1	1	...
Bombay City (North) and Bombay Suburban District (Muhammadan).	Muhammadan Urban.	...	Municipal wards Byculla, Parel and Mahim of the City of Bombay and the Bombay Suburban District excluding the Ambernath petha.	2	...	...	...

## APPENDIX I—contd.

Name of Constituency.	Class of Constituency.	Extent of Constituency.	Number of Seats.	Reserved Seats.			
				Marathas.	Scheduled Castes.	Women.	Backward Tribes.
Bombay City (South) (Muhammadan).	Muhammadan Urban.	Municipal wards Fort, Mandvi, Bhuleshwar and Girgaum of the City of Bombay.	8	...	...	1	...
Ahmedabad City (Muhammadan).	Do. ...	The municipal borough of Ahmedabad, the cantonment of Ahmedabad and the notified areas of Kankaria, Asarwa, Ellis Bridge and Sabarmati.	1	...	...	...	...
Ahmedabad District (Muhammadan).	Muhammadan Rural.	The District of Ahmedabad (excluding the municipal borough of Ahmedabad, the cantonment of Ahmedabad and the notified areas of Kankaria, Asarwa, Ellis Bridge and Sabarmati).	1	...	...	...	...
Kaira District (Muhammadan).	Do. ...	The District of Kaira ...	1	...	...	...	...
Panch Mahals Sub-Division (Muhammadan).	Do. ...	Panch Mahals sub-division of the Broach and Panch Mahals District.	1	...	...	...	...
Broach Sub-Division (Muhammadan).	Do. ...	Broach sub-division of the Broach and Panch Mahals District.	2	...	...	...	...
Surat District (Muhammadan).	Do. ...	The District of Surat ...	1	...	...	...	...
Thana District (Muhammadan).	Do. ...	The District of Thana and the Ambernath petha of the Bombay Suburban District.	1	...	...	...	...
Ahmednagar District (Muhammadan).	Do. ...	The District of Ahmednagar ...	1	...	...	...	...
East Khandesh District (Muhammadan).	Do. ...	The District of East Khandesh.	2	...	...	...	...
West Khandesh District (Muhammadan).	Do. ...	The District of West Khandesh.	1	...	...	...	...
Nasik District (Muhammadan).	Do. ...	The District of Nasik ...	1	...	...	...	...
Poona District (Muhammadan).	Do. ...	The District of Poona ...	1	...	...	...	...
Satara District (Muhammadan).	Do. ...	The District of Satara ...	1	...	...	...	...
Sholapur District (Muhammadan).	Do. ...	The District of Sholapur ...	1	...	...	...	...
Belgaum District (Muhammadan).	Do. ...	The District of Belgaum ...	2	...	...	...	...
Bijapur District (Muhammadan).	Do. ...	The District of Bijapur ...	2	...	...	...	...
Dharwar District (Muhammadan).	Do. ...	The District of Dharwar ...	2	...	...	...	...
Kanara District (Muhammadan).	Do. ...	The District of Kanara ...	1	...	...	...	...
Kolaba District (Muhammadan).	Do. ...	The District of Kolaba ...	1	...	...	...	...
Ratnagiri District (Muhammadan).	Do. ...	The District of Ratnagiri ...	1	...	...	...	...
Bombay City (Indian Christian).	Indian Christian Urban.	The City of Bombay ...	1	...	...	...	...
Thana and Bombay Suburban Districts (Indian Christian).	Indian Christian Rural.	The District of Thana and the Bombay Suburban District.	1	...	...	...	...
Poona and Ahmednagar Districts (Indian Christian).	Do. ...	The Districts of Poona and Ahmednagar.	1	...	...	...	...
Bombay City and Bombay Suburban District (European).	European ...	The City of Bombay and the Bombay Suburban District excluding the Ambernath petha.	2	...	...	...	...
Presidency (European) ...	Do. ...	The Presidency of Bombay (excluding the City of Bombay and the South Salsette taluka of the Bombay Suburban District).	1	...	...	...	...
Bombay City and Bombay Suburban District (Anglo-Indian).	Anglo-Indian ...	The City of Bombay and the Bombay Suburban District excluding the Ambernath petha.	1	...	...	...	...
Presidency (Anglo-Indian).	Do. ...	The Presidency of Bombay (excluding the City of Bombay and the South Salsette taluka of the Bombay Suburban District).	1	...	...	...	...
Deccan Sardars and Inamdars.	Landholders...	The Central and Southern Divisions.	1	...	...	...	...

APPENDIX I—*concid.*

Name of Constituency.	Class of Constituency.	Extent of Constituency.	Number of Seats.	Reserved Seats.			
				Marathas.	Scheduled Castes.	Women.	Backward Tribes.
Gujarat Sardars and Inamdars.	Landholders...	The Northern Division ...	1	...	...	...	...
Bombay University ...	University ...	(Non-Territorial) ...	1	...	...	...	...
Bombay Chamber of Commerce.	Commerce and Industry.	Do. ...	2	...	...	...	...
Bombay Presidency Trades Association.	Do. ...	Do. ...	1	...	...	...	...
Indian Merchants' Chamber.	Do. ...	Do. ...	1	...	...	...	...
Bombay Millowners' Association.	Do. ...	Do. ...	1	...	...	...	...
Ahmedabad Millowners' Association.	Do. ...	Do. ...	1	...	...	...	...
East India Cotton Association.	Do. ...	Do. ...	1	...	...	...	...
Gujarat Textile Labour Unions.	Labour ...	The Districts of Ahmedabad, Kaira, Broach and Panch Mahals and Surat.	1	...	...	...	...
Bombay City and Suburban Textile Labour Unions.	Do. ...	The City of Bombay and the District of Thana and the Bombay Suburban District.	1	...	...	...	...
Deccan and Karnatak Textile Labour Unions.	Do. ...	The Districts of East Khandesh, West Khandesh, Poona, Nasik, Satara, Sholapur, Ahmednagar, Belgaum, Bijapur, Dharwar, Kanara, Kolaba and Ratnagiri.	1	...	...	...	...
Railway Unions ...	Do. ...	The Presidency of Bombay ...	2	...	...	...	...
Registered Trade Unions of seamen, dock-workers and Port Trust employees.	Do. ...	Do. ...	1	...	...	...	...
General Trade Unions (i. e. all trade unions other than those specified above).	Do. ...	Do. ...	1	...	...	...	...



## APPENDIX II.

*List of Constituencies for the Bombay Legislative Council.*

Name of constituency.	Class of constituency.	Extent of constituency.	Number of seats.
Bombay City and Bombay Suburban District (General).	General Urban ...	The City of Bombay and the Bombay Suburban District excluding Ambernath petha.	4
Ahmedabad and Kaira Districts (General).	General Rural ...	The districts of Ahmedabad and Kaira ...	2
Broach and Panch Mahals and Surat Districts (General).	Do. ...	The districts of Broach and Panch Mahals and Surat.	2
Thana, Nasik and Ahmednagar Districts (General).	Do. ...	The districts of Thana, Nasik and Ahmednagar and Ambernath petha of the Bombay Suburban District.	2
East Khandesh and West Khandesh Districts (General).	Do. ...	The districts of East Khandesh and West Khandesh.	2
Poona and Satara Districts (General).	Do. ...	The districts of Poona and Satara ...	2
Sholapur, Belgaum and Bijapur Districts (General).	Do. ...	The districts of Sholapur, Belgaum and Bijapur.	2
Kolaba and Ratnagiri Districts (General).	Do. ...	The districts of Kolaba and Ratnagiri ...	2
Dharwar and Kanara Districts (General).	Do. ...	The districts of Dharwar and Kanara ...	2
Bombay City and Bombay Suburban District (Muhammadan).	Muhammadan Urban.	The City of Bombay and the Bombay Suburban District excluding Ambernath petha.	2
The Northern Division (Muhammadan).	Muhammadan Rural .	The districts of Ahmedabad, Kaira, Broach and Panch Mahals, Surat and Thana and Ambernath petha of the Bombay Suburban District.	1
The Central Division (Muhammadan).	Do. ...	The districts of Ahmednagar, East Khandesh, West Khandesh, Nasik, Poona, Satara and Sholapur.	1
The Southern Division (Muhammadan).	Do. ...	The districts of Belgaum, Bijapur, Dharwar, Kanara, Kolaba and Ratnagiri.	1
The Bombay Presidency (European).	European ...	The Presidency of Bombay ...	1

## APPENDIX III.

*List of Constituencies for Commerce and Industry, Landholders and Labour seats allotted to the Province of Bombay in the Federal Assembly.*

Name of Constituency.	Class of Constituency.	Extent of Constituency.	Number of seats.
Bombay Chamber of Commerce and Bombay Presidency Trades Association.	Commerce and Industry.	(Non-territorial) ... ..	1
Indian Merchants' Chamber ...	Do. ...	Do. ... ..	1
Bombay Millowners' Association.	Do. ...	Do. ... ..	} 1 (by rotation).
Ahmedabad Millowners' Association.	Do. ...	Do. ... ..	
Sardars and Inamdars ...	Landholders ...	The Presidency of Bombay ... ..	1
Bombay City Trade Unions ...	Labour ...	The City of Bombay ... ..	1
Ahmedabad City Trade Unions.	Do. ...	The municipal borough of Ahmedabad, the cantonment of Ahmedabad and the notified areas of Kankaria, Asarwa, Ellis Bridge and Sabarmati.	1

## APPENDIX IV.

*List of Constituencies for the General and Muhammadan seats allotted to the Province of Bombay in the Council of State.*

Name of Constituency.	Class of Constituency.	Extent of Constituency.	No. of seats.
Bombay City and Bombay Suburban District (General).	General Urban	... The City of Bombay and the Bombay Suburban District excluding Ambernath petha.	2
Ahmedabad and Kaira Districts (General).	General Rural	... The districts of Ahmedabad and Kaira	1
Broach and Panch Mahals and Surat Districts (General).	Do.	... The districts of Broach and Panch Mahals and Surat.	1
Thana, Nasik and Ahmednagar Districts (General).	Do.	... The districts of Thana, Nasik and Ahmednagar and Ambernath petha of the Bombay Suburban District.	1
East Khandesh and West Khandesh Districts (General).	Do.	... The districts of East Khandesh and West Khandesh.	1
Poona and Satara Districts (General).	Do.	... The districts of Poona and Satara	1
Sholapur, Belgaum and Bijapur Districts (General).	Do.	... The districts of Sholapur, Belgaum and Bijapur...	1
Kolaba and Ratnagiri Districts (General).	Do.	... The districts of Kolaba and Ratnagiri	1
Dharwar and Kanara Districts (General).	Do.	... The districts of Dharwar and Kanara	1
Bombay City and Bombay Suburban Districts (Muhammadan).	Muhammadan Urban.	The City of Bombay and the Bombay Suburban District excluding Ambernath petha.	1
The Northern Division (Muhammadan).	Muhammadan Rural.	The districts of Ahmedabad, Kaira, Broach and Panch Mahals, Surat and Thana and Ambernath petha of the Bombay Suburban District.	1
The Central Division (Muhammadan).	Do.	... The districts of Ahmednagar, East Khandesh, West Khandesh, Nasik, Poona, Satara and Sholapur.	1
The Southern Division (Muhammadan).	Do.	... The districts of Belgaum, Bijapur, Dharwar, Kanara, Kolaba and Ratnagiri.	1

## APPENDIX V.

*List of Constituencies for the Sind Legislative Assembly.*

Name of Constituency.	Class of Constituency.	Extent of Constituency.	No. of Seats.
Karachi City North (General)	General Urban	Municipal wards Nos. I, II, IV and V of the City of Karachi.	1
Karachi City South (General)	Do.	Municipal wards Nos. III, VI, VII and VIII of the City of Karachi and the cantonments of Karachi and Manora and the limits of the Karachi Port Trust.	1
Hyderabad City (General)	Do.	Municipal wards Nos. II, III, IV, V and VI of the municipal borough of Hyderabad.	1
Women (General)	Do.	The municipal limits of the City of Karachi, the cantonments of Karachi, Manora and Hyderabad, the limits of the Karachi Port Trust, the municipal boroughs of Hyderabad, Sukkur, Shikarpur and Larkana, the municipal districts of Jacobabad, Rohri, Dadu and Mirpurkhas and the notified area of Nawabshah.	1
Karachi District (General)	General Rural	The District of Karachi excluding the municipal limits of the City of Karachi, the cantonments of Karachi and Manora and the limits of the Karachi Port Trust.	1
Dadu District (General)	Do.	The district of Dadu	1
Larkana District (General)	Do.	The district of Larkana	1
Upper Sind Frontier District (General).	Do.	The district of Upper Sind Frontier	1
Sukkur West (General)	Do.	Shikarpur and Garhi Yasin talukas of the Sukkur District.	1
Sukkur Central (General)	Do.	Sukkur taluka of the Sukkur District	1
Sukkur East (General)	Do.	Rohri, Pano Akil, Ghotki, Mirpur Mathelo and Ubauro talukas of the Sukkur District.	1
Nawabshah North (General)	Do.	Kandiaro, Naushahro, Moro and Nawabshah talukas of the Nawabshah District.	1
Nawabshah South (General)	Do.	Sakrand, Sinjhor and Shahdadpur talukas of the Nawabshah District.	1
Hyderabad suburbs and taluka (General).	Do.	Hyderabad taluka (excluding municipal wards Nos. II, III, IV, V and VI of the municipal borough of Hyderabad).	1
Hyderabad North (General)	Do.	Hala, Tando Allahyar and Dero Mohbat talukas of the Hyderabad District.	1
Hyderabad South (General)	Do.	Badin, Guni and Tando Bago talukas of the Hyderabad District.	1
Thar Parkar West (General)	Do.	Mirpurkhas, Jamesabad, Digri and Sanghar talukas of the Thar Parkar District.	1
Thar Parkar North (General)	Do.	Samaro, Umerkote and Khipro talukas of the Thar Parkar District.	1
Thar Parkar South (General)	Do.	Mithi, Diplo, Chachro and Nagar Parkar talukas of the Thar Parkar District.	1
Karachi City North (Muhammadan).	Muhammadan Urban.	Municipal ward No. V of the City of Karachi...	1
Karachi City South (Muhammadan).	Do.	Municipal wards Nos. I, II, III, IV, VI, VII and VIII of the City of Karachi, the cantonments of Karachi and Manora and the limits of the Karachi Port Trust.	1
Women (Muhammadan)	Do.	The municipal limits of the City of Karachi, the cantonments of Karachi, Manora and Hyderabad, the limits of the Karachi Port Trust, the municipal boroughs of Hyderabad, Sukkur, Shikarpur and Larkana, the municipal districts of Jacobabad, Rohri, Mirpurkhas and Dadu and the notified area of Nawabshah.	1

## APPENDIX V—contd.

Name of Constituency.	Class of Constituency.	Extent of Constituency.	No. of seats.
Karachi North (Muhammadan).	Muhammadan Rural.	Tatta taluka and Karachi taluka (excluding the municipal limits of the City of Karachi, the cantonments of Karachi and Manora and the limits of the Karachi Port Trust) of the Karachi District.	1
Karachi South (Muhammadan).	Do.	Mirpur Sakro, Ghorabari and Shahbunder talukas, and Keti-bunder mahal of the Karachi District.	1
Karachi East (Muhammadan).	Do.	Jati, Sujawal and Mirpur Bathoro talukas of the Karachi District.	1
Dadu North (Muhammadan)...	Do.	Mehar and Kakar talukas of the Dadu District.	1
Dadu Central (Muhammadan).	Do.	Dadu and Johi talukas of the Dadu District ...	1
Dadu South (Muhammadan)...	Do.	Kotri and Sehwan talukas and Kohistan mahal of the Dadu District.	1
Larkana North (Muhammadan)	Do.	Ratodero and Mirokhan talukas of the Larkana District.	1
Larkana East (Muhammadan).	Do.	Larkana taluka of the Larkana District ...	1
Larkana South (Muhammadan)	Do.	Labdarya and Warah talukas of the Larkana District.	1
Larkana West (Muhammadan).	Do.	Kambar and Shahdadkot talukas of the Larkana District.	1
Upper Sind Frontier East (Muhammadan).	Do.	Kandhkot and Kashmir talukas of the Upper Sind Frontier District.	1
Upper Sind Frontier Central (Muhammadan).	Do.	Thul taluka of the Upper Sind Frontier District.	1
Upper Sind Frontier West (Muhammadan).	Do.	Jacobabad and Garhi Khairo talukas of the Upper Sind Frontier District.	1
Sukkur North-West (Muhammadan).	Do.	Shikarpur taluka of the Sukkur District ...	1
Sukkur South-West (Muhammadan).	Do.	Garhi Yasin taluka and Sukkur taluka (excluding the municipal borough of Sukkur) of the Sukkur District.	1
Sukkur South-East (Muhammadan).	Do.	The municipal borough of Sukkur and Rohri taluka of the Sukkur District.	1
Sukkur Central (Muhammadan)	Do.	Pano Akil and Ghotki talukas of the Sukkur District.	1
Sukkur North-East (Muhammadan).	Do.	Mirpur Mathelo and Ubauro talukas of the Sukkur District.	1
Nawabshah North (Muhammadan).	Do.	Kandiaro taluka of the Nawabshah District ...	1
Nawabshah North-West (Muhammadan).	Do.	Naushahro taluka of the Nawabshah District .	1
Nawabshah West (Muhammadan).	Do.	Moro and Sakrand talukas of the Nawabshah District.	1
Nawabshah South (Muhammadan).	Do.	Shahdadpur taluka of the Nawabshah District.	1
Nawabshah East (Muhammadan).	Do.	Nawabshah and Sinjhora talukas of the Nawabshah District.	1
Hyderabad North (Muhammadan).	Do.	Hala taluka of the Hyderabad District ...	1
Hyderabad North-West (Muhammadan).	Do.	Hyderabad taluka of the Hyderabad District .	1
Hyderabad South-West (Muhammadan).	Do.	Guni taluka of the Hyderabad District ...	1
Hyderabad East (Muhammadan).	Do.	Tando Allahyar and Dero Mohbat talukas of the Hyderabad District.	1
Hyderabad South (Muhammadan).	Do.	Tando Bago and Badin talukas of the Hyderabad District.	1

## APPENDIX V—concl'd.

Name of Constituency.	Class of Constituency.	Extent of Constituency.	No. of Seats.
Thar Parkar West (Muhammadan).	Muhammadan Rural	Mirpurkhas, Jamesabad, Digri and Sanghar talukas of the Thar Parkar district.	1
Thar Parkar North (Muhammadan).	Do.	... Samaro, Umerkote and Khipro talukas of the Thar Parkar District.	1
Thar Parkar South (Muhammadan).	Do.	... Mithi, Diplo, Chachro and Nagar Parkar talukas of the Thar Parkar District.	1
Karachi (European)	European	... Municipal ward No. VII of the City of Karachi and the cantonment of Karachi.	1
Sind (European)	Do.	... The Province of Sind (excluding municipal ward No. VII of the City of Karachi and the Cantonment of Karachi).	1
Jagirdars and Zamindars (Upper Sind).	Landholders	... The Districts of Larkana, Dacca, Sukkur and Upper Sind Frontier.	1
Jagirdars and Zamindars (Lower Sind).	Do.	... The Districts of Karachi, Hyderabad, Thar Parkar and Nawabsbah.	1
Karachi Chamber of Commerce.	Commerce and Industry.	(Non-territorial)	... 1
Karachi Indian Merchants' Association and Karachi Buyers and Shippers' Chamber.	Do.	( Do. )	... 1
Sind Trade Unions	Labour	... The Province of Sind	... 1

## APPENDIX VI.

*List of Constituencies for the General and Muhammadan seats allotted to the Province of Sind in the Council of State.*

Name of Constituency.	Class of Constituency.	Extent of Constituency.	No. of Seats.
Northern and Eastern Sind (General).	General	... The Districts of Upper Sind Frontier, Sukkur, Larkana, Dadu, Nawabshah and Thar Parkar.	1
Southern Sind (General)	Do.	... The Districts of Karachi and Hyderabad	1
Northern Sind (Muhammadan).	Muhammadan	... The Districts of Upper Sind Frontier, Sukkur and Larkana.	1
Eastern Sind (Muhammadan)	Do.	... The Districts of Nawabshah and Thar Parkar.	1
Western Sind (Muhammadan).	Do.	... The Districts of Dadu, Karachi and Hyderabad.	1

## APPENDIX VII.

Statement showing the population and probable number of electors in the territorial constituencies of the Bombay Legislative Assembly.

Name of Constituency.	Population.		Electors.		Number of General Seats.	Reserved Seats.
	Total.	Scheduled Castes.	Total.	Scheduled Castes.		
<i>General Urban.</i>						
Bombay City (North) and Bombay Suburban District.	994,627 (i.e. 871,409 for Bombay City and 123,218 for Bombay Suburban District, excluding Ambernath).	117,967 (i.e. 104,977 for Bombay City and 12,990 for Bombay Suburban District, excluding Ambernath).	237,549 (214,217 for Bombay City and 23,332 for Bombay Suburban District).	13,864 (12,284 for Bombay City and 1,580 for Bombay Suburban District).	2	1 (M.).
Bombay City (Byculla and Parel).					3	1 (S.C.).
Bombay City (Fort, Girgaum, Mandvi and Bhuleshwar).					4	1 (W.).
Ahmedabad City ...	810,940	42,386	74,617	8,798	3	1 (W.).
Surat and Rander Cities ...	128,368	9,690 (for Surat only).	18,580	565	1	
Poona City ...	190,739	27,218	39,161	1,682	2	1 (W.).
Sholapur City ...	108,380	16,811 (municipality including suburbs).	19,883	1,114	1	
<i>General Rural.</i>						
Ahmedabad North ...	497,977	37,658	43,681	1,644	3	1 (S.C.).
Ahmedabad South ...	211,577	28,845	22,067	1,140	1	
Kaira District ...	667,168	37,624	98,717	5,944	4	1 (S.C.).
Panch Mahals West ...	270,881	15,288	18,605	1,190	2	
Panch Mahals East ...	148,179	3,018	10,094	120	1	
Broach ...	268,668	27,789	37,570	3,793	2	
Surat District ...	552,904	80,929 (including Rander).	47,749	3,779	4	1 (S.C.).
Thana North ...	420,074	13,472	19,701	788	3	1 (M.).
Thana South ...	351,989	27,992	40,994	1,970	3	1 (S.C.).
Ahmednagar North ...	537,622	55,906	58,550	4,187	4	
Ahmednagar South ...	364,504	54,580	45,570	4,940	3	1 (S.C.).
East Khandesh East ...	503,713	61,819	58,015	4,222	4	1 (S.C.).
East Khandesh West ...	575,220	69,151	59,102	4,025	4	1 (M.).
West Khandesh East ...	391,953	34,788	40,601	2,785	3	1 (M.).
West Khandesh West ...	340,337	14,941	26,286	1,067	2	1 for Backward Tribes.
Nasik West ...	508,710	71,521	49,393	6,640	4	1 (S.C.).
Nasik East ...	434,929	48,657	35,946	3,180	3	
Poona East ...	391,867	58,775	37,167	4,600	3	
Poona West ...	512,989	54,174	48,579	6,861	4	1 (S.C.).
Satara North ...	321,339	69,905	63,390	6,768	4	1 (S.C.).
Satara South ...	315,608	38,758	69,059	8,548	4	1 (W.).
Sholapur North-East ...	447,565	39,199	42,149	6,502	3	1 (S.C.).
Sholapur South-West ...	249,142	43,499	24,974	2,862	2	
Belgaum South ...	424,618	27,065	56,358	3,873	3	
Belgaum North ...	558,859	72,950	62,311	12,605	4	1 (S.C.).
Bijapur North ...	449,766	69,028	44,211	3,804	3	1 (S.C.).
Bijapur South ...	313,955	23,940	27,340	2,043	2	
Dharwar North ...	550,440	35,483	66,404	2,318	4	
Dharwar South ...	393,806	26,222	41,602	1,440	3	1 (W.).
Kanara District ...	337,198	17,268	37,092	584	3	
Kolaba District ...	597,715	45,751	69,478	4,408	4	1 (M.) and 1 (S.C.).
Ratnagiri North ...	592,256	68,676	32,384	2,437	4	1 (M.).
Ratnagiri South ...	623,525	45,261	30,785	3,091	4	1 (M.) and 1 (S.C.).
Total ...	16,392,902	1,673,896	1,845,620	150,136	120	

N.B.—"S.C." represents Scheduled Castes.  
 "W." represents Women.  
 "M." represents Marathas.



## APPENDIX VII—contd.

Name of Constituency.	Population.	Electors.	No. of Seats.	Reserved Seats.
<i>Muhammadan Urban.</i>				
Bombay City (North and Bombay Suburban District).	116,512	54,089 (49,719 for Bombay City and 4,377 for B. S. D.).	2	1 (for women).
Bombay City (South) ... ..	113,505			
Ahmedabad City ... ..	75,606	15,806	1	
	(municipal area and cantonment).			
<i>Muhammadan Rural.</i>				
Ahmedabad District ... ..	52,160	5,647	1	
Kaira District ... ..	74,482	10,158	1	
Panch Mahals Sub-Division ... ..	85,486	3,740	1	
Broach Sub-Division ... ..	80,502	13,986	2	
Surat District ... ..	66,376	8,117	1	
Thana District ... ..	88,331	4,648	1	
Ahmednagar District ... ..	50,622	5,339	1	
East Khandesh District ... ..	127,102	8,202	2	
West Khandesh District ... ..	89,604	4,327	1	
Nasik District ... ..	56,409	8,289	1	
Poona District ... ..	54,997	5,578	1	
Satara District ... ..	42,765	3,607	1	
Sholapur District ... ..	72,483	8,595	1	
Belgaum District ... ..	98,224	6,216	2	
Bijapur District ... ..	105,499	7,067	2	
Dharwar District ... ..	168,481	9,693	2	
Kanara District ... ..	30,637	2,047	1	
Kolaba District ... ..	31,006	3,739	1	
Ratnagiri District ... ..	86,746	3,810	1	
Total ... ..	1,602,385	192,645	80	
<i>Indian Christian.</i>				
Bombay City ... ..	64,280	10,637	1	
Thana and Bombay Suburban Districts ... ..	59,005	7,082	1	
Poona and Ahmednagar Districts ... ..	47,369	3,020	1	
<i>European.</i>				
Bombay City and Bombay Suburban District ... ..	10,001 (including Ambernath).	2,015	2	
Presidency ... ..	8,027	1,521	1	
<i>Anglo-Indian.</i>				
Bombay City and Bombay Suburban District ... ..	8,731 (including Ambernath).	1,276	1	
Presidency ... ..	5,445	786	1	

## APPENDIX VIII

Statement showing the population and probable number of electors in each of the constituencies for the Bombay Legislative Council.

Name of Constituency.	Population.	Number of electors.	Number of seats.
<i>General Urban</i>			
Bombay City and Bombay Suburban District (excluding Ambernath).	1,095,378	2,610*	4
<i>General Rural.</i>			
Ahmedabad and Kaira Districts ... ..	1,686,812	917	2
Broach and Panch Mahals and Surat Districts ... ..	1,351,956	1,176	2
Thana (including Ambernath), Nasik and Ahmednagar Districts ...	2,682,544	1,063	2
East Khandesh and West Khandesh Districts ... ..	1,810,902	1,157	2
Poona and Satara Districts ... ..	2,247,588	912	2
Sholapur, Belgaum and Bijapur Districts ... ..	2,551,726	652	2
Kolaba and Ratnagiri Districts ... ..	1,818,488	960	2
Dharwar and Kanara Districts ... ..	1,381,247	864	2
Total ...	16,571,541	10,311†	20
<i>Muhammadan Urban.</i>			
Bombay City and Bombay Suburban District (excluding Ambernath).	290,017	460*	2
<i>Muhammadan Rural.</i>			
Northern Division ... ..	422,843	400	1
Central Division ... ..	443,982	172	1
Southern Division ... ..	505,548	203	1
Total ...	1,602,885	1,285	5
<i>European.</i>			
The Bombay Presidency ... ..	18,028	1,096	1

\* Includes electors for the whole of Bombay Suburban District as figures for Ambernath are not separately available.

† Exclusive of 1,390 estimated electors on account of the differential qualifications proposed for Scheduled Castes. Figures regarding their distribution in the proposed constituencies are not available.

## APPENDIX IX.

Statement showing the population and probable number of electors in the territorial constituencies of the Sind Provincial Legislative Assembly.

Name of Constituency.	Population.	Number of electors.	Number of seats.
<i>General Urban.</i>			
Karachi City Northern ... ..	68,497	20,414	1
Karachi City Southern ... ..	66,000	17,284	1
Hyderabad City ... ..	45,187	7,078	1
<i>General Rural.</i>			
Karachi District ... ..	30,682	2,135	1
Dadu District ... ..	51,555	5,424	1
Upper Sind Frontier ... ..	25,611	2,563	1
Larkana District ... ..	81,085	9,884	1
Sukkur Western ... ..	62,979	11,158	1
Sukkur Central ... ..	57,699	10,669	1
Sukkur Eastern ... ..	62,715	7,952	1
Nawabshah Northern ... ..	57,741	7,965	1
Nawabshah Southern ... ..	61,108	7,642	1
Hyderabad Suburbs and taluka ... ..	45,177	5,557	1
Hyderabad Northern ... ..	52,414	8,190	1
Hyderabad Southern ... ..	59,176	4,973	1
Thar Parkar Western ... ..	64,350	5,432	1
Thar Parkar Northern ... ..	68,460	5,325	1
Thar Parkar Southern ... ..	94,558	3,671	1
Total ...	1,049,694	143,411	18
<i>Muhammadan Urban.</i>			
Karachi City Northern ... ..	64,842	11,242	1
Karachi City Southern ... ..	58,005	12,924	1
<i>Muhammadan Rural.</i>			
Karachi Northern ... ..	87,586	6,276	1
Karachi Southern ... ..	103,470	7,571	1
Karachi Eastern ... ..	108,723	13,028	1
Dadu Northern ... ..	103,466	16,974	1
Dadu Central ... ..	95,461	10,235	1
Dadu Southern ... ..	87,912	7,599	1
Upper Sind Frontier Eastern ... ..	97,472	12,543	1
Upper Sind Frontier Central ... ..	56,162	9,045	1
Upper Sind Frontier Western ... ..	80,452	11,538	1
Larkana Eastern ... ..	69,912	10,904	1
Larkana Northern ... ..	87,947	11,223	1
Larkana Southern ... ..	110,598	15,913	1
Larkana Western ... ..	99,085	19,292	1
Sukkur North-Western ... ..	87,795	14,528	1
Sukkur South-Western ... ..	107,343	13,609	1
Sukkur South-Eastern ... ..	90,664	13,366	1
Sukkur Central ... ..	76,047	11,269	1
Sukkur North-Eastern ... ..	78,278	14,867	1
Nawabshah Northern ... ..	65,283	8,507	1
Nawabshah North-Western ... ..	69,386	11,968	1
Nawabshah Western ... ..	101,976	15,297	1
Nawabshah Eastern ... ..	73,271	15,254	1
Nawabshah Southern ... ..	67,890	11,285	1
Hyderabad Northern ... ..	87,729	11,126	1
Hyderabad North-Western ... ..	89,233	12,993	1
Hyderabad Eastern ... ..	81,811	26,948	1
Hyderabad South-Western ... ..	82,333	12,938	1
Hyderabad Southern ... ..	120,314	20,868	1
Thar Parkar Western ... ..	90,853	12,776	1
Thar Parkar Northern ... ..	74,818	11,311	1
Thar Parkar Southern ... ..	80,298	2,617	1
Total ...	2,830,300	417,864	33
<i>European.</i>			
Karachi ... ..	6,576*	723†	1
Sind ... ..		496	1

\* This is the total European population for the province of Sind. Separate figures for Karachi are not available in the Census.

† This is the number of European electors for Karachi City.

## **ANNEXURES.**

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**ANNEXURE A.**

**Main Report of the Bombay Provincial Delimitation Committee  
dated the 11th July 1935**

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**MAIN REPORT OF THE  
BOMBAY PROVINCIAL DELIMITATION COMMITTEE.**

1. We were appointed by Government Resolution No. R. 287-I of the 15th June 1935, to consider provisionally, with reference to the Government of India Bill at present under the consideration of Parliament, the delimitation of the constituencies for the Bombay Legislative Assembly and the Bombay Legislative Council under the reformed Constitution. We were asked in our terms of reference to consider the reports of the Divisional Commissioners on the delimitation of constituencies and to report whether we concurred with the proposals made by them, and to suggest any modifications which we might think necessary. The members of our Committee were :—

The Honourable Mr. Justice N. J. Wadia, I.C.S., *Chairman.*

Rao Bahadur R. R. Kale, M.L.C.,

Sardar Rao Bahadur B. R. Naik, M.L.C.,

Mr. H. M. Rahimtoola, M.L.C.,

Khan Bahadur Abdul Latif Haji Hajrat Khan, M.L.C.,

Rao Bahadur N. E. Navle, M.L.C.,

Rao Bahadur S. N. Angadi, M.L.C.,

Mr. J. H. Garrett, C.S.I., I.C.S.,

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, M.L.C. (resigned),

Dr. P. G. Solanki, M.L.C.,

with Mr. H. T. Lambrick, I.C.S., as Secretary.

2. We held our first meeting at Poona on the 17th June 1935. One of our members, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, M.L.C., was unfortunately unable to attend on this day. As he could not absent himself from Bombay on account of his other duties, he resigned his membership of the Committee on the 19th of June, and Dr. P. G. Solanki, M.L.C., was appointed by Government in his place. Dr. Solanki was not a member of the Committee for the first three meetings, held on the 17th, 18th and 19th June.

3. We had been given power to co-opt a member to represent any class or special interest, when the delimitation of the constituencies in which such class or special interest was concerned came up for consideration. Accordingly, at our first meeting we considered for what classes or special interests we should co-opt members. We considered also the representations received by us from certain special interests, viz., the Allied Castes, the Marwari Chamber of Commerce, the Karnatak Chamber of Commerce, the Deccan Sardars and Inamdars, and certain individuals, asking that they or their representatives should be co-opted. We were of opinion that as the Marathas and Allied Castes were already represented on the Committee by one of our members (Rao Bahadur Navle), it was not necessary to co-opt a special representative for the Marathas and Allied Castes. We were also of opinion that it was not necessary to co-opt a member to represent the Sardars and Inamdars generally or the Deccan Sardars and Inamdars specially, in view of the fact that one of our members (Sardar Rao Bahadur Naik), who is himself an elector in the Sardars and Inamdars constituency of the Northern Division, would be able to represent the interests of his class. We also decided that it was not necessary to co-opt a representative of the Indian Christians. We decided to co-opt a representative of each of the following classes and special interests, viz., Women, Labour and Commerce. With regard to Women, we invited the President of the Bombay Women's Council to suggest the name of a representative and at the suggestion of the Council we co-opted Mrs. Faiz Badruddin Tyabji to represent Women. Mrs. Wilkie Brown also attended in an advisory capacity. After consulting the Commissioner of Labour, we decided to co-opt Mr. S. C. Joshi, M.A., LL.B., to represent Labour. We co-opted Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas to represent Indian Commerce. We also asked

the Bombay Chamber of Commerce to suggest the name of a representative whom we could co-opt to represent European Commercial interests, and on their suggestion we co-opted Sir John Abercrombie. He represented also the Bombay Trades Association and the European Association. We asked Mr. Gennings, the Commissioner of Labour, to be present when we discussed the question of Labour constituencies and Mr. Symington, the Backward Class Officer, to be present during part of our discussion of the question of reserved seats for the Scheduled Castes.

4. We first considered the principles on which the constituencies should be framed, whether solely on a population basis or on the basis of voting strength also, and we decided that, as constitutional reform in India is directed towards the ultimate attainment of adult suffrage, the fairest way in which constituencies could be framed would be to regard the population as the main basis and to take into account other factors such as voting strength, size or geographical position of the constituency, wealth or commercial or educational importance of the electorate, etc., where such considerations are of special importance. We find that the Commissioners have also framed their proposals on these lines.

5. We agree with the distribution of seats between the three Divisions and Bombay City as made by the Commissioners, according to which, out of the 120 seats in the General Non-Muhammadan constituencies, the Northern Division would get 26 seats, the Central Division 51, the Southern Division 34, and Bombay City and the Bombay Suburban District 9. The total Non-Muhammadan population of the three Divisions and Bombay City and the Bombay Suburban District, excluding Europeans, Anglo-Indians and Indian Christians in the special Indian Christian constituencies, is 16,309,634. This gives a population of 135,913 per seat, and on this basis the Northern Division would be entitled to 26 seats, the Central Division to 50 seats, the Southern Division to 36 seats, and Bombay City with the Bombay Suburban District to 8 seats. We are of opinion that Bombay City, in view of its pre-eminent position as the capital and the commercial and intellectual centre of the Presidency, should have an extra seat, making 9 in all.

6. One of our members, Mr. Hoosenally Rahimtoola, was of opinion that Bombay City should get more than the 9 seats proposed by us, in view of its importance and in view of the fact that although the size of the Legislative Assembly has been increased from 114 in the present Council to 175, and the number of seats to be filled by election has been increased from 86 to 175 the representation proposed to be given to Bombay City remains practically what it was. In the existing Council Bombay City has 6 Non-Muhammadan seats, of which one is reserved for Marathas, leaving 5 seats open to all communities other than Marathas and Muhammadans. Under our proposals, Bombay City with the Bombay Suburban District would have 9 seats, of which 1 would be reserved for the Marathas, 1 for the Scheduled Castes and 1 for Women, so that only 6 seats would be open to all the other communities. We have also received a representation from the Municipal Corporation of Bombay asking that 16 Non-Muhammadan and 5 Muhammadan seats should be allotted to the City. We considered this question, but in view of the fact that the Indian Franchise Committee have drawn attention in paragraphs 92 to 95 of their Report to the higher proportion of urban representation as compared with rural and have stated that "the question of the relative representation of town and country in the legislatures will depend upon the manner in which constituencies are delimited, and at the delimitation stage one of the most important matters to be taken into consideration will be the desirability of making the representation of town and country in the legislatures proportionate to the population in each", we decided that the representation proposed by us to be given to Bombay City could not under the circumstances be increased. In coming to this conclusion we were also largely influenced by the fact that in addition to the 18 seats in territorial constituencies (9 Non-Muhammadan, 5 Muhammadan, 2 European, 1 Anglo-Indian, 1 Indian Christian) which we have allotted to Bombay City, many of the seats allotted to the Special constituencies such as Commerce and Labour would also go to Bombay City. Six of the Commerce and Industry seats have been allotted to commercial and industrial associations of Bombay City, and 5 out of the 7 Labour seats would also go to Bombay. Bombay would therefore have about 29 members in the Assembly representing the different sections of its population and its commercial interests. We consider that this representation is quite adequate.

## DISTRIBUTION OF GENERAL SEATS.

7. There are 120 general seats to be distributed between the 19 districts of the Presidency and Bombay City. We have included the Backward Area seat as a reserved seat in a general constituency because, for reasons which will be explained later, we are not in favour of forming a separate Backward Area constituency.

8. In deciding upon the number of seats which should be given to purely urban constituencies, we have borne in mind the recommendations of the Indian Franchise Committee referred to in paragraph 6. According to our proposals out of the 158 territorial seats 131 will go to rural constituencies (104 Non-Muhammadan, 23 Muhammadan, 1 European, 1 Anglo-Indian, 2 Indian Christian) and 27 will be urban (16 Non-Muhammadan, 7 Muhammadan, 2 European, 1 Anglo-Indian, 1 Indian Christian). The urban seats are thus 17 per cent. of the total and the rural 83 per cent. The urban population of the Presidency is 22.1 per cent. In the present Council out of a total of 75 elective seats in general constituencies 17, or 23 per cent. are urban and 58, or 77 per cent. rural. If only the urban population (Non-Muhammadan and Muhammadan of the urban constituencies) is taken into consideration it is 10 per cent. of the total, and it gets 17 per cent. of the seats. The urban populations of the smaller towns which have been included in rural constituencies will in most cases be outnumbered by the population and voting strength of the surrounding rural areas in which they are included.

9. The Commissioners have divided Bombay City into 4 constituencies. They have divided 9 districts into 2 constituencies each and 10 into 3 constituencies each. We are strongly of opinion that it is undesirable to sub-divide districts into several small constituencies. The disadvantages of small constituencies, especially under the conditions which prevail in this Presidency, are obvious. Small constituencies mean necessarily fewer seats per constituency. Where there are several minorities such as Jains, Indian Christians, Jews, Parsis who are unprotected, i.e., for whom no seats are reserved, the only way in which they can get a chance of securing the election of a candidate of their choice is to provide plural member constituencies with the right of cumulative voting. This system is necessary even for the Marathas and Scheduled Castes in constituencies in which no seats are reserved for them. Plural member constituencies can only be formed if the constituencies are fairly large. Many of the constituencies which the Commissioners have provided are 2 member constituencies. Such constituencies give very little protection to minorities. The position is much worse where there are 2 member constituencies with 1 seat reserved. There are 10 such in the Commissioners' proposals including 3 out of the 4 Bombay City constituencies. In such constituencies the unprotected minorities have absolutely no chance of securing representation, as the majority communities would capture the first seat and the second seat would go to the protected minority. The privilege of cumulative voting given to minorities would thus be rendered nugatory. The Commissioners have recommended the splitting up of districts into 2 and 3 constituencies largely on the ground that candidates would find large constituencies unwieldy and difficult to canvass. In our opinion this inconvenience has been overestimated. We may point out that the present Non-Muhammadan constituencies, which are all District constituencies, have not been found inconveniently large by candidates, and, as far as we are aware, no complaints have been received from candidates that they are too large to canvass or that they increase unduly the expenses of electioneering. Means of communication within the districts have been steadily improving during the last few years owing to the increase of motor traffic, and the objections to large constituencies on the ground of difficulty of communications do not now exist to the same extent as before. In their letter to the Commissioners, No. 191 of the 13th April 1933 (Appendix I, paragraph 15), Government have themselves pointed out that "the existing scheme which is based on the district as the unit has on the whole been found satisfactory". They have also pointed out in the same letter (Appendix I, paragraph 14), that very small constituencies mean more cost to Government and unduly restrict the field for selection of candidates, with the result that candidates of superior calibre are not always available.



