

11th March 1940

THE

LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY DEBATES

Official Report

Volume II, 1940

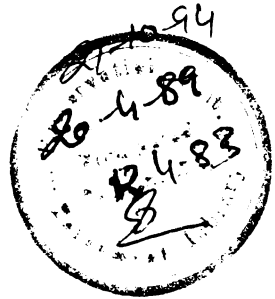
(6th March to 26th March, 1940)

ELEVENTH SESSION

OF THE

FIFTH LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY,

1940



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Legislative Assembly

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LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

Monday, 11th March, 1940.

The Assembly met in the Assembly Chamber of the Council House at Eleven of the Clock, Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim) in the Chair.

STARRED QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

(a) ORAL ANSWERS.

MANUFACTURE OF OPTICAL INSTRUMENTS FOR THE ARMY IN INDIA.

†321. *Mr. Lalchand Navalrai: (a) Will the Defence Secretary be pleased to state if any optical or range-finder instrument, medical and surveying spectacle lenses, spectacles and frames, are imported in India from abroad for army purposes? If so, from which countries and how are purchases made, whether by calling tenders or directly?

(b) Is there any firm in India manufacturing optical instruments for the army? If so, for what value and on what terms?

(c) What arrangements have Government made to ensure regular supply in time of war?

(d) Is it a fact that on the outbreak of war British Government and the Government of France prohibited export of any kind of optical goods, and is it a fact that on that account prices of these optical articles have gone up and some of such articles are not procurable in India?

(e) What steps do Government propose to take to establish this industry in India, at least, for army purposes? If not, why not?

(f) Are there any opticians in the army service in India? If so, what is their salary and what minimum qualifications do they possess or are required to possess?

Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie: (a) Practically all optical and range-finding instruments required for military purposes are imported from abroad. They are mostly obtained from the United Kingdom through the Director General, India Store Department.

(b) and (e). The Mathematical Instruments Office in Calcutta, which is a part of the Survey of India, and some private firms, manufacture some optical instruments, but mainly from imported materials. Their output is very limited, but orders are placed with firms in India when their products are satisfactory. Since no optical glass is manufactured in India, the industry does not seem a very suitable one for the attention of Government.

(c) It is not in the public interest to reveal these arrangements.

(d) The answer to the first part of the question is in the affirmative and it may be assumed that the prohibition of export by England and France has been a contributing cause to any shortage of, or increase in the price of, optical goods.

†The Answer to this question laid on the table, the questioner being absent.

(f) The reply to the first part of the question is in the negative. The second part, therefore, does not arise.

ADMINISTRATION OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL DEPARTMENT.

†322. ***Khan Bahadur Shaikh Fazl-i-Haq Piracha:** Will the Defence Secretary please state:

- (a) whether it is a fact that the subject "Ecclesiastical" is now being dealt with in his Department, and that some years back this subject was in the portfolio of the Commerce Member;
- (b) whether it is a fact that when the Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan took charge as the Commerce Member, the subject was transferred to the portfolio of the Honourable Member in charge of Industries and Labour, and that when the Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan was given the portfolio of Labour, the Ecclesiastical Department was transferred to the Defence Department; if so, what were the reasons for that;
- (c) whether it is a fact that when the late Sir Muhammad Shafi was appointed the Education Member, the Ecclesiastical Department was transferred from his portfolio to the portfolio of the Honourable the Commerce Member; if so, what were the reasons for that; and
- (d) whether it is a fact that the Ecclesiastical Department has always been in the portfolio of a Christian Member of the Executive Council?

Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie: (a) Yes.

(b) Yes. The transfer was made because the majority of the churches and chaplains maintained by Government are military; because the majority of the persons entitled to the ministrations of chaplains are in military employ; and because 'Ecclesiastical' like Defence is a reserved subject.

(c) No.

(d) Not invariably, but it has usually been the case.

GIVING OF EMERGENCY COMMISSIONS TO THE ARMY IN INDIA RESERVE OF OFFICERS.

†323. ***Mr. Lalchand Navalrai:** (a) Will the Defence Secretary be pleased to state whether it is a fact that Army in India Reserve of Officers can be called to army service in case of emergency such as exists at present without general mobilization being declared? If so, why have the services of these officers not been requisitioned before giving emergency commissions?

(b) Is it a fact that a press note appeared in the press in the second week of February, 1940, to the effect that Army in India Reserve of Officers are eligible for the grant of emergency commissions between the ages of 20½ to 35?

(c) Are Indians, Anglo-Indians and British subjects of pure European descent placed on an equal footing as regards age limit, so far as the grant of these emergency commissions is concerned?

†Answer to this question laid on the table, the questioner being absent.

(d) Is it a fact that Indians and Anglo-Indians can be enrolled for cavalry, infantry and supply (R.I.A.S.G.) only between the ages of 21 and 26 and as Engineers between the ages of 21 and 35, while for British subjects of pure European descent the age limit has been put between 20½ and 25 for every branch of the service? If so, will Government explain why this distinction has been made on a racial basis, and whether the result of this distinction will be to deprive Indian and Anglo-Indian Army in India Reserve of Officers who are ready to enlist themselves for immediate service in the war from doing so?

(e) Is it a fact that every year considerable expenditure is incurred by Government in imparting training to the Army in India Reserve of Officers in the shape of pay, travelling and other allowances, retaining fee, etc.? If so, will Government state whether they intend to ask for volunteers, as laid down in the Army in India Reserve of Officers Regulations, as well as for emergency commissions from among the Army in India Reserve of Officers between the ages of 20½ and 35 in the same manner as the Army in India Reserve of Officers who are British subjects of pure European descent?

(f) Are Government aware that most of the Indian and Anglo-Indian Army in India Reserve of Officers are in suspense about their future, and that they will feel a sense of grievance if preference is given over them for emergency commission to outsiders who have had no training at all? If so, what do Government propose to do to remedy this state of affairs?

Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie: (a) to (f). I lay on the table a statement containing the required information.

Statement

(a) Only those officers of the Army in India Reserve can be called to army service in an emergency short of general mobilization who have voluntarily accepted a liability to be so called.

If all officers of the reserve had been called to army service on the outbreak of war, no reserve of trained officers would remain against any unexpected change in the course of the war.

(b) Government have issued no press note, on this subject, but a note, not emanating from Government, did appear in the Press, which was misleading in the matter of age limits.

(c) and (d). The age limits mentioned by the Honourable Member are substantially correct.

For each community the age limit has been fixed for the present at a level intended to provide numbers required at the age considered most suitable by the military authorities. This age limit may fluctuate from time to time in accordance with requirements. In the case of Europeans it was originally 21 to 30. The numbers of potential Indian candidates are however very great and it has not so far been found necessary to alter the age limit initially set down in their case.

All officers of the Army in India Reserve who wish to obtain emergency commissions may volunteer for them on the same terms as members of the general public.

(e) The reply to the first part is that a certain expenditure is incurred yearly by Government on the Army in India Reserve of Officers. The reply to the second part is in the negative.

(f) Government hope that officers of the Army in India Reserve who have not yet been called up will realise that they are included in the plans for the defence of their country and that their role though at present passive is necessary, and that they will be called up when the need for trained officers of their categories arises. The latter part of the question does not, therefore, arise.

COMPENSATORY ALLOWANCES AND AMENITIES TO STAFF DUE TO THE STOPPAGE OF THE SIMLA EXODUS.

†324. *Bhai Parma Nand: (a) Will the Honourable the Home Member kindly state if any memorials have been received on behalf of the ministerial establishment of the Imperial Secretariat asking for certain concessions, compensatory allowances and amenities in connection with the stoppage of exodus to Simla?

(b) If so, will he state what requests have been made, and which of them have been acceded to, and which have not been accepted and the reasons therefor?

The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell: This question should have been addressed to the Honourable Member in charge of the Department of Labour.

STRENGTH OF THE ARMY

†325. *Bhai Parma Nand: Will the Defence Secretary please state:

- (a) the numerical strength of Hindus, Muhammadans, Sikhs and Gorkhas in the Regular Army on the 1st September, 1939; and
- (b) the strength of the Reserve and the Indian States Forces, communitywise, on the 1st September, 1939?

Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie: (a) and (b). It is not in the public interest to reveal the figures.

METHOD OF RECRUITMENT OF OFFICERS IN THE PREVENTIVE SERVICE OF THE CUSTOMS DEPARTMENT.

†326. *Mr. Lalchand Navalrai: (a) Will the Honourable the Finance Member be pleased to state on what system the officers in the preventive service of the Customs Department are recruited? Are there any qualifications fixed for their appointment?

(b) Do Government propose to make these appointments by competitive examination by Public Service Commission? If not, why not?

(c) Will the Honourable Member be pleased to state how many preventive officers, and of what denomination, are there at present in the Customs Department at Karachi and to state their qualifications, date of appointment and the present salaries?