10. In paragraph 6 of the letter referred to above, while expressing the opinion that multi-membered constituencies should as a rule be formed, Government have stated that "the practical difficulty of conducting an election to a multi-membered constituency necessitates the limitation of the number of seats to a number not exceeding 3". In consequence of this opinion of Government, the Commissioners have not allotted more than 3 seats to any constituency. We are unanimously and emphatically of opinion that although the difficulty of conducting an election increases with the number of seats, it will be possible to make adequate arrangements for conducting elections to constituencies having up to four seats. We consider that this is the maximum number of seats which can safely be included in one constituency. The difficulty arises from the length of the ballot paper which will on an average contain three names for every seat and where there is a Scheduled Caste seat reserved there will normally be four names for that seat. For these reasons we have rearranged the constituencies so as to reduce their number and increase the seats allotted to each. We have avoided splitting up any district into more than two constituencies and in the case of small districts like Surat (rural), Broach, Kaira, Kanara and Kolaba where the area and population are small, we have formed the whole district into a single constituency. We have transferred one seat from the Kaira District to the Surat District as the population of the Surat District including Surat City entitles it to five seats. Kaira District in addition to 4 general seats will also share one Indian Christian seat with the Ahmedabad District. We have divided Bombay City into three constituencies only with one reserved seat in each.

#### DISTRIBUTION OF MARATHA RESERVED SEATS.

11. The 7 seats reserved for Marathas have been allotted by the Commissioners to the districts of Thana, East Khandesh, West Khandesh, Belgaum, Bijapur, Dharwar and Kolaba. We have appended to this report a statement No. (I) which gives the figures of the population of Marathas and Allied Castes in each of the districts in which seats are at present reserved for Marathas and in those in which the Commissioners have proposed reservation. It will be seen from this statement that in two of the districts in which the Commissioners have proposed reservation, viz., Bijapur and Dharwar, the Maratha and Allied Caste population is only 22·9 per cent. and 20·4 per cent. of the total. Even these percentages are due to the inclusion among the Allied Castes of 122,000 Kurubs in Bijapur and 106,000 in Dharwar. Dhangars in the Deccan are an "Allied Caste". But the Kurubs of the Karnatak districts are not Dhangars at all. A reference to Enthoven's "*Tribes and Castes of Bombay*" shows that the Kurubs of Bijapur, Dharwar and Belgaum have no connection with the Dhangars of the Marathi speaking districts. Many of them are Lingayats by religion and do not speak Marathi. They follow the same occupation as Dhangars (shepherds) and on this account, and because in the census reports there is a single column for Dhangars, Kurubs and Bharwads, the Commissioners have included Kurubs as an Allied Caste. In our opinion, neither the Kurubs of the Karnatak districts nor the Bharwads of Gujarat can rightly be classed as "Allied Castes" for the purpose of the reserved seats. If the figures for Kurubs are excluded from the Maratha and Allied Caste population, Bijapur would have only 7 per cent. of Marathas and Allied Castes and Dharwar 9 per cent. We therefore think that neither of these districts is entitled to have a seat reserved for Marathas. In Bombay City and the Bombay Suburban District the Marathas and Allied Castes number about 453,000 and form 45 per cent. of the population. We consider that a seat should be reserved for them in one of the Bombay constituencies where their numbers are largest, and where, owing to the competition of candidates from wealthier and more advanced communities, Maratha candidates may not be able to succeed. We have also allotted a Maratha reserved seat to the Ratnagiri District, where the Marathas form 77·6 per cent. of the population but are not able to ensure the election of their own candidates. The figures given by the Commissioners in their letter No. A.D.M. 1/66 (c) of the 19th June 1933, show that in the District Local Board elections in Ratnagiri, they were able to capture only half the number of seats to which on their population strength they were entitled. The position is the same in the Kolaba District where they form 71·7 per cent. of the population but were unable in the District Local Board elections to capture even half the number of seats to which they were entitled. We have kept

the Maratha reserved seats in the Thana, East Khandesh, West Khandesh and Belgaum districts as proposed by the Commissioners.

#### RESERVED SEATS FOR SCHEDULED CASTES.

12. The Commissioners have allotted the Scheduled Castes reserved seats to Bombay City and the three Divisions in proportion to their population, and have then distributed the seats to the districts in which the Scheduled Castes population is largest. They have allotted 2 seats to Bombay City. As they had divided the City into four constituencies, it was possible for them to allot 2 Scheduled Castes seats and 2 Women's seats to Bombay City, one to each of the four constituencies. We have, however, for reasons which we have already given, divided Bombay City into only three constituencies. We have also found it necessary, in view of the large Maratha and Allied Castes population in the City to allot one Maratha seat to Bombay City. As it is not desirable to have more than one reserved seat in a constituency, and as it is necessary to allot at least one of the five Non-Muhammadan Women's seats to Bombay City, we have not found it possible to allot more than one Scheduled Castes seat to Bombay City.

13. No Scheduled Castes seat has been allotted by the Commissioners to the Surat District. The Scheduled Castes population in the Surat District is over 40,000 and is comparatively better educated and more advanced than in other districts. We have, therefore, thought it desirable to allot one seat to the Surat District. The Commissioners have also not allotted any Scheduled Castes seat to the Dharwar District. There is a fairly large Scheduled Castes population in that district, over 61,000, and Mr. Symington, Special Officer for the Backward Classes, who was present during our discussions about the allotment of the Scheduled Castes seats, pressed upon us the desirability of allotting one Scheduled Castes seat to this district in view of the fact that the Scheduled Caste movement was well organised in Dharwar, its virtual headquarters, with its institutions and schools, and the District would be able to supply really good candidates. We have, therefore, allotted one Scheduled Castes seat to the Dharwar District.

14. The Commissioners have allotted one Scheduled Castes seat to the Kolaba District. They have pointed out that the selection of Kolaba was an exception to the principle which they had generally followed of allotting the seat where the Scheduled Castes population was largest. They allotted no Scheduled Castes seat to the Dharwar District, where the population was 61,000 and gave the seat instead to the Kolaba District where the population was only 45,000. Their reason was that according to their proposals 7 general seats were assigned to the Dharwar District, of which 1 was reserved for Women and 1 for the Marathas, and they did not consider it advisable to have as many as 3 reserved seats in that district. For reasons which we have stated elsewhere, we have taken away the Maratha reserved seat from the Dharwar District. The objection of the Commissioners to the allocation of a Scheduled Castes seat to Dharwar District does not, therefore, remain. We consider that the interests of the Scheduled Castes of the Kolaba District will be adequately looked after by the Scheduled Castes representatives from the adjoining districts of Ratnagiri and Thana. We have, therefore, taken away the Scheduled Castes seat from the Kolaba District and allotted it to the Dharwar District. We agree with the proposals of the Commissioners about the allocation of the remaining Scheduled Castes seats.

#### THE BACKWARD TRIBES SEAT.

15. One seat has been kept for a representative of the Backward Tribes in this Presidency. The district which has the largest population of Aboriginal and Hill Tribes is West Khandesh, where the population of such tribes is over 281,000; Surat comes next with 268,000 and Thana with 235,000. It would not, in our opinion, be possible to combine the backward areas of these three districts into a single constituency, as West Khandesh, which has the largest population of such classes, is entirely cut off from the other two areas. The only practicable method, therefore, seems to us to be to assign the seat to West Khandesh alone, as suggested by the Commissioners, and to reserve a seat for the Aboriginal and Hill Tribes in the constituency of the West Khandesh District, which has the largest population of such tribes. This would be the constituency formed of the Nandurbar and Taloda Talukas and the Navapur Petha. According to Schedule V, paragraph 10, of the Government of India Bill as amended in

Committee, it is permissible to include the Backward Tribes seat as an additional general seat to be reserved for a representative of the Aboriginal and Hill Tribes. We agree with the Commissioners that it is not practicable to provide for the election of the representative by caste panchayats of the Aboriginal and Hill Tribes, as such panchayats do not command general confidence.

16. We are not in favour of the alternative proposal of the Commissioners to form a Special Constituency in the West Khandesh District solely for the Aboriginal Tribes. We think that association with the general population will be to their advantage. We have proposed that the West Khandesh District should be divided into two constituencies only, West Khandesh East and West Khandesh West each with 3 seats, and in the latter constituency consisting of the talukas of Shahada, Taloda, Nandurbar and Navapur, one seat should be reserved for the Aboriginal Tribes. We do not think it is necessary to have a primary election for electing a panel of Aboriginal Tribes candidates.

17. There should we think be a special low franchise for these tribes so as to bring a large number of them on the electorate. We agree with the franchise proposed by the Commissioners under which all occupants and tenants paying revenue or rent of lands assessed at Rs. 4, and all officiating patils and inferior village servants belonging to these classes, would be enrolled, in addition to those who would be enrolled under the general qualifications applicable to all.

#### WOMEN'S SEATS.

18. We consider that under the conditions prevailing in this presidency the formation of special women's constituencies for the filling of the six seats which have been allotted to women is neither practicable nor desirable. The general opinion among women themselves is against the creation of any special electorate. The Indian Franchise Committee have pointed out in paragraph 218 of their report (Volume I, page 85) that "the All-India Women's Conference were opposed to the granting of any special facilities and wished women to be returned 'by the open door of competition,'" and that "the feeling among women witnesses against any separate or sectional electorate was very strong". They said that they respected this opinion, but felt that in some provinces the social difficulties of a woman canvassing the votes of men may be insuperable for a few years. After considering the various methods suggested for the filling of the women's seats, the committee themselves said that they were inclined to prefer the method by which seats would be reserved for women in constituencies, urban or rural, formed for the purpose and containing both men and women. Mrs. Faiz B. Tyabjee, who was co-opted by us as a member of our committee for considering the question of women's seats, and Mrs. Wilkie Brown, who attended in a advisory capacity, were both definitely against the creation of separate women's constituencies, and strongly supported the proposal of the Commissioners that the six women's seats should be reserved seats in ordinary territorial constituencies, Muhammadan and Non-Muhammadan. With the exception of one of our members, Khan Bahadur Abdul Latif, who favours separate constituencies, as being more convenient for women candidates, we are all of opinion that the best method for securing the representation of women would be the reservation of seats for them in general territorial constituencies. We do not think it is possible to form proper women's constituencies from associations representing women. As has been pointed out by the Commissioners, the existing women's associations are not sufficiently organised or sufficiently representative of the general interests of women in rural as well as urban areas to justify the allotment of any seats to them. We would also point out that there is no Muslim women's association at all. The only practicable method, and the one which has the support of women themselves, is the reservation of seats in ordinary territorial constituencies. Under the conditions which prevail in this Presidency, we do not think that the social difficulties of a woman canvassing the votes of men are such as to deter suitable women from standing for election. We may point out that women have already been elected to municipal bodies in Bombay City and in many of the mofussil towns. We have, therefore, proposed that the five Non-Muhammadan women's seats should be reserved, 3 in urban areas and 2 in rural areas. Of the 3 urban seats, we have allotted 1 to Bombay City, 1 to Ahmedabad City and 1 to Poona City. The

Commissioners had proposed that 2 seats should be allotted to Bombay City. We have divided Bombay City into three constituencies, and one seat has been reserved for the Scheduled Castes and one for the Marathas. It is not, therefore, possible to allot more than one women's seat to Bombay City without breaking the rule of not reserving more than one seat in each constituency. We also think that it would not be fair in a city of the size and importance of Bombay to reserve more than 3 out of the 9 seats allotted to the city. We have, therefore, allotted only one women's seat to Bombay City. The other 2 seats we have allotted to rural areas, 1 to the Dharwar district, as proposed by the Commissioners, and 1 to the Satara district. It is desirable that at least one of the women's seats should go to the Kanarese-speaking districts, and the Dharwar district appears to us to be the most suitable. We would have preferred to allot women's seats to the Dharwar North and Satara North constituencies, which include Dharwar and Satara Towns but as it was necessary to reserve Scheduled Castes seats in these constituencies we have been compelled to allot the women's seats to the Dharwar South and Satara South constituencies. As there is to be no residential qualification for candidates, it will be possible for a woman from Dharwar Town or Satara Town to stand for these constituencies. The Muhammadan woman's seat has been allotted by us to the Muhammadan constituency of Bombay City (North). We should like to mention that the distribution of seats proposed by us was agreed to by Mrs. Tyabjee and Mrs. Wilkie Brown.

19. We have considered the question of separate polling arrangements for women and are of opinion that the provision of separate polling booths for women, with women as presiding and polling officers, is neither feasible nor absolutely necessary. Many of our members have considerable doubts whether it would be possible to get suitable women to work as presiding officers. We realise that unless special facilities are provided for women voters it is likely that many women, especially Muhammadan, will refrain from going to the polls. But we think that their needs can be sufficiently met if it is provided that, wherever the number of women voters is large and there is a demand for such special facilities, women should be appointed at each polling station, whose duty it would be to assist women voters in every way, and that separate polling compartments, with independent entrances and exits, should be provided for women within the polling stations. One of the reasons which has led us to the conclusion that separate polling stations for women would not be feasible is that arrangements would have to be made for identifying women voters before the presiding officer, and the husbands or male relatives would ordinarily be the best persons to satisfy the presiding officers of the identity of a woman voter. We also think that in most cases women would prefer to go to the polling stations in the company of their male relatives.

20. Under the provisions of Schedule VI, Part III, paragraph 9 of the Government of India Bill a woman possessing the educational qualification mentioned in paragraph 4, or the additional qualifications mentioned in paragraph 6, will not be included in the electoral roll for any territorial constituency unless she or somebody on her behalf makes an application in the prescribed manner. We are of opinion that if women possessing these qualifications are not enrolled unless they make an application, very few of such women will be enrolled. If these qualifications, which have been specially designed to increase the women's electorate, are to have any beneficial results we think it is necessary that some steps should be taken to facilitate the enrolment of women. We would suggest that printed forms of application should be left at each house by the village officers or others, requiring each householder to fill in the forms and return them. As far as possible the persons distributing these forms should get them filled in there and then. Where there is any unwillingness to do so the forms may be left with the householders to be filled in and returned if they liked to do so. This would, in our opinion, facilitate applications being made. We think it should also be rendered possible for women to appear before the enrolling officer and satisfy him about their literacy by reading and writing in his presence. An application written by a woman in the presence of a village officer and attested by him should also be accepted as sufficient evidence of literacy.

MUHAMMADAN REPRESENTATION.

21. We are in entire agreement with the proposals made by the Commissioners for the distribution of the 30 seats allotted to Muhammadans between the 3 Divisions and Bombay City. The total Muhammadan population of the Presidency is 1,602,385. This means roughly one seat for a population of 53,413 : and on that basis, the Northern Division with a population of 422,253 would be entitled to 8 (7·9) seats, the Central Division with a population of 443,982 would be entitled to 8 (8·3) seats, the Southern Division with a population of 505,543 would be entitled to 10 (9·5) seats, and Bombay City and the Bombay Suburban District with a population of 230,607 would be entitled to 4 (4·3) seats. Although the Northern Division has a smaller Muhammadan population than the other two Divisions, the estimated voting strength (89,141) on the proposed franchise is considerably higher than that in the other two Divisions combined (C. D. 50,931 and S. D. 30,612). The Muhammadan population of the Northern Division is more urban in character and better educated and more prosperous than in the other two Divisions. We therefore agree with the Commissioners that, taking these special circumstances into consideration, the Muhammadans of the Northern Division should be given one more seat than they are entitled to on the strict population basis. Bombay City, in view of its importance and the fact that it has a very large and wealthy Muhammadan population containing important trading communities should, in our opinion also be entitled to a slightly larger representation than would be its due on the population basis. We therefore agree with the Commissioners that the Northern Division should be given 9 seats instead of 8, and Bombay City 5 seats instead of 4, the 2 seats so added being taken from the Southern Division which should be given 8 seats instead of 10. The Central Division should get 8 seats. Although the Muhammadan population in the Southern Division is large, their estimated voting strength is very low, and in point of education and wealth the Muhammadans of the Southern Division are not as advanced as those of the other two Divisions or of Bombay City. In giving an extra seat to the Muhammadans of Bombay City and the Bombay Suburban District we have also taken into consideration the fact that one of these 5 seats will be reserved for women. The Commissioners have divided Bombay City into two constituencies for the purposes of Muhammadan representation, Bombay City North and the Bombay Suburban District, to which they have allotted 3 seats, one of them being reserved for women, and Bombay City South to which they have allotted 2 seats. We agree with this proposal.

22. In the present Council, the Muhammadans of Ahmedabad and Surat Cities are entitled to one urban seat and those of Poona and Sholapur Cities to another. On general grounds we are not in favour of including in one constituency cities included in different Districts and situated so far apart (151 miles) as Poona and Sholapur. The Muhammadan population of each of these cities separately is not large enough (Poona 15,098 and Sholapur 27,244) to entitle each of them to a separate urban seat. Although the population of Sholapur is large, the Muhammadans of that city are poor and educationally backward. We have therefore proposed, as recommended by the Commissioners, that they should be included in the rural constituencies of their respective districts.

23. The Muhammadan population of Ahmedabad City is 74,790 and on the basis of one seat for every 53,413 people the Muhammadans of Ahmedabad City are entitled to be formed into a separate constituency. The Muhammadan population of Surat City is 30,612 and that of Rander, which is practically a suburb of Surat, 5,694. Taking the two as one constituency, the population is large enough to entitle them to a separate urban seat. The Muhammadans of Surat and Rander are advanced in point of education and commercial importance and should, in our opinion, be given a separate urban seat. We therefore agree with the Commissioners' proposals that Ahmedabad City should be formed into a separate Muhammadan urban constituency, and Surat and Rander Cities into another, each with one seat.

24. According to our proposals therefore there will be 4 Muhammadan urban constituencies, viz., Bombay City (North) with 3 seats, one of which will be reserved for women, Bombay City (South) with 2 seats, Ahmedabad City with one seat, and Surat and Rander Cities with one seat. Of the 6 seats

which have been allotted to women, according to the Table of Seats appended to the Fifth Schedule to the Government of India Bill, one has to be provided in a Muhammadan constituency. In order that the representative of Muhammadan women in the new Assembly should be a person of education and standing, it is necessary that the women's seat should be allotted to one of the urban constituencies, and Bombay City (North) which contains a very large and advanced Muhammadan population, appears to us to be the best constituency for the purpose of this seat. We therefore agree with the proposal of the Commissioners that the seat reserved for Muhammadan women should be in the Bombay City (North) constituency.

25. Twenty-three seats are thus left for distribution among the Muhammadan rural constituencies, and the best arrangement for the delimitation of the constituencies would appear to be to allot one seat to each district, giving an extra seat to districts in which the Muhammadan population is very much larger and which on a population basis would be entitled to 2 seats. Statement No. IV annexed to our Report shows that on a population basis, in accordance with the ratio of one seat for a population of 53,413, each of the districts of Ahmednagar, West Khandesh, Nasik, Poona, Satara, Sholapur, Ahmedabad, Kaira, Panch Mahals, Surat, Thana, Kanara and Kolaba would be entitled to one seat. East Khandesh, Bijapur and Dharwar have each a very large Muhammadan population and are entitled to 2 seats. On the population basis, Belgaum and Ratnagiri would each be entitled to more than one seat, but their population though large is not as large as that of the districts of East Khandesh, Bijapur and Dharwar to which 2 seats have been assigned. It is larger than that of Broach district, but Broach has an exceptionally high voting strength, there being 25,676 voters in a population of 80,500, whereas Belgaum with a population of over 93,000 has only 5,349 voters, and Ratnagiri with a population of 86,746 has only 7,200 voters. Broach is a very important Muhammadan centre, and we agree with the Commissioners therefore that 2 seats should be assigned to the Broach district. It is not possible to assign more than one seat each to Belgaum and Ratnagiri consistently with providing one seat for the Muhammadans of each district. It is true that some of the districts like Kanara, Kolaba, Panch Mahals and Surat (excluding Surat City) have a very small Muhammadan population, but we think it very desirable that as far as possible each district should form a separate constituency, and we are on principle strongly against including more than one district in a single constituency. We therefore agree with the proposals of the Commissioners with regard to the delimitation of the Muhammadan constituencies, urban and rural, and the allocation of seats to them.

#### EUROPEAN CONSTITUENCIES.

26. Three seats have been assigned for Europeans in the Provincial Assembly, and the Commissioners have recommended that 2 of these should be allotted to a constituency consisting of Bombay City and the Bombay Suburban District and one to the rest of the Presidency. The total population of Europeans in the Presidency is 18,000, of whom about 10,000 are in Bombay City and the Bombay Suburban District, and 8,000 in the rest of the Presidency. Considering the importance of the European population of Bombay City, we think that the allocation of two seats to Bombay City and the Bombay Suburban District and one to the rest of the Presidency is fair. Sir John Abercrombie, whom we had co-opted as a member to represent European interests, was also in favour of this arrangement.

#### ANGLO-INDIAN CONSTITUENCIES.

27. Two seats have been assigned to the Anglo-Indian community. We agree with the Commissioners' suggestion that one of these seats should be assigned to Bombay City and the Bombay Suburban District, which between them have an Anglo-Indian population of about 8,700, and the other to the rest of the Presidency, which has an Anglo-Indian population of about 5,500.

28. We agree with the suggestion of the Commissioners that, as the electorates will be scattered in small numbers over a large number of places, voting should be allowed for the Presidency European and the Presidency Anglo-Indian constituencies, in the manner suggested by the Commissioners. The Returning Officer would send voting papers to the Collector of each District in which European voters reside, the Collector would hold the election at the District Headquarters and distribute to each Taluka Headquarter a sufficient number of ballot papers for the voters residing in that Taluka. The voting would take place between certain hours at the Collector's office and at the Mamlatdar's office. The voters would fill in the ballot papers, which would be attested by the Collector or the Mamlatdar, who would, after the conclusion of the election, send the voting papers by registered post to the Returning Officer in Bombay. The voting in the Bombay City European and the Bombay City Anglo-Indian constituencies would be direct.

#### THE INDIAN CHRISTIAN CONSTITUENCIES.

29. Three seats in communal constituencies have been allotted to the Indian Christians by the Government of India Bill. The total population of Indian Christians in the Presidency is 267,000, distributed as shown in the table below :—

District.	Total Population.
Bombay City .. .. .	64,280
Ahmedabad .. .. .	5,839
Broach .. .. .	2,894
Kaira .. .. .	27,039
Panch Mahals .. .. .	3,799
Surat .. .. .	2,065
Thana .. .. .	31,015
Ahmednagar .. .. .	33,976
East Khandesh .. .. .	1,492
West Khandesh .. .. .	1,569
Nasik .. .. .	4,416
Poona .. .. .	13,393
Satara .. .. .	2,394
Sholapur .. .. .	3,028
Bombay Suburban District .. .. .	27,990
Belgaum .. .. .	7,379
Bijapur .. .. .	1,246
Dharwar .. .. .	7,706
Kanara .. .. .	17,629
Kolaba .. .. .	1,191
Ratnagiri .. .. .	7,120

The three seats must be assigned in the districts where the Christian population is largest, consistently with giving representation to the different parts of the Presidency. The Indian Christian population in Bombay City and the Bombay Suburban District is 92,270. In the Central Division, the districts which have the largest Indian Christian population are Poona with a population of 13,393, and Ahmednagar with a population of 33,976. The Thana District has an Indian Christian population of 31,015. In Gujarat, the districts with the largest Indian Christian population are Ahmedabad with a population of 5,839, and Kaira with a population of 27,039. The proposal of two of the three Commissioners is that the three seats should be allotted as follows :—

The Poona District and the Ahmednagar District with a total Indian Christian population of 47,369 .. .. . 1 seat.

The Bombay Suburban District and Thana with a total Indian Christian population of 59,005 .. .. . 1 seat.

Bombay City, with an Indian Christian population of 64,280 .. .. . 1 seat.

This arrangement has also been advocated in a representation received by us from Dr. J. Alban D'Souza and Dr. J. A. Collaco, Members of the Legislative Council, and Mr. Soares and Mr. Mascarenhas, Members of the Bombay Municipal Corporation. The objection to this proposal is that all the 3 seats would go to the Indian Christians of Bombay City and the Deccan, whereas the Gujarati-speaking Indian Christians from the districts of Gujarat proper would get no representation at all. In our opinion, this is an unsatisfactory arrangement, and it is necessary to allot at least one seat to the Ahmedabad and Kaira Districts, which between them have an Indian Christian population of 32,878. The interests of the Indian Christians of the Thana District are not materially different from those of Bombay City and the Bombay Suburban District, and no serious hardship would be caused to them if they were not included in one of the Indian Christian constituencies. We considered the alternative of allotting one seat in rotation between the Thana and Bombay Suburban Districts and the Kaira and Ahmedabad Districts, but regarded this arrangement as undesirable. On general grounds we are against the system of giving seats in rotation, as such a system prevents continuity of representation. We are therefore unable to agree with the recommendation made by the majority of the Commissioners with regard to the allocation of the Indian Christian seats. We think there is considerable force in the reasons given by the Commissioner, Northern Division, for allotting one seat to Gujarati-speaking Christians. We therefore propose that the three seats should be distributed as follows:—

Bombay City and the Bombay Suburban District, with a total Indian Christian population of 92,270	.. ..	1 seat.
Poona and Ahmednagar Districts, with a total Indian Christian population of 47,369	.. ..	1 seat.
Kaira and Ahmedabad Districts, with a total Indian Christian population of 32,878	.. ..	1 seat.

The Indian Christians in the constituencies other than those mentioned above would of course be entitled to vote in the General constituencies.

#### COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY CONSTITUENCIES.

30. We have considered carefully the question of the allocation of the 7 seats allotted to Commerce and Industry constituencies in the Bombay Presidency. As the subject was an important one, we co-opted Sir Purshotamdas Thakordas as a member of our Committee to represent the interests of Indian Commerce, and Sir John Abercrombie to represent the interests of European Commerce, and we have derived much help in our deliberations from the information which these two gentlemen were able to place at our disposal.

In the present Council of 114 members, 7 elected seats have been assigned to Commerce and Industry constituencies and have been distributed as follows:—

Bombay Chamber of Commerce	.. ..	2 seats.
Karachi Chamber of Commerce	.. ..	1 seat.
The Bombay Trades Association	.. ..	1 seat.
The Bombay Millowners' Association	.. ..	1 seat.
The Ahmedabad Millowners' Association	.. ..	1 seat.
The Indian Merchants Chamber and Bureau	.. ..	1 seat.

In addition to these 7 elected seats, one seat, filled by nomination is reserved for a representative of the Cotton Trade. The Indian Franchise Committee, dealing with the question of the representation of Commerce and Industry said (Report of the Indian Franchise Committee, Volume I, page 128) that, while they favoured the continued representation of commerce and industry in the legislatures, they were impressed by the criticism that such special interests should not form a block of such a size or such a character as seriously to affect the balance of parties formed by representatives of territorial constituencies and so of the general mass of the population, and that their



object was essentially to make expert knowledge available in the legislatures and not to give any particular voting strength to individual interests. They therefore recommended the retention of the seats at present allotted to commerce, industry and trade in the provincial legislatures without any proportionate increase in their number consequent on such increase in the size of the legislatures as may ultimately be approved. Dealing with the claims for special representation advanced by organisations representing trade and commerce in various provinces other than those already represented, they said :—

“The commercial and industrial organisations now recognised for the purpose of representation in the legislatures are in our view fully capable of representing the interests of industry and commerce as such. We do not, in these circumstances, recommend any increase in the number of the existing constituencies. But we think that the desirability of some rearrangement or re-distribution of those constituencies should be further examined at the stage of the delimitation of constituencies generally.”

Dealing with the case of the Bombay Presidency, they said that they were on the whole disposed to accept the view of the Provincial Franchise Committee that the nominated seat at present reserved for the cotton trade should be retained, but on an elective basis, and disagreed with the view of the Government of Bombay that this seat should be abolished. We have kept these recommendations in mind in making our proposals.

31. In the table of seats appended to the Communal Award 7 seats are allotted to the Bombay Presidency (without Sind), and in Note “A” to this table it is stated that the composition of the bodies through which election to the seats will be conducted, though, in most cases either predominantly European or predominantly Indian, will not be statutorily fixed. It is, accordingly, not possible in each province to state with certainty how many Europeans and Indians respectively, will be returned. It is however expected that initially the numbers will be approximately as follows :—

Bombay (without Sind)	.. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .	}	4 Europeans.
					{	3 Indians.

32. The final proposals of the Commissioners are that the existing Commerce and Industry constituencies and the seats allotted to them should be maintained, and that the seventh seat should be allotted to the East India Cotton Association, Limited, which would represent the interests of the cotton trade.

33. On behalf of European Commerce, Sir John Abercrombie contended that Europeans should have the same number of representatives in the future Assembly as they have in the present Council and that, considering the substantial increase in seats given to other communities, this claim could not be considered as excessive. In the existing Council he claimed that the Europeans had seven representatives, viz., two for the Bombay City and Presidency European constituencies, two for the Bombay Chamber of Commerce, one for the Karachi Chamber of Commerce, one for the Bombay Trades Association, and one member nominated to represent the cotton trade, who for the last five years was a European. He therefore claimed that four Commerce seats should be allotted to European commerce, three being allotted to the Bombay Chamber of Commerce and one to the Presidency Trades Association, so that with the three European communal seats the Europeans would have seven representatives in the Legislative Assembly. He stated that, if three seats were allotted to the Bombay Chamber of Commerce, the Chamber would be prepared to earmark one of these seats for the representation of the cotton trade. Sir Purshottamdas Thakordas, who represented the claims of Indian commerce generally, and of the East India Cotton Association in particular, claimed that the extra seat which was now available for allocation should be allotted to the East Indian Cotton Association, which was the only authoritative body representing the interests of the cotton trade.

34. We considered also the claims put forward by various commercial bodies, other than those which at present enjoy representation, to either a separate seat or to inclusion in one of the existing Commerce constituencies. We have

received representations in this connection from the Shroffs' Association, the Maharashtra Chamber of Commerce, the Bullion Exchange, the Marwari Chamber of Commerce, the Karnatak Chamber of Commerce, and the Poona *Vyapari Sangha* (the Poona Merchants' Association).

35. In our opinion none of these associations is of sufficient importance to be entitled to representation in a Commerce constituency, either singly or combined with others. If special representation is to be given to Commerce, it is in our opinion essential that the associations which form these constituencies should be well established and of such standing and importance that they could be relied upon to send to the Assembly as their representatives men of outstanding ability and experience, whose expert knowledge would be of help to the legislature. None of the associations from whom representations have been received by us is in our opinion better entitled to represent Indian commerce than those which form the existing constituencies, and the continuance of which the Commissioners have recommended. We considered also whether it would not be possible to combine with the existing associations some of those which have now applied for representation, but came to the conclusion that this was neither desirable nor necessary. The two Millowners' Associations which enjoy seats at present represent adequately and efficiently the interests of the mill industry in the two principal centres of that industry in the Presidency, while the Indian Merchants' Chamber is in our opinion thoroughly representative of the interests of Indian commerce generally and is best fitted to represent those interests in the provincial legislature.

36. We realise the anxiety of European commercial interests that Europeans in the future provincial legislature should have at least as many seats as they enjoy at present, and also the justice of their contention that, while Indian commercial interests will be able to secure representation to a considerable extent through the territorial seats also, the Europeans will not be able to increase their representation in any manner. We feel however that, in view of the importance of the cotton trade, an importance which has been already recognised by the provision for a nominated representative of that trade in the existing legislature, and in view of the opinion expressed by the Indian Franchise Committee that an elective seat should be provided for representation of the cotton trade, it is necessary that a separate constituency should be formed to represent that trade. If an extra seat is allotted to the Bombay Chamber of Commerce, to be earmarked for the cotton trade, the representative of the cotton trade so elected will represent only a small section of those concerned in that trade, whereas the East India Cotton Association, which is statutorily entrusted with the duty of controlling the cotton trade, will represent the interests of all persons concerned in the trade, both growers and dealers, Europeans as well as Indians. We have for these reasons come to the conclusion that the East India Cotton Association has the best claim to represent the cotton trade.

37. We therefore agree with the proposals made by the Commissioners that the 7 seats allotted to Commerce and Industry in the Legislative Assembly should be distributed as follows :—

Bombay Chamber of Commerce	..	..	..	2 seats.
Bombay Trades Association	..	..	..	1 seat.
Bombay Millowners' Association	..	..	..	1 seat.
The Ahmedabad Millowners' Association	..	..	..	1 seat.
The Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau	..	..	..	1 seat.
The East India Cotton Association	..	..	..	1 seat.

38. There is a difficulty in connection with the electoral rules dealing with the Commerce and Industry constituencies to which our attention has been drawn by the Bombay Chamber of Commerce and the Bombay Millowners' Association. Rule 7 of Schedule II of the present Electoral Rules provides that a person shall be qualified as an elector for a Commerce and Industry constituency whose name is entered in the list of members for the time being in force of the association forming such constituency, or who is entitled to exercise the rights and privileges of membership on behalf of and in the name of any firm or company or corporation entered in such list of members. The result of the rule is that, when the senior partner of a firm is unable, owing to absence or other cause, to vote or stand for election, the firm loses its vote or right to put up a candidate, as another

partner cannot be brought on the roll unless the elaborate procedure prescribed in the electoral rules for amendment of the electoral roll is resorted to, and such procedure invariably means delay. The result frequently is that, when an election takes place suddenly, many firms are unable to exercise their rights, owing to the absence of the member whose name is entered as entitled to exercise the rights and privileges on behalf of the firm. The Indian Franchise Committee drew attention to this grievance in paragraph 325 of their Report (Volume I, page 129), and expressed the opinion that the point was one which merited consideration. We would suggest that the new electoral rules should remove this difficulty by providing that, in the case of a Commerce and Industry constituency, if the person registered on the electoral roll for the time being in force of the constituency is a firm, company or corporation, any person who on the date on which the poll is taken is entitled to exercise the rights and privileges of membership on behalf of and in the name of such firm, company or corporation shall be entitled to vote at an election of a member or members for the constituency.

#### LANDHOLDERS' CONSTITUENCIES.

39. Two seats have been allotted to the Landholders of the Presidency. The existing Landholders' constituencies are (1) the Gujarat Sardars and Inamdars' Constituency, extending over the Northern Division and the Bombay Suburban District, and (2) the Deccan Sardars and Inamdars' Constituency, extending over the Central and Southern Divisions. The table given below gives the number of voters in each of these constituencies in 1930 :—

Gujarat Sardars and Inamdars	..	..	..	175	
Deccan Sardars and Inamdars	{	Central Division	..	..	324
		Southern Division	..	..	210

We agree with the Commissioners that the franchise for the Landholders' Constituency should remain the same as at present. At first sight it appears as if the present distribution of the 2 seats between the Northern and the Central and Southern Divisions is somewhat unfair, the Northern Division with only 175 voters getting a seat to itself, while the Central and Southern Divisions, each of which separately has more voters than the Northern Division, get only one seat between them. As only 2 seats have been assigned to the landholders of the Presidency, the only way in which this anomaly can be remedied are—

(1) to allot the 2 seats to the Central and Southern Divisions only, one to each, and to leave the Northern Division, which has the smallest number of voters, unrepresented, or

(2) to assign one seat to the Northern Division and the other by rotation between the Central Division and the Southern Division, or

(3) to assign one seat to the Central Division which has the largest number of voters, and the other by rotation to the Northern Division and the Southern Division.

We consider that each of these three alternatives is open to objection. Although the Northern Division has the smallest number of voters, the Landholders of that Division are an important and influential class, and it would be unfair to leave them entirely unrepresented. The interests of the landholders in the Central and Southern Divisions are very similar and differ from those of the landholders of the Northern Division who form a class by themselves. It is easier for the landholders of the Southern and Central Divisions to combine for the election of a representative than for those of the Northern and Southern Divisions to combine. On principle we are opposed to the system of rotation of seats, on the ground that it destroys continuity of representation. Taking all these circumstances into consideration, we think that the arrangement proposed by the Commissioners, which is also the arrangement in force at present, is the best.

#### THE UNIVERSITY CONSTITUENCY.

40. Under the present Electoral Rules, Members of the Senate, or Honorary Fellows of the University, or Graduates of the University of 7 years standing are qualified to be electors for the Bombay University constituency. The majority of our Committee (5 out of 9) are of opinion that, in order to increase the electorate in the University constituency, the graduates' qualification should be altered to enable graduates of five years' standing to be qualified as electors.

41. We considered the question whether voting by post should be introduced in the University constituency, where the electorate is intelligent, not very large, and spread over the whole Presidency. The present electorate is 7,400. Some of our members favoured this proposal, but we are not in favour of it, as we think that the introduction of voting by post may lead to dishonesty at elections. We therefore agree with the Commissioners' view that the present method of voting, which does not appear to have caused any serious inconvenience, should be continued.

#### THE REPRESENTATION OF LABOUR.

42. The question as to the best way in which the constituencies for the 7 Labour seats provided for in the Government of India Bill should be formed is one of considerable difficulty. The Indian Franchise Committee, after examining in some detail the question of providing representation for agricultural labour, came to the conclusion that the only real solution of the problem lay in the reduction of the general franchise qualification in rural areas to the lowest possible limit. They admitted that even under the extensive proposals for widening the franchise which they had made, and which are now embodied in the Bill, a proportion of agricultural labourers, that is landless labourers and farm servants, would be left without direct representation. But they were satisfied that the proposals which they had made, even if they did not completely solve the problem, would go far to ensure that the needs and opinions of agricultural labourers would to some extent be represented in the legislatures, and they pointed out that the line of division, broadly speaking, between the ordinary agricultural labourer and the small tenant was less in India than might be thought to be the case, and that in many parts of the country both were to a large degree drawn from the same class. They did not therefore think it necessary to provide any special representation for agricultural labour in the legislatures, and left such representation to be secured through the influence of voters on the representatives of rural areas in the general constituencies. With regard to the representation of industrial labour, they were of opinion that, while a fair number of urban workers would secure a place on the electoral roll, the proportion would not be such as to secure, except in a few cases, that urban labour would be able to return representatives of its own choice through the general constituencies, and they were therefore definitely of opinion that special representation was required for it. In considering the methods by which such representation could best be secured, they decided that the method of nomination was inappropriate under the system of responsible Government, and therefore came to the conclusion that the only two ways in which such representation could be secured would be either by election by registered trade unions or by election by special Labour constituencies. In favour of the system of representation through trade unions, they pointed out that the Royal Commission on Labour, which had examined the question as recently as 1931, had definitely recommended the adoption as a general rule, of registered trade unions of a certain standard and subject to certain restrictions, as the basis of Labour representation (Indian Franchise Committee's Report, Vol. I, page 95, paragraph 244). The Bombay Government and the Bombay Provincial Franchise Committee had both recommended the adoption of registered trade unions as the basis of representation of organized industrial labour. The Committee, however, thought that the trade union movement was as yet in its relatively early stages, that the number of industrial workers covered by it, even in provinces such as Bengal and Bombay, in which organised industry was highly developed, was relatively small, that women were affected by it only in a negligible degree, and that there could be no certainty that industrial labour would secure effective representation were trade unions to be adopted as the sole method of representing labour in the legislatures. They therefore found themselves unable, despite the arguments in favour of this course, to accept trade unions as the sole basis of Labour representation. Dealing with the argument that it was desirable to accept trade unions as the basis of Labour representation on the ground that such acceptance would be likely to lead to a very considerable development of those bodies on sound lines, they said that while they were prepared to accept the proposals of a number of provinces for the establishment of trade union seats in their legislatures, it would in their view be contrary to the interests of the labouring population as a whole to prescribe representation through trade unions as the sole method of representation of Labour and to offer them no alternative. They there-

fore said that it was necessary to provide, in addition to representation through trade unions, another form of representation through special Labour constituencies. They recommended such special Labour constituencies even for the Bombay Presidency, where they admitted that the trade union movement was more strongly developed and more highly organised than in other parts of India, though they made no recommendation as regards the distribution of the Labour seats between trade union and special Labour constituencies. They drew attention to the fact that, while the total number of women in industry, and particularly in the textile industry was considerable, the number who were members of registered trade unions was negligible.