(d) Is it a fact that the Customs House at Karachi gets several applications from B.As., and M.As., Hindus and Muslims, and yet there is no restriction in taking up Matriculates or persons of even less academic qualifications in the preventive service, and do Government propose to stop this method of recruitment? If not, why not?

The Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman: (a) The system is one of selection by heads of departments, i.e., by Collectors of Customs. A minimum educational attainment is required and candidates must further comply with the general rules as regards age, community, medical fitness, etc.

†Answer to this question laid on the table, the questioner being absent.

(b) No, Sir. Though a minimum standard of education is necessary, it is essential that candidates should possess other qualities specially suiting them for their future employment. These qualities are not capable of assessment by academic examination.

(c) A statement is laid on the table.

(d) Academic qualifications are given their due weight, along with the other qualities to which I have already referred.

Particulars of Preventive Officers (permanent and temporary) in the Karachi Custom House

No.	Name	Race or Caste	Educational or other qualifications	Date of appointment	Pay
1	Mr. E. McCabe	European	Departmental	1-6-1915	350
2	„ W. C. Webbe	Anglo-Indian	Senior Cambridge and Departmental.	25-4-1916	350
3	„ S. G. Critchell	Do.	Departmental	23-4-1921	330
4	„ A. J. Gomes	Do.	European High School and Departmental.	1-5-1921	330
5	„ B. D. Sajani	Hindu	Matric and Departmental.	2-7-1921	330
6	„ E. B. Braganza	Anglo-Indian	Departmental	4-7-1921	330
7	„ H. P. Kirpalani	Hindu	F. A. and Departmental.	4-10-1921	330
8	„ Khanchand Pothumal.	Do.	Vernacular Final and Departmental.	10-1-1910	320
9	„ J. E. Flatman	European, Domiciled in India.	Departmental	20-4-1921	330
10	„ Hassanally	Muslim	Matric and Departmental.	23-4-1921	270
11	„ A. G. Brydone	European, Domiciled in India.	Departmental	1-1-1923	320
12	„ B. D. Cutler	Do.	F. A. (B. U.) and Departmental	6-2-1924	300
13	„ W. S. Hodgert	Do.	Departmental	20-4-1921	330
14	„ Lutfulla, A.	Muslim	Do.	17-12-1923	310
15	„ Bashir Ahmed	Do.	Do.	8-1-1925	300
16	„ Kishinchand, N.	Hindu	F. A. and Departmental.	23-12-1925	280
17	„ J. C. Platel	Anglo-Indian	Departmental	15-11-1926	260

No.	Name	Race or caste	Educational or other qualifications	Date of appointment	Pay
					Rs.
18	Mr. E. H. Nagle	European, Domiciled in India.	Departmental	26-1-1925	280
19	„ Dharamdas, P.	Hindu	F. A. and Departmental.	10-12-1925	280
20	„ Manzur Hussain	Muslim	Matric and Departmental.	17-5-1928	250
21	„ P. A. Mortimer	European Domiciled in India.	Departmental	22-10-1930	230
22	„ Altaf Mohiuddin	Muslim	Do.	18-4-1932	140
23	„ Mumtazally	Do.	Do.	24-4-1932	135
24	„ Fatehchand, S.	Hindu	Matric and Departmental.	10-10-1933	130
25	„ B. S. Orpwood	Anglo-Indian	Departmental	15-10-1934	125
26	„ Kishinchand, G.	Hindu	Do.	22-1-1916	180
27	„ R. B. Avari	Parsi	Inter. Arts (B. U.) and Departmental.	1-6-1935	120
28	„ B. N. Kelly	Anglo-Indian	Junior Cambridge and Departmental.	1-8-1935	120
29	„ B. T. C. Morrison	Do.	Inter. Science (Allahabad U.) and Departmental.	4-6-1935	120
30	„ M. E. Hussein	Muslim	B. A. and Departmental.	2-3-1936	115
31	„ L. G. Jagtiani	Hindu	Do.	3-7-1936	115
32	„ D. P. O'Reilly	Anglo-Indian	Senior Cambridge and Departmental.	17-2-1937	115
33	„ S. D. Lal	Hindu	B.Sc. (Technical) and Departmental.	20-4-1937	110
34	„ T. A. Robertson	Anglo-Indian	Senior Cambridge and Departmental.	26-4-1937	105
35	„ L. R. Williams	Do.	B. A. and Departmental.	10-1-1939	105
36	„ M. H. Naqvi	Muslim	Do.	23-10-1936	105
37	„ F. O. P. D'Cunha	Indian Christian	B.Sc. (Agri.) (Hons.) and Departmental.	3-1-1939	105