43. The views of the Indian Franchise Committee which we have quoted above at some length have been very carefully considered by us, and must have been very fully considered also by the Commissioners when they made their proposals. We note that the proposals of the Commissioners, with which in the main we are in agreement, were made after discussion with the Commissioner of Labour. As the question of Labour representation was a difficult and somewhat technical one, we co-opted Mr. S. C. Joshi as an additional member to represent Labour. He was at one time a nominated member of the Legislative Council representing Labour and is an active worker in several trade unions. We also asked Mr. Gennings, the Commissioner of Labour, to be present during our discussion of this subject, and we have derived very great assistance from the advice and information which he was able to place at our disposal.

44. The Commissioners have definitely reported against the creation of special Labour constituencies, and have proposed that the 7 seats assigned to Labour in the Legislative Assembly should be allotted to the following 6 trade union constituencies :—

Serial No. of Constituency.	Name of Constituency.	Extent of Constituency.	No. of seats assigned.	Remarks.
1	Gujarat Textile Labour Unions.	All Gujarat (including Ahmedabad, Viramgam, Nadiad, Broach and Surat)	1	
2	Bombay City and Suburban Textile Labour Unions.	Bombay City and South Salsette.	1	
3	Deccan and Karnatak Textile Labour Unions.	Deccan, Khandesh and Karnatak.	1	
4	Railway Unions ..	Railway Unions registered in Bombay Presidency.	2	Voting should be confined to members of those unions resident in the Presidency at the time of preparation of the electoral roll.
5	Registered Trade Unions of seamen, dock-workers and Port Trust employees.	Members resident in the Bombay Presidency (except in the case of seamen) of Unions registered in the Bombay Presidency.	1	
6	General Trade Unions ..	All Trade Unions other than those specified in constituency No. 5 above.	1	Voting will be confined to members residing in the Bombay Presidency at the time of the preparation of the electoral roll.

45. We have considered very carefully the question of providing special Labour constituencies in addition to trade union constituencies, but have come to the conclusion that such constituencies are not practicable. One of our principal objections to the formation of such constituencies is that they will not add much to the number of labourers who will be enfranchised in the ordinary territorial constituencies and in the special trade union Labour constituencies. We have been informed by the Commissioner of Labour that on the reduced house-rent qualification for territorial constituencies 50 per cent. of the labouring population in Bombay City, slightly more than 50 per cent. in Ahmedabad City, and just short of 50 per cent. in Sholapur City would be enfranchised. We have appended to our report a statement (statement No. II) showing by districts the total number of factory workers, both perennial and seasonal, in the Presidency in 1934, the

number of those who are members of registered trade unions, and of those who are members of unregistered trade unions. The statement shows that out of a total number of 322,000 perennial factory workers 62,000 are already enrolled in the trade unions which will be included in the 6 trade union constituencies which have been proposed by the Commissioners. There are about 61,000 factory workers in Bombay City who are members of registered trade unions and 10,000 who are members of unregistered trade unions. In Ahmedabad the position is peculiar. While only 887 out of a total perennial factory population of 96,000 are enrolled in registered trade unions, over 27,000 are enrolled in unregistered trade unions. We are confident that if the trade union constituencies are confined to registered trade unions only, the trade unions in Ahmedabad which are at present unregistered will ultimately get themselves registered. In Sholapur, which has a perennial factory population of over 18,000 there are no registered trade unions at all. We think it extremely likely that registered trade unions will spring up in Sholapur also when labourers find that by forming such unions they will have an effective voice in electing the one Labour member who has been allotted in the Commissioners' proposals to the Deccan and Karnatak Textile Labour Unions. In that constituency Sholapur is the largest industrial centre. It is therefore extremely likely that if trade union constituencies are formed, over 105,000 factory labourers would be enfranchised in the 6 trade union constituencies out of a total factory population of 358,000, that is over 29 per cent. Even if the present membership of registered trade unions only is considered, over 17 per cent. of factory labourers would be enfranchised in the trade union constituencies. The total number of factory labourers who are employed only for short periods is about 37,000. Very few of these would be qualified to vote even in special labour constituencies. The Indian Franchise Committee have proposed (Volume I, page 99, paragraph 251) as a qualification for electors in special labour constituencies a minimum age of 21 and continuous employment with any employer for a period of six months immediately prior to the preparation or revision of the electoral roll. They have excluded clerical and supervisory staff. A considerable portion of the seasonal factory labour in this Presidency is employed in ginning factories, and in certain districts of the Deccan in sugarcane factories. Ginning factories do not work for more than six months in a year. These seasonal factory labourers work in small factories for a few months in the year and then return to their fields. They would therefore not be qualified to be enrolled even in special labour constituencies.

46. We realise the force of the objection raised by the Indian Franchise Committee against providing for the representation of Labour through trade union constituencies only, that such constituencies would include hardly any women. They have pointed out that in 1931, when there were 66,000 members of registered trade unions in the Bombay Presidency, only 607 members were women. We have no detailed figures available, but we have been informed by the Commissioner of Labour that the position is not appreciably different to-day, and that the number of women who are members of registered trade unions is negligible. But we find it difficult to suggest any special labour constituency which could include the women who are employed as perennial labourers in the large industrial centres like Bombay, Ahmedabad, and Sholapur. The Indian Franchise Committee, in paragraph 253 of their Report (Volume I, page 99), while stating that trade union constituencies and special labour constituencies were both necessary, have emphasized the extreme importance of avoiding any overlapping between the trade union and the special labour constituencies, whether in the same industry or in the same geographical area. If special labour constituencies are to be formed so as to include the bulk of the women employed in industries, they would have to include the three big industrial centres of Bombay, Ahmedabad and Sholapur Cities, and those are the very places where trade unions are already well established and flourishing, or are likely to be so within the next few years. If special labour constituencies are to be formed in these areas, we are unable to suggest any method by which overlapping between them and the trade union constituencies could be avoided.

47. There is another objection, and in our opinion a serious one, to the formation of special labour constituencies. The principal qualification proposed for such constituencies is continuous employment with any employer for a period of six months immediately prior to the preparation or revision of the electoral roll.

In the mofussil areas, where industrial workers are found chiefly in seasonal factories such as ginning factories, presses, sugarcane factories, in the building trades, and in the construction and maintenance of roads, the workers do not get continuous employment for anything like six months at a time, and even where they do, the system of recruitment being in many cases through *mukadams* who do not keep muster rolls, it would not be possible for a worker to prove that he had been in continuous employment for six months except by leading oral evidence, which would probably be regarded as an inappropriate method, and which, from a practical point of view, would be impossible.

48. For these reasons, we agree with the view taken by the Divisional Commissioners and by the Commissioner of Labour that special labour constituencies are, in the conditions of the Bombay Presidency, not practicable, and that the only way in which representation for labour can be provided is by means of trade union constituencies. The 6 constituencies which the Commissioners have suggested seem to us to provide the best arrangement possible. Statement No. III appended to this Report shows the membership of registered trade unions classified according to the proposed constituencies. It shows that in 4 out of the 6 constituencies the membership of the existing trade unions varies from 3,835 to 29,066. In one constituency, the Gujarat Textile Labour Union constituency, there are at present no registered trade unions at all, and in the Deccan and Karnatak Textile Labour Union constituency there is only one trade union with 214 members. We have already stated above our view that, as soon as trade union constituencies are formed, it may be confidently expected that the Ahmedabad trade unions which already have a membership of over 27,000 will get themselves registered, and that Sholapur which would have a predominant voice in the election of a member for the Deccan and Karnatak Textile Labour Union constituency, would also form registered trade unions. We have no doubt that the formation of trade union constituencies will have a very powerful effect in encouraging industrial labour to organise itself into trade unions for its own assistance and protection, and would also lead to the registration of all trade unions. We agree with the Commissioners that there does not appear to be any objection to the creation of a trade union constituency, although in the beginning there may be no registered trade unions in that area. The seat would remain vacant till registered trade unions came into existence.

49. We therefore agree with the Commissioners' proposals for the formation of 6 trade union constituencies with 7 seats. We agree also that the election to the trade unions' seat in each constituency should be by an electoral college of delegates elected by the trade unions. Every registered trade union which has, on a date to be fixed by the Government, not less than 100 and not more than 200 members on its register of members entitled to vote should be entitled to elect one delegate to the electoral college. For every multiple of 200 of such members in addition to the original 200 a union should be entitled to elect an additional delegate. For the purposes of this provision any two or more registered trade unions should be allowed to combine into one registered trade union, provided that the number of members of each such registered trade union entitled to vote is less than 100 and notice of the combination is given to the Commissioner of Labour 3 days before the electoral roll of such unions is submitted to him. A trade union to be qualified for the franchise must have been registered for six months in the case of the first election and for twelve months in the case of subsequent elections.

50. We agree with the Commissioners that 18 years should be the minimum age at which a person should be entitled to vote at the election of delegates to the electoral college. But we are unable to agree with their proposal that a person who has paid his subscription for at least three months should be eligible to vote. Such a rule would enable a large number of members of trade unions who have been in arrears of their subscriptions for long periods to pay their subscriptions for three months just before an election and exercise the vote. It was pointed out to us by Mr. Joshi that the unions themselves do not allow their members to vote at any meeting if they are in arrears, and it seems undesirable that persons who would be unable to vote at the ordinary meetings of the union should be allowed to exercise the franchise. We suggest instead that one of the qualifications entitling a member of a trade union to vote for the election of a

delegate to the electoral college should be that he has been a member of a union for at least six months and has not been in arrears of his subscription for more than three months before the prescribed date. For the first election he must have been a member of a trade union for at least three months. Power should be given to the Registrar of Trade Unions to inspect the rolls of trade unions and compare them with other registers of trade unions for the purpose of deciding the correctness of any entry or omission.

The qualifications of an elector in Trade Union constituencies entitling him to vote at elections of delegates to an Electoral College should, therefore, in our opinion be—

(1) that he has had a place of residence in the Bombay Presidency for six months immediately preceding a date to be fixed by the Local Government (seamen being exempted from this residential qualification);

(2) that he is at least 18 years of age;

(3) that he has been a member of a Trade Union for at least six months and has not been in arrears of his subscription for more than three months before the prescribed date.

In the case of the first election he must have been a member for at least three months and must have paid his subscription for that period.

51. The Commissioners have proposed that the qualifications for a candidate for labour constituencies should be—

(a) that he is a member, honorary member or official as defined by the Trade Unions Act of the union concerned;

(b) that he is 18 years of age; and

(c) that in the case of a member he has been a paying member for three months at the time of the first election and six months at the time of subsequent elections.

The age limit proposed by the Commissioners would be in conflict with the requirements of paragraph 1 (b) of the Fifth Schedule to the Government of India Bill, which requires that a person shall not be qualified to be chosen to fill a seat in a provincial legislature unless he is, in the case of a seat in a Legislative Assembly, not less than 25 years of age. The age limit for candidates must therefore be 25.

Four of our members Khan Bahadur Abdul Latif, Dr. Solanki and Rao Bahadurs Navle and Angadi are of opinion that, in order to secure the election of *bona fide* labourers from the labour constituencies, honorary members and officials of trade unions should be declared ineligible for election. The majority of the committee are however not in favour of restricting the choice of the trade unions in this manner. Under the Trade Unions Act it is permissible for trade unions to have on their executive committees persons who are not ordinary members of trade unions up to a limit of 50 per cent. and if such persons are allowed to be on the executive committees of trade unions, there is no reason why they should not also be considered eligible to represent the trade unions in the legislature. The development of Trade Unions in this Presidency has been largely due to the work of persons who are not ordinary members of trade unions and are not themselves manual workers. For many years to come the labour movement in this country will need the services of such men. To debar them from representing labour in the legislature would not in the opinion of the majority of us be in the best interests of labour or of the trade union movement. We think, however, that in the case of honorary members or officials of trade unions it should be provided that they must have been honorary members or officials for at least six months, in the case of the first election, and twelve months in the case of subsequent elections. We agree with the Commissioners that it should be open to the delegates to elect to the Assembly any person who is a voter in that particular trade union constituency, and not necessarily one of themselves, that is one who is enrolled in the electoral roll of delegates. We agree also with the proposal that the qualifications for delegates to the electoral college should be the same as for candidates.

52. We have no changes to suggest in the proposals made by the Commissioners about the manner in which delegates are to be elected. At each centre the qualified members of the trade union or trade unions will assemble at a polling station. The executive of the union will prepare a list of persons proposed



as delegates, it being open to the members to add to the number of such delegates from persons qualified to vote in the union and to stand as delegates. Votes will be recorded by ballot. If the number of candidates on the list of proposed delegates exceeds the number to which the union is entitled on the basis of one delegate for every 200 members, then the persons who obtain the largest number of votes will be declared to be elected as delegates to the electoral college. If the number of delegates proposed does not exceed the number to which the union is entitled, there will be no election. The electoral roll of delegates should be published by the Returning Officer.

53. We are unable to agree with the proposal of the Commissioners that the election of candidates by the electoral college should be in Bombay, Ahmedabad and Sholapur only, and that it should be permissible for one delegate instead of all the delegates to appear at the election, if the other delegates desire not to attend but to have their votes recorded by him. We are against allowing delegates to make a further delegation of their powers to one of their body. It should be provided that each delegate must record his vote in person at polling stations to be provided in each district.

54. We have appended to this report a statement No. (IV) which shows the constituencies—territorial and special—as proposed by us and the seats allotted to each, together with the seats reserved for Marathas, the Scheduled Castes, the Backward Tribes and Women.

#### THE PROVINCIAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

55. The Commissioners have distributed the 26 elective seats provided for the Provincial Legislative Council of this presidency between Bombay City and the Districts on the basis of the estimated number of voters. This appears to be the only basis which can be adopted for a body the franchise of which is to be based on high property qualifications and on qualifications based on service in certain distinguished public offices.

56. Before we deal with our proposals about the constituencies, we would like to make some remarks about the franchise qualifications for the Legislative Council printed at page 119 of the "Material" supplied to us. We understand that these qualifications have not yet been finally settled and that the qualifications referred to above are those which have been proposed by the Government of Bombay. We are aware that it is not strictly part of our function to discuss these qualifications. But we venture to make certain suggestions with regard to them in the hope that they may be found useful when the franchise qualifications are finally settled. Item 5 of the list of qualifications refers to persons holding the M.A. and corresponding degrees. It is not clear whether the degrees referred to are those of the Bombay University only or would include such degrees conferred by other Indian Universities and by British Universities. In our opinion similar degrees conferred by all Indian Universities and by British Universities should be recognised for this purpose. In the list of persons in item 6 who hold or have held certain public offices we note that the Mayor of the Municipal Corporation of Bombay is not mentioned. We presume this is an oversight. Under item No. 8, it should in our opinion be made clear that aliens in respect of entire villages would include aliens of sharakati villages.

57. We have made certain alterations in the distribution of seats proposed by the Commissioners. The Commissioners have pointed out that some of the figures of the estimated number of voters supplied to them which are printed in Form II appended to the Commissioners' report dated the 29th April 1935 appeared to be inaccurate. We have obtained revised estimates from the Collectors and our proposals are based on these estimates. We have appended to our report a statement No. (V) showing the revised number of voters in each general constituency.

#### GENERAL CONSTITUENCIES.

58. The Commissioners have proposed that 5 of the 20 non-Muhammadan seats should be allotted to Bombay, 5 to the Northern Division, 6 to the Central Division, and 4 to the Southern Division. The majority of our Committee Sardar Naik, Rao Bahadurs Kale, Navle and Angadi and Dr. Solanki, are of opinion that the Northern Division should have six non-Muhammadan seats instead of 5 and

that the extra seat should be taken from the Central Division, which should have 5 seats instead of 6. We are also of opinion that it is not necessary to split up Bombay City into two constituencies as proposed by the Commissioners. All the 5 seats should be allotted to a single constituency covering the whole of Bombay City.

59. We think that the Northern Division should be allotted 6 seats instead of 5 as proposed by the Commissioners, 1 seat being allotted to Ahmedabad City, and one to each of the Districts of Ahmedabad, Kaira, Broach and Panch Mahals and Surat, and one to the Thana and Bombay Suburban Districts combined.

60. The Commissioners have proposed 6 seats for the Central Division. We agree that 1 seat should be given to the combined constituency of Poona and Sholapur Cities, one to a single constituency covering the three districts of Poona, Sholapur and Ahmednagar, one to the East Khandesh District, and one to the Satara District. Two seats have been allotted by the Commissioners to a combined constituency of the Nasik and West Khandesh Districts. This proposal is based on the figures of voters supplied to them according to which West Khandesh had 2,121 qualified landholders. We thought that this figure was very much over-estimated. The Collector of West Khandesh, whom we consulted, now reports that there are only 806 qualified landholders in the district. The figures for the Nasik District also are now reported by the Collector to be 290 and not 460 as originally reported. The total number of voters for the West Khandesh-Nasik constituency will thus be only 1,406. The constituency will therefore be entitled to only one seat. We propose that only one seat should be assigned to it and the seat so released should be taken away from the Central Division and given to the Northern Division as proposed in paragraph 58.

61. We agree that 4 seats should be allotted to the Southern Division but in view of the revised figures we have proposed that the four Kanarese speaking districts of Belgaum, Dharwar, Bijapur and Kanara should be formed into a single constituency with 3 seats and the two districts of Ratnagiri and Kolaba into one constituency with 1 seat. We are aware that this distribution is not strictly in accordance with the voting strength but were compelled by geographical and language difficulties to adopt it. We are further of opinion that the Marathi districts are adequately represented on the Council.

#### MUHAMMADAN CONSTITUENCIES.

62. The 5 seats allotted to the Muhammadans in the Legislative Council have been allotted by the Commissioners as follows:—

2 to Bombay City ;

2 to the Northern Division ; and

1 in rotation between the Central and Southern Divisions.

The majority of our Committee Khan Bahadur Abdul Latif, Mr. Rahimtoola, Rao Bahadurs Angadi and Navle and Dr. Solanki are in favour of assigning one seat to each of the Divisions, the Northern Division getting only one seat instead of the 2 proposed by the Commissioners. We have therefore proposed 1 seat for each Division. We think it very desirable that each Division should have a permanent seat. We agree that Bombay City should get 2 seats.

63. We agree with the Commissioners that the one seat allotted to the Europeans should be assigned to a constituency consisting of the whole Presidency, and that voting in it should be by postal ballot.

64. We append herewith a statement No. (VI) showing the distribution of the Muhammadan and non-Muhammadan seats for the Legislative Council as proposed by us.

N. J. WADIA (*Chairman*).

R. R. KALE.

BHIMBHAI R. NAIK.

\*HOSENALLY M. RAHIMTOOLA.

ABDUL LATIF HAJI HAJRAT KHAN.

N. E. NAVLE.

S. N. ANGADI.

J. H. GARRETT.

P. G. SOLANKI.

H. T. LAMBRICK,

*Secretary.*

Poona, 11th July 1935.

## STATEMENT

Population of Marathas and Allied Castes in districts in which seats are at present reserved  
(according to

Sub-castes.	Belgaum.	Bijapur.	Dharwar.	Kanara.	Ratnagiri.	Kolaba.	Poona.
Maratha ..	212,713	21,934	52,843	34,612	697,234	209,605	508,272
Kunbi (7) ..	3,763	11	442	6,281			
Mali (8) ..	540	141	70	.....	703	14,245	67,378
Koli ..	4,967	1,463	8	3	4,379	23,127	9,812
Bhandari ..	.....*	.....*	.....*	.....*	91,896	5,110	463
Shimpi (2) ..	13,378	999	4,889	543	2,630	2,068	7,718
Lohar (6) ..	3,568	2,545	412	760	2,417	889	3,182
Kumbhar ..	5,658	2,960	354	1,359	14,615	5,210	7,825
Dhangar (1) ..	83,310	122,367	106,031	1,185	9,522	3,854	48,015
Bhoi ..	1,199	706	1,361	839	4,966	1,765	4,332
Bari ..	.....*	.....*	.....*	.....*	.....	.....	.....
Lonari ..	.....*	.....*	.....*	.....*	.....	.....	1,660
† Bhavin ..	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
† Deoli ..	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Shinde ..	.....	.....	16	3	8,525	.....	.....
Ahir ..	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Khatris ..	.....*	.....*	.....*	.....*	.....*	.....*	.....*
Parit (3) ..	703	1,378	4,673	5,705	2,904	1,520	6,369
Gabit ..	.....*	.....*	.....*	.....*	.....*	.....*	.....*
Gavda ..	.....*	.....*	.....*	.....*	5,997	.....	.....
Gavandi ..	.....*	.....*	.....*	.....*	.....	.....	.....
Gavli ..	.....*	.....*	.....*	.....*	16,507	7,182	1,413
Gurao ..	.....*	.....*	.....*	.....*	18,630	655	4,932
Nhavi (4) ..	4,452	4,204	531	1,534	12,175	5,053	10,645
Kasai ..	.....*	.....*	.....*	.....*	6	125	164
Kasar ..	.....*	.....*	.....*	.....*	.....*	.....*	.....*
Koshti (5) ..	6,629	11,380	11,351	131	1,775	21	2,868
Sali (including Nirali) (9) ..	625	4,043	9,769	40	2,162	282	10,624
† Sangar ..	.....	.....	.....	.....	283	.....	180
Sutar ..	233	240	227	901	24,413	4,448	10,624
Teli ..	86	985	290	2,076	22,197	1,227	7,900
Agle or Agri ..	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	137,528	15
† Wanjari ..	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	181	2,887
Total ..	331,824	175,346	193,272	55,972	943,936	429,095	717,278
General Population.	982,969	763,706	943,543	387,123	1,215,779	597,679	1,095,595
Percentage of Marathas to General Population.	33.7	22.9	20.4	14.4	77.6	71.7	65.4

(1) The figures given for Dhangar are for Bharwad, Dhangar or Kurub.

(2) The figures given for Shimpi are for Darji, Shimpi, Sai and Mirai.

(3) The figures given for Parit are for Dhobi, Parit, Agasa and Madiwal.

(4) The figures given for Nhavi are for Hajam, Nhavi, Nadig and Kelasi.

(5) The figures given for Koshti are for Koshti, Hutgar, Jed, Winkar or Devang.

(6) The figures given for Lohar are for Lohar, Luhar and Kammar.

(7) The figures given for Kunbi are for Kunbi, Kulwadi or Kanbi in the Belgaum, Bijapur, Dharwar and Kanara.

(8) The figures given for Mali are for Mali and Phul-Mali.

(9) The figures given for Sali are for Sali and Padmasali.

\* Figures are not available in the Census Book.

† These are shown as backward in the Census Book.

N.B.—(1) As regards the figures given in this statement for Ratnagiri, Kolaba, Poona, Ahmednagar, Sholapur, foot-notes thereto at page 53 of the Volume of Statistics.

(2) The figures of Bhandari, Bari, Lonari, Gavda, Gavandi, Gavli, Gurao and Kasai for Ratnagiri, Kolaba were supplied by the Census Superintendent in 1932.

(3) The General Population for Bombay City, Thana District and Central Division is arrived at by deducting arrived at by deducting the population of Muhammadans, Europeans and Anglo-Indians.

No. I.

for Marathas and in those in which the Commissioners have proposed reservation  
1931 Census).

Ahmednagar.	Satara.	Sholapur.	Nasik.	East Khandesh.	West Khandesh.	Bombay City.	Thana.	Bombay Suburban District.
409,521	662,166	264,869	368,722	351,555	125,653	305,254	139,094	26,779
48,707	19,869	29,282	35,167	47,432	27,492	3,799	970	489
3,187	4,504	11,397	44,069	49,827	14,103	8,611	37,678	12,333
3	..*	24	..*	..*	220	27,151	14,596	1,426
3,474	8,321	6,119	7,389	11,947	7,209	8,942	1,099	469
4,378	4,923	3,761	3,665	5,011	2,949	3,105	2,175	394
6,473	10,592	2,433	4,765	7,200	1,578	2,517	3,732	909
47,664	48,986	85,955	12,368	26,384	12,259	836	6,338	1,175
785	2,731	1,502	1,827	9,090	6,082	510	1,478	181
..*	..*	..*	..*	..*	..*	60	3,061	..
749	..*	4,526	50	..*	605	27	..	..
..*	..*	..*	..*	..*	..*	..*	..*	..*
..*	..*	..*	..*	..*	..*	..*	..*	..*
..*	..*	..*	2	..*	..*	52	..*	..*
2	..*	..*	6,883	12,353	29,940	2,313	35	45
..*	..*	..*	..*	..*	..*	..*	..*	..*
4,800	6,775	5,217	2,814	7,663	3,604	5,454	479	1,167
..*	..*	..*	..*	..*	..*	..*	..*	..*
..*	..*	..*	..*	..*	..*	..*	..*	..*
57	..*	133	25	..*	..*	43	..*	..*
219	..*	379	114	..*	1,762	65	..*	49
2,680	..*	1,878	309	..*	1,709	5,523	513	709
9,414	14,484	8,593	8,607	18,221	10,264	490	136	160
45	..*	325	225	..*	55	3,354	2,206	705
..*	..*	..*	..*	..*	..*	219	32	..*
6,530	6,265	5,292	5,096	4,656	1,269	..*	..*	..*
8,933	3,419	20,958	3,788	6,286	777	3,075	132	70
..*	..*	..*	..*	..*	..*	4,464	499	105
191	1,827	1,150	..*	..*	..*	12	..*	..*
8,781	9,199	4,649	10,255	14,838	6,769	3,783	2,053	396
7,282	5,054	2,553	10,928	22,798	7,790	2,927	960	101
..*	..*	..*	164	..*	..*	4,486	98,717	7,320
43,480	3,482	5,072	34,593	31,259	11,240	870	4,062	68
617,355	812,597	466,072	561,825	626,520	273,329	397,942	320,040	55,050
902,126	1,134,280	801,677	937,269	1,076,693	730,556	871,409	767,362	127,889
88.4	71.6	58.1	59.9	58.1	37.4	45.6	41.7	43

Districts.

Nasik, West Khandesh, Thana and Bombay Suburban Districts and Bombay City, *vide* Statement No. 43 and the Poona, Ahmednagar, Sholapur, Nasik, West Khandesh, Thana and Bombay Suburban Districts and Bombay City the population of Muhammadans, Europeans, Anglo-Indians and Indian Christians. In Southern Division it is

## STATEMENT No. II.

*Showing the number of Factory Workers and Membership of the Registered and Unregistered Trade Unions in the Bombay Presidency (excluding Sind).*

District.	Number of workers employed in factories in 1934.			Number of members of Trade Unions.		
	Perennial.	Seasonal.	Total.	Registered.	Unregistered	Total.
Town and Island of Bombay ..	154,306	....	154,306	60,831	10,681	71,512
Ahmedabad ..	96,068	3,147	99,215	887	27,380	28,267
Broach and Panch Mahals ..	4,196	4,450	8,646	....	24	24
Kaira ..	2,186	1,096	3,282	....	....	....
Surat ..	2,480	2,693	5,173	....	291	291
Thana ..	2,274	90	2,364	....	....	....
Bombay Suburban ..	11,557	....	11,557	198	....	198
East Khandesh ..	7,479	8,681	16,160	30	23	53
West Khandesh ..	2,728	5,237	7,965	214	....	214
Nasik ..	1,784	1,236	3,020	....	297	297
Poona ..	7,396	314	7,710	....	2,503	2,503
Sholapur ..	18,404	1,143	19,547	....	25	25
Ahmednagar ..	793	1,506	2,299	....	280	280
Satara ..	159	....	159	....	372	372
Belgaum ..	3,128	1,277	4,405	....	359	359
Bijapur ..	45	1,970	2,015	....	....	....
Dharwar ..	6,479	3,916	10,395	....	219	219
Kolaba ..	457	....	457	....	....	....
Kanara ..	158	....	158	....	65	65
Ratnagiri ..	32	....	32	....	427	427
<b>Total ..</b>	<b>322,109</b>	<b>36,756</b>	<b>358,865</b>	<b>62,160</b>	<b>42,946</b>	<b>105,106</b>

## STATEMENT No. III.

*Showing Membership of Registered Trade Unions classified according to the proposed Constituencies.*

Constituency.	Industry group.	Number of Trade Unions.	Number of Trade Unions by centres.	Membership.
1. Bombay City and Suburban ..	Textile ..	7	7—Bombay City ..	3,835
2. All Gujarat ..	" ..	....	....	....
3. Deccan Khandesh and Kanara ..	" ..	1	Dhulia ..	214
4. Railways (excluding Port Trust Railway).	Railways ..	9	7—Bombay City ..	21,484
			1—Ahmedabad	
			1—Bhusawal	
5. Seamen, Dock Workers and Port Trust Railway.	Seamen and Dock Workers.	7	Bombay City ..	29,066
6. Remainder ..	....	19	17—Bombay City ..	7,561
			1—Ahmedabad	
			1—Ambernath.	
	<b>Total ..</b>	<b>43</b>		<b>62,160</b>

STATEMENT No. IV.

Showing the Constituencies Territorial and Special as proposed by the Bombay Provincial Delimitation Committee and the seats allotted to each together with the seats reserved for Marathas, the Scheduled Castes, the Backward Tribes and Women.

MO-1 BR H 948-19

Name of Constituency.	Class of Constituency.	Extent of Constituency and area in square miles.	Population.		Number of Seats.	Reserved Seats.			
			Total.	Scheduled Castes.		Marathas.	Scheduled Castes.	Women.	
Bombay City (North) and Bombay Suburban District.	General Urban	.. The municipal ward Mahim of the City of Bombay and the Bombay Suburban District excluding Ambernath Petha.	994,627 (i.e. 871,409 for Bombay City and 123,218 for Bombay Suburban District, excluding Ambernath.)	117,967	2	1	..	..	
Bombay City (Byculla and Parel)	Do.	.. The municipal wards Byculla and Parel of the City of Bombay.		(i.e. 104,977 for Bombay City and 12,990 for Bombay Suburban District, excluding Ambernath.)		3	..	1	..
Bombay City (Fort, Girgaum, Mandvi and Bhuleswar).	Do.	.. The municipal wards Fort, Girgaum, Mandvi and Bhuleswar of the City of Bombay. 24 square miles for Bombay City and 143 square miles for Bombay Suburban District excluding Ambernath.				4	..	..	1
Ahmedabad City	Do.	.. The municipal borough of Ahmedabad, the cantonment of Ahmedabad and the notified areas of Kankaria, Asarwa, Ellis Bridge and Sabarmati. 11.4 square miles.	306,672	42,386	3	..	..	1	
Surat and Rander Cities	Do.	.. The municipal borough of Surat and the municipal district of Rander. 3.1 square miles (for Surat only).	126,363	9,690 (for Surat only).	1	..	..	..	
Poona City	Do.	.. The Poona City and Poona Suburban municipal boroughs and the cantonments of Poona and Kirkee. 21.2 square miles.	190,739	27,218	2	..	..	1	
Sholapur City	Do.	.. The municipal borough of Sholapur 7.1 square miles.	108,330	16,811 (municipality including suburbs).	1	..	..	..	
Ahmedabad North	General Rural	.. The North Daskroi Taluka (excluding the municipal borough of Ahmedabad, the cantonment of Ahmedabad and the notified areas of Kankaria, Asarwa, Ellis Bridge and Sabarmati), Prantij, South Daskroi and Viramgam talukas and the Sanand and Modasa mahals of the Ahmedabad District. 1,818.6 square miles.	496,033	37,656	3	..	1	..	

STATEMENT No. IV—contd.

Name of Constituency.	Class of Constituency.	Extent of Constituency and area in square miles.	Population.		Number of Seats.	Reserved Seats.		
			Total.	Scheduled Castes.		Marathas.	Scheduled Castes.	Women.
Ahmedabad South .. ..	General Rural ..	Dholka and Dhandhuka talukas and Gogha Mahal of the Ahmedabad District. 2,016 square miles.	210,924	28,845	1	..	..	..
Kaira District .. ..	Do. ..	The District of Kaira .. .. 1,620 square miles.	640,080	37,624	4	..	1	..
Panch Mahals West .. ..	Do. ..	Godhra and Kalol talukas and Halol Mahal of the Broach and Panch Mahals District. 1,001 square miles.	270,861	15,233	2	..	..	..
Panch Mahals East .. ..	Do. ..	Jhalod Mahal and Dohad Taluka of the Broach and Panch Mahals District. 607 square miles.	148,179	3,018	1	..	..	..
Broach .. ..	Do. ..	Broach sub-division of the Broach and Panch Mahals District. 1,468 square miles.	253,668	27,789	2	..	..	..
Surat District .. ..	Do. ..	The District of Surat excluding the municipal borough of Surat and the municipal district of Rander. 1,647.9 square miles (including Rander).	552,904	30,929 (including Rander).	4	..	1	..
Thana North .. ..	Do. ..	Palghar, Dahanu, Bassein and Bhiwandi talukas and Wada, Mokhada and Umbergaon mahals of the Thana District. 2,089 square miles.	514,812	19,658	3	..	1	..
Thana South .. ..	Do. ..	Thana Mahal and Kalyan, Murbad and Shahapur talukas of the Thana District and Ambernath Petha of the Bombay Suburban District. 1,333 square miles.	289,193	21,806	2	1	..	..
Ahmednagar North .. ..	Do. ..	Kopergaon, Newasa, Sheogaon, Rahuri, Sangamner and Akola talukas and Pathardi Petha of the Ahmednagar District. 3,716 square miles.	537,622	55,906	4	..	..	..
Ahmednagar South .. ..	Do. ..	Ahmednagar, Parner and Shrigonda talukas and Karjat and Jamkhed pethas of the Ahmednagar District. 2,896 square miles.	364,504	54,580	3	..	1	..
East Khandesh East .. ..	Do. ..	Jalgaon, Bhusawal, Raver, Yaval and Jamner talukas and Edlabad Petha of the East Khandesh District. 2,145 square miles.	503,713	61,819	4	..	1	..
East Khandesh West .. ..	Do. ..	Chopda, Erandol, Amalner, Parola, Chalisingaon and Pachora talukas and Bhadgaon Petha of the East Khandesh District. 2,406 square miles.	575,220	69,151	4	1	..	..
West Khandesh East .. ..	Do. ..	Dhulia, Sakri, Sirpur and Sindkheda talukas of the West Khandesh District. 2,619 square miles.	391,953	34,738	3	1	..	..

West Khandesh West	..	..	General Rural	..	Sahada, Nandurbar and Taloda talukas and Nawapur petha of the West Khandesh District. 3,782 square miles.	340,237	14,041	3 (one for Backward Areas).	..	..	..
Nasik West	..	..	Do.	..	Nasik, Dindori, Niphad, Sinnar and Igatpuri talukas and Peint petha of the Nasik District. 3,125 square miles.	563,796	80,349	4	..	1	..
Nasik East	..	..	Do.	..	Kalwan, Nandgaon, Malegaon, Baglan and Yeola talukas and Chandor petha of the Nasik District. 2,757 square miles.	379,843	39,829	3	..	..	..
Poona East	..	..	Do.	..	Bhimthadi, Indapur and Purandhar talukas and Shirur and Dhond pethas of the Poona District. 2,680 square miles.	391,867	58,775	3	..	..	..
Poona West	..	..	Do.	..	Jumnar, Khed, Maval and Haveli taluka (excluding the Poona City and Poona Suburban municipal boroughs and the cantonments of Poona and Kirkee) and Ambegaon and Mulshi pethas of the Poona District. 2,630.8 square miles.	512,989	54,174	4	..	1	..
Satara North	..	..	Do.	..	Satara, Koregaon, Wai, Javli and Khatav talukas and Man and Mahabaleshwar pethas of the Satara District. 2,726 square miles.	521,339	69,905	4	..	1	..
Satara South	..	..	Do.	..	Karad, Patan, Walva, Taegaon and Khanapur talukas and Shirala petha of the Satara District. 2,327 square miles.	615,608	88,753	4	..	..	1
Sholapur North-East..	..	..	Do.	..	Sholapur taluka (excluding the municipal borough of Sholapur), Barsi, Madha and Karmala talukas of the Sholapur District. 2,829.9 square miles.	448,526	89,199	3	..	1	..
Sholapur South-West	..	..	Do.	..	Pandharpur, Sangola and Malsiras talukas of the Sholapur District. 1,732 square miles.	249,142	43,499	2	..	..	..
Belgaum South	..	..	Do.	..	Belgaum, Khanapur, Samptgaon and Parasgad talukas and Chandgad mahal of the Belgaum District. 2,325 square miles.	424,618	27,065	3	1	..	..
Belgaum North	..	..	Do.	..	Athni, Chikodi, Gokak and Hukeri talukas of the Belgaum District. 2,287 square miles.	558,859	72,950	4	..	1	..
Bijapur North	..	..	Do.	..	Indi, Sindgi, Bijapur, Bagewadi and Muddebihal talukas of the Bijapur District. 3,889 square miles.	449,766	59,028	3	..	1	..
Bijapur South	..	..	Do.	..	Bagalkot, Badami and Hungund talukas and Bilgi petha of the Bijapur District. 1,821 square miles.	313,955	23,940	2	..	..	..
Dharwar North	..	..	Do.	..	Dharwar, Kalghatgi, Gadag, Navalgund, Ron and Hubli talukas and Nargund and Mundargi pethas of the Dharwar District. 2,716 square miles.	550,440	35,483	4	..	1	..



STATEMENT No. IV—*contd.*

Name of Constituency.	Class of Constituency.	Extent of Constituency and area in square miles.	Population.		No. of Seats.	Reserved Seats.		
			Total.	Scheduled Castes.		Marathas.	Scheduled Castes.	Women.
Dharwar South .. .. .	General Rural ..	Karsagi, Ranebennur, Hangal, Kod and Bankapur talukas of the Dharwar District. 1,890 square miles.	393,806	26,228	3	..	..	1
Kanara District .. .. .	Do. ..	The District of Kanara .. .. . 3,946 square miles.	387,198	17,266	3	..	..	..
Kolaba District .. .. .	Do. ..	The District of Kolaba .. .. . 2,166 square miles.	597,716	45,751	4	1	..	..
Ratnagiri North .. .. .	Do. ..	Chiplun, Dapoli, Khed and Sangameshwar talukas and Gubagar and Mandangad pethas of the Ratnagiri District. 2,132 square miles.	592,256	68,676	4	1	..	..
Ratnagiri South .. .. .	Do. ..	Ratnagiri, Rajapur, Devgad and Malvan talukas and Vengurla petha of the Ratnagiri District. 1,857 square miles.	623,525	45,261	4	..	1	..

*N.B.*—(1) The population shown for the general constituencies of Bombay City and B. S. D., Ahmedabad City, Poona City, Ahmedabad, Kaira, Poona and Ahmednagar Districts is general, i.e., total population less Muhammadan and Christian.

(2) In the case of other general constituencies the population shown is Non-Muhammadian, i.e., total population less Muhammadan.

## STATEMENT No. IV—contd.

Name of Constituency.	Class of Constituency.	Extent of Constituency and area in square miles.	Population.	No. of Seats.	Reserved Seats.
Bombay City (North and Bombay Suburban District).	Muhammadan Urban	The Municipal wards, Girgaum, Byculla, Parel and Mahim of the City of Bombay and the Bombay Suburban District excluding the Ambernath Petha.	230,017 (i.e.) 209,246 for Bombay City and 20,771 for B. S. D., excluding Ambernath.	3	1 (for women).
Bombay City (South)	Do.	The Municipal wards, Fort, Mandvi and Bhuleshwar of the City of Bombay and 143 sq. miles for Bombay Suburban District excluding Ambernath.	75,606 (municipal area and cantonment).	1	
Ahmedabad City	Do.	The Municipal borough of Ahmedabad, the cantonment of Ahmedabad and the notified areas of Kankaria, Asarwa, Ellis Bridge and Sabarmati, 11.4 sq. miles.	36,306	1	
Surat and Rander cities.	Do.	The Municipal borough of Surat and the municipal district of Rander. 3.1 sq. miles, for Surat only.	52,160	1	
Ahmedabad District	Muhammadan Rural	Ahmedabad District (excluding the Municipal borough of Ahmedabad, the cantonment of Ahmedabad and the notified areas of Kankaria, Asarwa, Ellis Bridge and Sabarmati). 3,834.6 sq. miles.	74,482	2	
Kaira District	Do.	Kaira District. 1,620 sq. miles	35,486	1	
Panch Mahals Sub-Division.	Do.	Panch Mahals Sub-Division of the Broach and Panch Mahals District. 1,608 sq. miles.	80,502	2	
Broach Sub-Division.	Do.	Broach Sub-division of the Broach, and Panch Mahals District. 1,468 sq. miles.	29,970	1	
Surat District	Do.	Surat District (excluding the municipal borough of Surat and the municipal district of Rander). 1,647.9 sq. miles (including Rander).	38,331	1	
Thana District	Do.	Thana District and the Ambernath Petha of the Bombay Suburban District. 3,433 sq. miles.	50,622	1	
Ahmednagar District.	Do.	Ahmednagar District. 6,611 sq. miles.	127,102	2	
East Khandesh District.	Do.	East Khandesh District. 4,551 sq. miles.	39,604	1	
West Khandesh District.	Do.	West Khandesh District. 6,401 sq. miles.	56,409	1	
Nasik District	Do.	Nasik District. 5,882 sq. miles.	54,997	1	
Poona District	Do.	Poona District. 5,332 sq. miles	42,785	1	
Satara District	Do.	Satara District. 5,053 sq. miles.	72,483	1	
Sholapur District	Do.	Sholapur District. 4,569 sq. miles.	93,224	1	
Belgaum District	Do.	Belgaum District. 4,612 sq. miles.	105,499	2	
Bijapur District	Do.	Bijapur District. 5,710 sq. miles.	158,431	2	
Dharwar District	Do.	Dharwar District. 4,606 sq. miles.	30,637	1	
Kanara District	Do.	Kanara District. 3,946 sq. miles.	31,006	1	
Kolaba District	Do.	Kolaba District. 2,166 sq. miles.	86,746	1	
Ratnagiri District	Do.	Ratnagiri District. 3,989 sq. miles.	92,270	1	
Bombay City and Bombay Suburban District.	Indian Urban.	Christian	The City of Bombay and Bombay Suburban District excluding the Ambernath Petha. 167 sq. miles.	32,878	1
Ahmedabad and Kaira Districts.	Indian Rural.	Christian	Ahmedabad and Kaira Districts. 5,466 sq. miles.	47,369	1
Poona and Ahmednagar Districts.	Do.		Poona and Ahmednagar Districts. 11,943 sq. miles.	10,001	2
Bombay City and Bombay Suburban District.	European		The City of Bombay and the Bombay Suburban District excluding the Ambernath Petha. 167 sq. miles.	8,027	1
Presidency	Do.		The Presidency of Bombay (excluding the City of Bombay and the South Salsette taluka of the Bombay Suburban District). 77,054 sq. miles.		

## STATEMENT No. IV—concl'd.

Name of Constituency.	Class of Constituency.	Extent of Constituency and area in square miles	Population.	No. of Seats.	Reserved Seats.
Bombay City and Bombay Suburban District.	Anglo-Indian ..	The City of Bombay and the Bombay Suburban District excluding the Ambernath Petha. 167 sq. miles.	8,731	1	
Presidency ..	Do. ..	The Presidency of Bombay (excluding the City of Bombay and the South Salsette taluka of the Bombay Suburban District). 77,054 sq. miles.	5,445	1	
Deccan Sardars and Inamdars.	Landholders ..	The Central and Southern Divisions.	....	1	
Gujarat Sardars and Inamdars.	Do. ..	The Northern Division and the Bombay Suburban District.	....	1	
Bombay University ..	University ..	(Non-Territorial) ..	....	1	
Bombay Chamber of Commerce.	Commerce and Industry.	Do. ..	....	2	
Bombay Trades Association ..	Do. ..	Do. ..	....	1	
Bombay Millowners' Association.	Do. ..	Do. ..	....	1	
Ahmedabad Mill-owners' Association.	Do. ..	Do. ..	....	1	
East India Cotton Association.	Do. ..	Do. ..	....	1	
Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau.	Do. ..	Do. ..	....	1	
Gujarat Textile Labour Unions.	Labour ..	The Ahmedabad, Kaira, Broach and Panch Mahals and Surat Districts.	....	1	
Bombay City and Suburban Textile Labour Unions.	Do. ..	The City of Bombay and the Thana and Bombay Suburban Districts.	....	1	
Deccan and Karnatak Textile Labour Unions.	Do. ..	The East Khandesh, West Khandesh, Poona, Nasik, Satara, Sholapur, Ahmednagar, Belgaum, Bijapur, Dharwar, Kanara, Kolaba and Ratnagiri Districts.	....	1	
Railway Unions ..	Do. ..	The Presidency of Bombay ..	....	2	
Registered Trade Unions of seamen, dock-workers and Port Trust employees.	Do. ..	The Presidency of Bombay ..	....	1	
General Trade Unions.	Do. ..	The Presidency of Bombay ..	....	1	

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**STATEMENT No. V.**

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STATEMENT No. V.

Showing the revised number of voters in each of the districts formed into General Constituences for the Bombay Legislative Council.

District.	Land-holders and tenants [Item 2(i) and (ii)].	House-holders or tenants (Item 3).	Income-tax Payers (Item 4).	University Degree holders (Item 5).	Title-holders (Item 6).	Government pensioners (Item 7).	Sardars (Item 8).	Inamdars (Item 8).	Wives of Land holders [Item 9(a)].	Wives of Income-tax Payers [Item 9(b)].	Total of columns 2-11.	Adjustment for overlap.	Final total.	Number of seats allotted.	Remarks.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	
1. Bombay City ..	141	1,733	3,224	1,471	452	183	Nil.	Nil.	Nil.	816	8,020	-1,733	6,287	5	All Householders being taken to be Income-tax payers have been deducted. The figure of 1,733 is arbitrary. Sardars and Inamdars have been deducted, as included in Landholders. Some deduction would be necessary owing to overlap between columns 3 and 4 but this would not affect our proposals. This remark applies to all districts. In the case of serial Nos. 5 and 6 plus 7 in the Northern Division a further deduction of 100 and 50 respectively would be reasonable.	
<i>Northern Division.</i>																
1. Ahmedabad City ..	..	72	709	300	90	54	..	..	..	162	1,387	-72	1,315	1		
2. Ahmedabad District exclusive of Ahmedabad City.	665	..	38	..	..	..	14	26	73	2	818	-40	778	1		
3. Kaira ..	392	16	11	..	..	..	7	21	54	1	502	-28	474	1		
4. Broach and Panch Mahals.	1,435	30	59	..	..	..	7	32	54	9	1,626	-39	1,587	1		
5. Surat ..	927	113	212	..	..	..	6	15	27	17	1,317	-21	1,296	1		
6. Thana ..	1,157	3	92	..	..	..	..	31	86	5	1,374	..	..	..		
7. Bombay Suburban ..	79	175	41	..	..	..	..	7	18	1	321	-38	1,657	1		
											1,695					
Total ..	4,655	409	1,162	300	90	54	34	132	312	107	7,345	-238	7,107	6		
<i>Central Division.</i>																
1. Poona City, Cantonment and Suburban Municipality.	..	166	322	300	98	101	..	..	..	42	1,029	..	..	..		
2. Sholapur City ..	..	24	96	..	..	2	..	..	..	14	136	-152	1,013	1		
											1,165					

3. Poona District excluding Poona Urban area.	339	..	44	..	..	..	30	64	25	6	507			
4. Sholapur District without Urban area.	120	50	..	..	..	..	2	30	2	..	204	-229	874	1
5. Ahmednagar ..	183	7	58	..	..	5	7	96	32	4	392			
6. Nasik ..	290	18	98	..	..	3	7	74	18	7	515			
7. West Khandesh ..	806	14	81	..	..	1	2	24	66	4	998	-107	1,406	1
8. East Khandesh ..	1,010	66	158	..	..	3	4	27	111	15	1,513	-31	1,363	1
9. Satara ..	511	23	36	..	..	8	9	126	47	4	1,394	-135	629	1
	764													
<b>Total ..</b>	<b>3,259</b>	<b>368</b>	<b>893</b>	<b>300</b>	<b>98</b>	<b>123</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>441</b>	<b>301</b>	<b>95</b>	<b>5,939</b>	<b>-654</b>	<b>5,285</b>	<b>5</b>
<i>Southern Division.</i>														
1. Belgaum ..	588	..	75	..	..	12	7	92	36	9	819			
2. Bijapur ..	338	..	51	..	..	1	1	46	34	3	474			
3. Dharwar ..	757	1	73	..	..	9	8	98	47	6	989	-252	2,447	3
4. Kanara ..	358	..	18	..	..	3	..	..	28	..	407			
5. Ratnagiri ..	390	..	18	..	..	3	2	21	34	1	2,699			
6. Kolaba ..	1,163	7	40	..	..	2	2	21	113	3	469	-46	1,774	1
											1,351			
											1,820			
<b>Total ..</b>	<b>3,594</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>275</b>	<b>..</b>	<b>..</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>278</b>	<b>292</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>4,519</b>	<b>-298</b>	<b>4,221</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>Grand Total ..</b>	<b>11,649</b>	<b>2,518</b>	<b>5,554</b>	<b>2,071</b>	<b>640</b>	<b>300</b>	<b>115</b>	<b>851</b>	<b>905</b>	<b>1,130</b>	<b>25,823</b>	<b>-2,923</b>	<b>22,900</b>	<b>20</b>

## STATEMENT No. VI.

*Showing proposed constituencies for the Bombay Legislative Council.*

Name of Constituency.	Class of constituency.	Extent of constituency.	Number of members.
Bombay City ..	General Urban ..	The City of Bombay .. .. .	5
Ahmedabad City ..	Do. ..	The Municipal Borough of Ahmedabad, the Cantonment of Ahmedabad and the Notified Areas of Kankaria, Asarwa, Ellis Bridge and Sabarmati.	1
Poona and Sholapur Cities.	Do. ..	The Poona City and Poona Suburban Municipal Boroughs, the Cantonments of Poona and Kirkee and the Municipal Borough of Sholapur.	1
Ahmedabad District ..	General Rural ..	The district of Ahmedabad (excluding the Municipal Borough of Ahmedabad, the Cantonment of Ahmedabad and the Notified Areas of Kankaria, Asarwa, Ellis Bridge and Sabarmati).	1
Kaira District ..	Do. ..	The district of Kaira .. .. .	1
Broach and Panch Mahals District.	Do. ..	The district of Broach and Panch Mahals ..	1
Surat District ..	Do. ..	The district of Surat .. .. .	1
Thana and Bombay Suburban Districts.	Do. ..	The districts of Thana and Bombay Suburban ..	1
Ahmednagar, Poona and Sholapur Districts.	Do. ..	The districts of Ahmednagar, Poona (excluding the Poona City and Poona Suburban Municipal Boroughs and the Cantonments of Poona and Kirkee) and Sholapur (excluding the Municipal Borough of Sholapur).	1
West Khandesh and Nasik Districts.	Do. ..	The districts of West Khandesh and Nasik ..	1
East Khandesh District ..	Do. ..	The district of East Khandesh .. .. .	1
Satara District ..	Do. ..	The district of Satara .. .. .	1
Belgaum, Bijapur, Dharwar and Kanara Districts.	Do. ..	The districts of Belgaum, Bijapur, Dharwar and Kanara.	3
Kolaba and Ratnagiri Districts.	Do. ..	The districts of Kolaba and Ratnagiri ..	1
Bombay City ..	M u h a m m a d a n Urban.	The City of Bombay .. .. .	2
Northern Division including Bombay Suburban District.	Muhammadian Rural.	The districts of Ahmedabad, Kaira, Broach and Panch Mahals, Surat, Thana and Bombay Suburban.	1
Central Division ..	Do. ..	The districts of Ahmednagar, East Khandesh, West Khandesh, Nasik, Poona, Satara and Sholapur.	1
Southern Division ..	Do. ..	The districts of Belgaum, Bijapur, Dharwar, Kanara, Ratnagiri and Kolaba.	1

## MINUTE OF DISSENT BY MR. HOOSENALLY M. RAHIMTOOLA.

Under the present constitution out of 43 (7 reserved) general seats in the Presidency excluding Sind Bombay City gets 6 (one reserved). In future there will be 120 (28 reserved) general seats and it is proposed to allot Bombay including Bombay Suburban District 9 (3 reserved). This means that though the number of unreserved seats has increased from 36 to 92 Bombay including the Bombay Suburban District will get only 1 more. If one seat were to be deducted for the Bombay Suburban District Bombay's number will remain the same as hitherto.

The Commissioners and the Committee in dividing the seats between Bombay and the Divisions have gone almost entirely on population basis.

On this basis the quotas are as follows :—

Northern Division	..	..	..	..	26
Central Division (excluding Bombay Suburban District)	..	..	..	..	50
Southern Division	..	..	..	..	36
Bombay (including Bombay Suburban District)	..	..	..	..	8

The Commissioners and the Committee have given 2 less seats to the Southern Division. Of these they have given 1 to the Central Division "on account of the high voting strength and the fact that Poona may be considered to be the educational centre of the Presidency"; (*vide* paragraph 1 of the Commissioners' letter printed at page 52 of the Material) and 1 to Bombay "on account of the high average wealth and educational standard of its population" (*vide* as above).

From the figures of population and voting strength given on page 52 of the Material the percentages of the voting strength to the population in the 3 divisions are :—

Northern Division	..	..	..	..	15.64
Central Division	..	..	..	..	11.91
Southern Division	..	..	..	..	10.84

The present voting strength in Bombay City is 12.20 per cent. of the population (*vide* figures of population and voting strength on page 79 of the Material). This percentage is likely to increase to 25 under the new franchise.

It cannot be denied that Bombay's importance as an educational centre is much greater than Poona's.

The 28 reserved seats have been distributed by the Committee as follows :—

Bombay	..	..	..	..	3
Northern Division	..	..	..	..	6
Central Division	..	..	..	..	11
Southern Division	..	..	..	..	8

The percentages of reserved seats to General seats are :—

Bombay	..	..	..	..	33 $\frac{1}{3}$
Northern Division	..	..	..	..	23 $\frac{1}{3}$
Central Division	..	..	..	..	21 $\frac{2}{3}$
Southern Division	..	..	..	..	23 $\frac{2}{3}$

The Central Division gets 50 out of 120 general seats which gives a percentage of 41.66 and still it gets weightage of 1 seat whereas Bombay City with all its acknowledged importance and peculiar position also gets the same weightage of 1 seat.

Ahmedabad City with a population of 238,054 (*vide* page 65 of the Material) has been given 3 general seats. On the same basis Bombay City and the Suburbs with a population of 984,921 (*vide* page 97 of the Material) should get more than 12 seats.

In paragraph 14 (vi) of Appendix 1 to the Reforms Office letter No. 191 dated 13th April 1933 it is very rightly stated : "on the one hand, it would appear to be but proper that, in view of their superior standard of wealth and intelligence, higher percentage of literacy and better experience in the use of the vote, urban areas should be given larger representation than rural areas" and again in the last paragraph of paragraph 15 we find : "But as some of the constituencies are more backward than others, it would appear to be inexpedient, until they are sufficiently advanced and politically educated, to adopt population as the only



basis of distribution. The standard of intelligence, literacy, experience in the use of the vote, the voting strength of the constituency, etc., should also, it appears, be taken into account in preparing any judicious scheme of distribution." (*Vide* page 12 of the Material.)

Really speaking in distributing seats not only the population, the voting strength and the other factors stated in the abovementioned Reforms Office letter but also the provincial revenue contributed should be taken into consideration and an average struck out.

The 2 Landholders' seats have not been distributed on numbers and other factors have been taken into consideration (*vide* paragraph 39 of the Report). Similarly population has not been the sole basis in distributing the Mahomedan seats (*vide* paragraph 25 of the Report).

Bombay City is the capital of the Province and is its only Port. Its commercial, industrial and educational importance is well known. Many of its problems are peculiar to itself whereas many of the conditions in urban and rural areas in the rest of the Province are similar. The Municipal Administration in Bombay is quite distinct from the Province. The Police Commissioner is not under the Inspector General of Police. Bombay has a separate Land Revenue Code and its system of administration of justice is also different. Under the circumstances Bombay City should receive special consideration in the matter of the distribution of seats. It is correct that a good number of seats of the Special Constituencies will be filled by Bombay men but they will represent special interests generally spread out through the Province. They cannot, by any stretch of imagination, be called the representatives of Bombay.

I therefore hope that Government and the Royal Commission will take these facts into consideration and allot to Bombay at least 3 more general seats. One of these can easily be taken from Ahmedabad City and 2 from the Central Division. The Northern and Central Divisions will each get only one seat less than their population quota. In the Central Division, Satara with a population of 1,134,280 has been given 8 seats whereas East Khandesh with a population of 1,076,693 has been given 8 seats and Poona with a population of 1,095,595 has been given 9 seats (*vide* page 53 of the Material). One seat each from Poona and East Khandesh can easily be taken out.

Coming to the distribution of the 30 Mahomedan seats Bombay City including the Bombay Suburban District has been given one more seat "in view of its importance and the fact that it has a very large and wealthy Muhammadan population containing important trading communities" (*vide* paragraph 21 of the Report). But one of these seats has been reserved for ladies. The Northern Division has also been given an additional seat. The present voting strength of the Mahomedans in Bombay City according to the latest Municipal roll is 27,195 (only 10 rupees rent-payers. Income tax payers are not included). The voting strength in Bombay Suburban District is 3,380 (*vide* page 32 of the Material).

This makes a total of 30,575 which will easily double under the new franchise. Surat City including Rander with a population of 36,000 gets one seat and on this basis Bombay including the Bombay Suburban District should get more than 6 seats. From the tables on page 76 of the Material it will be seen that Surat City and District are entitled to 1.2 seats and get 2 whereas Kaira is entitled to 1.6 and gets one (*vide* page 76 of the Material).

The seat reserved for a lady should not be considered a Bombay seat as the lady will represent not only the Mahomedan ladies of Bombay City but of the whole Province. It would therefore be fair that Bombay including the Bombay Suburban District should be given six seats of which one should be reserved for a lady. This can easily be done by combining Surat City with the Surat District and giving only one seat instead of two or combining the Broach and Panch Mahals (they are under one Collector) and giving them two seats instead of 3. They are entitled to only 2.4 seats (*vide* page 76 of the Material). It must be remembered that important trading communities can get representation in Bombay City alone.

The recommendation of the Franchise Committee in paragraphs 92 to 95 and quoted in paragraph 6 of this Report regarding "The representation of town and country in the Legislatures proportionate to the population in each" will not be

much affected by the above proposals as according to the Committee's proposals the urban seats are 17 per cent. of the total against the urban population of 22·1 per cent. (*vide* paragraph 8 of the Report).

In this connection attention may be invited to the Schedule of seats in the Federal Assembly appended to the Government of India Bill. It will be noticed that the population of British India is 257 millions and the number of seats is 250. The Bombay Province with a population of 18 millions gets 30 seats out of which 13 are general and 6 Mahomedan. This allocation is not on population basis. Bombay City's position in Bombay Province is similar to that of the Bombay Province in British India.

HOSENALLY M. RAHIMTOOLA.

## ANNEXURE B.

PRESS NOTE DATED THE 5TH AUGUST 1935 CONTAINING A SUMMARY OF THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE BOMBAY PROVINCIAL DELIMITATION COMMITTEE CONTAINED IN ITS REPORT DATED THE 11TH JULY 1935.

The Bombay Provincial Delimitation Committee which commenced its work in Poona on the 17th June has submitted its report to Government. The Committee was appointed to consider provisionally with reference to the Government of India Bill, the delimitation of the constituencies for the Bombay Legislative Assembly and the Bombay Legislative Council under the reformed Constitution.

The Committee was constituted as follows :—

The Honourable Mr. Justice N. J. Wadia, I.C.S. ( <i>Chairman</i> ),	}	Members,
Rao Bahadur R. R. Kale, M.L.C.,		
Sardar Rao Bahadur B. R. Naik, M.L.C.,		
Mr. Hoosenally M. Rahimtoola, M.L.C.,		
Khan Bahadur Abdul Latif Haji Hajrat Khan, M.L.C.,		
Rao Bahadur N. E. Navle, M.L.C.,		
Rao Bahadur S. N. Angadi, M.L.C.,		
Mr. J. H. Garrett, C.S.I., I.C.S.,		
Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, M.L.C. (resigned),		
Dr. P. G. Solanki, M.L.C.		

with Mr. H. T. Lambrick, I.C.S., as Secretary. The Committee co-opted Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas and Sir John Abercrombie to represent Indian and European commercial interests respectively, the latter to represent Europeans also, Mr. S. C. Joshi to represent Labour and Mrs. Faiz B. Tyabji (with Mrs. Wilkie Brown as adviser) to represent women. It also invited Mr. J. F. Gennings, Commissioner of Labour, to assist it in its deliberations relating to the representation of Labour and Mr. D. Symington, I.C.S., Backward Class Officer, in connection with the question of reservation of seats for the Scheduled Castes and Backward Tribes.

The Committee worked on the basis of certain proposals on the subject formulated by the Divisional Commissioners. Representations were received from various persons and bodies in response to the Press Note dated the 5th June 1935 and the Committee duly considered the claims put forward therein.

According to the Tables of Seats appended to the Government of India Act the reformed Provincial Legislature in this Presidency is to be constituted as follows :—

### BOMBAY LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

General seats .. .. .	114	(of which 15 are to be reserved for Scheduled Castes and 7 for Marathas).
Backward Tribes .. .. .	1	
Muhammadian .. .. .	29	
Anglo-Indian .. .. .	2	
European .. .. .	3	
Indian Christian .. .. .	3	
Commerce and Industry .. .. .	7	
Landholders .. .. .	2	
University .. .. .	1	
Labour .. .. .	7	
Women (General) .. .. .	5	
Do. (Muhammadian) .. .. .	1	
Total ..	175	

### BOMBAY LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

General .. .. .	20
Muhammadian .. .. .	5
European .. .. .	1
Total ..	26

In addition to these, there will be not less than 3 and not more than 4 seats in the Legislative Council to be filled by the Governor thus making a total strength of 29 or 30 seats.

## GENERAL REMARKS.

In framing the constituencies, the Committee took the population as the main basis and it also took into account other factors such as voting strength, size or geographical position of the constituency, wealth or commercial or educational importance of the electorate, etc., where such considerations were of special importance.

The Committee has recommended 70 territorial constituencies for the Provincial Legislative Assembly. Of these 14 are urban constituencies and 56 rural constituencies. Out of the total of 158 territorial seats 131 are proposed for rural constituencies (104 Non-Muhammadan, 23 Muhammadan, 1 European, 1 Anglo-Indian and 2 Indian Christian) and 27 for urban constituencies (16 Non-Muhammadan, 7 Muhammadan, 2 European, 1 Anglo-Indian and 1 Indian Christian). The urban seats will thus be 17 per cent. of the total and the rural 83 per cent. There will be 40 General constituencies and 23 Muhammadan constituencies. There will be 3 constituencies for Indian Christians, 2 for Europeans and 2 for Anglo-Indians. The Committee has also recommended certain constituencies to represent special interests, viz., 2 for land-holders, 1 for the University, 6 for Commerce and Industry and 6 for Labour. Seats have been assigned to these in accordance with the distribution prescribed in the Government of India Act as stated above.

## GENERAL SEATS.

Of the 120 General seats (including Women's and Backward Tribes seat which are proposed to be reserved in General Constituencies), 9 have been assigned to Bombay City and the Bombay Suburban District, 26 to the Northern Division, 51 to the Central Division and 34 to the Southern Division. This distribution works out to a population of 135,913 per seat. There will be 40 General constituencies of which 7 will be urban and 33 rural. Bombay City is to be divided into 3 constituencies.

In framing the General rural constituencies in the districts the Committee considered it undesirable to sub-divide them into several small constituencies as this would mean fewer seats per constituency with the result that small minorities such as Jains, Indian Christians, Jews, Parsis, etc., may be unable to secure the election of candidates of their choice.

It has, therefore, limited the sub-division of the districts to two constituencies in each and in the case of small districts has formed the whole district into a single constituency. Similarly, it has assigned seats up to 4 per constituency. In no constituency has more than one seat been reserved.

## MARATHA SEATS.

Under the Government of India Act, 7 seats out of the 120 General seats are to be reserved for the Marathas. The Committee has recommended that these seats should be reserved in the Mahim ward of Bombay City and Bombay Suburban District and in the Thana South, East Khandesh West, West Khandesh East, Belgaum South, Kolaba District and Ratnagiri North constituencies.

## SCHEDULED CASTE SEATS.

The 15 seats to be reserved for the Scheduled Castes in General constituencies have been reserved in Bombay City (Byculla and Parel wards), Ahmedabad North, Kaira District, Surat District, Thana North, Ahmednagar South, East Khandesh East, Nasik West, Poona West, Satara North, Sholapur North-East, Belgaum North, Bijapur North, Dharwar North and Ratnagiri South constituencies.

## THE BACKWARD TRIBES SEAT.

The Committee has recommended that this seat should be a reserved seat in the General constituency in the West Khandesh District which has the largest population of the Aboriginal and Hill Tribes, namely, the constituency formed of the Shahada, Taloda and Nandurbar talukas and Navapur petha. It has also proposed a special low franchise for these tribes so as to bring in a large number of them on the electorate. Under this franchise all occupants and tenants paying revenue or rent on land assessed at Rs. 4 and all officiating patils and inferior village servants belonging to these tribes will be enfranchised in addition to those enfranchised by the general qualifications.

### WOMEN'S SEATS.

The Committee is of the opinion that under the conditions prevailing in this Presidency separate women's constituencies for the filling of the 6 seats allotted to women are neither practicable nor desirable. It has, therefore, recommended that these seats should be reserved in General and Muhammadan constituencies. In this view it was strongly supported by the two representatives of women who sat on the Committee when this question was being considered. The five General seats have been distributed to the following constituencies:—

Bombay City (Fort, Girgaum, Mandvi and Bhuleshwar wards).  
 Ahmedabad City.  
 Poona City.  
 Satara South and Dharwar South.

The Committee has further recommended that separate polling booths for women with women as Presiding and polling officers should not be appointed generally but women should be appointed at polling stations, where necessary or where there is a demand, to assist women voters and separate polling compartments with independent entrances and exits should be provided for women within the polling stations. The Committee has also suggested that with a view to facilitate the enrolment of women printed forms of application should be left at each house by the village officers or others requiring each householder to fill in the forms and return them.

### MUHAMMADAN SEATS.

Of the 30 Muhammadan seats (including the women's seat) 9 have been assigned to Northern Division, 8 to Central Division, 8 to Southern Division and 5 to Bombay City. This distribution works to a population of 53,413 per seat. There will be 23 Muhammadan constituencies of which 4 will be urban constituencies (Bombay City North and Bombay Suburban District, Bombay City South, Ahmedabad City and Surat and Rander Cities) with 7 seats assigned to them and 19 rural constituencies, mostly district constituencies, with 23 seats assigned to them. The seat allotted to Muhammadan women will be a reserved seat in the Bombay City (North) and Bombay Suburban District constituency. The existing Muhammadan divisional constituencies will thus disappear.

### EUROPEAN AND ANGLO-INDIAN CONSTITUENCIES.

Of the three seats assigned to Europeans 2 have been allotted to a constituency consisting of Bombay City and the Bombay Suburban District and one to the rest of the Presidency. Similarly, of the 2 Anglo-Indian seats 1 has been allotted to Bombay City and the Bombay Suburban District and the other to the rest of the Presidency.

A special method of voting has been suggested for the Presidency-wide European and the Anglo-Indian constituencies.

### INDIAN CHRISTIAN CONSTITUENCIES.

Of the 3 seats allotted to Indian Christians 1 has been allotted to Bombay City and the Bombay Suburban District, 1 to Poona and Ahmednagar districts and the third to Kaira and Ahmedabad districts. Indian Christians in constituencies other than these will be entitled to vote in General constituencies.

### COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY CONSTITUENCIES.

After considering the claims put forward by various commercial bodies and by the representatives of European and Indian Commerce who were co-opted by it, the Committee came to the conclusion that the 7 seats allotted to Commerce and Industry should be distributed as follows:—

Bombay Chamber of Commerce	..	..	2 seats.
Bombay Trades' Association	..	..	1 seat.
Bombay Millowners' Association	..	..	1 "
Ahmedabad Millowners' Association	..	..	1 "
Indian Merchants' Chamber	..	..	1 "
East India Cotton Association Ltd.	..	..	1 "

It has also suggested that the new Electoral Rules should provide that in these constituencies a person shall be entitled to vote on behalf of his firm if on

the date on which the poll is taken he is entitled to exercise the rights of membership on behalf of the firm.

#### LANDHOLDERS' CONSTITUENCIES.

Of the 2 seats assigned to Landholders 1 has been allotted to the Gujarat Sardars and Inamdars and the second to Deccan Sardars and Inamdars (Central Division and Southern Division combined) as at present. The franchise will remain the same as at present.

#### UNIVERSITY CONSTITUENCY.

The majority of the Committee are of opinion that the existing graduates' qualification in the University constituency should be altered so as to enable graduates of five years' standing to be qualified as electors.

#### REPRESENTATION OF LABOUR.

Here the first question which the Committee had to decide was as to the method by which representation should be provided for Labour, that is to say, whether it should be through trade unions or special Labour constituencies or through a combination of both as suggested by the Lothian Committee. After consultation with the Commissioner of Labour and the representative of Labour who was co-opted by it for the purpose the Committee finally came to the conclusion that in the conditions of this Presidency special Labour constituencies are not practicable and that the only way in which representation can be provided is by means of trade union constituencies. The Committee has accordingly proposed that the 7 Labour seats should be assigned as follows:—

Gujarat Textile Labour Unions	..	..	1 seat.
Bombay City and Suburban Textile Labour Unions	..	1	„
Deccan and Karnatak Textile Labour Unions	..	1	„
Railway Unions	..	..	2 seats.
Registered Trade Unions of seamen, dock-workers and Port Trust employees.			1 seat.
General Trade Unions	..	..	1 „

Voting will not be direct. The representatives of Labour will be elected by an electoral college of delegates who, in their turn, will be elected by the members of qualified trade unions in each of the above constituencies, much in the same way as Labour representatives on the Municipal Corporation of Bombay are elected in Bombay City. The Committee has suggested certain qualifications for trade unions, electors for the electoral college of delegates and for candidates. The majority of the Committee are of opinion that all members of a registered trade union including honorary members and officials should be entitled to stand as candidates for the Labour seats.

#### PROVINCIAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

In allotting the 26 elective seats provided for the Provincial Legislative Council between Bombay City and the districts the Committee adopted voting strength instead of population as the basis as this was considered the only suitable basis for a body elected on a high franchise. It has proposed 19 constituencies for the Provincial Second Chamber, 14 General with 20 seats, 4 Muhammadan with 5 seats and 1 European with 1 seat. Of the 20 General seats 5 have been allotted to Bombay City, 6 to Northern Division, 5 to Central Division and 4 to Southern Division. Of the 5 Muhammadan seats 2 have been assigned to Bombay City and 1 each to the Northern Division (including Bombay Suburban District), Central Division and Southern Division. The one European seat has been assigned to a constituency consisting of the whole Presidency. Voting in the European constituency is to be by postal ballot.

One of the members of the Committee Mr. Hoosenally M. Rahimtoola, has signed the report subject to a minute of dissent in which he contends that with the increase of elective seats in the reformed Provincial Assembly and having regard to the importance of Bombay City it should be given at least 3 more general seats than those allotted by the Committee.

Further details of the Committee's scheme may be obtained from its report which is on sale at the Government Book Depôt, Charni Road, Bombay, its price being annas seven.

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 Bombay 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 C.

PRESS NOTE DATED THE 15TH AUGUST 1935 CONTAINING THE PROVISIONAL VIEWS OF GOVERNMENT ON THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE BOMBAY PROVINCIAL DELIMITATION COMMITTEE CONTAINED IN ITS REPORT DATED THE 11TH JULY 1935.

In the concluding paragraph of the Press Note dated the 5th August 1935 on the Report of the Bombay 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 at once 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 dated the 5th August 1935 and of the members of the Legislative Council before whom the Committee's Report will be placed for discussion at the session to be held in September-October 1935.

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

### PROVINCIAL LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

(1) *Principles of Delimitation.*—Government agree with the Committee for the reasons stated by it.

(2) *Distribution of General seats.*—Government accept the distribution of General seats recommended by the Committee. They also agree with the Committee that, having regard to the conditions in this Presidency, it is undesirable to sub-divide districts into several small constituencies. Theoretically there is much to be said in favour of single-member constituencies, but, having regard to the actual conditions in this Presidency, Government, as at present advised, are inclined to think that plural-member constituencies would be more suitable. The two-Party system is not yet established in this country and voting takes place largely on personal or communal considerations. Small sections of the population can, therefore, have practically no chance of returning a representative of their choice unless more than one seat is allotted to a constituency. Even large and important sections of the population for whom special representation has not been provided might go unrepresented if a district is sub-divided into several small electoral areas and their strength is distributed. Indeed, a legislature returned by constituencies so sub-divided might, with a large number of candidates easily be unrepresentative of the wishes of the majority of the electors. Also, with single member constituencies candidates with a merely parochial outlook and of relatively inferior type are likely to be returned and though it is possible to some extent to provide against this danger by dispensing with the requirement that a candidate should actually reside within his constituency it is very doubtful whether, in actual practice, electors would generally favour outsiders as their representatives.

- (3) *Distribution of Maratha reserved seats.*
- (4) *Reserved seats for Scheduled Castes.*
- (5) *Backward Tribes seat.*
- (6) *Women's seats.*
- (7) *Muhammadan representation.*
- (8) *European constituencies.*
- (9) *Anglo-Indian constituencies.*
- (10) *Indian Christian constituencies.*

} Government accept the Committee's recommendations.

(11) *Commerce and Industry constituencies.*—Government accept the Committee's recommendation provided it is not considered to infringe the provisions of the Communal Award of His Majesty's Government.

(12) *Landholders' constituencies.*—Government accept the Committee's recommendations.



(13) *University constituency.*—Government are of the opinion that the existing franchise qualification (i.e. being a member of the Senate or an Honorary Fellow of the University or a Graduate of the University of *seven years'* standing) should be retained.

As regards the method of voting, Government agree with the Committee that the present method of voting should be continued.

(14) *Representation of Labour.*—Decisions of Government are postponed pending further investigation of the Committee's recommendations.

#### PROVINCIAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

(1) *General constituencies.*—Decision of Government is postponed pending further examination of the Committee's recommendations in the light of the franchise qualifications.

(2) *Muhammadan and European constituencies.*—The Committee's recommendations are accepted.

## ANNEXURE D.

PRESS NOTE DATED THE 9TH SEPTEMBER 1935 CONTAINING THE PROVISIONAL VIEWS OF GOVERNMENT ON THE BOMBAY PROVINCIAL DELIMITATION COMMITTEE'S RECOMMENDATIONS REGARDING REPRESENTATION OF LABOUR AND GENERAL CONSTITUENCIES OF THE BOMBAY LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL CONTAINED IN ITS REPORT DATED THE 11TH JULY 1935.

## Press Note.

In the Press Note dated the 15th August 1935 publishing the provisional views of the Government of Bombay on the recommendations of the Bombay Provincial Delimitation Committee it was stated that the decisions of Government on the Committee's recommendations regarding the representation of Labour were postponed pending further investigation and that those on the Committee's recommendations regarding the general constituencies of the Provincial Legislative Council were postponed pending further examination of the Committee's recommendations in the light of the franchise qualifications. Government have since further examined the recommendations of the Committee above referred to and their provisional views on them are briefly stated below :—

(1) *General constituencies of the Provincial Legislative Council.*—Government do not agree with the Committee that elective seats for the Provincial Legislative Council should be distributed on the basis of the estimated number of voters only. Nor do they think that population should be adopted as the only basis of distribution, as either of these basis would lead to inequitable results. Government are of the opinion that both population and voting strength combined should be adopted as the basis for distribution of seats and that the seats should be distributed as follows :—

Bombay City	..	4 (as against 5 proposed by the Committee).
Northern Division	..	5 (as against 6 proposed by the Committee).
Central Division	..	6 (as against 5 proposed by the Committee).
Southern Division	..	5 (as against 4 proposed by the Committee).

The following consequential changes should be made in statement VI at page 36 of the Report of the Committee :—

Name of constituency.	Class of constituency.	Extent of constituency.	Number of members.
Bombay City .. .. .	General Urban ..	The City of Bombay .. .. .	4
Ahmedabad and Kaira Districts..	General Rural ..	The district of Ahmedabad (excluding the municipal borough of Ahmedabad, the Cantonment of Ahmedabad and the Notified Areas of Kankaria, Asarwa, Ellis Bridge and Sabarmati and the District of Kaira.	1
Ahmednagar, Poona and Sholapur Districts.	Do. ..	The districts of Ahmednagar, Poona (excluding the Poona City and Poona Suburban Municipal Boroughs and the Cantonments of Poona and Kirkee), and Sholapur (excluding the Municipal Borough of Sholapur).	2
Belgaum and Bijapur Districts ..	Do. ..	The districts of Belgaum and Bijapur ..	2
Dharwar and Kanara Districts ..	Do. ..	The districts of Dharwar and Kanara ..	2

(2) *Representation of Labour.*—The Committee have recommended the following trade union constituencies for the representation of Labour on the Provincial Legislative Assembly :—

Name of constituency.	Class of constituency.	Extent of constituency.	Number of seats.
1. Gujarat Textile Labour Unions.	Labour ..	The Ahmedabad, Kaira, Broach and Panch Mahals and Surat Districts.	1
2. Bombay City and Suburban Textile Labour Unions.	Do. ..	The City of Bombay and the Thana and Bombay Suburban Districts.	1
3. Deccan and Karnatak Textile Labour Unions.	Do. ..	The East Khandesh, West Khandesh, Poona, Nasik, Satara, Sholapur, Ahmednagar, Belgaum, Bijapur, Dharwar, Kanara, Kolaba and Ratnagiri Districts.	1
4. Railway Unions ..	Do. ..	The Presidency of Bombay .. .. .	2
5. Registered Trade Unions of seamen, dock-workers and Port Trust employees.	Do. ..	Do. .. .. .	1
6. General Trade Unions ..	Do. ..	Do. .. .. .	1

Government fully agree with the Committee that strongly organised trade unions form the most suitable constituencies for special Labour representation but they are inclined to think that the question is of sufficient importance to deserve further discussion on certain points, namely :—

(1) Is it desirable that *all* registered trade unions throughout the *whole* Presidency should be formed into a number of constituencies? Commerce will be represented only by members elected by representative bodies and there is possibly a case, at this stage for similar arrangements being made in the case of Labour. Thus Labour in the textile industry would be adequately represented by 3 members elected by registered trade unions in (a) Ahmedabad City, (b) Bombay City and (c) Sholapur City one seat being allotted to each of these areas.

(2) It has been implied in No. (1) above that a constituency like No. 3 "Deccan and Karnatak Textile Labour Unions" covering the whole of the Deccan, Khandesh and Karnatak is too scattered and might be effectively replaced by a trade union constituency in a representative area like Sholapur City if properly organised trade unions existed there. Similarly, the "General Trade Unions" constituency for the whole Presidency might be effectively represented by one or more trade unions for representative trades in a restricted area.

(3) Well-organised trade unions already exist for the textile industry in Ahmedabad, on the railways, and for seamen, dock-workers and Port Trust employees, but in the case of the proposed Bombay City and Suburban Textile Labour Unions constituency and the Deccan and Karnatak Textile Labour Unions constituency (or alternatively, the Sholapur City constituency suggested in (1) and (2) above trade unions are so poorly organised that it is a question for consideration whether other arrangements should not be made for the textile industries in these areas till the unions represent more fully textile labour in the areas. At the time the Bombay Provincial Delimitation Committee reported the membership of textile unions in Bombay City and Suburbs was only 3,835 and in the Deccan, Khandesh and Karnatak was only 214 for a single union at Dhulia. There are practical difficulties in forming Special Labour constituencies but they appear to have been overcome in other provinces and their possibilities seem to require further examination for the Bombay Presidency.

(4) To sum up : if it is assumed that the railway unions are not over-represented by giving 2 seats, Government are inclined to accept the following trade union constituencies :—

- (i) textile labour unions either for all Gujarat or alternatively for Ahmedabad City only—1 seat.
- (ii) railway unions registered in the Bombay Presidency—2 seats.
- (iii) registered trade unions of seamen, dock-workers and Port Trust employees—1 seat.

For the remaining 3 seats Government invite the views of the public and public bodies interested on the suggestions for—

- (a) a special textile labour constituency in Bombay City and Suburbs ;
- (b) a special textile labour constituency in the Deccan, Khandesh and Karnatak, preferably by limitation to Sholapur City ;
- (c) the desirability of substituting for the general trade unions constituency either a more limited trade unions constituency for representative industries preferably in a limited area or a special labour constituency covering the same or similar industries.

Any persons or bodies who advocate Special Labour constituencies may forward their views to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bombay, Political and Reforms Department, not later than the 20th September 1935. Views are also invited on the suggestion made at (i) above for the establishment of a textile labour unions constituency for Ahmedabad City only with 1 seat allotted to it and on the electoral qualifications which should be prescribed for electors in Special Labour constituencies which may be established so that the electorate may be a practicable proposition. These views should also be forwarded by the 20th September 1935.

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**ANNEXURE E.**

**First Supplementary Report of the Bombay Provincial Delimitation Committee  
dated the 1st October 1935.**

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## FIRST SUPPLEMENTARY REPORT OF THE BOMBAY PROVINCIAL DELIMITATION COMMITTEE.

In our main report of the 11th July 1935 we had submitted our proposals with regard to the constituencies of the Bombay Legislative Assembly and the Bombay Legislative Council. These were published for eliciting opinions and criticisms from the public and were also discussed in the Bombay Legislative Council. The Government of Bombay also published their provisional views on our report in their Press Notes of the 15th August and the 9th September 1935.