No.	Name	Race or Caste	Educational or other qualifications	Date of appointment	Pay
38	Mr. Narsimullu Abhoy	Hindu	Departmental	23-5-1905	Rs. 170
39	„ K. V. Tahirramani	Do.	Do.	22-6-1914	130
40	„ L. P. Clarkson	Anglo-Indian	Extra First Class Dufferin Final.	6-4-1939	100
41	„ Mohindersingh	Sikh	B. A.	6-4-1939	100
42	„ Muzaffer Khan Durrani.	Muslim		6-4-1939	100
43	„ G. McFarlane	Anglo-Indian	Cambridge School Cert. Examination.	1-5-1939	100
44	„ B. O. Woolen	Do.	Dufferin Final	1-5-1939	100
45	„ T. F. Howell	Do.	B. A., Diploma in Teaching and Departmental.	8-5-1939	100
46	„ Hukumatrai, J.	Hindu	B. A.	17-11-1939	100
47	„ Henry Kishender	Anglo-Indian	Dufferin Final	27-11-1939	100
48	„ A. M. Iqbal Ahmed.	Muslim	B. A.	16-1-1940	100
49	„ Hatherwal, P.	Hindu	Departmental	17-4-1917	130
50	„ C. Ghendy	Indian Christian	Senior Cambridge and Departmental.	6-1-1925	140

PROMOTIONS TO THE SUPERINTENDENT'S POSTS IN THE OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR GENERAL OF POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS.

†327. *Maulana Zafar All Khan: (a) Will the Honourable the Home Member please state whether it is a fact that about a year ago the Home Department issued instructions to the effect that in the Attached Offices of the Government of India promotion to the grade of Superintendent should be made purely on the basis of selection and not seniority?

(b) If the reply to part (a) be in the affirmative, will Government kindly state how many vacancies, temporary or permanent, in the Superintendent's grade occurred in each Attached Office and how many such vacancies were filled up by Muslim Assistants?

(c) Is it a fact that consequent on the Home Department instructions referred to in part (a) above, the Director General of Posts and Telegraphs decided that an Assistant having fifteen years' service as Assistant would be eligible for promotion to the cadre of Superintendent?

(d) If the reply to part (c) be in the affirmative, will Government kindly state how many Muslim Assistants of the office of the Director General of Posts and Telegraphs have fulfilled the condition of fifteen years' service and whether their cases have duly been considered for promotion?

The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell: (a) Yes. It has been laid down that the general rule should be to consider together all the Assistants of more than a certain minimum seniority and to select from those the best qualified man irrespective of seniority except where the claims on other grounds are practically equal.

(b) The information is being collected and will be laid on the table of the House in due course.

(c) The instructions issued by the Director General follow the general lines of the Home Department's instructions and lay down that the general rule will be to consider together all the Assistants having a minimum service of fifteen years in the Assistants' grade; but the minimum service of fifteen years is only a guiding principle and not a rigid rule and if suitable men are not available from among Assistants with fifteen years' service, other Assistants of outstanding merit with less service, namely, ten years' service may be selected for promotion.

(d) One Muslim Assistant fulfils the condition of fifteen years' service. His case has been considered.

PROMOTIONS TO THE SUPERINTENDENT'S POSTS IN THE OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR GENERAL OF POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS.

†328. ***Maulana Zafar Ali Khan:** (a) Will the Honourable the Home Member please state whether it is a fact that under the Home Department ruling a candidate for examination for the First Division Assistantship must at least be a graduate?

(b) Is it a fact that under the Home Department ruling, posts of Sectional Superintendents in the Secretariat and the Attached Offices should go to the best qualified Assistants, i.e., Assistants having the minimum qualification of a graduate and even superior educational qualifications?

(c) Are Government aware that no meaning or importance, whatsoever, has been attached to the words 'best qualified' in selecting Assistants for promotion to the Superintendents' posts in the office of the Director General of Posts and Telegraphs?

(d) Is it a fact that out of twelve posts of Sectional Superintendents, as many as seven are occupied by men not possessing even the minimum educational qualification required by the Home Department of a candidate for the First Division Assistant's post?

(e) Is there any Secretariat or Attached Office which has effected promotions in favour of men falling below the required standard in such a large number of cases?

(f) Do Government propose to review the promotions so far made in the office of the Director General of Posts and Telegraphs and ensure a strict observance of the Home Department rulings referred to above?

†Answer to this question laid on the table, the questioner being absent.