We have now been asked by Government letter No. R.-287, dated the 23rd September 1935, to meet again to consider—

(i) the public criticisms and written statements received on our report and the provisional views of Government thereon on the scheme of constituencies for the Bombay Legislative Assembly and to submit our final report to Government not later than the 15th October;

(ii) the public criticisms and written statements received on our recommendations and the provisional views of Government regarding the constituencies of the Bombay Legislative Council in the light of the revised franchise qualifications for the Council and to submit our final report to Government not later than the 1st October;

(iii) the provisional views of Government on the delimitation of the Commerce and Industry, Landholders and Labour constituencies of the Federal Assembly in the Presidency proper and to report, not later than the 1st October, whether we concur with them, and to submit any modifications which we might consider necessary;

(iv) the delimitation of constituencies for the Federal Council of State in the Presidency proper for filling the General and Muhammadan seats having regard to the report of the Divisional Commissioners thereon, and to report, not later than the 1st October, whether we concur with the Commissioners' proposals and to suggest any modifications which we might think necessary;

(v) to consider and report in what manner the term of office of certain of the elected members of the Federal Council of State and the Bombay Legislative Council should, upon the first constitution of the Council of State and the Council, be curtailed so as to secure that, as nearly as may be, one-third of the members holding seats of each class shall retire every third year thereafter, as laid down in paragraph 14 of Part I of the First Schedule and paragraph 18 of the Fifth Schedule to the Government of India Act, 1935; and

(vi) to consider and report on the points mentioned in the letter from His Majesty's Secretary of State for India to Sir Laurie Hammond, K.C.S.I., C.B.E., dated the 31st July 1935, so far as they relate to electoral arrangements and the delimitation of constituencies.

2. The members of our committee are the same as on the former occasion, except that Mr. C. W. A. Turner, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S., has taken the place of Mr. J. H. Garrett, C.S.I., I.C.S., as Member, and Rao Saheb V. H. Vachhrajani, M.A., LL.B., has taken the place of Mr. H. T. Lambrick, I.C.S., as Secretary. We held the first meeting of our second session at Poona on the 30th September 1935.

3. We will deal later with the questions referred to in clauses (i), (v) and (vi) of paragraph 1 above in a separate report. In this report we have dealt with the three questions on which we have been asked to report urgently by the 1st of October.

4. The first question we have been asked to consider is the delimitation of constituencies of the Provincial Legislative Council. Our original proposals

on this subject are contained in paragraphs 55-64 of the main report. These proposals were based on the franchise qualifications which were tentatively proposed by the Government of Bombay and on the figures of the estimated number of voters then supplied to us which were admittedly only approximate. The position has been considerably altered now. The franchise qualifications now fixed by the Secretary of State differ materially from those on which our original proposals were based and reduce the electorate considerably. The estimated number of voters in Bombay City and in each district of the Presidency on the basis of the new franchise is very different from the original estimate. On the new franchise the Commissioners report that the number of voters will be:—

Constituency.	General voting strength.	Muhammadan voting strength.
Bombay City and Bombay Suburban District (excluding Ambernath)	... 2,610	460
Northern Division	... 2,685	400
Central Division	... 2,685	172
Southern Division	... 2,331	203
	10,311	1,235

5. We have considered the public criticisms and written statements received on our original proposals and the provisional views of the Government of Bombay contained in their Press Note No. R-319-III, dated the 9th September 1935. Our original proposals were based on a consideration of the voting strength of each constituency only. On further consideration, we agree with the view taken by the Government of Bombay that, in view of the wide divergence between the population and the voting strength of the various parts of the Presidency, this principle will not result in a very equitable distribution of seats, and that a fairer method to adopt would be to consider both the population and the voting strength.

6. Many of the criticisms received from the public on our proposals such as alterations in the franchise qualifications and the provision of seats in the Upper Chamber for the scheduled castes relate to matters which are beyond the scope of our enquiry.

7. We considered two alternative methods for the formation of constituencies and the distribution of the 20 general seats in the Bombay Legislative Council. One method is to distribute the seats, first between Bombay City and each of the three Divisions and then to form constituencies within each Division and allot seats to them. This is the method accepted by the Government of Bombay in their provisional views published in their Press Note No. R-319-III of the 9th September 1935. This method follows the revenue divisions of the Presidency and provides, in the main, single-member constituencies. Another method is that adopted by the Commissioners in their report No. C.N.J.P.-578, dated the 26th September 1935, with regard to the formation of constituencies for the Federal Council of State. According to this method Bombay City would be given four seats on a consideration of its population and voting strength, and the remaining 16 seats would be distributed between 8 constituencies formed out of the 19 districts of the Presidency, the grouping of contiguous districts being made without regard to the revenue divisions. After careful consideration of both these methods we have decided unanimously in favour of the second method, and propose that the constituencies suggested by the Commissioners for the Council of State in this Presidency should be adopted for the purposes of the Provincial Legislative Council also. As there are twice as many general seats in the Provincial Legislative Council as there are in the Federal Council of State, each constituency will have two seats in the Provincial Council. This proposal has, in our opinion, several obvious advantages from the administrative point of view. It will simplify the preparation and maintenance of electoral rolls and the holding of elections, as the franchise qualifications will be common for both the Provincial and the Federal Upper Chambers, and the constituencies, and presumably the officers conducting the elections, will also be the same. It will also result in some saving of cost. In proposing that these 20 seats should be allotted to 9 plural-member constituencies, we assume that the system of cumulative voting will

apply. In our main report we have discussed at some length the reasons which have led us to the conclusion that, in the conditions of this Presidency, the system of plural-member constituencies with cumulative voting is absolutely necessary, and is the only system by which the interests of the various minorities can be adequately safeguarded. We find that our views on this point have been fully endorsed by the Government of Bombay and the Bombay Legislative Council, and they have also received the almost unanimous approval of the public as expressed in the written representations received by us. One of our members, Sardar Rao Bahadur B. R. Naik, had suggested as an alternative that the five Gujarat Districts, namely, Ahmedabad, Kaira, Surat, Broach and Panch Mahals, should be formed into a single constituency with four seats. The other members were not in favour of this proposal.

8. We, therefore, recommend, in modification of our previous proposals, that the constituencies for the Provincial Legislative Council should be formed, and the seats allocated to each, as shown in Statement I appended to this report.

### **Federal Assembly.**

9. We have considered the proposals of the Government of Bombay with regard to the delimitation of the Commerce and Industry, Landholders and Labour constituencies for the Federal Assembly and are in entire agreement with them. They are largely based on the existing arrangements and have the further advantage of maintaining the present proportion of representation for European and Indian commercial interests in the Central Legislature.

10. We are, therefore, of opinion that of the three seats allotted to Commerce and Industry in the Federal Assembly one should be given to a constituency formed of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce and the Bombay Trades Association combined, one to the Indian Merchants' Chamber and one to the Bombay and Ahmedabad Millowners' Associations in rotation. The members of these commercial bodies for the time being should be qualified as electors for the constituency comprising the body or bodies of which they are members, and the qualifications of electors and the method of election should be the same as those prescribed at present for the Commerce and Industry seats allotted to this Presidency in the Indian Legislative Assembly [Legislative Assembly Electoral Rules, Schedule II, Part II, rule 9, and Legislative Assembly (Bombay) Electoral Regulations, Part VII].

11. The majority of our Committee agree with Government that the one Landholders' seat allotted to this Presidency in the Federal Assembly should be filled by persons voting in a territorial constituency covering the whole of the Presidency, as in the case of the present Gujarat and Deccan Sardars' and Inamdars' constituency of the Indian Legislative Assembly, and that the qualifications of voters and method of election should also be similar to those prescribed at present for that constituency. [Legislative Assembly Electoral Rules, Schedule II, Part II, rule 8(2), and Legislative Assembly (Bombay) Electoral Regulations, Part IV.]

12. Three of our members—Sardar Naik, Dr. Solanki and Mr. Rahimtoola—were against this proposal on the ground that as the Gujarat Sardars and Inamdars number only 175 as against 324 in the Central Division and 210 in the Southern Division, the Gujarat Sardars (i.e. of the Northern Division) can never have a chance of electing their own representative if all the three divisions were combined into a single constituency and that their problems are different from those of the other two divisions. They, therefore, proposed that there should be two constituencies, one of the Gujarat Sardars and Inamdars and one of the combined Sardars and Inamdars of the Central and Southern Divisions, and that each of these should enjoy the seat in rotation as in the case of the Bombay and Ahmedabad Millowners' Associations. In the alternative they suggested that there should be three constituencies of the three divisions each enjoying the seat in rotation. The majority of this Committee were not in favour of either of these proposals, in view of the fact that the number of Gujarat Sardars and Inamdars is less than one-third of the combined Sardars and Inamdars of the Central and Southern Divisions and less also than the number in each of these divisions separately.



### Labour Seats.

13. We agree with Government that the two labour representatives of this Presidency in the Federal Assembly should be elected by registered trade unions. There should be a single constituency for the whole Presidency comprising all registered trade unions of industrial workers and the two labour seats should be allotted to it. The qualifications of electors and candidates and the method of election should, as far as possible, be the same as those for the trade union constituencies of the Bombay Legislative Assembly, the system of election being indirect through an electoral college of delegates elected by the unions comprised in the constituency.

14. One of our members—Khan Bahadur Abdul Latif—was in favour of allotting one of the two seats to a trade union constituency comprising all the registered trade unions of industrial workers of the whole Presidency, and one to a special labour constituency consisting of the industrial workers of Deccan, Khandesh and Karnatak. He was also in favour of restricting candidature in both the constituencies to *bona-fide* manual labourers. The rest of the Committee were against the proposal, as in their view it would retard the growth of the trade union movement.

15. We append a statement (Statement II) showing the constituencies for the Federal Assembly in this Presidency which we propose for the above special interests and the distribution of the seats.

### Council of State.

16. We have considered the Commissioners' proposals for the delimitation of constituencies for the General and Muhammadan seats allotted to this Presidency in the Council of State, and are in entire agreement with them. We propose that, as in the case of the Provincial Legislative Council, both population and voting strength combined should be adopted as the basis of distribution of seats. On this basis Bombay City with the Bombay Suburban District (excluding Ambernath) will be entitled to two seats, and we therefore recommend that two seats should be allotted to the constituency comprising Bombay City and the Bombay Suburban District. As regards the remaining eight general seats, we agree with the Commissioners that the simplest plan is to ignore the revenue divisions and to group together contiguous districts, having regard to their population and voting strength, and to allocate one seat to each constituency so formed. We realize that such an arrangement will result in single-member constituencies, but, though we adhere to the view that the conditions of this Presidency make plural-member constituencies preferable, we think that having regard to the very small number of seats available for distribution, the constituencies will be unmanageable if more than one seat is provided for each. One of our members—Sardar Naik—was in favour of forming a single constituency out of the five districts of Gujarat, viz. Ahmedabad, Kaira, Surat, Broach and Panch Mahals with two seats. The rest of the Committee were not in favour of this proposal.

17. Our proposals showing the constituencies for the Council of State in this Presidency and the number of seats allotted to each constituency are contained in Statement III appended.

N. J. WADIA (*Chairman*).  
 C. W. A. TURNER.  
 R. R. KALE.  
 BHIMBHAI R. NAIK.  
 P. G. SOLANKI.  
 ABDUL LATIF HAJI HAJRAT KHAN.  
 HOSENALLY M. RAHIMTOOLA.  
 N. E. NAVLE.  
 S. N. ANGADI.

V. H. VACHHRAJANI,  
*Secretary.*

Poona, 1st October 1935.

## STATEMENT No. I.

*Showing proposed constituencies for the Bombay Legislative Council.*

Name of constituency.	Class of constituency.	Extent of constituency.	No. of members.
Bombay City and Bombay Suburban District (excluding Ambernath).	General Urban.	The City of Bombay and the Bombay Suburban District (excluding Ambernath).	4
Ahmedabad and Kaira Districts ...	General Rural.	The Districts of Ahmedabad and Kaira.	2
Broach and Panch Mahals and Surat Districts.	Do.	The Districts of Broach and Panch Mahals and Surat.	2
Thana (including Ambernath), Nasik and Ahmednagar Districts.	Do.	The Districts of Thana (including Ambernath), Nasik and Ahmednagar.	2
East Khandesh and West Khandesh Districts.	Do.	The Districts of East Khandesh and West Khandesh.	2
Poona and Satara Districts ...	Do.	The Districts of Poona and Satara.	2
Sholapur, Belgaum and Bijapur Districts.	Do.	The Districts of Sholapur, Belgaum and Bijapur.	2
Kolaba and Ratnagiri Districts ...	Do.	The Districts of Kolaba and Ratnagiri.	2
Dharwar and Kanara Districts ...	Do.	The Districts of Dharwar and Kanara.	2
Bombay City and Bombay Suburban District (excluding Ambernath).	Muham- madan Urban.	The City of Bombay and the Bombay Suburban District (excluding Ambernath).	2
Northern Division ...	Muham- madan Rural.	The Districts of Ahmedabad, Kaira, Broach and Panch Mahals, Surat and Thana (including Ambernath).	1
Central Division ...	Do.	The Districts of Ahmednagar, East Khandesh, West Khandesh, Nasik, Poona, Satara and Sholapur.	1
Southern Division ...	Do.	The Districts of Belgaum, Bijapur, Dharwar, Kanara, Kolaba and Ratnagiri.	1
The Bombay Presidency ...	European.	The Presidency of Bombay ...	1

STATEMENT No. II.

*Showing constituencies for Commerce and Industry, Landholders and Labour seats allotted to the Presidency proper in the Federal Assembly.*

Name of constituency.	Class of constituency.	Extent of constituency.	No. of seats.
Bombay Chamber of Commerce and Bombay Trades Association combined.	Commerce and Industry.	(Non-territorial.)	1
Indian Merchants' Chamber ...	Do.	Do.	1
Bombay Millowners' Association...	Do.	Do.	1 (by rotation.)
Ahmedabad Millowners' Association.	Do.	Do.	
Gujarat and Deccan Sardars and Inamdars.	Landholders.	The Presidency of Bombay.	1
Bombay Presidency Trade Unions.	Labour.	Do.	2

## STATEMENT No. III.

*Showing proposed constituencies for General and Muhammadan seats allotted to the Presidency proper in the Council of State.*

Name of constituency.	Class of constituency.	Extent of constituency.	No. of members.
Bombay City and Bombay Suburban District (excluding Ambernath).	General Urban.	The City of Bombay and the Bombay Suburban District (excluding Ambernath).	2
Ahmedabad and Kaira Districts ...	General Rural.	The districts of Ahmedabad and Kaira.	1
Broach and Panch Mahals and Surat Districts.	Do.	The districts of Broach and Panch Mahals and Surat.	1
Thana (including Ambernath), Nasik and Ahmednagar Districts.	Do.	The districts of Thana (including Ambernath), Nasik and Ahmednagar.	1
East Khandesh and West Khandesh Districts.	Do.	The districts of East Khandesh and West Khandesh.	1
Poona and Satara Districts ...	Do.	The districts of Poona and Satara.	1
Sholapur, Belgaum and Bijapur Districts.	Do.	The districts of Sholapur, Belgaum and Bijapur.	1
Kolaba and Ratnagiri Districts ...	Do.	The districts of Kolaba and Ratnagiri.	1
Dharwar and Kanara Districts ...	Do.	The districts of Dharwar and Kanara.	1
Bombay City and Bombay Suburban District (excluding Ambernath).	Muhammadan Urban.	The City of Bombay and the Bombay Suburban District (excluding Ambernath).	1
Northern Division ...	Muhammadan Rural.	The districts of Ahmedabad, Kaira, Broach and Panch Mahals, Surat and Thana (including Ambernath).	1
Central Division ...	Do.	The districts of Ahmednagar, East Khandesh, West Khandesh, Nasik, Poona, Satara and Sholapur.	1
Southern Division ...	Do.	The districts of Belgaum, Bijapur, Dharwar, Kanara, Kolaba and Ratnagiri.	1

## ANNEXURE F.

PRESS NOTE DATED THE 5<sup>TH</sup> OCTOBER 1935 CONTAINING A SUMMARY OF THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE BOMBAY PROVINCIAL DELIMITATION COMMITTEE CONTAINED IN ITS SUPPLEMENTARY REPORT DATED THE 1<sup>ST</sup> OCTOBER 1935 AND PROVISIONAL VIEWS OF GOVERNMENT THEREON.

### I. RECOMMENDATION OF THE COMMITTEE.

The Bombay Provincial Delimitation Committee which was re-assembled by Government on the 30th September 1935 has submitted a supplementary report to Government on the 1st October containing its recommendations on the delimitation of constituencies for the Federal Council of State, Federal Assembly and the Bombay Legislative Council. These are briefly summarised below.

#### *Bombay Legislative Council.*

The Committee considered the public criticisms and written statements received on its original proposals and the provisional views of the Government of Bombay contained in their Press Note No. R-319-III, dated the 9th September 1935. It also considered the revised franchise qualifications proposed by His Majesty's Government for the Federal and Provincial Upper Houses and the figures of the estimated number of voters based on the revised franchise qualifications. The proposals in the Committee's main report were based on the franchise qualifications which were tentatively proposed by the Government of Bombay and on the figures of the estimated number of voters then supplied to it, which were only approximate. The position has been considerably altered as a result of the revised franchise qualifications proposed by His Majesty's Government and the revised figures of the estimated number of voters based on them. On further consideration, therefore, the Committee has agreed with the view taken by the Government of Bombay that, in view of the wide divergence between the population and the voting strength of the various parts of the Presidency, it is not proper to adopt the voting strength of each constituency only as the basis of distribution of seats and that a fairer and more equitable method of distribution is to adopt both population and voting strength as the basis. The Committee has further decided that the constituencies suggested by the Divisional Commissioners for the Council of State in this Presidency should be adopted for the purposes of the Provincial Legislative Council also. This proposal has, in the Committee's opinion, several obvious advantages from the administrative point of view and will also result in some saving of cost. In modification of its previous recommendations contained in paragraphs 55-64 of the main report, the Committee has accordingly recommended the following constituencies and distribution of seats for the Bombay Legislative Council :—

Name of Constituency.	Class of Constituency.	Number of members.
Bombay City and Bombay Suburban District (excluding Ambernath).	General Urban .. ..	4
Ahmedabad and Kaira Districts .. ..	General Rural .. ..	2
Broach and Panch Mahals and Surat Districts .. ..	Do. .. ..	2
Thana (including Ambernath), Nasik and Ahmednagar Districts .. ..	Do. .. ..	2
East Khandesh and West Khandesh Districts .. ..	Do. .. ..	2
Poona and Satara Districts .. ..	Do. .. ..	2
Sholapur, Belgaum and Bijapur Districts .. ..	Do. .. ..	2
Kolaba and Ratnagiri Districts .. ..	Do. .. ..	2
Dharwar and Kanara .. ..	Do. .. ..	2
Bombay City and Bombay Suburban District (excluding Ambernath).	Muhammadian Urban .. ..	2
Northern Division .. ..	Muhammadian Rural .. ..	1
Central Division .. ..	Do. .. ..	1
Southern Division .. ..	Do. .. ..	1
Bombay Presidency .. ..	European .. ..	1

### FEDERAL ASSEMBLY.

#### (i) *Commerce and Industry Seats.*

Of the three seats allotted to Commerce and Industry in the Federal Assembly one should be given to a constituency formed of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce and the Bombay Trades Association combined, one to the Indian Merchants'

Chamber and one to the Bombay and Ahmedabad Millowners' Associations in rotation. The members of these commercial bodies should be qualified as electors, and the method of election should be the same as that prescribed at present for the Commerce and Industry seats allotted to this Presidency in the Indian Legislative Assembly.

(ii) *Landholders' Seat.*

The majority of the Committee are of the opinion that the one Landholders' seat allotted to this Presidency in the Federal Assembly should be filled by persons voting in a territorial constituency covering the whole Presidency and the qualifications of voters and method of election should be similar to those prescribed at present for the Gujarat and Deccan Sardars and Inamdars constituency of the Indian Legislative Assembly.

(iii) *Labour Seats.*

The two labour representatives of this Presidency in the Federal Assembly should be elected by registered trade unions. There should be a single constituency for the whole Presidency comprising all registered trade unions of industrial workers. The qualifications of electors and candidates and the method of election should, as far as possible, be the same as those for the trade union constituencies of the Bombay Legislative Assembly, the system of election being indirect through an electoral college of delegates elected by the unions comprised in the constituency.

*Council of State.*

The Divisional Commissioners' proposals for the delimitation of constituencies for the General and Muhammadan seats allotted to this Presidency in the Council of State have been accepted by the Committee. As in the case of the Provincial Legislative Council, both population and voting strength combined has been adopted as the basis of distribution of seats. On this basis the Committee has allotted two general seats and one Muhammadan seat to a constituency comprising Bombay City and Bombay Suburban District. Of the remaining 8 General seats one has been allotted to each of the eight General Rural constituencies suggested by the Committee for the Bombay Legislative Council and one Muhammadan seat has been allotted to each of the three Divisions in the Presidency proper.

Further details of the Committee's scheme may be obtained from its report which is on sale at the Government Book Depot, Charni Road, Bombay, the price being one anna only.

**II.—PROVISIONAL VIEWS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF BOMBAY ON THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE BOMBAY PROVINCIAL DELIMITATION COMMITTEE CONTAINED IN THEIR SUPPLEMENTARY REPORT DATED THE 1ST OCTOBER 1935.**

*Bombay Legislative Council.*

The provisional views of Government on the original scheme of constituencies of the Bombay Legislative Council contained in the main report of the Bombay Provincial Delimitation Committee were published in Press Note No. R-319-III dated the 9th September 1935. Since then the franchise qualifications for the Federal and Provincial Upper Houses proposed by His Majesty's Government have been published. Having regard to these franchise qualifications and the electorate likely to result therefrom the Government of Bombay are of the opinion that their provisional views require to be revised and they accept the revised scheme of constituencies of the Council proposed by the Committee in its supplementary report dated the 1st October 1935.

*Federal Assembly and the Council of State.*

The proposals of the Committee with regard to the delimitation of Commerce and Industry, Landholders and Labour constituencies for the Federal Assembly and for the General and Muhammadan seats allotted to this Presidency in the Council of State are also accepted by Government.

Any persons or bodies desiring to submit their representations to the Indian Delimitation Committee with reference to the above recommendations of the Bombay Provincial Delimitation Committee or otherwise should forward their written representations to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bombay, Political and Reforms Department, Council Hall, Poona, not later than the 11th October 1935.

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**ANNEXURE G.**

**Second Supplementary Report of the Bombay Provincial Delimitation  
Committee dated the 12th October 1935.**

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## SECOND SUPPLEMENTARY REPORT OF THE BOMBAY PROVINCIAL DELIMITATION COMMITTEE.

1. We have been asked by Government in their letter No. R-287, dated the 23rd September 1935, to meet again to consider—

(i) the public criticisms and written statements received on our Report and the provisional views of Government thereon on the scheme of constituencies for the Bombay Legislative Assembly and to submit our final Report not later than the 15th October;

(ii) the public criticisms and written statements received on our recommendations and the provisional views of Government regarding the constituencies of the Legislative Council in the light of the revised franchise qualifications for the Council;

(iii) the provisional views of Government on the delimitation of the Commerce and Industry, Landholders and Labour constituencies for the Federal Assembly in the Presidency proper;

(iv) the delimitation of constituencies for the Federal Council of State in the Presidency proper for filling the General and Muhammadan seats;

(v) to consider and report in what manner the term of office of certain of the elected members of the Federal Council of State and the Bombay Legislative Council should, upon the first constitution of the Council of State and the Council, be curtailed so as to secure that, as nearly as may be, one-third of the members holding seats of each class shall retire every third year thereafter, as laid down in paragraph 14 of Part I of the First Schedule and paragraph 18 of the Fifth Schedule to the Government of India Act, 1935;

(vi) to consider and report on the points mentioned in the letter from His Majesty's Secretary of State for India to Sir Laurie Hammond, K.C.S.I., C.B.E., dated the 31st July 1935, so far as they relate to electoral arrangements and the delimitation of constituencies.

We were asked to report on the points raised in clauses (ii), (iii) and (iv) of the supplementary terms of reference not later than the 1st October, and we have already submitted our views on these questions in our Supplementary Report of the 1st October 1935. In the further report which we now submit we have dealt with the questions raised in clauses (i), (v) and (vi). We have considered in this report the public criticisms and written statements received on our main Report, the provisional views of Government on that report, and also the views expressed by members of the Legislative Council in the debates on our report held in the Council on the 23rd and 24th September 1935. We have as far as possible dealt with all important questions raised by Government, by members of the Legislative Council and by the public. We have not dealt separately with some of the very minor points of detail raised in representations from individuals, districts or constituencies with regard to the division of a constituency or the allocation of extra seats to it, because we considered that no special comment was necessary.

### **Retirement of Members of the first Council of State and Legislative Council.**

2. We have been asked to report in what manner the term of office of certain of the elected members of the Federal Council of State and the Bombay Legislative Council should, upon the first constitution of the Council of State and the Council, be curtailed so as to secure that, as nearly as may be, one-third of the members holding seats of each class shall retire every third year thereafter, as laid down in paragraph 14 of Part I of the First Schedule and paragraph 18 of the Fifth Schedule to the Government of India Act. Under Parts (i) and (ii) of the Table of Seats relating to the Federal Council of State appended to the First Schedule, ten General and four Muhammadan seats have been allocated to the Bombay Presidency, out of which five General seats and

two Muhammadan seats are to be filled at the first election for three years only, and five General seats and two Muhammadan seats are to be filled for nine years. No seats are to be filled for six years so far as this Presidency is concerned. The particular constituencies which should elect to the seats to be filled for three years or nine years are to be determined. Similarly, under the Table of Seats relating to Provincial Legislative Councils appended to the Fifth Schedule to the Act, 20 General seats, five Muhammadan seats and one European seat have been allocated to this Presidency. We have been asked to suggest how many of each class should at the first election be filled for three years, how many for six years and how many for nine years, and to select the particular constituencies which should elect for each of these periods.

3. In our opinion, it would not be proper to leave the selection of the constituencies which should fill the seats for the shorter periods to be determined wholly by lot. Such a method might result in all the three-year or six-year seats falling to one or two parts of the Presidency only, e.g., all the four Bombay seats or all the Gujarat seats in the Provincial Council might, as a result of the drawing of lots, have to be filled for shorter periods. This would not be a fair arrangement. We are therefore of the opinion that a fairer and more equitable method would be to distribute the three-year and six-year seats evenly, as far as possible, between Bombay City and the three revenue Divisions of the Presidency, and then to determine by lot the particular constituencies within each such Division which should elect for three, six, or nine years, as the case may be. This method leaves less to be determined by lot, and distributes the disadvantage of short periods evenly over all parts of the Presidency. Applying this method to the Council of State, we have to distribute the five General three-year seats between nine constituencies. The ten General seats have been distributed by us in paragraph 16 of our Supplementary Report as follows:—

Bombay City and Bombay Suburban District (excluding Ambernath)	...	2
Ahmedabad and Kaira Districts	...	1
Broach and Panch Mahals and Surat Districts	...	1
Thana, Nasik and Ahmednagar Districts	...	1
East Khandesh and West Khandesh Districts	...	1
Poona and Satara Districts	...	1
Sholapur, Belgaum and Bijapur Districts	...	1
Kolaba and Ratnagiri Districts	...	1
Dharwar and Kanara Districts	...	1

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As the constituency of Bombay City and the Bombay Suburban District has two seats allotted to it, it is obvious that one of the five three-year seats should go to that constituency. For the purpose of distributing the four remaining three-year seats between the eight rural constituencies we grouped these constituencies into four groups as follows:—

- { Ahmedabad and Kaira Districts.
- { Broach, Panch Mahals and Surat Districts.
- { Thana, Nasik and Ahmednagar Districts.
- { East Khandesh and West Khandesh Districts.
- { Poona and Satara Districts.
- { Sholapur, Belgaum and Bijapur Districts.
- { Kolaba and Ratnagiri Districts.
- { Dharwar and Kanara Districts.

One of the three-year seats was allotted to each of these groups and then we decided by drawing lots which of the two constituencies in each group should have the three-year seat. The result of the lots drawn by us was that the four three-year seats fell to the constituencies of—

- (1) Ahmedabad and Kaira Districts,
- (2) East Khandesh and West Khandesh Districts,
- (3) Poona and Satara Districts,
- (4) Dharwar and Kanara Districts.

The five nine-year seats will therefore automatically fall to the constituencies of—

- (1) Bombay City and the Bombay Suburban District,
- (2) Broach, Panch Mahals and Surat Districts,
- (3) Thana, Nasik and Ahmednagar Districts,
- (4) Sholapur, Belgaum and Bijapur Districts,
- (5) Kolaba and Ratnagiri Districts.

4. In the case of the 20 General seats and five Muhammadan seats in the Provincial Legislative Council, we first decided that of the 20 General seats—

- 7 should be filled for three years,
- 6 should be filled for six years, and
- 7 should be filled for nine years,

and of the five Muhammadan seats—

- 1 should be filled for three years,
- 2 should be filled for six years, and
- 2 should be filled for nine years.

The one European seat will be filled at the first election for six years, so that eight members of the Council would go out at the end of the first three years, nine at the end of six years and nine would sit for nine years. This will comply with the requirements of section 61 and paragraph 18 of the Fifth Schedule of the Act. With regard to the 20 General seats we next decided that one of the three-year seats, two of the six-year seats and one of the nine-year seats should be allotted to Bombay City and the Bombay Suburban District constituency. This left six three-year seats, four six-year seats and six nine-year seats to be distributed between the eight rural constituencies. For securing an equitable distribution we first grouped the eight rural constituencies roughly into divisional groups, counting—

Ahmedabad and Kaira Districts	}	as the Northern Division.
Broach, Panch Mahals and Surat Districts		
Thana, Nasik and Ahmednagar Districts	}	as the Central Division.
East Khandesh and West Khandesh Districts		
Poona and Satara Districts		
Sholapur, Belgaum and Bijapur Districts	}	as the Southern Division.
Kolaba and Ratnagiri Districts		
Dharwar and Kanara Districts		

We allotted two three-year seats and two nine-year seats to each of these divisional groups, and two six-year seats each to the Central and Southern Divisions. As there are only two constituencies in the Northern Division group, each of these, namely Ahmedabad and Kaira Districts and Broach, Panch Mahals and Surat Districts, was given one three-year seat. Of the three constituencies in the Central Division group, the Thana, Nasik and Ahmednagar Districts constituency which, according to our proposals in the preceding paragraph, has been given a nine-year seat in the Federal Council of State, was given a three-year seat in the Provincial Legislative Council. The other two constituencies—East Khandesh and West Khandesh Districts and Poona and Satara Districts—have each been given a three-year seat in the Federal Council of State. We therefore drew lots to decide which of these two should have a three-year seat in the Provincial Legislative Council, and the result of the drawing of lots was that the three-year seat fell to the Poona and Satara Districts constituency. Of the three constituencies of the Southern Division group the Dharwar and Kanara Districts constituency has been allotted a three-year seat by us in the Federal Council of State. We therefore decided that the two three-year seats in the Provincial Legislative Council should go to the other two constituencies of the group, viz., Sholapur, Belgaum and Bijapur Districts and Kolaba and Ratnagiri Districts. As the Northern Division has only two constituencies with four seats as against three constituencies with six seats in each of the other two Divisions, we decided that the Northern Division should not have any of the six-year seats and that two of these should go to Bombay City and the Bombay Suburban District and two to each of the other two Divisions—the Central and the Southern. In the Central Division the East and West

Khandesh Districts constituency had not been given any three-year seat and we therefore gave one of the six-year seats to that constituency. As regards the other seat we drew lots between the other two constituencies of Poona and Satara Districts and Thana, Nasik and Ahmednagar Districts, and as a result of the drawing of lots we allotted the other six-year seat to Poona and Satara Districts. In the Southern Division group, as the Dharwar and Kanara Districts constituency had no three-year seat allotted to it, we allotted one six-year seat to the Dharwar-Kanara Districts constituency, and decided by drawing lots that the other six-year seat should go to the Kolaba and Ratnagiri Districts constituency. The seven nine-year seats were allotted one to each of the constituencies except Poona-Satara Districts and Kolaba-Ratnagiri Districts.

5. Another question which requires to be considered in this connection is which of the two Bombay City representatives on the Council of State, and which of the representatives from Bombay City and the rural constituencies on the Bombay Legislative Council should retire at the end of three years, which at the end of six years and which at the end of nine years. There are two ways in which this may be decided. One method would be to provide that out of the two Bombay City representatives elected to the Council of State the one who secured the larger number of votes should be elected for nine years, and the one who secured the lesser number of votes should be elected for three years. In the case of the Bombay Legislative Council, of the four members elected from Bombay City the one who secured the largest number of votes would hold his seat for nine years, the one who secured the least number of votes would hold his seat for three years, and the other two would hold their seats for six years. Similarly, in the case of the rural constituencies, of the two members elected the one who secured the lesser number of votes should be elected for the shorter period. The other method is to leave the question to be determined by lot. We considered both these methods and the majority of us think that it would be better to leave the question to be decided by lot after the result of the first general election is declared.

6. In determining which of the Muhammadan constituencies of the Council of State should elect for three years and which for nine years, we have also followed the above method as far as it applies. The question is much simplified by the fact that there are only four constituencies, namely, Bombay City and Bombay Suburban District, Northern Division, Central Division and Southern Division, with one seat for each. We decided by lot that the two three-year seats should go—one to Bombay City and Bombay Suburban District and one to the Southern Division. The nine-year seats will thus go one each to the Northern and Central Divisions. With regard to the five Muhammadan seats in the Bombay Legislative Council we first decided that one should be a three-year seat, two should be six-year seats, and two should be nine-year seats. As Bombay City and Bombay Suburban District and the Southern Division have each been given a three-year seat in the Council of State we decided that neither of these constituencies should be given a three-year seat in the Provincial Council. As between the Northern Division and the Central Division, we decided by lot that the Central Division should get the three-year seat. One six-year seat was given to the Bombay City and Bombay Suburban District constituency. As the Southern Division had been given a three-year seat in the Federal Council of State and the Central Division in the Provincial Council, the remaining six-year seat was allotted to the Northern Division. The two nine-year seats would thus go one to the Bombay City and Bombay Suburban District constituency and one to the Southern Division.

7. The results of our recommendations with regard to the seats in the Federal Council of State and in the Bombay Legislative Council are given in Statements I and II respectively.

#### **Distribution of General Seats.**

8. We have considered the public criticisms and written statements received on our Report and the provisional views of Government thereon, and also the views expressed on our Report in the course of the debates on it in the Bombay Legislative Council.

9. In paragraph 4 of our main Report we have explained that we took population as the main basis for the distribution of seats and had taken other factors such as voting strength, area or geographical position of the constituencies, and wealth, educational or commercial importance into consideration where such factors required special recognition. Our views have been approved by Government, and on the whole by public opinion also. With regard to the actual distribution of seats made by us we find that some criticism has been directed towards the way in which the seats have been distributed by us between Bombay City and the three Divisions. In paragraph 5 of our Report we have allotted nine seats to Bombay City and the Bombay Suburban District, 26 to the Northern Division, 51 to the Central Division and 34 to the Southern Division. In arriving at these figures we took the population of the three Divisions as given in the Commissioners' report of the 19th June 1933, printed at page 52 of the printed material supplied to us. According to these figures, the population of the Northern Division was 3,509,000, that of the Central Division 6,806,000 and that of the Southern Division 4,891,000. The total population of the three Divisions and Bombay City according to these figures came to 16,077,000. We find that these figures have to be modified. They had not taken account of the revised census taken in the cities of Ahmedabad and Surat. There was also a mistake in the census figures with regard to the total population of the Northern Division. At page 456 of the Census Report, Volume VIII, Part II, the total population of the Ahmedabad District is given as 924,033. In the same Volume at page 460 the figures for each of the talukas of Ahmedabad District are separately given and the total is shown as 999,768, i.e. 75,735 more than the total at page 456. There was also a slight discrepancy in the figures due to the fact that the Commissioners had taken the provisional census estimate of the population of the Surat District, whereas the final census figures are 40,000 more. Similarly, the population of the Central Division given by the Commissioners included 127,889 for the Bombay Suburban District (including Ambernath) and did not include the Christian population of districts other than Poona and Ahmednagar (about 16,000). As we had in our proposals included the Bombay Suburban District in Bombay City, the total figures for the Central Division should have been correspondingly reduced. The revised figures of population according to Statement IV appended to this report are as given below:—

Bombay City	...	871,409
Bombay Suburban District (excluding Ambernath)	...	123,218
		994,627
Northern Division	...	3,811,670
Central Division	...	6,694,467
Southern Division	...	4,892,138
		16,392,902

Out of this a slight deduction has to be made for the European and Anglo-Indian population in the Districts in which there are no Indian Christian seats. The total General population between whom the 120 seats are to be distributed is therefore 16,386,737. This gives a population of 136,556 per seat. On this basis the Northern Division would be entitled to 27.9 seats, the Central Division to 49 seats, the Southern Division to 35.8 seats and Bombay City and Bombay Suburban District to 7.3 seats.

10. We are of opinion that the representation given to Bombay City should not be reduced. In our previous report we had recommended that the Southern Division should be given two seats less than what it would be entitled to on the basis of its population. We made this proposal because we thought it necessary to provide two extra seats for Bombay City in view of its position as the capital and the commercial and intellectual centre of the Presidency. Although one of our members, Rao Bahadur Angadi, is of opinion that in reconsidering the distribution of seats we should re-open the question of the number of seats to be allotted to the Southern Division, the rest of the Committee are not in favour of doing this as we consider that the proposals which we had made with regard to the Southern Division were justified, and

have also received the approval of the Government and the public. The question therefore is only with regard to the re-distribution of the seats allotted to the Northern and Central Divisions. The majority of the Committee consider that, in view of the special importance of Poona as the second capital of the Government and an important educational centre, the Central Division should be given one seat more than what it would be entitled to on the basis of its population, this seat being taken from the Northern Division. Our final recommendation, therefore, for the distribution of the General seats between the Divisions and Bombay City is as follows:—

Bombay City and Bombay Suburban District	...	9
Northern Division	...	27
Central Division	...	50
Southern Division	...	34

As a result of this proposal, the distribution of seats made by us in Statement No. IV appended to our main Report will have to be slightly altered. Three of our members, Sardar Naik, Dr. Solanki and Mr. Rahimtoola, are in favour of giving 28 seats to the Northern Division.

11. The only constituencies in the Central Division which have in our proposals been given representation slightly in excess of that to which they are entitled are Poona City and West Khandesh West. Poona City on the basis of its population is entitled to 1·4 seats and has been given two. West Khandesh West is entitled to 2·4 seats and has been given three. The one extra seat given to Poona City is in our opinion fully justified by the educational, political and administrative importance of the city, and we do not, therefore, desire to take it away. We propose that the one seat to be transferred to the Northern Division should be taken from the West Khandesh West constituency. It will therefore have two seats of which one will be reserved for the Backward Tribes. There are three constituencies in the Northern Division which in our original proposals have been given slightly lower representation than that to which they are entitled. One is Ahmedabad North which is entitled to 3·6 seats but has been given three, the second is the Kaira District which is entitled to 4·7 seats but has been given four, and the third is the Thana North constituency which is entitled to 3·7 seats but has been given three. Although the Ahmedabad North constituency has been given one seat less than what it would be entitled to on the basis of its population, Ahmedabad City has been given one seat more than it is entitled to, and if the City and District are taken as a whole we find that they are entitled to 7·3 seats and have been given seven. The City and District, therefore, taken together can have no grievance since they have been given the representation to which they are entitled. Ahmedabad City also gets two special seats, one for Labour and one for Commerce and Industry. Three of our members, Sardar Naik, Dr. Solanki and Mr. Rahimtoola, think that the extra seat should be given to the Ahmedabad District which is entitled to 5·1 seats but gets only four. The majority do not accept this view. As between the Thana North and Kaira District constituencies, we are of opinion that Thana North is more important and is better entitled to consideration. Two of our members, Sardar Naik and Dr. Solanki, are of the opinion that the extra seat should be given to the Kaira District in view of the fact that we have, on reconsideration (paragraph 53 of this report), decided to take away an Indian Christian seat which we had originally allotted to the Ahmedabad and Kaira Districts, and have transferred it to the Thana and Bombay Suburban Districts. As a result of this change, the Indian Christian population of the Kaira District will have to be included in the General population of the Kaira District, and it would then be entitled to 4·88 seats on the basis of population. On the other hand, the Indian Christian population of the Thana District would have to be deducted from the General population of that District which would then be entitled to 5·65 seats. Sardar Naik and Dr. Solanki, therefore, want that the extra seat which we have given to the Northern Division should be allotted to the Kaira District. The majority of our Committee are, however, not in favour of this view. Even if the Christian population of the Thana District is excluded from consideration the District is still entitled to more than five seats. We therefore propose that the one seat taken from the West Khandesh West constituency should be given to the

Thana District which will have six seats instead of five. In order to equalize the two constituencies of the District we have transferred Bhiwandi Taluka from Thana North to Thana South, and given three seats to each constituency, one seat being reserved in Thana North for the Marathas and one in Thana South for the Scheduled Castes.

### Representation of Bombay City.

12. We have given careful consideration to the representation made by the Municipal Corporation of Bombay about increasing the number of seats given to Bombay City. We have also considered two other questions which are closely allied to this question, namely, the combination of the Bombay Suburban District with Bombay City, and the provision of an extra General Women's seat for Bombay City. Both these questions have also been dealt with in the representation received from the Municipal Corporation.

13. It is urged by the Corporation that even on the purely numerical basis the representation given to Bombay City is unjust, and in support of this contention reference is made to the fact that while Bombay City is given nine seats for a population of 994,627, i.e. one seat for every 110,514 persons, in the General territorial constituencies representation is conceded at the rate of one seat per 135,913 persons, in the Muhammadan constituencies at the rate of one seat per 53,413 persons, in the Indian Christian constituencies at the rate of one seat per 89,000 persons, in the European constituencies at the rate of one seat for 6,000 persons, and in the Anglo-Indian constituencies at the rate of one per 7,200 persons. It is hardly necessary for us to point out that the Committee is not responsible for these inequalities in representation. They are inherent in the very nature of the constitution, which has provided for communal representation for certain communities in excess of what the population of those communities would entitle them to. It must follow, therefore, that as regards these communal seats the figure of population per seat must be much lower than in the case of the General constituencies. But we would like to point out that even in this respect Bombay City has been more favourably treated than the rest of the Presidency. While Bombay gets one seat for every 110,514 persons the rest of the Presidency gets one seat for every 138,667 persons.

14. We are unable also to agree with the contention of the Corporation that the reservation of three out of the nine seats for the Maratha and Allied Castes, the Scheduled Castes, and Women, must be taken as reducing the representation granted to the General population of the City. The Marathas and Allied Castes and the Scheduled Castes population in Bombay City and Bombay Suburban District forms 57 per cent. of the total General population of the constituency. On the population basis these communities may reasonably be expected to secure far more than the two seats reserved for them. The reservation cannot, therefore, be regarded as in any way unduly reducing the representation given to the rest of the population.

15. The commercial importance of the City has, in our opinion, been very fully recognized by the large number of special seats allotted to it. As we have already pointed out in our main Report, six of the Commerce and Industry seats have been allotted to the commercial and industrial Associations of Bombay City, and five out of the seven Labour seats would also go to Bombay City. It is true that some of the commercial bodies of Bombay like the Bombay Millowners' Association and the Indian Merchants' Chamber, to which seats have been allotted, include among their members persons from outside Bombay City, but this does not, in our opinion, alter the position materially. An overwhelming majority of the members of these bodies are from Bombay City and the persons elected by these bodies would therefore almost invariably be from Bombay City. The fact that the percentage of representation given to Bombay City in the future Legislative Assembly will be less than the percentage of representation given to it in the present Legislative Council is inevitable in view of the recommendations of the Indian Franchise Committee with regard to the representation of urban and rural areas to which we have referred in our main Report. On the strict population basis Bombay

City would, as we have pointed out, be entitled to 7·3 seats. We have recommended nine seats, i.e., 23 per cent more, and we consider that this is sufficient recognition of the special position of the City.

16. Two of our members, Mr. Hoosenally Rahimtoola and Sardar Naik, are in favour of giving some additional representation to Bombay. Mr. Rahimtoola relies in support of his view on the grounds set out in the dissenting minute appended by him to our main Report, and on those urged in the representation received from the Municipal Corporation of Bombay. He also points out that in distributing seats in the Bombay Legislative Council the Committee have accepted the principle that voting strength as well as population should be taken into consideration, and he thinks that this principle should be applied also when allotting seats to Bombay City in the Bombay Legislative Assembly. The majority of our Committee are not however impressed by these arguments. For the reasons which will be found in paragraphs 49 and 50 of this report we have decided to increase the number of Muhammadan seats allotted to Bombay City from five to six. Bombay City will thus have 19 territorial seats (nine General, six Muhammadan, two European, one Anglo-Indian and one Indian Christian) out of 158, i.e. 12 per cent, whereas its population is only seven per cent of the total population of the Presidency. Even if we consider only the General seats (i.e. exclusive of Muhammadan, European, Anglo-Indian and Indian Christian) and the General population, Bombay gets  $7\frac{1}{2}$  per cent of the seats (nine out of 120) while its General population is six per cent of the total General population. We have already pointed out that for the purpose of estimating the amount of representation given to the City the 11 seats allotted to its special interests, viz. Commerce, Industry and Labour, must also be reckoned, and if this is done we find that Bombay with a population of seven per cent gets 17 per cent of the seats (30 out of 175).

17. The majority of our Committee are therefore of opinion that no further representation should be given to the City beyond that originally recommended by us so far as the general constituencies are concerned.

18. We had recommended that the Bombay Suburban District should be combined with Bombay City because, in our opinion, the population of the Bombay Suburban District does not differ materially in character from that of Bombay City. We adhere to this recommendation. The interests and business activities of the Bombay Suburban District are largely connected with Bombay City, and a very large proportion of its population goes for its work to Bombay City. If the Bombay Suburban District were separated from Bombay, it would have to be combined with the Thana District, since, by itself, it is only entitled to a fraction of a seat, and on the general principles which we have followed, and which have been accepted by Government, by the Legislative Council and by the public, single-member constituencies are not desirable. There is far less in common between the population of the Bombay Suburban District and that of the Thana District than there is between the population of the Bombay Suburban District and that of Bombay City. There is also another important consideration which has induced us to adhere to our former decision. If we were to recommend the separation of the Bombay Suburban District from Bombay City we would also have to recommend that the representation of Bombay City should be reduced by one seat. We believe that if Bombay City were asked to choose between the arrangement originally proposed by us and the alternative of separation of the Bombay Suburban District from Bombay City with the consequent reduction of the Bombay representation by one seat, it would prefer the former. We therefore adhere to the opinion which we have formerly given that the Bombay Suburban District should be combined with Bombay City, and that the arrangement of the three general constituencies of Bombay City should be as originally proposed by us.

#### Women's Seats.

19. The question of providing an extra Women's seat for Bombay City is linked up with the general question of the distribution of the five Women's seats, and we therefore propose to deal with the whole question here.



In paragraph 18 of our main Report we have said that under the conditions prevailing in this Presidency the formation of special Women's constituencies for filling the six seats allotted to women was neither practicable nor desirable. We find that our opinion on this important question has been fully endorsed by Government, by the Legislative Council, and by the public. Neither in the debates in the Legislative Council nor in the representations received from the public was there any suggestion that special Women's constituencies should be formed for filling the Women's seats. Only two representations have been received from women, one from the Bombay Women's Council and one from Mrs. Hamid Ali. Both of these not merely do not ask for the formation of separate Women's constituencies but object even to the reservation of seats for women in general constituencies. The Bombay Women's Council say that "Women's opinion in Bombay has always been against reserved seats" and that "they wish to make it clear that they hope the reservation of seats will be abolished after the experimental stage". This emphasizes what we had said in our main Report that "the general opinion among women themselves is against the formation of any special electorate".

20. The Bombay Presidency Women's Council have not asked for separate polling booths for women, and we see no reason to modify the opinion which we have previously expressed that the provision of separate polling booths for women, with women as presiding and polling officers, is neither feasible nor absolutely necessary. We have already recommended that where necessary women should be appointed at each polling station to assist women voters and that separate polling compartments within the polling stations should be provided for women. In paragraph 20 of our main Report we have drawn attention to the fact that if the conditions laid down in Schedule VI, Part III, paragraph 9, of the Act are adhered to, and if women are not enrolled unless they make applications, large numbers of women will fail to be enrolled. The Bombay Presidency Women's Council in their representation say that they strongly disapprove of the principle of application for enrolment of women voters and recommend its abolition, and they suggest that one way in which women might be helped to get themselves enrolled would be to appoint women enrolling officers wherever possible. We consider that the suggestion already made by us in paragraph 20 of our main Report to facilitate the enrolment of women will be sufficient.

21. The Bombay Women's Council have suggested that taking the importance of Bombay City into consideration one more General Women's seat should be allotted to Bombay City. The same request has been made by the Bombay Presidency Association and by the Municipal Corporation of Bombay. Of the five General seats we have allocated three to urban areas—one each to Bombay City, Ahmedabad City and Poona City—and two to rural areas—Dharwar District and Satara District. We appreciate the arguments in favour of allotting more than one Women's seat to Bombay City, from which the best type of women's representative is likely to be elected, but we consider that this advantage is more than counterbalanced by the necessity of distributing the Women's seats as far as possible in such a manner that the women of the different parts of the Presidency, and of the more important rural areas as well as of the urban areas, are represented in the Assembly. It is for this reason that we have deliberately chosen two predominantly rural areas—one in the Deccan and one in the Southern Division. We realize that in our proposals the Women's seats in Dharwar and Satara have not been allocated to the constituencies in these districts which contain the headquarter towns. But we have already explained in paragraph 18 of our main Report the reasons which compelled us to make this arrangement. We had to provide for Scheduled Caste seats in both these districts and we thought it necessary that these seats should be allotted to the constituencies which include the headquarter towns. Women are likely to contest the unreserved seats also, and the chances of their doing so successfully are far greater in Bombay City than elsewhere. This is a further reason why an additional reserved seat for women in Bombay City is not absolutely necessary. We have therefore decided unanimously to adhere to the original distribution made by us.

### Representation of Urban and Rural Areas.

22. In deciding upon the number of seats which should be given to purely urban constituencies, we have borne in mind the recommendations of the Indian Franchise Committee referred to in paragraph 6 of our main Report. We have carefully considered the problem of urban *versus* rural representation. The main point for consideration is on what principle should any particular area be classed as urban or rural. The question is a difficult one to decide from the practical point of view, as it is not easy to draw a line of demarcation between what are really urban and what are purely rural areas. Any distinction based on theoretical considerations such as population or the enjoyment of some form of local self-Government would only be arbitrary and will not square with facts. The interests of the Presidency are predominantly rural, its rural population being approximately 76 per cent of the total population. There is hardly any conflict or divergence of interests between most of the towns and the larger villages of the district in which they are included. They are identical in respect of their problems, outlook and characteristics, and there is far greater community of interest between the towns and the surrounding rural areas in each district than between towns situated in different districts. An area, say, with a population of 10,000 inhabitants has in most cases no industrial or really urban problems at all which would differentiate it from the contiguous rural area. It would, therefore, in our opinion be wrong in principle to detach such areas from the surrounding rural areas and class them as urban for the purpose of representation. The existing arrangement, under which only the big cities which have really urban characteristics have been classed as urban constituencies, has worked satisfactorily for 15 years. Out of the 93 representations received in connection with our report there is only one (from the Democratic Swarajya Party of Thana) which advocates the grouping of all municipal areas into separate urban constituencies. With this one exception the Government, the Legislative Council and the public have all approved the principle followed by us. We are, therefore, unanimously of opinion that, so far as this Presidency is concerned, the correct method is to classify as urban only those areas which have genuinely urban characteristics, and whose problems and interests are different from, or likely to conflict with those of the areas classed as rural, and we have framed our urban and rural constituencies accordingly. We have formed the larger cities which fulfil our test into urban constituencies and have included other urban areas in the surrounding countryside. In framing the rural constituencies, however, we have tried to ensure that voters from urban areas will not have a preponderating influence in the election of the candidates. We are satisfied, on the information before us, that even if a candidate from an urban area is returned in any such rural constituency he will not ordinarily be able to succeed on the urban votes only. He will have to depend on urban and rural votes combined and will, therefore, have to look after the interests of both the urban and the purely rural areas in the constituency.

23. According to our proposals, out of the 158 territorial seats 131 will go to rural constituencies (104 General, 23 Muhammadan, 1 European, 1 Anglo-Indian and 2 Indian Christian) and 27 will be urban (16 General, 7 Muhammadan, 2 European, 1 Anglo-Indian and 1 Indian Christian). The urban seats are thus 17 per cent of the total and the rural 83 per cent. In the present Council out of a total of 75 elective seats in general constituencies 17 or 23 per cent are urban and 58 or 77 per cent rural. The urban population of the Presidency is 24 per cent. About 13 per cent of this is from small towns which will be included in rural constituencies.

24. Some of the representations received from the public (those of the Municipal Corporation of the City of Bombay, the Maharashtra Hindu Sabha, the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha, Mr. Nissim, Mr. Kelkar, Sir Mahboob I. Kadri) have complained that our proposals give inadequate representation to the urban areas. We consider that the complaint is not justified. It is to be noted that this complaint comes only from representatives of Bombay City, Ahmedabad and Poona. We have been impressed by the fact that neither in the representations received from the public, nor in the debates in the Legislative Council, has any desire been expressed by any of the smaller mofussil towns that they should be formed into separate urban areas, or any complaint made that urban areas are not adequately represented.

25. The complaint referred to above is based on the assumption that 24 per cent of the population of the Presidency is urban. This assumption however is based on a very artificial division adopted for census purposes. There is we think no justification for adopting this classification for purposes of framing urban constituencies. For purposes of representation in the Legislatures the only real distinction that can be made is between big towns which are entirely or largely industrial, and whose problems, interests and outlook are sharply differentiated from those of agricultural areas, and the agricultural areas including the smaller mofussil towns, whose trade and industries are entirely or mainly concerned with agriculture. If the population of the large urban areas which we have included in urban constituencies is alone taken into account it is 11 per cent of the total population of the Presidency and we have given to it 17 per cent of the seats. Even if towns with a population of 25,000 and over are treated as urban areas the total urban population would be about 2,874,000 i.e., about 16 per cent of the total population of the Presidency.

26. We considered the possibility of creating some more urban constituencies, but we are unable to select any towns large enough and of sufficient industrial or other importance to justify their being separated from the surrounding rural areas. We specially considered the case of Hubli which has a population of 89,982, but we came to the conclusion that even Hubli is not sufficiently large or so markedly industrial as to justify its being made into a separate urban constituency. We considered also the possibility of combining it with Dharwar, the headquarters of the district, which is only 12 miles distant. Dharwar has a population of 41,671, and is not an industrial centre. Combining it with a town twice as large in population would mean that the town which is the administrative headquarters of the district, and an important educational centre, would have very little chance of electing its own representative. We have therefore decided to adhere to the proposals already made by us and not to recommend the creation of any more urban constituencies.

#### **Single-member and Plural-member Constituencies.**

27. In the letter from His Majesty's Secretary of State for India to Sir Laurie Hammond, dated the 31st July 1935, it is stated that "broadly speaking His Majesty's Government are disposed to think that, save where the establishment of multi-member constituencies is necessitated by reservation of seats (as in the case of the Scheduled Castes and of the Marathas in Bombay) or for other special reasons, there would be advantage in each constituency returning a single member." The letter mentions, however, that this is a question which the Indian Delimitation Committee will consider in the light of local conditions and of the views expressed by the various Provinces concerned, and that where multi-member constituencies are recommended the use of the single non-transferable vote should be considered.

28. In paragraphs 9 and 10 of our main Report we have explained the reasons which have led us to propose plural-member constituencies as far as possible throughout the Presidency, with the right of cumulative voting. We have pointed out that this is the only method by which the small minorities for whom no seats are reserved, of which there are several in this Presidency, could get a chance of securing the election of candidates of their own choice. Our opinion that, in the conditions of this Presidency, plural-member constituencies with the right of cumulative voting are absolutely necessary to protect the interests of small but important minorities has, we are glad to find, been fully endorsed by the Government of Bombay, by the Legislative Council, and also by public opinion. In the Press Note issued by Government on the 15th August 1935, they have pointed out that the two-party system is not yet established in this country, that voting takes place largely on personal or communal considerations, and that small sections of the population can therefore have practically no chance of returning a representative of their choice unless more than one seat is allotted to a constituency. They have also pointed out that single-member constituencies are likely to result in the election of candidates with a merely parochial outlook and of a relatively inferior type. In the course of the debates in the Legislative Council on our

main Report criticisms were directed to various points of detail, but the general principle that there should be plural-member constituencies with the right of cumulative voting was accepted by all sections of the Council as that best suited to the needs of the Presidency. In the large number of written representations on our report, 93 in all, which have been received from public bodies and individuals, there is none which objects to our proposal that there should be plural-member constituencies with cumulative voting, while there are several which emphatically approve of our proposals in this respect. The representations received from the Maharashtra Hindu Sabha, Poona, the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha and Mr. N. C. Kelkar all say that they "also appreciate that the Committee have recommended plural-member constituencies with the right of cumulative voting. The Hammond Committee, which have been entrusted with the work of delimiting constituencies, have been specially instructed to form single-member constituencies with the method of the single non-transferable vote. We cannot persuade ourselves to accept this suggestion in view of the special circumstances of this Presidency." The Municipal Corporation of the City of Bombay while criticising our report on the ground that we have given inadequate representation to Bombay City, have also approved of the principle of plural-member constituencies and have suggested that Bombay City should be allotted 12 General seats distributed among four constituencies. The President, District Local Board, Kolaba, in his representation, says that the principle of multi-member constituencies with cumulative voting adopted by our Committee is very sound in the conditions prevailing in this Presidency, and should be maintained in the interests of several important communities like Parsis, Christians, Jews and even advanced classes amongst the Hindus. He points out that representation of different interests and parties on the lines on which voting takes place at elections will not be possible unless multi-member constituencies with cumulative voting are maintained. The Council of the Bombay Presidency Association say that they "support the proposal to accept population as the main basis of the distribution of seats for the various territorial constituencies, and also the delimitation of plural constituencies over as wide an area as possible and would strongly object to any proposal to reduce their areas as in certain other provinces." They support the plural-member constituencies as proposed by us except that, in the case of Bombay City, they would prefer to have only two constituencies instead of the three recommended by us. The Bombay Presidency Association and the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha whose opinions we have quoted above are two of the oldest and most important political associations in this Presidency.

29. It would appear, therefore, that our proposal that the constituencies in this Presidency should as far as possible be plural-member constituencies with the right of cumulative voting has received the unanimous approval of the Government of Bombay, the Legislative Council and the public. In our opinion, the method of cumulative voting is far better suited to the needs of this Presidency than the method of the single non-transferable vote. The system of the single non-transferable vote gives an assurance of representation to substantial minorities, but the problem in our Presidency is that many of the minorities which play a very important part in the commercial and political life of the Presidency are very small minorities who would be unable to secure any representation at all if they were deprived of the advantage of the cumulative vote in plural-member constituencies.

30. We are also inclined to think that the use of the single non-transferable vote might be objected to on the ground that it is against the spirit of the Poona Pact. If only one vote is allowed to every voter the voters from the Scheduled Castes will have no option but to give their votes to candidates from their own community only, and will in effect be debarred from voting for candidates from the Caste Hindus. There will be very little incentive to candidates from the Caste Hindus to canvass the votes of Scheduled Caste voters and *vice versa* and there will not be that free intercourse between the two which it was the intention of the Poona Pact to foster. The system will result in constituting a sort of special electorate of the Scheduled Castes within the general electorate. We doubt whether this was intended when the Poona Pact was concluded.

31. An incidental disadvantage of very small constituencies is that where there is a seat reserved for the Scheduled Castes, such constituencies will reduce very considerably the proportion of the Scheduled Caste population of each district which will have a chance of voting for the Scheduled Caste reserved seat. Where such a seat is reserved in a three or four-member constituency comprising the whole or half of a district, the whole or half of the Scheduled Caste population of the district would be able to elect a Scheduled Caste member. But the creation of small two-member constituencies would frequently mean the subdivision of a district into as many as four constituencies with the result that only one-fourth of the Scheduled Caste population of the district would be able to vote for the election of the Scheduled Caste member.

32. The letter from His Majesty's Government to the Indian Delimitation Committee stresses the necessity of ensuring, as far as the conditions permit, "the maximum degree of contact between candidates and electors". We are satisfied that the constituencies proposed by us will be quite manageable, whether judged from the point of view of their area, or the number of voters or the facilities of communication, and that it will be quite possible for a candidate to maintain effective contact with his constituents. We consider that the creation of single-member constituencies in this Presidency would result in the practical exclusion from the Legislatures of very important minorities and of many important sections of the majority communities also. The best way of securing the largest amount of contact between candidates and electors, and between electors and the Legislature, is, in our opinion, to provide a method by which, not merely the majority communities, but important minorities also, can feel that they are represented in the Legislatures. We think that this result can best be achieved by the system of plural-member constituencies with cumulative voting. We may point out that this system has been adopted in this Presidency for a long time, not merely for the provincial Legislature, but for elections to local bodies also, and has worked satisfactorily. The Indian Franchise Committee in their Report (Volume I, page 146, paragraphs 368-69) say that they see no reason to depart from the recommendation of the Local Government and the Provincial Franchise Committee that the present arrangement of multi-member constituencies should continue. They go on to say: "In multi-member constituencies we recommend the use of the cumulative vote..... An alternative method in multi-member constituencies is to use the restrictive vote system under which, however many candidates there are the voter has the right to use one vote only. We prefer however the wider opportunities given by the method of cumulative vote. The elector can exercise his discretion how he will distribute his votes and is given the opportunity of exercising a broader choice and not reserving his attentions solely to those of his caste or group if he so desires. It therefore gives a less narrow outlook to the voter and renders the divisions in the community less stereotyped. It gives him no less opportunity than the restrictive method to concentrate his votes upon the candidate of his choice. It is not so simple as the other method though the results may be said more exactly to represent the wishes of the electorate."

33. The method of the single transferable vote is too complicated for adoption in this country. We have not therefore discussed it at greater length.

34. We therefore adhere very strongly to the opinion already expressed by us in our main Report that the constituencies in this Presidency should be plural-member constituencies with the right of cumulative voting.

#### **Grievances of certain Districts.**

35. Before we proceed to discuss the question of the reserved seats for the Marathas, the Scheduled Castes and the Backward Tribes, we would like to refer to certain criticisms which have been made with regard to the way in which we have formed constituencies in the Ahmedabad, Sholapur and Panch Mahals Districts. Two representations have been received, one from the residents of Bavla and the surrounding villages of Dholka Taluka and one from the President of a public meeting of the people of Dholka Taluka, which complain of the injustice done to the Ahmedabad District by the proposal of our Committee to divide that district into two constituencies—Ahmedabad South

comprising the Talukas of Dholka and Dhandhuka and Gogha Mahal, to which one seat has been allotted, and Ahmedabad North comprising the remaining talukas of the district to which three seats have been allotted, one being reserved for the Scheduled Castes. The same contentions were also urged in the Legislative Council by the member representing Ahmedabad District. It has been suggested that the Ahmedabad District should be formed into a single constituency with four seats. Our proposals in this connection were based on the recommendations of the Divisional Commissioners who considered that, for administrative and geographical reasons, it was not possible to form a single constituency of the whole district. The district is a very scattered one, and the three southern talukas which we have formed into the Ahmedabad South constituency are talukdari, and have very little in common with the rest of the district. Gogha Mahal is completely cut off from the rest of the Ahmedabad District by intervening State territory. The majority of our Committee are therefore of opinion that the division of the district into two constituencies as proposed by us is proper and should be adhered to. Two of our members, Sardar Naik and Dr. Solanki, dissent from this view and favour the formation of a single constituency of the whole district.

36. A similar representation has been received with regard to the Panch Mahals District. One of our members, Sardar Naik, is of the opinion that this district should be formed into a single constituency with three seats. We have divided the district into two constituencies—Panch Mahals West with two seats and Panch Mahals East with one seat. Here again our proposals are based on the recommendations of the Commissioners, and a reference to the map of the district shows clearly that the division proposed by us is necessary. The Jhalod Mahal and the Dohad Taluka, which we have formed into a separate constituency of Panch Mahals East, are entirely separated from the rest of the district by intervening State territory. Moreover, these two talukas are largely inhabited by Bhils whose interests would be likely to suffer if they were combined in a single constituency with the rest of the district. With the exception of Sardar Naik we are all of opinion that the arrangement made by us should stand.

37. A representation has been received from the Sholapur District Nationalist Union which complains that the division of the Sholapur District into two constituencies—Sholapur North-East and Sholapur South-West—is unequal and unjust. It is suggested that the district should be divided into two constituencies—one comprising Barsi, Madha and Karmala Talukas, and the other comprising Sholapur, Pandharpur, Sangola and Malsiras Talukas, with approximately equal population, and that two seats should be assigned to each, the reserved seat for the Scheduled Castes being given to each of these constituencies by rotation. We have already pointed out in our main Report that we are on principle against the system of giving seats by rotation. We consider that there is a very distinct advantage in securing continuity of representation. Moreover, the division of the constituencies as made by us follows the revenue divisions of the district, and is therefore a much more convenient one for administrative reasons. Each of the two constituencies framed by us has been given the number of seats to which it is entitled on the basis of its population. There was no complaint on this point in the Legislative Council from the members representing the Sholapur District. We are not therefore in favour of making any change.

#### **Distribution of Maratha Reserved Seats.**

38. Several representations have been received in connection with our proposals about the distribution of the seven seats reserved for the Marathas and Allied Castes. Some of these representations relate to the question referred to in paragraph 11 of our main Report about the inclusion of the Kurubs of the Karnatak Districts (Bijapur, Dharwar and Kanara) among the Allied Castes. We have pointed out that there are 122,000 Kurubs in the Bijapur District and 106,000 in the Dharwar District, and that if the Kurubs are not included among the Marathas and Allied Castes, neither Dharwar nor Bijapur would be entitled to a Maratha reserved seat. Representations have been received from various individuals and organizations on behalf of the Kurubs claiming that

they are allied to the Marathas and correspond to the Dhangars in the Deccan, that they should be included among the Allied Castes, and that seats should be reserved for the Marathas and Allied Castes including the Kurubs in the Bijapur, Dharwar and Kanara Districts. Since submitting our main Report we have made further enquiries with regard to the position of the Kurubs and are satisfied that the view which we originally took is correct, and that the Kurubs cannot rightly be classified as one of the Allied Castes. The Commissioner, Southern Division, who was one of the officers we consulted on the point, has reported that the Kurubs differ from the Dhangars of the Deccan in origin, language, religion and habits and that in his opinion they cannot rightly be classed as one of the Allied Castes. Mr. B. V. Jadhav and Mr. A. N. Surve, whom we consulted on the point as representing Marathas and Allied Castes, are also of the same opinion. We therefore see no reason to modify the opinion already given by us that the Kurubs cannot be classed as one of the Allied Castes, and that it is not necessary to reserve any seats for the Marathas and Allied Castes in Dharwar and Bijapur.

39. Some representations have been received on behalf of the Allied Castes in which it has been claimed that the Marathas proper do not need any longer the protection of reserved seats, and that all the reserved seats should be allotted entirely to the Allied Castes. The contention that the Marathas proper do not need the protection of reserved seats at all and that this protection should be given entirely to the Allied Castes is not one which, in our opinion, can be considered by us at all. The Government of India Act expressly reserves the seats for the Marathas and Allied Castes and it is not open to us to restrict the seats to the Allied Castes only.

40. The complaint that the reservation of seats as proposed by us gives undue preference to the Marathas as distinguished from the Allied Castes, and that in the districts in which we have reserved the seats Allied Caste candidates will have no chance of success against Maratha candidates is, we think, entirely unjustified. We have appended to this report a statement (Statement III) which shows the Maratha and Allied Caste population separately for the Districts of the Central and Southern Divisions, and for Bombay City, Thana and the Bombay Suburban District. The statement shows that in four out of the seven districts in which we have reserved seats for the Marathas and Allied Castes, viz., Kolaba, East Khandesh, West Khandesh and Thana, the Allied Caste population is considerably larger than the Maratha population. In West Khandesh and Thana, it is nearly three times as large and in East Khandesh more than 2-1/2 times as large as the Maratha population. In these four districts therefore the Allied Castes will have a better chance of electing one of their members to the reserved seats than the Marathas. In two of the other areas selected by us, namely, Ratnagiri and Bombay City, the Allied Caste population is less than the Maratha population, but it may be noted that Mr. A. N. Surve himself, although objecting to our proposals as being unfair to the Allied Castes, recommends that seats should be reserved in Bombay City North and Ratnagiri. We do not think that any further protection is needed for the Allied Castes than that which we have given in the proposals already made by us.

41. Two of the representations received in connection with our proposals say that an extra reserved seat for the Marathas and Allied Castes should be given to the Ratnagiri District. The majority of our Committee consisting of Mr. Turner, Rao Bahadur Navle, Rao Bahadur Angadi, Khan Bahadur Abdul Latif, Mr. Hoosenally Rahimtoola and Dr. Solanki are of opinion that there is considerable force in this request, and that an extra reserved seat should be given in the Ratnagiri South constituency. They think that, although the Marathas and Allied Castes in the Ratnagiri District form 77.6 per cent of the total population of the district, they are so backward that they will be unable without extra reservation to secure the representation to which their number entitles them, that the prevalence of the khoti system in the district also makes their position difficult and justifies the grant of special protection to them, and that it is, therefore, necessary that an additional seat should be given to them. They have also taken into consideration the fact that it is largely from the Maratha population of the Ratnagiri District that the Maratha

regiments of the army are recruited. Two of our members—Rao Bahadur Kale and Sardar Naik—are against this proposal, Rao Bahadur Kale being of opinion that it is undesirable, on general grounds, to reserve more than one seat in the same constituency which is the principle which we have followed. The majority, however, think that the special circumstances of this constituency justify the reservation of two out of the four seats. They have therefore decided to modify the previous proposals and to recommend that the seat reserved for the Marathas and Allied Castes in the Belgaum District should be taken away and given to the Marathas and Allied Castes of the Ratnagiri South constituency. In their opinion, the Marathas and Allied Castes of the Belgaum District will be able to secure representation without the help of reservation.

42. In dealing with the case of the Scheduled Caste seats we have proposed (paragraph 45) that the reserved seat for the Marathas and Allied Castes in the Thana South constituency should be transferred to the Thana North constituency. We have not thought it necessary to make any other alterations in the proposals made by us with regard to the reservation of seats for the Marathas and Allied Castes.

### **Reserved Seats for the Scheduled Castes.**

43. We have considered the suggestions received from the public with regard to the distribution of the 15 Scheduled Caste seats. The principal criticisms are those of Dr. Ambedkar who complains that we have taken away the seats reserved for the Scheduled Castes from the Bombay Suburban District and the Kolaba District and allotted them to the Surat and Dharwar Districts, and that we have thus reduced the number of seats to which the Marathi-speaking area is entitled from 11 to 9, and have departed from the fundamental principle of distribution according to population. His contention that the Marathi-speaking area is entitled to 11 seats on the basis of population is correct. We were of opinion that although the Scheduled Castes of Gujarat are numerically not entitled to more than two seats, they should be given an extra seat in view of the fact that their condition is worse than that of the Scheduled Castes in the Central Division, and they are therefore in greater need of the protection afforded by a reserved seat than the Scheduled Castes of the Central Division. The Bombay Suburban District has been included by us with Bombay City and we have reserved one Scheduled Caste seat in one of the Bombay constituencies. As the Women's seat allotted to Bombay City had to be reserved in the constituency containing the Fort, Girgaum, Mandvi and Bhuleshwar Wards, and as the Maratha seat had to be reserved in Bombay City in the constituency which includes the Bombay Suburban District, we had to reserve the Scheduled Caste seat in the Byculla and Parel constituency.

44. We feel however that there is some force in the contention of Dr. Ambedkar that in our original proposals we have given less representation to the Scheduled Castes of the Marathi-speaking area than they are entitled to, and that the Kolaba District particularly should have a Scheduled Caste seat. The population of the Scheduled Castes in the Kolaba District is 45,751. According to the population figures the Marathi-speaking area would be entitled to 11 seats, the Gujarati-speaking area to two seats and the Kanarese-speaking area to two seats. We have given three seats to the Gujarati-speaking area and three to the Kanarese-speaking area, with the result that only nine seats are left for the Marathi-speaking area. The majority of our Committee feel that the extra representation given to the Scheduled Castes of the Gujarati-speaking area is justified by reason of the fact that the position of the Scheduled Castes is much worse in Gujarat than in the Central or Southern Division. Their customs and traditions differ also from those of the Scheduled Castes of the Marathi areas. But they feel that there is not sufficient justification for giving an extra seat to the Kanarese-speaking area. We have, therefore, decided by a majority of five to one that the reserved seat for the Scheduled Castes given to the Bijapur North constituency should be taken away and given to the Kolaba District. One of our members, Rao Bahadur Kale, is opposed on principle to reserving two out of the four seats in the Kolaba District—one for the Marathas and one for the Scheduled Castes—on the ground that such



reservation does not leave a sufficient number of free seats for the rest of the population, and that we have not reserved two seats in any other constituency. The rest of the Committee do not consider this objection very serious. The total general population of the Kolaba District is 597,715 of which 429,000 or more than 71 per cent are Marathas and Allied Castes and eight per cent are Scheduled Castes. The rest of the population which is 21 per cent could not ordinarily be expected to secure more than one out of the four seats. It cannot, therefore, be said that they are unfairly treated if two free seats are left for them. One of our members, Sardar Naik, would prefer to give the Scheduled Caste seat of the Kaira District to Kolaba on the ground that the Scheduled Caste population of the Kaira District is only 37,624 whereas that of the Bijapur District is about 83,000. The majority of the Committee, however, are against reducing the Gujarat Scheduled Caste seats as they feel that the Scheduled Castes of Gujarat are in greater need of protection than those of the Southern Division.

45. It has been alleged by Dr. Ambedkar and in some of the representations received on our proposals on this question that we have not followed strictly the basis of population in allocating the Scheduled Caste seats. It is true that we have not done so. In distributing the Scheduled Caste seats we had to bear two considerations in mind. We had to see that as far as possible not more than one reserved seat was allotted to any particular constituency. The result was that where in any district we had to reserve a Maratha seat as well as a Scheduled Caste seat and a Woman's seat, we could not always allot the Scheduled Caste or the Maratha seat to the particular constituency in which the Scheduled Caste or the Maratha population was largest. We sometimes found that the same constituency of a district which had the largest Scheduled Caste population had also the largest Maratha population. Where this was the case, we had sometimes to allot the Scheduled Caste seat to the other constituency. Another consideration we had to bear in mind was the desirability of distributing the Scheduled Caste seats in such a manner as to give the minor sub-castes among the Scheduled Castes such as the Chambhars, a chance of securing some of these seats. It was pointed out to us by Mr. Symington, the Backward Class Officer, that the minor communities among the Scheduled Castes such as the Chambhars, Mangs and Dhors, live mostly in the towns and that therefore we should see that some of the constituencies in which we reserved the Scheduled Caste seats included the headquarter towns of the district. It was for this reason that we chose the Ahmednagar South, the East Khandesh East, the Nasik West, the Ratnagiri South and the Satara North constituencies for the reservation of the Scheduled Caste seats, because each of these constituencies includes the headquarter town of the district. In our opinion the desirability of giving a chance to the minor sub-castes within the Scheduled Castes is an important consideration and justifies the selection of the constituencies made by us. In the case of Thana we had suggested that the Scheduled Caste seat should be reserved in Thana North and the Maratha seat in Thana South. As Thana South is a predominantly Marathi-speaking area and has a larger Scheduled Caste population we have on reconsideration decided to modify our previous proposals and to recommend that the Scheduled Caste seat should be reserved in the Thana South constituency and the Maratha seat in Thana North. This change is preferred by the Marathas also as appears from the representation received from Rao Bahadur Bole.

46. Several of the representations received on this question suggest that for the purposes of the Scheduled Caste seats the whole district should be formed into a single constituency, and that the Scheduled Caste seats should not be allotted to constituencies covering only part of a district. The suggestion cannot be considered as it would be inconsistent with the Poona Pact which requires that the seats reserved for the Scheduled Castes must be in general constituencies.

47. We therefore propose in modification of our previous report that the Scheduled Caste seat allotted by us to the Bijapur North constituency should be transferred to the Kolaba District, and that the Scheduled Caste seat given to the Thana District should be transferred from the Thana North constituency

to the Thana South constituency, the reserved seat for the Marathas and Allied Castes being transferred from the Thana South constituency to the Thana North constituency. The rest of our proposals with regard to the Scheduled Caste seats will stand.

### **Backward Tribes Seat.**

48. In paragraph 15 of our main Report we have suggested that the one seat allotted to this Presidency for the Backward Tribes should be allotted as a reserved seat to the Backward Tribes of the West Khandesh District in the West Khandesh West constituency. In a representation received from Mr. Thakkar of the Servants of India Society it has been urged that our proposals leave out of consideration the Backward Tribes of other parts of the Presidency such as Surat, Thana, Panch Mahals and Nasik Districts, and it has been suggested that the reserved seat should go by rotation to the West Khandesh West, Thana South and Nasik Districts forming one group and to the Thana North, Surat and Panch Mahals Districts forming a second group; or that it should be given in rotation to the West Khandesh West and the Surat District constituencies or to the Surat District only. Representations have also been received from some residents of the Panch Mahals subdivision suggesting that the Gujarat aboriginal tribes should be given some representation. We have shown in paragraph 15 of our main Report that the aboriginal tribes population is largest in the West Khandesh District to which we have allotted the seat, Surat coming next and Thana third. We had considered these alternative suggestions when submitting our main Report, and we see no sufficient reason to modify the decision which we then arrived at. In our opinion, the aboriginal tribes of the West Khandesh District to which we have allotted the special seat are not only the most numerous but also the most backward of the aboriginal tribes of this Presidency, and if special protection is necessary they need it most. Owing to the fact that the areas inhabited by the aboriginal tribes in the Districts of West Khandesh, Surat, Thana and Nasik are not contiguous, it is not possible to combine them into a single constituency. We find that no representations have been received from any individual or association speaking on behalf of the aboriginal tribes themselves complaining of the arrangement proposed by us. From the letter of Mr. Symington, the Backward Class Officer, printed at page 117 of the written representations received from the public, we find that, although the members of the Backward Class Board were asked by him to submit their remarks or suggestions with regard to the proposals made by us, none of them has sent in any reply. We assume from this that they are satisfied with our proposals. We have, therefore, decided to adhere to the proposals originally made by us.

### **Muhammadian Representation.**

49. A certain number of representations have been received criticizing the proposals made by us in paragraph 21 of our main Report with regard to the delimitation of the Muhammadian constituencies in the Provincial Legislative Assembly. Of the 30 Muhammadian seats, we have allotted five to Bombay City, nine to the Northern Division, eight to the Central Division and eight to the Southern Division. We have proposed that the Muhammadian Women's seat should be reserved in Bombay City. The Government of Bombay have accepted our recommendations. The Mayor of the Municipal Corporation of Bombay has suggested that in consideration of the importance of the Muhammadian population of Bombay and its high voting strength, Bombay City should be given at least one more seat. The All-India Muslim Federation and the Bombay Muslim Society have also urged that Bombay City should be given an additional seat. The majority of our Committee (Mr. Turner, Khan Bahadur Abdul Latif, Mr. Rahimtoola, Rao Bahadur Kale, Rao Bahadur Navle and Rao Bahadur Angadi) were of opinion that the claim of Bombay for an additional Muhammadian seat is a reasonable one. The majority of the Committee therefore decided that an additional seat should be given to the Muhammadans of Bombay City who should get six seats instead of five, and that the distribution of the wards between the two constituencies should be re-arranged so as to provide two constituencies each with three seats, the

Women's seat being reserved in the Bombay South constituency in which the wealthier and better educated Muhammadans reside. The constituencies would be—

- Bombay North, comprising Byculla, Parel and Mahim Wards of Bombay City and the Bombay Suburban District (excluding Ambernath Petha) ... 3 seats.
- Bombay South, comprising the Fort, Mandvi, Bhuleshwar and Girgaum Wards ... 3 seats, of which one would be reserved for women.

50. In our original proposals we had allotted an urban seat to the Muhammadans of Surat and Rander cities. The Muhammadan population of Surat and Rander cities is only 36,306 and on the basis of one seat for 53,413 people they would not be entitled to a full seat. The Muhammadan population of Surat District is only 29,970 and they are therefore entitled to 5 of a seat. The Muhammadans of the Surat District and Surat and Rander cities together are entitled to 1.2. We therefore propose, in modification of our original report, that the Surat and Rander cities should be combined with the Surat District to form a single Muhammadan constituency with one seat, and that the seat so released should be added to Bombay City. Two of our members, Sardar Naik and Dr. Solanki, dissent from this view and consider that Surat and Rander are entitled to a separate urban seat in view of the importance of their Muhammadan population.

51. We had proposed that the Muhammadan Women's seat should be reserved in Bombay City. Three of our members—Khan Bahadur Abdul Latif, Rao Bahadur Navle and Mr. Hoosenally Rahimtoola—were of opinion that this seat instead of being allotted to Bombay City, as originally proposed by us, should be held in rotation by Bombay City and by one constituency in each of the three Divisions. In view, however, of the fact that our original proposal in this respect has been accepted by the Government of Bombay and by the Legislative Council, and no representations have been received against it from the public, the majority of the Committee have decided to adhere to the original proposal.

52. We have considered the representations received from Khan Sahab M. O. Koreishi, Khan Bahadur Sir Mahbub I. Kadri and Mr. A. O. Koreishi, in which it has been suggested that as a very large proportion (51 per cent according to them) of the Muhammadan population of the Presidency is urban, there should be 16 Muhammadan urban seats and 14 rural, seven of the urban seats being allotted to Bombay and Ahmedabad cities and nine to constituencies formed of the Muhammadan residents of the smaller mofussil towns. In our opinion, although a large number of the Muhammadans of the Presidency live in towns, their interests are not in any way different from those of the Muhammadans of the surrounding rural areas, and the Muhammadans of the ordinary district headquarter towns like Belgaum, Dharwar, Bijapur or Dhulia have much more in common with the Muhammadans of the surrounding rural areas than with the Muhammadans of towns in adjoining districts. Our opinion on this point is supported by that of the Commissioners who have said in their letter No. A. D. M. 1/66(C), dated the 19th June 1933, paragraph 7 (page 58 of the material) that one of the reasons which has led them to adopt the principle that the district should be the unit for the formation of Muhammadan constituencies was "the community of interests and solidarity which prevail among the Muhammadans throughout the Presidency; and the fact that there is no marked distinction between urban and rural Muhammadans." The proposals of Mr. A. O. Koreishi as worked out in the Appendix attached to his representation would result in grouping the Muhammadans of Surat town with the Muhammadans of Thana town, the Muhammadans of Poona city with those of Satara city, the Muhammadans of Sholapur city with those of Ahmednagar city, and so on. Similarly, in the Muhammadan rural constituencies, the Muhammadans of West Khandesh would be combined with the Muhammadans of Nasik District. In each of these cases, the Muhammadans of the rural areas of a district would have far more in common with the Muhammadans of the town areas of that district, with whom they have constant business dealings,

than with the Muhammadans of the rural areas of an adjoining district. The proposals would also result in inconveniently large rural constituencies. Our Committee are unanimously of opinion that these proposals, which have been made only by these three gentlemen from Ahmedabad city, and which have not been advocated by any Muhammadan Associations from other parts of the Presidency or by any Muhammadan members of the Legislative Council, are not suitable. The majority of our Committee, therefore, adhere to the original proposals with regard to the distribution of the Muhammadan seats, subject to the modification made above by which the seat allotted to Surat and Rander cities will be taken away and given to Bombay City.

### Indian Christian Constituencies.

53. In paragraph 29 of our main Report we had proposed that the three Indian Christian seats should be allotted—one to Bombay City and the Bombay Suburban District, one to the Poona and Ahmednagar Districts and one to the Kaira and Ahmedabad Districts. In some of the representations received on this subject from the public, and in the debates in the Legislative Council, it has been pointed out that the result of our proposals is that the Roman Catholics who number about three-fifths of the total Indian Christian population get only one seat, while the Protestants who number only about two-fifths get two seats. Of the total Indian Christian population of Bombay City and Bombay Suburban District more than four-fifths are Roman Catholics and about one-fifth are Protestants. In the Poona-Ahmednagar constituency about one-third are Roman Catholics and over two-thirds are Protestants. In the Ahmedabad-Kaira constituency about one-fifth are Roman Catholics and over four-fifths are Protestants. In these two constituencies, therefore, the member returned would invariably be a Protestant. It has been pointed out on behalf of the Roman Catholics that the Indian Christians of Bombay City, the Bombay Suburban District and Thana are far more advanced in point of wealth and education than the Indian Christians of the Poona and Ahmednagar Districts or of Gujarat, and are much more likely to send really capable representatives to the Legislative Assembly. The majority of our Committee agree that there is much force in these representations made on behalf of the Indian Christian population of Bombay City and the Bombay Suburban District and Thana, and they have therefore decided to modify the previous proposals made by the Committee and to recommend that the three seats allotted to the Indian Christians should be distributed as follows:—

Bombay City with an Indian Christian population of 64,280	... 1 seat.
Bombay Suburban District and Thana District with a population of 59,005	... 1 seat.
Poona and Ahmednagar Districts with a population of 47,369	... 1 seat.

Two of our members—Dr. Solanki and Sardar Naik—dissent from this decision and are strongly of opinion that the Gujarat area is entitled to one seat in spite of the fact that its Indian Christian population is smaller than that of Thana and the Bombay Suburban District as, in their opinion, the Indian Christians of Gujarat are in a very backward condition and in many ways suffer from the same disadvantages as the Scheduled Castes of that area and are therefore specially in need of protection.

### Commerce and Industry Constituencies.

54. The proposals made by us in paragraphs 30 to 38 of our main Report with regard to the allocation of the seven Commerce and Industry seats have been provisionally accepted by Government. There has been a certain amount of criticism from the public and in the Legislative Council. The main criticism is that the representation given by us to Indian commercial interests is not adequate, and that the Bombay Trades Association is not entitled to the one seat which we have allotted to it. We have carefully considered the latter question in the light of the representations received from the public and the criticisms made in the Legislative Council. The European commercial interests

have been represented by three members in the present Legislative Council since the commencement of the reformed constitution. We consider that these interests are entitled to the same number of seats in the future Assembly and that no reduction in the number of seats allotted to them is possible. Even if the seat assigned to the Bombay Trades Association were taken away from it, it would have to be allotted to some other body representing European commerce. The Bombay Trades Association has enjoyed representation for the last fifteen years. It includes among its members several important European firms and represents a very large amount of capital. We therefore see no reason to modify the proposals already made by us with regard to the allocation of two seats to the Bombay Chamber of Commerce, and one to the Bombay Trades Association. Our proposal that one seat should be allotted to the East India Cotton Association to represent the cotton trade has been accepted by the public and by the Legislative Council. We have considered the representations received from the Maharashtra Chamber of Commerce, the Bombay Piecegoods Native Merchants' Association, the Bombay Shroff Association, the Marwari Chamber of Commerce and other Indian commercial bodies asking that a seat should be given to them. We adhere to the opinion already expressed in paragraph 35 of our main Report that none of these associations is better entitled to represent Indian commercial interests than the three associations to which we have allotted seats—the Indian Merchants' Chamber, the Bombay Mill-owners' Association and the Ahmedabad Millowners' Association.

#### **Landholders' Constituencies.**

55. We have considered the representations received in connection with our proposals about the Landholders' constituencies and we see no reason to alter our views.

#### **The University Constituency.**

56. The view of the majority of our Committee with regard to the franchise qualifications for electors in the University constituency has not been accepted by Government. In the representations received from the public we find that Mr. V. N. Chandavarkar, the Vice-Chancellor of the University, has suggested that the franchise for this constituency should be widened and that graduates of three years' standing should be considered as qualified to vote. We have considered the opinion of Government that the existing qualification restricting the franchise to graduates of seven years' standing should be retained. The majority of our Committee adhere to the view which they had previously taken that graduates of five years' standing should be qualified as electors.

#### **Representation of Labour.**

57. In paragraphs 42 to 54 of our main Report we have discussed at some length the question of the representation of labour, and have explained the reasons which led us to the conclusion that the creation of special labour constituencies is neither practicable nor desirable in this Presidency. We have pointed out that the trade union movement is more strongly developed and much better organized in this Presidency than in other parts of India, and though we admit that during the last few years the movement has had a slight set-back, it is nevertheless thoroughly well established and is likely to spread. Our views have been approved by the public and by the Legislative Council. Government have said in their Press Note No. R-319-III of the 9th September 1935 that they fully agree with our Committee that strongly organized trade unions form the most suitable constituency for special labour representation. They were however inclined to think that the question of labour representation was of sufficient importance to deserve further discussion on certain points.

58. We have considered the questions raised by Government and the opinions received from the public, and also the representation from the Bombay Chamber of Commerce suggesting the establishment of special labour constituencies in certain areas. In our opinion, it is desirable that all registered trade unions throughout the whole Presidency should be formed into trade union constituencies. Government had specifically invited the opinion of the public

with regard to their suggestion that one seat should be assigned to the textile labour unions of the whole of Gujarat or alternatively of Ahmedabad City, two to Railway unions registered in the Bombay Presidency, one to the registered trade unions of seamen, dock-workers and Port Trust employees, and that the remaining three seats should be assigned to (a) a special textile labour constituency in Bombay City and Suburbs, (b) a special textile labour constituency in the Deccan, Khandesh and Karnatak, preferably by limitation to Sholapur City and (c) a limited trade union constituency for representative industries preferably in a limited area, or a special labour constituency covering the same or similar industries. We find that none of the representations except one from the Bombay Girni Kamgar Union supports the creation of special labour constituencies; while the representations from the Textile Labour Association, Ahmedabad, from the Mill Workers' Union of Bombay, and the Bombay Provincial Committee of the National Trades Union Federation strongly support the views put forward by our Committee. The Textile Labour Association of Ahmedabad says that it agrees with our view that special labour constituencies are not practicable in this Presidency and points out certain other objections to the establishment of such constituencies besides those mentioned in our report. We do not think it necessary to repeat the reasons which we have already given in paragraphs 45-47 of our main Report in support of the view that the formation of special labour constituencies is neither practicable nor desirable. We think that the formation of such constituencies, even if it were possible, would have the effect of retarding the healthy growth of the trade union movement, and in the interests of labour, it is very necessary to avoid taking any step which is likely to have such results. We have pointed out that the Divisional Commissioners and the Commissioner of Labour and Mr. S. C. Joshi, whom we co-opted to help us in dealing with the question of labour representation, were all emphatically of opinion that the only way in which representation for labour can be best provided in this Presidency is by means of trade union constituencies. The views which we put forward have now received the support both of the public and of the Legislative Council. No new material has been put before us which would justify us in revising our original proposals. The only ground which could be urged in favour of the view that special labour constituencies might be desirable in Bombay City and Suburbs and in the Deccan, Khandesh and Karnatak, is that in these areas trade unions are either weak or do not exist at all. We admit that this is so at present. But we consider that this is not a sufficient justification for creating special labour constituencies in these areas. With the revised franchise a large number of labourers in Bombay City and in the other industrial centres like Sholapur, Hubli, Gadag, etc., will be enfranchised, and will, therefore, have a vote in the territorial constituencies. The creation of special labour constituencies would, in our opinion, to some extent at least, prevent the development of the trade union movement in these areas. We think there is some force in the views put forward by the Textile Labour Association of Ahmedabad that "elections by such (special labour) constituencies will have a very deleterious effect on the labour movement. Persons with ambitions to a seat in the Legislature but without any real claim to represent labour will enter the field and rend labour into sections and groups on issues altogether alien to the interests of labour. There is a grave danger that elections will be fought on communal lines and labour's solidarity will be exposed to the disintegrating influence of communal propaganda. Landlords, chawl-owners, employers of labour, caste organizations and so many others would all drag different sections of labour in different directions. Temptations will be placed in the way of the voters. Development of the labour movement on healthy lines will be greatly discouraged." If special representation is to be given to labour it should, we think, be given through organized associations of labour corresponding to the organized associations of employers to which the Commerce and Industry seats have been allocated. For these reasons, we adhere to the view which we have already expressed with regard to the representation of labour and the formation of trade union constituencies. One of our members, Khan Bahadur Abdul Latif, favours a special labour constituency for Sholapur City.

59. In paragraph 44 of our main Report we have mentioned the trade union constituencies proposed by the Commissioners and in paragraph 49 we have expressed our agreement with these proposals. There is one point in this

connection which we would like to make clear. In the case of the General Trade Unions constituency proposed by the Commissioners, the extent of the constituency is described as including "all trade unions other than those specified in constituency No. 5 above". Our intention was that this General Trade Unions constituency should include all trade unions other than those specified in constituencies Nos. 1 to 5 mentioned in that statement. In the list of constituencies given in Statement No. IV appended to our main Report the words "General Trade Unions (i.e. all trade unions other than those specified above)" should be substituted for the words "General Trade Unions" in the last line. We also wish to make it clear that the right of representation which we have proposed should be given to registered trade unions of manual industrial workers.

60. The constituencies for the Provincial Legislative Assembly as now proposed by us are shown in Statement IV appended to this report.

61. In clause (vi) of the supplementary terms of reference we have been asked to consider and report on the points mentioned in the letter from His Majesty's Secretary of State for India to Sir Laurie Hammond, dated the 31st July 1935, so far as they relate to electoral arrangements and the delimitation of constituencies. In the paragraphs of our main Report and of this report dealing with the representation of Labour, Landholders, University and the Backward Tribes, we have already dealt with the questions raised in the letter in connection with the representation of special interests, and have made suggestions with regard to the qualifications of voters in Commerce and Industry, Labour and University constituencies and the Backward Tribes seat. In paragraphs 27 to 34 of this report we have dealt with the questions of single and plural-member constituencies and the method of voting, which are specially referred to in the letter to Sir Laurie Hammond. We think that there are no other points in the letter which call for any remarks from us.

N. J. WADIA (*Chairman*).

C. W. A. TURNER.

\*BHIMBHAI R. NAIK.

R. R. KALE.

S. N. ANGADI.

P. G. SOLANKI.

N. E. NAVLE.

ABDUL LATIF HAJI HAJRAT KHAN.

HOSENALLY M. RAHIMTOOLA.

V. H. VACHHRAJANI,

*Secretary.*

Poona, 12th October 1935.

\* Subject to a minute of dissent.

## STATEMENT No. I.

*Showing the periods for which members shall be elected in the constituencies of the Council of State upon its first constitution.*

Name of Constituency,	Number of 8-year seats.	Number of 9-year seats.
<b>A. GENERAL.</b>		
Bombay City and Bombay Suburban District (excluding Ambernath)	1	1
Ahmedabad and Kaira Districts ...	1	...
Broach and Panch Mahals and Surat Districts ...	...	1
Thana (including Ambernath), Nasik and Ahmednagar Districts.	...	1
East Khandesh and West Khandesh Districts ...	1	...
Poona and Satara Districts ...	1	...
Sholapur, Belgaum and Bijapur Districts ...	...	1
Kolaba and Ratnagiri Districts ...	...	1
Dharwar and Kanara Districts ...	1	...
	5	5
<b>B. MUHAMMADAN.</b>		
Bombay City and Bombay Suburban District (excluding Ambernath).	1	...
Northern Division ...	...	1
Central Division ...	...	1
Southern Division ...	1	...
	2	2



## STATEMENT No. II.

*Showing the periods for which members shall be elected in the constituencies of the Bombay Legislative Council upon its first constitution.*

Name of constituency.	Number of 8-year seats.	Number of 6-year seats.	Number of 9-year seats.
<b>A. GENERAL.</b>			
Bombay City and Bombay Suburban District (excluding Ambernath).	1	2	1
Ahmedabad and Kaira Districts ...	1	0	1
Broach and Panch Mahals and Surat Districts ...	1	0	1
Thana (including Ambernath), Nasik and Ahmednagar Districts.	1	0	1
East Khandesh and West Khandesh Districts ...	0	1	1
Poona and Satara Districts ...	1	1	0
Sholapur, Belgaum and Bijapur Districts ...	1	0	1
Kolaba and Ratnagiri Districts ...	1	1	0
Dharwar and Kanara Districts ...	0	1	1
	7	6	7
<b>B. MUHAMMADAN.</b>			
Bombay City and Bombay Suburban District (excluding Ambernath).	0	1	1
Northern Division ...	0	1	0
Central Division ...	1	0	0
Southern Division ...	0	0	1
	1	2	2
<b>C. EUROPEAN.</b>			
The Bombay Presidency ...	0	1	0
Total ...	8	9	9

STATEMENT No. III.

Showing (1) the total Maratha and Allied Caste population, (2) Maratha population and (3) Allied Caste population in Central Division, Southern Division, Bombay City, Thana and Bombay Suburban Districts.

	Belgaum.	Bijapur.	Dharwar.	Kanara.	Ratnagiri.	Kolaba.	Poona.	Ahmed-nagar.	Satara.	Sholapur.	Nasik.	East Khandesh.	West Khandesh.	Bombay City.	Thana.	B. S. D.
Total Maratha and Allied Caste Population ...	331,824	175,346	193,272	55,972	943,936	429,095	717,278	617,355	812,597	466,072	561,825	626,520	273,329	397,942	320,010	55,050
Maratha population..	212,713	21,934	52,843	34,612	481,092	193,907	504,442	400,734	658,509	255,103	325,649	177,025	67,871	292,339	80,209	25,276
Allied Caste population..	119,111	153,412	140,429	21,360	462,844	235,188	212,836	216,621	154,088	210,969	236,176	449,495	205,458	105,603	239,831	29,774

N.B.—(1) Maratha population includes Maratha Kunbis.

(2) Allied Caste population includes Kunbis other than Maratha Kunbis.

## REVISED STATEMENT No. IV.

Showing the constituencies, territorial and special, of the Bombay Legislative Assembly as proposed by the Bombay Provincial Delimitation Committee and the seats allotted to each together with the seats reserved for Marathas, the Scheduled Castes, the Backward Tribes and Women.

Name of constituency.	Class of constituency.	Extent of constituency and area in square miles.	Population.		No of seats.	Reserved seats.		
			Total.	Scheduled Castes.		Marathas.	Scheduled Castes.	Women.
Bombay City (North) and Bombay Suburban District.	General Urban.	The municipal ward Mahim of the City of Bombay and the Bombay Suburban District excluding Ambernath Petha.	994,627 (i.e. 871,409 for Bombay City and 123,218 for Bombay Suburban District, excluding Ambernath)	117,967 (i.e. 104,977 for Bombay City and 12,990 for Bombay Suburban District, excluding Ambernath).	2	1	...	...
Bombay City (Byculla and Parel).	Do. ...	The municipal wards Byculla and Parel of the City of Bombay.	24 square miles for Bombay City and 143 square miles for Bombay Suburban District excluding Ambernath.	42,386	3	...	1	...
Bombay City (Fort, Girgaum, Mandvi and Bhuleshwar).	Do. ...	The municipal wards Fort, Girgaum, Mandvi and Bhuleshwar of the City of Bombay.			4	...	...	1
Ahmedabad City.	Do. ...	The municipal borough of Ahmedabad, the cantonment of Ahmedabad and the notified areas of Kankaria, Asarwa, Ellis Bridge and Sabarmati, 11.4 square miles.	310,940	42,386	3	...	...	1
Surat and Rander Cities.	Do. ...	The municipal borough of Surat and the municipal district of Rander, 3.1 square miles (for Surat only).	126,363	9,690 (for Surat only).	1	...	...	...
Poona City ...	Do. ...	The Poona City and Poona Suburban municipal boroughs and the cantonments of Poona and Kirkee, 21.2 square miles.	190,739	27,218	2	...	...	1
Sholapur City.	Do. ...	The municipal borough of Sholapur, 7.1 square miles.	108,330	16,811 (municipality including Suburbs).	1	...	...	...
Ahmedabad North.	General Rural.	The North Daskroi Taluka (excluding the municipal borough of Ahmedabad, the cantonment of Ahmedabad and the notified areas of Kankaria, Asarwa, Ellis Bridge and Sabarmati), Prantij, South Daskroi and Viramgam talukas and the Sauand and Modasa Mahals of the Ahmedabad District, 1,818.6 square miles.	497,977	37,656	3	...	1	...
Ahmedabad South.	Do. ...	Dholka and Dhanduka talukas and Gogha Mahal of the Ahmedabad District, 2,016 square miles.	211,577	28,845	1	...	...	...

## REVISED STATEMENT No. IV—contd.

Name of constituency.	Class of constituency.	Extent of constituency and area in square miles.	Population.		No. of seats.	Reserved seats.		
			Total.	Scheduled Castes.		Marathas.	Scheduled Castes.	Wome
Kaira District.	General Rural.	The District of Kaira, 1,620 square miles.	667,168	37,624	4	...	1	...
PanchMahals West.	Do. ...	Godhra and Kalol talukas and Halol Mahal of the Broach and Panch Mahals District, 1,001 square miles.	270,861	15,233	2	...	...	...
PanchMahals East.	Do. ...	Jhalod Mahal and Dohad taluka of the Broach and Panch Mahals District, 607 square miles.	148,179	3,018	1	...	...	...
Broach ...	Do. ...	Broach sub-division of the Broach and Panch Mahals District, 1,468 square miles.	253,668	27,789	2	...	...	...
Surat District.	Do. ...	The District of Surat excluding the municipal borough of Surat and the municipal district of Rander, 1,647.9 square miles (including Rander).	552,904	30,929 (including Rander).	4	...	1	...
Thana North.	Do. ...	Palghar, Dahanu and Bassein talukas and Wada, Mokhada and Umbergaon Mahals of the Thana District, 1,824 square miles.	420,074	13,472	3	1	...	...
Thana South.	Do. ...	Thana Mahal and Kalyan, Bhiwandi, Murbad and Shahapur talukas of the Thana District and Ambernath Petha of the Bombay Suburban District, 1,609 square miles.	351,959	27,992	3	...	1	...
Ahmednagar North.	Do. ...	Kopergaon, Newasa, Sheogaon, Rahuri, Sangamner and Akola talukas and Pathardi Petha of the Ahmednagar District, 3,716 square miles.	537,622	55,906	4	...	...	...
Ahmednagar South.	Do. ...	Ahmednagar, Parner and Shrigonda talukas and Karjat and Jamkhed Pethas of the Ahmednagar District, 2,895 square miles.	364,504	54,580	3	...	1	...
East Khandesh East.	Do. ...	Jalgaon, Bhusaval, Raver, Yaval and Jamner talukas and Edlabad Petha of the East Khandesh District, 2,145 square miles.	503,713	61,819	4	...	1	...
East Khandesh West.	Do. ...	Chopda, Erandol, Amalner, Parola, Chalisgaon and Pachora talukas and Bhadgaon Petha of the East Khandesh District, 2,406 square miles.	575,220	69,151	4	1	...	...
West Khandesh East.	Do. ...	Dhulia, Sakri, Sirpur and Sindkheda talukas of the West Khandesh District, 2,619 square miles.	391,953	34,738	3	1	...	...

## REVISED STATEMENT No. IV—contd.

Name of constituency.	Class of constituency.	Extent of constituency and area in square miles.	Population.		No. of seats.	Reserved seats.		
			Total.	Scheduled Castes.		Marathas.	Scheduled Castes.	Women.
West Khandesh West.	General Rural.	Shahada, Nandurbar and Taloda talukas and Nawapur Petha of the West Khandesh District, 3,782 square miles.	340,237	14,941	2 (one for Backward Tribes.)	...	...	...
Nasik West...	Do. ...	Nasik, Dindori, Niphad, Sinnar and Igatpuri talukas and Peint Petha of the Nasik District, 2,755 square miles.	508,710	71,521	4	...	1	...
Nasik East...	Do. ...	Kalwan, Nandgaon, Malegaon, Baglan and Yeola talukas and Chandor Petha of the Nasik District, 3,127 square miles.	434,929	48,657	3	...	...	...
Poona East...	Do. ...	Bhimthadi, Indapur and Purandhar talukas and Shirur and Dhond Pethas of the Poona District, 2,680 square miles.	391,867	58,775	3	...	...	...
Poona West.	Do. ...	Junnar, Khed, Maval and Haveli talukas (excluding the Poona City and Poona Suburban municipal boroughs and the cantonments of Poona and Kirkee) and Ambegaon and Mulshi Pethas of the Poona District, 2,630·8 square miles.	512,989	54,174	4	...	1	...
Satara North.	Do. ...	Satara, Koregaon, Wai, Javli and Khatav talukas and Man and Mahableshwar Pethas of the Satara District, 2,726 square miles.	521,339	69,905	4	...	1	...
Satara South.	Do. ...	Karad, Patan, Walva, Tasgaon and Khanapur talukas and Shirala Petha of the Satara District, 2,327 square miles.	615,608	88,753	4	...	...	1
Sholapur North-East.	Do. ...	Sholapur taluka (excluding the Municipal borough of Sholapur), Barsi, Madba and Karmala talukas of the Sholapur District, 2,829·9 square miles.	447,565	89,199	3	...	1	...
Sholapur South-West.	Do. ...	Pandharpur, Sangola and Malsiras talukas of the Sholapur District, 1,732 square miles.	249,142	43,499	2	...	...	...
Belgaum South.	Do. ...	Belgaum, Khanapur, Sampgaon and Parasgad talukas and Chandgad Mahal of the Belgaum District, 2,325 square miles.	424,618	27,065	3	...	...	...
Belgaum North.	Do. ...	Athni, Chikodi, Gokak and Hukeri talukas of the Belgaum District, 2,267 square miles.	558,859	72,950	4	...	1	...

## REVISED STATEMENT No. IV—contd.

Name of constituency.	Class of constituency.	Extent of constituency and area in square miles.	Population.		No. of seats.	Reserved seats.		
			Total.	Scheduled Castes.		Marathas.	Scheduled Castes.	Women.
Bijapur North.	General Rural.	Indi, Sindgi, Bijapur, Bagewadi and Muddebihal talukas of the Bijapur District, 3,889 square miles.	449,766	59,028	3	...	...	...
Bijapur South.	Do. ...	Bagalkot, Badami and Hungund talukas and Bilgi Petha of the Bijapur District, 1,821 square miles.	313,955	23,940	2	...	...	...
Dharwar North.	Do. ...	Dharwar, Kalghatgi, Gadag, Navalgund, Ron and Hubli talukas and Nargund and Mundargi Pethas of the Dharwar District, 2,716 square miles.	550,440	35,483	4	...	1	...
Dharwar South.	Do. ...	Karajgi, Ranebennur, Hangal, Kod and Bankapur talukas of the Dharwar District, 1,890 square miles.	393,806	26,228	3	...	...	1
Kanara District.	Do. ...	The District of Kanara, 3,946 square miles.	387,198	17,266	3	...	...	...
Kolaba District.	Do. ...	The District of Kolaba, 2,166 square miles.	597,715	45,751	4	1	1	...
Ratnagiri North.	Do. ...	Chiplun, Dapoli, Khed and Sangameshwar talukas and Guhagar and Mandangad Pethas of the Ratnagiri District, 2,132 square miles.	592,256	68,676	4	1	...	...
Ratnagiri South.	Do. ...	Ratnagiri, Rajapur, Devgad and Malvan talukas and Vengurla Petha of the Ratnagiri District, 1,857 square miles.	623,525	45,261	4	1	1	...

N.B.—(1) The population shown for the general constituencies of Bombay City and Bombay Suburban District, Thana, Poona City, Poona and Ahmednagar Districts is general, i.e., total population less Muhammadan and Christian.

(2) In the case of other general constituencies the population shown is Non-Muhammadan, i.e., total population less Muhammadan.

Name of constituency.	Class of constituency.	Extent of constituency and area in square miles.	Population.	No. of seats.	Reserved seats.
Bombay City (North) and Bombay Suburban District. ...	Muhammadan Urban ...	The Municipal wards Byculla, Parel and Mahim of the City of Bombay (17 square miles) and the Bombay Suburban District excluding the Ambernath Petha (143 square miles).	116,512	3	...
Bombay City (South)	Do. ...	The Municipal wards Fort, Mandvi, Bhuleshwar and Girgaum of the City of Bombay, 7.1 square miles.	113,505	3	1 (for women)
Ahmedabad City ...	Do. ...	The Municipal borough of Ahmedabad, the cantonment of Ahmedabad and the notified areas of Kankaria, Asarwa, Ellis Bridge and Sabarmati, 11.4 square miles.	75,606 (municipal area and cantonment)	1	...

## REVISED STATEMENT No. IV—contd.

Name of constituency.	Class of constituency.	Extent of constituency and area in square miles.	Population.	No. of seats.	Reserved seats.
Ahmedabad District.	Muhammadan Rural.	Ahmedabad District (excluding the municipal borough of Ahmedabad, the cantonment of Ahmedabad and the notified areas of Kankaria, Asarwa, Ellis Bridge and Sabarmati), 3,834.6 square miles.	52,160	1	...
Kaira District ...	Do. ...	Kaira District, 1,620 square miles ...	74,482	1	...
Panch Mahals Sub-division.	Do. ...	Panch Mahals Subdivision of the Broach and Panch Mahals District, 1,608 square miles.	35,486	1	...
Broach Subdivision..	Do. ...	Broach Subdivision of the Broach and Panch Mahals District, 1,468 square miles.	80,502	2	...
Surat District ...	Do. ...	Surat District, 1,651 square miles ...	66,276	1	...
Thana District ...	Do. ...	Thana District and the Ambernath Petha of the Bombay Suburban District, 3,433 square miles.	38,331	1	...
Ahmednagar District	Do. ...	Ahmednagar District, 6,611 square miles.	50,622	1	...
East Khandesh District.	Do. ...	East Khandesh District, 4,551 square miles.	127,102	2	...
West Khandesh District.	Do. ...	West Khandesh District, 6,401 square miles.	39,604	1	...
Nasik District ...	Do. ...	Nasik District, 5,882 square miles ...	56,409	1	...
Poona District ...	Do. ...	Poona District, 5,332 square miles ...	54,997	1	...
Satara District ...	Do. ...	Satara District, 5,053 square miles ...	42,765	1	...
Sholapur District ...	Do. ...	Sholapur District, 4,569 square miles ...	72,483	1	...
Belgaum District ...	Do. ...	Belgaum District, 4,612 square miles ...	93,224	1	...
Bijapur District ...	Do. ...	Bijapur District, 5,710 square miles ...	105,499	2	...
Dharwar District ...	Do. ...	Dharwar District, 4,606 square miles ...	158,431	2	...
Kanara District ...	Do. ...	Kanara District, 3,946 square miles ...	30,637	1	...
Kolaba District ...	Do. ...	Kolaba District, 2,166 square miles ...	31,006	1	...
Ratnagiri District ...	Do. ...	Ratnagiri District, 3,989 square miles ...	86,746	1	...
Bombay City ...	Indian Christian Urban.	The City of Bombay, 24 square miles ...	64,280	1	...
Thana and Bombay Suburban Districts.	Indian Christian Rural.	Thana and Bombay Suburban Districts, 3,576 square miles.	59,005	1	...
Poona and Ahmednagar Districts.	Do. ...	Poona and Ahmednagar Districts, 11,943 square miles.	47,369	1	...
Bombay City and Bombay Suburban District.	European ...	The City of Bombay and the Bombay Suburban District excluding the Ambernath Petha, 167 square miles.	10,001 (including Ambernath).	2	...

## REVISED STATEMENT No. IV—concl'd.

Name of constituency.	Class of constituency.	Extent of constituency and area in square miles.	Population.	No. of seats.	Reserve seats.
Presidency ...	European ...	The Presidency of Bombay (excluding the City of Bombay and the South Salsette taluka of the Bombay Suburban District), 77,054 square miles.	8,027	1	...
Bombay City and Bombay Suburban District.	Anglo-Indian...	The City of Bombay and the Bombay Suburban District excluding the Ambernath Petha, 167 square miles.	8,731 (including Ambernath).	1	...
Presidency ...	Do. ...	The Presidency of Bombay (excluding the City of Bombay and the South Salsette taluka of the Bombay Suburban District), 77,054 square miles.	5,445	1	...
Deccan Sardars and Inamdars.	Landholders ...	The Central and Southern Divisions ...	...	1	...
Gujarat Sardars and Inamdars.	Do. ...	The Northern Division and the Bombay Suburban District.	...	1	...
Bombay University.	University ...	(Non-territorial)	...	1	...
Bombay Chamber of Commerce.	Commerce and Industry.	Do.	...	2	...
Bombay Trades Association.	Do. ...	Do.	...	1	...
Indian Merchants' Chamber.	Do. ...	Do.	...	1	...
East India Cotton Association.	Do. ...	Do.	...	1	...
Bombay Millowners' Association.	Do. ...	Do.	...	1	...
Ahmedabad Millowners' Association.	Do. ...	Do.	...	1	...
Gujarat Textile Labour Unions.	Labour ...	The Ahmedabad, Kaira, Broach and Panch Mahals and Surat Districts.	...	1	..
Bombay City and Suburban Textile Labour Unions.	Do. ...	The City of Bombay and the Thana and Bombay Suburban Districts.	...	1	...
Deccan and Karnatak Textile Labour Unions.	Do. ...	The East Khandesh, West Khandesh, Poona, Nasik, Satara, Sholapur, Ahmednagar, Belgaum, Bijapur, Dharwar, Kanara, Kolaba and Ratnagiri Districts.	...	1	...
Railway Unions ...	Do. ...	The Presidency of Bombay	...	2	...
Registered Trade Unions of seamen, dock-workers and Port Trust employees.	Do. ...	The Presidency of Bombay	...	1	...
General Trade Unions (i.e. all trade unions other than those specified above).	Do. ...	The Presidency of Bombay	...	1	...



**Minute of Dissent by Sardar Rao Bahadur Bhimbhai R. Naik, M.L.C.,  
on the Second Supplementary Report of the Bombay Provincial  
Delimitation Committee.**

I regret to have to record my dissent on some of the important points affecting the Northern Division and more especially the Gujarat districts of the Division.

When the Committee first met in June 1935, with Mr. J. H. Garrett, C.S.I., lately the Chief Secretary to Government of Bombay and Reforms Officer, as one of the members, I suggested that the allocation of seats should not be based on population figures alone, but should also be determined by such factors as the commercial importance of a community, its level of intelligence, the revenue paid by it and other general considerations. However since population was decided by the majority Committee to be the main basis for the allocation of seats, there was no recourse left to me but to agree to this principle, on the basis of which 26 general seats were allocated to the Northern Division.

The main Report of the Committee, dated the 11th July 1935, was released for publication in the 1st week of August and the population figures given therein revealed a mistake of 297,031 in the total of the population of Ahmedabad and Surat Districts (212,320 and 84,711 respectively).

This discrepancy has subsequently been admitted both by the Government of Bombay and this Committee. On the basis of the agreed principle, i.e., the population basis, the Northern Division should have been entitled to two more seats (28) than the number (26) allotted to this Division by the Committee.

It would thus appear that there is no justification for the present allotment of 27 seats to the Northern Division for the Provincial Assembly, and this point was pressed by me in the Committee, but by a majority of one vote, my proposal was turned down.

The injustice becomes doubly patent when the allotment of this one additional seat to the Thana District instead of to Ahmedabad rural or Kaira District has been made by the majority of the Committee.

The population of the Thana District is 772,283 (excluding Indian Christian 31,015) which entitles it to 5.59 seats, while the population of Ahmedabad rural area is 709,657 and of the Kaira District 667,168 (including 27,088 Indian Christian) entitling them to 5.2 and 4.88 seats respectively.

According to these figures Ahmedabad rural should have got five seats instead of four and if Ahmedabad was to be deprived of its due share of representation, Kaira should have been the next to be considered and should have got five seats instead of four. But in no case should the additional seat have gone to Thana which from the point of view of population and voting strength is nowhere near the two districts mentioned above.

The claim of Thana should have been justifiable if due quota of 28 seats were given to the Northern Division and the two additional seats were to be decided between Ahmedabad rural or Kaira and Thana. As the present decision of the majority Committee stands, the giving over of one additional seat to Thana, that is making a total of six seats in preference to Ahmedabad rural or Kaira, is in my opinion like robbing "Peter to pay Paul".

In paragraph 8 of the main Report of the Committee it has approved of the distribution of seats as between rural and urban areas. Any possible argument based on the population figures of Ahmedabad City would be utterly irrelevant in the determination in the conflict of interests between two rural areas like Thana and Ahmedabad rural and Kaira in respect of the one additional seat given to the Division. And in view of the difference in the character and composition of the population of Thana and those of the Gujarat districts of the Division, there is further reason that the additional seat should have been given either to Ahmedabad rural or Kaira. There is very little common between the population of Thana and that of the Gujarat.

The injustice becomes all the more obvious when it is considered that the Central Division, which on population basis would be entitled to 49 seats only, has been allotted 50 seats, although the voting strength of that Division is 11.91 only as against 15.64 of the Northern Division. I am unable to understand why the Central Division should be accorded the weightage of one seat at the cost of Northern Division.

**Muhammadan Seats for Provincial Assembly.**

As for the Muhammadan seats in the Assembly nine seats were allotted to the Northern Division both by the Commissioners and this Committee and this was accepted by the Government. The reasons for giving nine seats to the Northern Division were fully considered and given in the main Report at pages 8 and 9, paragraphs 21, 22 and 23 (appended\* herewith for ready reference). However to my regret the Committee by a majority now takes away one seat allotted to the Surat City and Rander urban Muhammadan constituency in the Northern Division and gives it to Bombay City and Suburban Muhammadan constituency.

On the population basis the City of Bombay and Suburban Muhammadan constituency would be entitled to four seats, but in view of the special considerations of the City one additional seat has already been given, making a total of five seats. There was therefore no justification for yet another seat for this constituency at the cost of the Moslem population of Surat City and Rander Town.

The position becomes all the more anomalous when one considers that Bombay City and Suburban General Constituency gets nine seats for a population of 994,627, including three seats reserved, one each for women, Marathas and Scheduled Classes, notwithstanding many protests from the quarters concerned regarding the inadequacy of the representation allowed to them, whereas the Bombay City and Suburban Muhammadan constituency with a population of 230,017 only now gets six (6) seats, that is one seat for a population of 38,336, with only one reserved for women. If Bombay City and Suburban Muhammadan constituency is entitled to one seat for a population of 38,336 I fail to understand why Surat City and Rander with a population of 36,306 is not entitled to one seat. It will be conceded that the character and composition of Surat City and Rander Town Moslem population are in no way inferior to those of Bombay City and Suburb both in point of advancement and commercial pursuits.

If the Districts of Kanara and Kolaba with a Moslem population of 30,637 and 31,006 respectively are given one seat each, it is incomprehensible why the important Moslem community of Surat and Rander with a population of 36,306 should be deprived of the one seat already allotted to them.

If however the Moslem population of Surat and Rander are to be deprived of their legitimate share of representation for reasons best known to the majority Committee, I personally see no reason why the seat cannot be allotted to the Ahmedabad City Muhammadan constituency with a population of 75,606, bearing in mind the advanced character of the Muhammadan population of Ahmedabad City which in my view is in no way inferior to the Moslem population of Bombay City and Suburb. The Commissioners had proposed two seats for the scheduled classes of Gujarat districts. Dr. Ambedkar had also suggested two seats for Gujarat on both population and linguistic basis. The Committee however has allotted three seats to these classes in Gujarat and in view of the protests made by the interests concerned including Dr. Ambedkar the majority Committee to my surprise has transferred one scheduled class seat from Bijapur District with a population of 82,968 of scheduled class to Kolaba District, instead of transferring it from Kaira District (Gujarat) which has a population of 37,088 only. This is certainly an injustice to the large scheduled class population of Bijapur District and would appear contrary to all ethics of equity and principles of allocating seats on population basis.

The Committee in their main Report allotted one seat to the Indian Christians of Gujarat (Ahmedabad and Kaira Districts jointly) with a population of 32,878, *vide* paragraph 29 of the main Report. The Committee has to my surprise taken away the seat thus allotted and given to the Indian Christians of Thana District with a population of 31,015. This change in my opinion would leave out the Gujarati-speaking Indian Christians without any representation in Provincial Assembly and is therefore unjustifiable.

To sum up, from what has preceded I am of opinion that in fairness to all the classes of Northern Division at least 28 seats for general constituencies for the Assembly should be allotted to it, failing that the seat allotted to Thana should be given either to Ahmedabad Rural or Kaira District, in view of the reasons explained above. Further I wish to emphasize that the Ahmedabad Rural area and Panch Mahal Districts should be made one constituency instead of two in both cases recommended by the majority Committee, taking due cognizance of the strong opinion expressed by the representatives of these constituencies on the floor of the Council, and now in fairness to the Moslem community of Gujarat I would strongly urge that they should not be deprived of the one seat which was originally allotted to Surat and Rander in the interest of the Moslem population of Bombay. I would further suggest that instead of the three seats reserved for the scheduled classes in Gujarat only two seats might be allocated.

In conclusion I would like to draw the attention of the Government of Bombay and the Indian Delimitation Committee to the desirability of safeguarding the interests of the backward Gujarati and Marathi-speaking tribes by so fixing the constituencies that they secure due share of representatives by rotations.

Poona, 12th October 1935.

(Sd.) BHIMBHAI B. NAIK,

Member, Provincial Delimitation  
Committee, Bombay.

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**ANNEXURE H.**

**Main Report of the Sind Provincial Delimitation Committee  
dated the 20th July 1935.**

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## Main Report of the Sind Provincial Delimitation Committee.

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**Main Report c**

Karachi, 20th July 1935.

PREP

C

**THE CHIEF SECRETARY**

**TO THE GOVERNMENT OF BOMBAY,**

Political and Reforms Department, Poona.

*Subject.*—Sind Provincial Delimitation Committee's Report.

SIR,

I have the honour to submit the Report 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.

## CHAPTER I.

### CONSTITUTION AND TERMS OF REFERENCE.

2. With a view to investigate the preliminary action necessary to provide for the constitution of the Sind Legislative Assembly under the provisions of the Government of India Bill now before Parliament, the Government of Bombay, in their Resolution No. R-287-II, dated 27th June 1935, of the Political and Reforms Department, appointed a Committee to consider the delimitation of constituencies for the Sind Legislative Assembly under the Reformed constitution and to make a report embodying their recommendations.

The Committee was constituted as follows :—

G. Davis, Esq., 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, Esq., I.C.S. (Secretary)	...		

3. The Committee was given power to co-opt a representative of each special interest such as a landholder, a woman or a representative of Labour or Commerce when those special interests were under discussion. The person so co-opted was to be given the full rights of a member in relation to the special interests to which such member was co-opted. The Committee was of the opinion that their terms of reference read with the Table of Seats in the Fifth Schedule to the Government of India Bill Reprint and the Foot-note to the Table of Seats on page 349 of the Report of the Joint Committee on Indian Constitutional Reforms, justified them in co-opting to represent the interests of women one Muhammadan and one Hindu lady, and to represent the interests of Commerce one Indian and one European gentleman. In the exercise of this power the Committee co-opted the following persons for the following special interests :—

- Mrs. Hatim B. Tyebji as representative of Mussalman women ;
- Miss Thakuribai Lakhani as representative of women in the General Constituency ;
- Mr. Jamshed N. R. Mehta as representative of Labour ;
- Mr. B. T. Thakur as representative of Indian Commerce ; and
- Mr. H. S. Bigg-Wither as representative of European Commerce.

4. The Committee construed their terms of reference as justifying them when delimiting the constituencies in special interests not only to determine the area in which the votes should be recorded, but also, where necessary, to specify the qualifications of the voters, as the two aspects of the question appeared to be inseparable.

5. The Committee was unable under the terms of reference to record oral evidence, but written representations were invited from the public in the Press Communique, dated 13th June 1935, and this Communique was ordered to be published by the Committee in the local newspapers so as to give further notice. A number of representations were received and were carefully considered by the Committee before they reached their conclusions. A list of the relevant representations is attached in Appendix IV.

6. The Committee held their preliminary meeting on 22nd June 1935, and arranged for their procedure and they thereafter met daily, except on Saturdays and Sundays until the 8th July 1935 when they adjourned for the drafting of their report. They met again and considered the draft report on 16th July 1935. The report was signed on July 20th, 1935.

The other members of the Committee wish to put on record their appreciation of the great help given them by their fellow member and Secretary Mr. G. G. Drewe.

## CHAPTER II.

## THE BASIS OF OUR PROPOSALS.

7. In all our deliberations we were guided by the desire to carry into practical effect the principle of responsible Government embodied in the new Government of India Bill, and to make as close and effective as possible the relations between the Government and the people through their chosen representatives.

8. We appreciate the fact that the ultimate basis of representation in a popularly elected assembly must rightfully be that of population. We recognise, however, that this principle must be modified in practice by special circumstances and considerations. We were bound by the terms of the Communal Award to be embodied in an Act of Parliament; we found the districts presented themselves to us as well defined divisions of the Province whose inhabitants had a certain sense of common attachments and associations and administration of which was adapted to the effective control and supervision of elections. We, therefore, considered that, so far as the Muhammadan and General Constituencies were concerned, no district as such should go unrepresented in the Assembly and we kept the boundaries of constituencies within or coterminous with the boundaries of the districts.

9. We were impressed at an early stage of our discussions by the overwhelming necessity of obtaining as close and simple and direct a contact as possible between the Government and the people. We, therefore, accepted the principle of single-member constituencies. We can find nothing in the report of the Indian Franchise Committee which precludes or disapproves this recommendation. On the contrary, we are supported in our conclusion by their opinion.

10. We also found the talukas presented themselves to us as well defined self-contained administrative units each having a centre of local interest and importance. We have therefore generally made the boundaries of talukas the boundaries of constituencies. We could not agree to sub-divide talukas for though thereby we could have avoided certain disparities in population, to have agreed that dehs from one taluka should be added to another taluka would be to offer opportunity for the manipulation of constituencies and to impose upon those responsible for the sub-division a very invidious and difficult task. To this extent have we modified in practice as a result of practical considerations the principle of representation upon the basis of population.

11. Where the towns by reason of their population and situation lent themselves to the formation of separate constituencies we recognised them as such, but in other cases we could discern no such conflict and divergence of interest between the inhabitants of towns and the surrounding countryside as would justify our joining town to town in non-contiguous constituencies. On the contrary, we came to the conclusion that in such cases there is greater community of interest between towns and the surrounding countryside than between towns set miles apart. We have, therefore, in many cases included towns and the surrounding countryside in one constituency, and we found on page 43 of the report of the Indian Franchise Committee, the following :—

“ The actual influence which the urban vote may have on rural areas depends largely on the extent to which urban areas are included in rural constituencies, and it is not possible to indicate at this stage what the proportion of the purely urban vote in mixed constituencies will be.”

12. We have therefore concluded that towns of moderate size when joined with the surrounding countryside should together constitute a rural constituency.

13. We found ourselves unable to accept 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, and we find ourselves fortified in this conclusion by a reference to page 42, paragraph 92, of the Report of the Indian Franchise Committee which is as follows :—

“ The Southborough Franchise Committee said that the qualifications adopted by them would result in enfranchising a substantially higher proportion of the urban than of the rural population, a result which they believed to be justified by the higher standard of wealth and intelligence in the towns. We are not satisfied that this disparity is justifiable and we have done our best to remedy it, so far as practicable.”

14. We regard stability as a vital element in the new Government in Sind, and, therefore, it is essential that the country districts be given their full share of representation.



## CHAPTER III.

## SINGLE-MEMBER CONSTITUENCIES.

15. To no other aspect of the problem before us have we given greater consideration than to that of single-member and multi-member constituencies, and, special interests apart, on no other question are we more convinced and decided. We have to come to the conclusion that, having regard to the existing conditions and the ultimate purpose of the enfranchisement of the people, single-member constituencies offer, as against multi-member constituencies, overwhelming advantages. It is true that hitherto multi-member constituencies have served their purpose during a period of transition, but their purpose has been a limited one. Electorates have been small and representatives in the councils comparatively few in number. Times are now to change. 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, therefore, 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 cannot be the case where multiple representation divides responsibility.

16. The objections to multi-member constituencies are indeed numerous. 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, multi-member constituencies offer greater opportunities for manipulation and intrigue, for the evasion of responsibility, the practice of deception, and for the buying and selling of votes, than do single-member constituencies where one representative is alone answerable to a smaller number of electors. Impersonation, which has unfortunately marred so many recent elections, must flourish the more where the number of the electors and the number of votes is multiplied and where the area of the constituency is so enlarged that personal knowledge, which is the most effective check upon impersonation, is at a discount. The question of costs also cannot be ignored, for 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 are not rich. We are of opinion that the electors should be asked to choose one member to represent them and not two. It is true that by means of multi-member constituencies disparities in population and in the number of the electors—almost inevitable in single-member constituencies—would be reduced, and indeed, if the principle of multi-member constituencies were carried to its logical conclusion, all disparities would disappear when the whole province would be included in one multi-member constituency; and in the Muhammadan constituency each voter would have thirty-three votes and in the general constituency each voter would have eighteen. We however prefer "one man, one vote, one representative".

17. The stock argument in favour of multi-member constituencies is that they enable minorities to secure representation. But this argument must lose much of its force now the Communal Award has provided for the present, at least, a settlement of this vexed question. Moreover, in Sind, within the Hindu community, there is no division or disunion nor is there disunion within the Muhammadan community. For the rest, it is open to any other minority to influence its representative by its votes and the electorate by its arguments. More helpful is it so to arrange that a minority, when living together, is included within one constituency. The vote of the minority may well then be a vote worth winning.

18. It is represented to us that single-member constituencies would shut out from the Assembly those possessing the greatest political intelligence, enlightenment and experience and most fitted to guide the infant steps of the new Assembly. Stress is also laid upon the qualities of intelligence and literacy. But we are not prepared to deny intelligence to or discriminate against those who under the authority of Parliament are to be enfranchised. A man is not necessarily wise because he can read and write. Literacy is only one accomplishment and qualification. We each of us have known men of

integrity and shrewdness who though illiterate have commanded our respect. It is said that the interest and outlook of the new constituencies and their representatives will be narrow and parochial. But if this be so, we know of nothing so likely to widen their outlook and their interest than an active participation in the work of the Assembly. It is suggested that single-member constituencies will be so many pocket boroughs. We think it unreasonable to describe as a pocket borough a constituency of some 70,000 people with an electorate of thousands moving towards adult franchise. It is said again that candidates only of a poor calibre will be forthcoming for single-member constituencies. But there appears no reason why residence within a constituency should be a necessary qualification for election. Nor does there appear to us any reason to suppose that there will not be forthcoming from among those entitled in the future to stand for election men of honour, courage and ability. It is, however, true that constituencies will have to be wooed and won, and confidence will have to be established between the people and their representatives. And it may well be that those who live among the people will have their greater confidence and trust and will be returned to the Assembly as their representatives. We see, however, in this, advantage rather than disadvantage.

19. The only argument we concede against single-member constituencies as we have constituted them and which, in our opinion has any force, is that the division of the district into single-member constituencies must result, as we have generally kept the boundaries of the talukas intact, in a disparity of population between certain constituencies. In certain cases the disparity in the number of the 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. Looked at from this point of view, the disparities are not so great as at first sight appear. But we consider that whatever the disparities this one disadvantage of single-member constituencies is far out-balanced by the advantages. Nor can we agree to the reduction of this disparities by the device of cutting through the talukas and adding dehs to other talukas, because thereby we would agree to a system which might lead to the manipulation and the arrangement of constituencies. Few systems are ideal. Nearly always it is the balance of advantages.

20. Certain representations which we received in favour of multi-member constituencies appear to us to imply a lack of faith and confidence in the people now under the authority of Parliament to be enfranchised. We do not share this lack of faith and confidence. The new Assembly will have to deal with problems which arise from the lives of the people of Sind and we have no reason to suppose that the people now to be enfranchised, through their chosen representatives will not be competent to perform the duties to be imposed upon them. On the contrary, we believe they will rise to the full height of their opportunity.

21. We are fortified in our conclusion as to the advantage of single-member constituencies by the opinion of the Indian Franchise Committee to be found on page 145, paragraph 367 of their report :—

“ We would simply point out that if separate electorates are adopted for any community, the constituencies so created must be single-member constituencies as otherwise they would be quite unmanageable in size.”

## CHAPTER IV.

## MUHAMMADAN CONSTITUENCIES.

22. According to the Communal Award we have had to apportion thirty-three seats for Muhammadan constituencies among the eight districts of Sind. The total Muhammadan population is 28,30,800 and therefore the average population per seat is 85,714.

23. The following table shows the Muhammadan population, the number of seats due on a population basis and the number of seats allotted to each district:—

District.	Muhammadan population.	Seats due.	Seats allotted.
Karachi...	417,576	4.86	5
Dadu ...	286,839	3.35	3
Upper Sind Frontier	234,086	2.73	3
Larkana	367,542	4.28	4
Sukkur...	440,127	5.13	5
Nawabshah	377,746	4.41	5
Hyderabad	460,920	5.38	5
Thar Parkar	245,964	2.86	3

24. We allotted the 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 we gave to Nawabshah district as it had the largest remaining fraction.

25. Having allotted the number of seats to each district, we delimited the boundaries of the constituencies in the districts, according to the attached list.

26. Remarks on the delimitation in each district are given after the list.

*Muhammadan Constituencies.*

Serial No.	Name of Constituency.	Class.	Extent of Constituency.	Area in square miles.	Population.	Seats due on population basis.	Seats allocated
1	Karachi City Northern.	Urban ...	Municipal Ward No. 5 of Karachi Municipal District.	89	64,842	0.75	1
2	Karachi City Southern.	Urban ...	Karachi Municipal District excluding Ward No. 5, Cantonments of Karachi and Manora and Karachi Port Trust limits.		58,005	0.68	1
3	Karachi Northern ...	Rural ...	Karachi and Tatta talukas.	2,864	87,536	1.02	1
4	Karachi Southern ...	Rural ...	Ghorabari, Mirpur Sakro and Shahbunder talukas and Ketibunder Mahal.	3,078	108,470	1.20	1
5	Karachi Eastern ...	Rural ...	Sujawal, Jati and Mirpur Bathoro talukas.	2,016	108,738	1.20	1
6	Dadu Northern ...	Rural ..	Mehtar and Kakar talukas.	812	108,466	1.20	1
7	Dadu Central ...	Rural ...	Dadu and Johi talukas ...	1,052	95,461	1.13	1
8	Dadu Southern ...	Rural ...	Sehwan and Kotri talukas and Kobistan Mahal.	4,383	87,912	1.02	1
9	Upper Sind Frontier Eastern.	Rural ...	Kandhkot and Kashmir talukas.	1,085	97,472	1.15	1
10	Upper Sind Frontier Central.	Rural ...	Thul taluka and Jacobabad District Municipality.	501	68,945	.74	1
11	Upper Sind Frontier Western.	Rural ...	Jacobabad taluka (except Jacobabad District Municipality) and Garhi Khairo taluka.	530	72,669	.85	1
12	Larkana Eastern ...	Rural ...	Larkana taluka ...	219	69,912	.82	1
13	Larkana Northern ...	Rural ...	Mirokhan and Ratodero talukas.	500	87,947	1.02	1
14	Larkana Southern ...	Rural ...	Lebdarya and Warab talukas.	707	110,599	1.28	1

## Muhammadan Constituencies—contd.

Serial No.	Name of Constituency.	Class.	Extent of Constituency.	Area in square miles.	Population.	Seats due on population basis.	Seats allocated.
15	Larkana Western ...	Rural ...	Kambar and Shahdadkot talukas.	1,050	99,035	1.16	1
16	Sukkur North-Western.	Rural ...	Shikarpur Borough Municipality and taluka.	507	87,795	1.02	1
17	Sukkur South-Western.	Rural ...	Garhi Yasin taluka and Sukkur taluka without Sukkur Borough Municipality.	661	107,343	1.26	1
18	Sukkur South-Eastern.	Rural ...	Sukkur Borough Municipality and Rohri taluka.	1,533	90,664	1.05	1
19	Sukkur Eastern ...	Rural ...	Ghotki and Pano Akil talukas.	784	76,047	0.89	1
20	Sukkur North-Eastern.	Rural ...	Mirpur Mathelo and Ubauro talukas.	2,066	78,278	0.91	1
21	Nawabshah North-ern.	Rural ...	Kandiaro taluka ...	404	65,333	0.76	1
22	Nawabshah North-Western.	Rural ...	Naushahro taluka ...	492	69,366	0.81	1
23	Nawabshah Western.	Rural ...	Moro and Sakrand talukas.	989	101,976	1.19	1
24	Nawabshah Eastern .	Rural ...	Nawabshah and Sinjhor talukas.	1,442	73,371	0.86	1
25	Nawabshah South-ern.	Rural ...	Shahdadpur taluka ...	561	67,830	0.79	1
26	Hyderabad Northern.	Rural ...	Hala taluka ...	511	87,729	1.02	1
27	Hyderabad North-Western.	Rural ...	Hyderabad Borough Municipality, Cantonment and taluka.	384	89,233	1.03	1
28	Hyderabad Eastern...	Rural ...	Tando Allahyar and Dero Mohbat talukas.	1,093	81,311	0.95	1
29	Hyderabad South-Western	Rural ...	Guni taluka ...	987	82,333	0.96	1
30	Hyderabad Southern.	Rural ...	Tando Bago and Badin talukas.	1,442	120,314	1.42	1
31	Thar Parkar Western.	Rural ...	Mirpurkhas, Jamesabad, Digri and Sanghar talukas.	1,963	90,853	1.05	1
32	Thar Parkar North-ern.	Rural ...	Samaro, Umankot and Khipro talukas.	4,193	74,313	0.87	1
33	Thar Parkar South-ern.	Rural ...	Mithi, Diplo, Chachro and Nagar Parkar talukas.	7,480	60,293	0.94	1
			Total ...	46,378	28,30,800	33.00	33

27. *Karachi district.*—We considered the interests of Karachi City and the rest of the district to be so distinct as to render necessary separate representation for each. We have allotted two seats to Karachi City and three for the rest of the district. The disparity between the population of the Karachi City and district constituencies is due to the separate provision we have made for urban and rural interests. We have kept the Lyari Quarter as one constituency for Karachi City and have given the rest of Karachi to the other.

28. *Dadu district.*—No remarks.

29. *Upper Sind Frontier district.*—We considered that Thul taluka (population 56,162) was too small to form a separate constituency and have therefore added to it Jacobabad town. Jacobabad town is practically contiguous with Thul taluka, and we considered that the community of interests of a district headquarter town with a neighbouring taluka were sufficient to justify us in taking this course.

30. *Larkana district.*—The disparity in population between the Eastern and Southern Constituencies is very appreciable, but we came to the conclusion that the delimitation of constituencies, that we have proposed, offered the fewest objections. With seven talukas to be apportioned amongst four constituencies, we considered it proper that the taluka with the largest population should stand alone to form one constituency, while the other three constituencies should be formed of two talukas each.

31. *Sukkur district.*—To secure a fair distribution on a population basis, we have been forced to take Sukkur City from its own taluka and group it with Rohri taluka. Sukkur City is separated from Rohri taluka by only the River Indus, and as in the case of Jacobabad, we considered that the community of interests between a district headquarter town and a neighbouring taluka were sufficient to justify us in taking this course. We considered that we were not justified in joining the Cities of Sukkur and Shikarpur into an urban constituency, as the two cities are twenty-three miles apart, and we considered that both towns had closer bonds of unity with the surrounding countryside than with each other.

32. *Nawabshah district.*—In this district we had to apportion five seats amongst seven talukas. Delimitation according to our principles rendered disparities in population unavoidable.

33. *Hyderabad district.*—In this district we again had to apportion five seats among seven talukas, but there is very little disparity in population, except in the case of the Southern Constituency which is large. We were, however, unable to suggest any satisfactory alternative. As far as taluka boundaries permit, we have recognised the separate interests of the Fuleli tract and the Barrage zone.

34. *Thar Parkar district.*—In this district we have delimited the constituencies as far as possible in accordance with the different interests. The Desert is given separate representation, the Jamrao tract is left together in another constituency, and three of the four talukas on the new Barrage Canals are grouped together to form the third constituency.

## CHAPTER V.

## GENERAL CONSTITUENCIES.

35. According to the Communal Award we have had to apportion eighteen seats for General Constituencies among the eight districts of Sind. The total General population in Sind is 10,49,694 and therefore the average population per seat is 58,316.

36. The following table shows the General population of each district, the number of seats due on a population basis, and the number allotted to each :—

District.	General population.	Seats due.	Seats allotted.
Karachi ... ..	165,179	2·84	3
Dadu ... ..	51,555	0·88	1
Upper Sind Frontier ... ..	25,611	0·44	1
Larkana ... ..	81,085	1·38	1
Sukkur ... ..	183,393	3·14	3
Nawabshah ... ..	118,849	2·04	2
Hyderabad ... ..	201,954	3·47	4
Thar Parkar ... ..	222,068	3·81	3

We have allotted one seat to Upper Sind Frontier district as we think that no district as such should go unrepresented in the Assembly. The remaining seats we allotted among the other districts on a population basis, and gave to each one its quota according to the number of seats actually due.

37. But we have made one exception. Two-fifths of the people of the Thar Parkar district live in the Desert Division, and a large majority are of nomadic habits. The numbers entitled to be enfranchised under the present proposals are comparatively small, and to have allotted two members on the population basis would have been to constitute two constituencies with an electorate so small as to be difficult to justify. We realise, however, that this point will have to be re-considered if and when the franchise is lowered. We have therefore allotted to Thar Parkar three seats instead of four and given the remaining seat to Hyderabad district which, upon the population basis, is next entitled to it.

38. Having allotted the number of seats to each district, we delimited the boundaries of the constituencies in the districts according to the attached list. Remarks on the delimitation in each district are given after the list.

## GENERAL CONSTITUENCIES.

No. Serial	Name of Constituency.	Class.	Extent of Constituency.	Area in sq. miles.	Population.	Seats due on population basis.	Seats allocated.
1	Karachi City North-ern.	Urban ...	Wards 1, 2, 4 and 5 of Karachi Municipal District.	39½	68,497 (approximate).	1·18	1
2	Karachi City South-ern.	Urban ...	Wards 3, 6, 7 and 8 of Karachi Municipal District and Karachi and Manora Cantonments and limits of Karachi Port Trust.		66,000 (approximate).	1·14	1
3	Karachi district ...	Rural ...	Karachi district excluding the area of the two urban constituencies of Karachi City.	7,956	80,682	0·52	1
4	Dadu ...	Rural ...	Dadu district ...	6,347	51,555	0·88	1
5	Upper Sind Frontier.	Rural ...	Upper Sind Frontier Dist.	2,116	25,611	0·44	1
6	Larkana ...	Rural ...	Larkana District ...	2,476	81,085	1·38	1
7	Sukkur Western ...	Rural ...	Shikarpur Borough Municipality and taluka and Garhi Yasin taluka.	302	62,979	1·08	1
8	Sukkur Central ...	Rural ...	Sukkur Borough Municipality and taluka.	270	57,699	0·98	1
9	Sukkur Western ...	Rural ...	Rohri, Ghotki, Pano Akil, Ubauro and Mirpur Mathelo talukas.	4,229	62,715	1·08	1

GENERAL CONSTITUENCIES—*contd.*

Serial No.	Name of Constituency.	Class.	Extent of Constituency.	Area in sq. miles.	Population.	Seats due on population basis.	Seats allocated.
10	Nawabshah Northern.	Rural ...	Naushahro Kandiaro, Moro and Nawabshah talukas.	2,346	57,741	0-98	1
11	Nawabshah Southern.	Rural ...	Sakrand, Sinjhora and Shahdadpur talukas.	1,542	61,108	1-06	1
12	Hyderabad City Central.	Urban ...	Wards 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6 of Hyderabad Borough Municipality.	4	45,187	0-78	1
13	Hyderabad suburbs and taluka.	Rural ...	Wards 1 and 7 of Hyderabad Borough Municipality, Hyderabad Cantonment and the rest of Hyderabad taluka.	380	45,177	0-78	1
14	Hyderabad Northern.	Rural ...	Hala, Tando Allahyar and Dero Mohbat talukas.	1,604	52,414	0-89	1
15	Hyderabad Southern.	Rural ...	Guni, Tando Bago and Badin talukas.	2,429	59,176	1-02	1
16	Thar Parkar Western.	Rural ...	Mirpurkhas, Jamesabad, Digri and Sanghar talukas.	1,968	64,250	1-10	1
17	Thar Parkar Northern.	Rural ...	Khipro, Umerkot and Samaro talukas.	4,198	63,460	1-08	1
18	Thar Parkar Southern.	Rural ...	Mithi, Diplo, Chachro and Nagar Parkar talukas.	7,480	94,358	1-68	1
				46,378	10,49,694	18-00	18

39. *Karachi district.*—We considered the interests of Karachi City and the rest of the district to be so distinct as to render necessary separate representation. We have accordingly given one seat to the rest of the district, although the population is far smaller than either of the urban constituencies into which we have divided Karachi City. In our division of Karachi City one of our objects has been to group the bulk of the minority communities such as Anglo-Indians, Parsees and Jews into one constituency, so that their voice will be more effectively heard.

40. *Dadu district.*—No remarks.

41. *Upper Sind Frontier district.*—We have given a seat to this district on our general principle that no district as such should go unrepresented in the Assembly.

42. *Larkana district.*—This is admittedly a large constituency, but Larkana district is not on the population basis justified in having two seats.

43. *Sukkur district.*—We considered that we were not justified in joining the towns of Sukkur and Shikarpur into an urban constituency as the two towns are twenty-three miles apart, and we considered that both towns had closer bonds of unity with the surrounding countryside than with each other.

44. *Nawabshah district.*—No remarks.

45. *Hyderabad district.*—We considered that Hyderabad City on the population basis was entitled to more than one seat, but was not large enough to justify two. We did not favour any proposal of joining it with the other Municipalities in the district to obtain the requisite population for two constituencies, as we considered that there was greater community of interests between Hyderabad and the surrounding country than between Hyderabad and the other towns in the district. Accordingly we have formed one constituency containing the central portion of Hyderabad City and another comprising the suburbs of Hyderabad City and Hyderabad taluka. We admit that this arrangement is not ideal, but consider that it is the best practicable. Of the other two constituencies, one comprises roughly the Fuleli tract, and the other the Barrage zone.

46. *Thar Parkar district.*—In this district we have delimited the constituencies as far as possible in accordance with the different interests. The Desert is given separate representation, the Jamrao tract is kept together in another constituency and three of the four talukas on the new Barrage canals are grouped together to form the third constituency. Our reasons for not according the Desert Division that representation which is due to it on the population basis have already been given.

## CHAPTER VI.

## EUROPEAN CONSTITUENCIES.

47. Two seats are reserved for the European community by the Communal Award and we see no reason why we should not apply to this community the same principle of single-member constituencies which we have applied in other cases. The majority of those to be enfranchised in this constituency live in Karachi, but we understand that the mofussil vote is and will continue to be a vote of some importance, and we desire that the interests of mofussil members of this community which may differ from the interests of members of this community living in Karachi, should be considered and that their vote should be a matter of some consideration to candidates. We propose, therefore, that the mofussil vote should be attached to a ward in Karachi so as to effect an equitable division of this community into two single-member constituencies. We have not been able to obtain precise figures of the electorate, but we understand that the electorate will in all number about one thousand, and that Karachi can be best divided by placing the Cantonment into one constituency and joining the rest of Karachi City with the mofussil vote in another constituency. We understand that this arrangement will effect an equitable distribution of the two seats in the community and we recommend accordingly.



## CHAPTER VII.

## WOMEN'S CONSTITUENCIES.

48. According to the Communal Award one seat is reserved to women in the General Constituency and one to Muhammadan Women. We consider that as the women's Constituencies are intended to represent the special interests of women, they should be reserved for women only. We do not therefore agree to men participating either as candidates or as voters in these constituencies.

49. We desired that the constituencies should represent the interests of women of Sind as a whole, but we realised that to impose upon a woman candidate the duty of canvassing among the women generally throughout the province, was to impose too heavy a burden. Moreover, there is a certain community of interests between all women in Sind, and though we realised that there must be differences in the conditions of life of women in the towns and in remote villages, we have every reason to believe that the women who will come forward to represent these special constituencies will regard as closely the welfare of the women in the villages as in the towns. We thought it proper to find some common basis of representation for the two constituencies so that it might not be said that one district or one centre of population had been included and another excluded from the constituency without reason; and we came to the conclusion that for both the Women's Constituencies, it would be proper to include within the constituencies the District Headquarter towns of each district, so that each district might have some direct interests in the constituency. We also decided to include within the constituencies the City Municipalities as being centre of women's education and women's work. We decided also to include Rohri, a town of considerable size adjacent to Sukkur. We therefore recommend that both the Women's Constituencies should include the City of Karachi and the towns of Hyderabad, Sukkur, Rohri, Shikarpur, Larkana, Jacobabad, Mirpurkhas, Nawabshah and Dadu. We are assured by our lady colleagues that this constituency will not be too large or too scattered for proper contact to be maintained between the representatives and the electorate. We recommend that there should be included within the Women's Constituencies in these towns all those women entitled to vote in the territorial constituencies. We are anxious that the necessity of a woman applying to be put upon the electoral roll should not discourage women from exercising their right to vote, and though we think it right that women who are qualified on account of literacy should apply in writing to be put upon the electoral roll, and we accept as the test of literacy the ability to read or write a simple letter in any language, we think 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. We agree that there is no reason to differentiate in any way between the constitution of the two special Women's Constituencies. The area for the Muhammadan women's Special Constituency and the General Women's Constituency will be the same, as will be the qualifications of the electors.

## CHAPTER VIII.

## LANDHOLDERS' CONSTITUENCIES.

50. Two seats are allocated by the Communal Award to represent the special interests of landholders in Sind. At present landholders have one seat in the Bombay Legislative Council. It was open to us to allocate the two seats to one two-member constituency for the whole of Sind and we are conscious of the fact that certain of the objections to multi-member constituencies which have influenced us in determining the delimitation of other constituencies in other cases, do not apply with such force to this constituency. The electorate, on the qualification of the payment of land revenue of not less than Rs. 1,000 in each of the three years preceding the election, will not be large, nor will impersonation be so likely to be successful.

51. On the other hand, a constituency covering the whole of the Province will be a very large constituency, and the interests of landholders in Upper and Lower Sind are not the same in all respects. Upper and Lower Sind moreover divided into the districts of Sukkur, Larkana, Dadu and Upper Sind Frontier, and the districts of Karachi, Hyderabad, Thar Parkar and Nawabshah, constitute two convenient areas with an electorate of much the same size. One seat in this constituency has been claimed by Jagirdars, but we do not think that the reservation of one of the two seats to Jagirdars is justified by their relative number and importance; though their number and interests will undoubtedly enable them to influence electors.

52. We have considered carefully the question of making this constituency a multi-member constituency, as the exception to the rule, so as to give, as our colleague Diwan Bahadur Hiranand Khemsing thinks it will give greater chance to the Hindu landholders of winning one of the two seats. We are not, however, satisfied that this would be the case, but even were it so, we think we cannot properly allow the communal question settled by the Communal Award to influence us in the allocation of seats in special constituencies. The two seats reserved to landholders are to represent the interests of landholders as such and not as Hindus or Muhammadans. Nor can we agree to the proposal that the seats should be allocated on the basis that the Hindu landholders being largely the money-lenders require representation as against their borrowers. The constituency is to represent the special interests of landholders and not of money-lenders. Nor can we base our proposals on hypothetical legislation.

53. We have, therefore, with the exception of our colleague Diwan Bahadur Hiranand Khemsing, come to the conclusion that the two seats reserved to landholders should be divided between the two constituencies of Lower and Upper Sind for the purpose of the representation of the special interests of landholders and that the present qualification of the payment of Rs. 1,000 as land revenue should remain. We could not see our way to recommend either a reduction or increase of this amount.

## CHAPTER IX.

## LABOUR CONSTITUENCY.

54. One seat was reserved to this constituency by the Communal Award. The purpose of this and other special constituencies is to obtain a spokesman for the interests concerned and an expert to advise the Assembly on the special needs and interests of the constituency.

55. Our desire, therefore, so far as the Labour Constituency is concerned, was also to make the constituency representative of labour throughout the Province. But at the same time we were bound, if the constituency were not to be unmanageable in size, to keep the area of the constituency and the number of the electorate within reasonable bounds. We found labour organised in Unions only in Karachi. The three biggest Unions were the Port Trust, Sind Branch, North-Western Railway and the Karachi Municipal Sweepers, and, in each case, the membership did not exceed 1,000. We could not, therefore, agree that representation of Labour through Unions was for the present an adequate representation of labour throughout the Province of Sind, and we decided therefore that the Labour Constituency should be a mixed constituency of organised and unorganised labour. We considered whether the unions of employees of the Government of India could rightly be included within a Labour Constituency to represent labour in a Provincial Assembly, for the employees of the Government of India must look to the Government of India and presumably to their representatives in the Federal Assembly for the redress of their grievances. But we came to the conclusion that a strike either by Railwaymen or Postmen in Sind would so closely affect the general interests and welfare that it was only reasonable to suppose that the Sind Assembly might desire to discuss such a matter or make what representation it might be lawful for it to make to the Central Authorities, when it is clear that the special labour representative would speak more effectively if he represented the Unions concerned. Moreover, the Trade Union Movement is still weak and it does not appear to us desirable to weaken organised labour by the exclusion of members of these Unions from the Special Constituency. We recommend that there be included in the Labour Constituency all duly registered Trade Unions within the Province, subject to such restrictions as will 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 that the members of these Unions be enrolled upon the general electoral roll for the Labour Constituency.

56. So far as unorganised labour is concerned, we think that the factories scattered throughout the Province afford a convenient means for the representation of unorganised labour, and that there should be admitted to the electoral roll of the Labour Constituency not only the members of Trade Unions, but all the adult manual workers of a factory in Sind registered under the Factories Act. We think also that all adult manual workers of all industrial concerns of public utility, such as Tramways, Electric Light, and Gas and Water-Works should be brought within the constituency as well as the adult manual workers of local bodies such as the Port Trust, the Municipalities and Local Boards. We would limit the franchise to adult manual workers only. We would not differentiate between men and women workers, but we would allow only one vote to one man or woman within the constituency, though such man or woman might be entitled to a vote in a double capacity as member of a union and as a manual worker in a factory. We do not think that manual labour in private employment should be brought within the constituency, for, it is obvious, that a constituency of this size would be unmanageable and the representation of labour as such in the Assembly must have an influence, if only indirect, on the conditions of work of manual workers in private employment.

57. We are assured by our colleague co-opted for labour that the constituency we have recommended will not be so large in area or so numerous in its electorate as to be unmanageable, and that a candidate's reputation and personality would soon become known throughout this special constituency. We would allow for the present any person qualified to stand for election in any of the constituencies within the Province to be elected to represent this special constituency.

## CHAPTER X.

## COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY CONSTITUENCIES.

58. Two seats have been allocated by the Communal Award to the Constituency of Commerce and although there has been no statutory reservation of any seat to European Commerce, reference to page 129, paragraph 326, of the Report of the Indian Franchise Committee and to the foot-note to the Table of seats shown on page 349 of the Report of the Joint Committee on Indian Constitutional Reform, shows that it is anticipated that one European should be returned in one of the two seats in the Commercial Constituency, and we are satisfied that on the merits of the case, this should be so. It was for this reason that we considered Commerce included for the purpose of our report two special interests, and that it was decided to co-opt two gentlemen, one to represent Indian Commercial interests and one to represent European Commercial interests to assist us in our discussion and conclusions with their experience and advice. After having given the matter our most careful consideration and after having had the advantage of discussion with our two colleagues co-opted for this purpose, we are of the opinion that the interests, predominantly European, represented by the Karachi Chamber of Commerce, are of such magnitude and importance as to require perhaps more in the future than in the past their representation in the Assembly; and this representation can, in our opinion, only be secured by the reservation of one of the two Commerce Constituencies to the Karachi Chamber of Commerce.

59. The two most important Indian Commercial Associations in Karachi are the Karachi Indian Merchants Association and the Karachi Buyers and Shippers' Chamber. The relative importance of the Karachi Chamber of Commerce is illustrated by the fact that it alone has representation in the Bombay Legislative Council, whereas the two other associations have no such representation though they are now represented on the Municipality and other local bodies. It appears to us that we should not, without good reason, deprive a commercial association of great importance and standing of its right of representation in the new Provincial Assembly; and the necessity of such representation is increased rather than diminished by the separation of Sind and the constitution of a new assembly in which the traditions and experience of an association such as the Karachi Chamber of Commerce, accustomed to representation in the Legislative Council, will be of the greatest value.

60. We have had placed before us figures which show the magnitude and importance of the trade interests which the Karachi Chamber of Commerce represents. The total membership of fifty-nine gives no just indication of the importance of this association in the commerce and industry of Karachi, for that membership includes with few exceptions all important Banks; it includes also all of the shipping companies, except one, the railways and many of the most important trading and industrial concerns within the city. It is claimed in their behalf that their members are responsible for the great bulk of the trade in cotton, piece-goods, petroleum, hides, skins and rape-seed. The chief trade of Karachi is in the export of cotton and the import of piece-goods. Moreover, this association though predominantly European does not limit its membership either by rules or by practice to European firms. There are seven Indian member firms and seven partly Indian member firms and we are informed that the Chamber welcomes into its membership Indian firms of reputation and substance which are prepared to abide by its rules and pay its comparatively substantial subscription. Moreover, in its European membership are included Swiss, Japanese, American, French and Dutch firms, so that its interests are in no way limited to the interests of any one country, and represent commerce and industry in their international aspect. The representation of the international aspect of commerce and industry we think here requires emphasis. Such representation can at present only be obtained with certainty from the Karachi Chamber of Commerce.

61. The purpose of a special constituency is to provide for the provincial council not only a spokesman of special interests, but an expert who can advise

it. We 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.

62. It has been suggested to us that European commercial interest will find adequate protection and representation through the two seats reserved for the European community in Sind, for it is said that one at least of these two members will be a merchant. But it is not the function of General Constituencies to provide the experts for special interests. It is not proper to rely upon the representation of the special interests of a special constituency by the accident of representation from other constituencies. This is the opinion of the Indian Franchise Committee, for at page 129, paragraph 320, they say—

“The suggestion has been made that the General Constituencies can be relied on to return in sufficient numbers members whose experience is such as to enable them to speak with authority on commercial and industrial questions and that special representation for commerce and industry is unnecessary in the new legislatures. We are unable to accept this view.”

Moreover, discussions on questions of commerce and industry, being not infrequently concerned with matters of profit and loss, are inclined to be provocative of dispute and disagreement; and we think it undesirable that the members from the European Constituencies who may, by reason of their traditions and experience, be of much value to their Indian colleagues in the work of the new assembly, should be involved in the disputes of commerce and industry. We also understand that it is possible that European and Indian commercial interests may at times conflict and that the chance of a representative of European commerce being returned from a joint commercial electorate of Indians and Europeans is extremely remote; so that on occasions when the interests of European commerce and industry require most an effective representation, there will be none in the Assembly to represent them. We think therefore that one seat should be allocated to the Karachi Chamber of Commerce. We regard it as essential to the proper exercise of the franchise that member firms should be allowed to vote through their nominees.

63. We are aware that our proposal that one of the two commercial constituencies shall be allocated to one association, predominantly European, while one seat alone remains for Indian commercial interests will arouse adverse comments in certain quarters. We are satisfied, however, that this proposal is just and equitable and in the best interest of the Province.

64. There remains then one seat for the representation of Indian commerce and industry and it has been suggested that one seat should be reserved for the Karachi Indian Shippers and Buyers' and the Karachi Indian Merchants Association. We see, however, no reason why a voice in the representation of the commerce and industry of Sind should be limited either to Karachi or to any two associations in Karachi. On the other hand it is to be remembered that the purpose of this constituency is not to enfranchise every merchant and trader in Sind, but to provide that the interests of commerce and industry are represented through a member competent at once to represent those interests, and to advise the assembly on questions which affect those interests.

65. We think therefore that there should be laid down for the representation of commerce and industry in this constituency some common basis, and we have come to the conclusion that a condition, precedent to the enrolment of any voter in this constituency, should be the payment of 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. This will secure for the representation of this special constituency a substantial basis. Once this condition precedent is satisfied, we would allow upon the electoral roll of this constituency the name of any member of any commercial association whose rules are approved by Government, whether that association be in Karachi or in the commercial centres of Hyderabad, Sukkur, Larkana, Shikarpur and Rohri. We would also include in this constituency the remaining district headquarter towns. If the member

be a firm of any approved commercial association, we would allow such firm to vote by its nominee. To secure the adequate representation of commercial interests outside associations, we would also allow upon the electoral roll subject to the condition precedent aforesaid, the name of any owner of a registered factory under the Factories Act and joint stock company registered under the Companies Act. We would allow the owner of a factory or joint stock company to vote through a nominee. We would not allow a plural vote within this constituency.

66. As we have proposed that the rules of an association in the Indian Commerce Constituency should be approved by Government and that the qualification for entry on the electoral roll should be payment of income-tax on an income of Rs. 10,000 a year in one of the three years previous to the election, so we would propose like qualifications for the Chamber of Commerce Constituency. We would also require a firm or individual entitled to vote in both of the Commerce Constituencies to decide in which one of the two Constituencies, the right to vote is to be exercised.

67. We would call the seat allocated to commercial interests other than those represented by the Karachi Chamber of Commerce the Sind Commerce Constituency, and we are satisfied that the constituency constituted as we have proposed, will not be unmanageable in size.

- (Signed) G. DAVIS (CHAIRMAN).  
 ( " ) HAJI ABDULLAH HAROON.  
 ( " ) ALLAH BAKHSI.  
 ( " ) HIRANAND KHEMSING.  
*(Subject to minute of dissent on Chapter VIII.)*  
 ( " ) G. G. DREWE (SECRETARY).  
 ( " ) M. HATIM TYABJI.  
*(Chapter VII only.)*  
 ( " ) THAKURIBAI LAKHANI.  
*(Chapter VII only.)*  
 ( " ) JAMSHED NUSSEWANJI.  
*(Chapter IX only.)*  
 ( " ) B. T. THAKUR.  
*(Chapter X only, and subject to a minute of dissent.)*  
 ( " ) H. S. BIGG-WITHER.  
*(Chapter X only, and subject to a qualifying note.)*

20th July 1935.

## 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, Sinjhor 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 Sinjhoru 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
			<b>Total</b>	<b>60</b>

## 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 38, 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 823 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-WITHER.

*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. Bhojising 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 13<sup>TH</sup> AUGUST 1935 CONTAINING  
A SUMMARY OF THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE SIND  
PROVINCIAL DELIMITATION COMMITTEE CONTAINED IN  
ITS REPORT DATED THE 20<sup>TH</sup> 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, Umarmot 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.
<b>URBAN.</b>	
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.
<b>RURAL.</b>	
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, Sinjhor and Shahdadpur talukas.
16. Thar Parkar Western	... Mirpurkhas, Jamesabad, Digri and Sanghar talukas.
17. Thar Parkar Northern	... Khipro, Umarnkot 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) *Muhammadan 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.Ms., M.Ds., 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-Ulemas 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 willages [*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 BAKSH.

(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	3	..	132	15	} 401	47	448
Dadu ..	2	..	59	..	6	9	67	9	6	..	61	9			
Hyderabad ..	1	..	187	11	27	18	215	24	7	1	208	23			
Thar Parkar ..	9	..	216	3	10	100	235	103	9	..	226	108	} 338	125	468
Nawabshah ..	4	..	106	2	12	20	122	22	10	..	112	22			
Larkana ..	6	..	127	2	14	47	147	49	14	..	133	49	} 444	140	584
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	318	67	1	1,183	312	..	..	1,495
<b>GENERAL</b>															
Karachi ..	212	11	38	5	67	27	312	48	5	..	307	48	} 484	68	552
Hyderabad ..	70	1	77	1	30	23	177	25	..	..	177	25			
Thar Parkar ..	15	..	70	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	} 458	89	547
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.
MUHAMMADAN.	
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 Kaisar-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 BAKHSI.

(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 land owner 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 BAKHSI,  
 ( " ) HIRANAND KHEMSING,  
 ( " ) G. G. DREWE.

13th October 1935.