The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell: (a) A candidate for admission to the examination for the recruitment of Assistants must have passed the written examination for obtaining a University degree or the Cambridge Higher School Certificate.

(b) The Honourable Member's attention is invited to the reply given to part (a) of the last question. No academic qualifications have been prescribed for promotion to the grade of Superintendents. Selection is made from among Assistants best qualified according to the nature of their work, conduct and ability as exhibited in their previous service.

(c) This is not correct.

(d) There are fourteen posts of Superintendents of Sections in the Director-General's office. These include two posts which are on a temporary basis. Of the fourteen men now in charge of sections, six are graduates.

(e) Does not arise as the assumption that men falling below the required standard have been promoted in the Director-General's office is incorrect.

(f) No, as there has been a strict observance of the Home Department's rulings referred to.

SUPPLY OF THE DEBATES OF THE CENTRAL LEGISLATURE TO PUBLIC LIBRARIES.

†329. ***Bhai Parma Nand:** Will the Honourable the Home Member be pleased to state whether the Debates of the Central Legislature are supplied to any public libraries for the use of the public? If so, what are the names of such libraries?

The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell: The question should have been addressed to the Honourable the Leader of the House.

SHORTAGE OF RUPEE COINS.

†330. ***Bhai Parma Nand:** Will the Honourable the Finance Member be pleased to state whether Government are aware that there is a considerable shortage of rupee coins, and it is becoming difficult for people to have currency notes changed into rupees? If so, are Government taking any steps to remove the difficulty?

The Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman: The answer to the first part of the question is in the negative. The second part does not arise.

COMPENSATION TO STAFF DUE TO THE STOPPAGE OF THE SIMLA EXODUS.

†331. ***Mr. Lalchand Navalrai:** (a) Is the Honourable the Home Member aware:

- (i) that the employees of the Government of India Secretariat are entitled to (1) compensatory allowance and (2) house allowance, during the summer season at Simla; and
- (ii) that, as a result of the partial stoppage of the exodus to Simla, those employees who will stay in Delhi permanently will be deprived of the concessions mentioned in part (a) above, in

†Answer to this question laid on the table, the questioner being absent.

addition to the loss of amenities enjoyed by them for a considerable number of years at Simla as a part of their condition of service?

(b) If the replies to parts (a) (i) and (ii) be in the affirmative, do Government contemplate giving the employees mentioned in part (a) (ii), any relief in view of the additional financial burden thrown on them by way of rent for their quarters during the summer season, by either reducing the maximum rent payable by them from ten per cent. to five per cent of their salary, as was done in the case of the employees of the Government of India Press, transferred from Calcutta to Delhi, or by the grant of some compensatory allowance, or both? If not, for what reasons?

The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell: This question should have been addressed to the Honourable Member in charge of the Department of Labour.

AMENDMENT OF RULES FOR THE GRANT OF TEMPORARY ADVANCES FROM THE GENERAL PROVIDENT FUND.

†332. *Maulvi Muhammad Abdul Ghani: Will the Honourable the Finance Member please state:

- (a) if the rules for the grant of temporary advances from the General Provident Fund have recently been amended making it difficult for subscribers to take advances from the Fund; if so, what are the reasons for the imposition of such restrictions;
- (b) if he is aware that on account of the refusal of applications for advances to meet obligatory expenses in connection with religious rites, such as, marriages of daughters, etc., according to one's social position, subscribers are compelled to borrow money from undesirable sources;
- (c) whether there are any orders of the Government of India requiring Government servants not to borrow money from undesirable sources;
- (d) if he is aware that owing to these restrictions, many subscribers are contemplating either to reduce or to stop their contribution to the General Provident Fund;
- (e) if it is a fact that the rules allow the grant of advances equivalent to more than three months' pay with the sanction of the Governor General in Council in the Finance Department;
- (f) whether the rules allow a discretion to the sanctioning authority in such matters;
- (g) whether it is a fact that up till now the discretion has never been used in favour of any subscriber;
- (h) if so, in what special circumstances it is the intention to exercise that discretion; and
- (i) whether the officers responsible for dealing with such matters are fully aware of the social conditions of Indians, and whether they take them into consideration when deciding such matters?

†Answer to this question laid on the table, the questioner being absent.

The Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman: (a) The primary object of the General Provident Fund is to ensure provision for the family of a subscriber in the event of his death in service, but the rules as they stood before amendment resulted in the depletion of balances and the defeat of this object and they have therefore been recently amended. The effect of those amendments is to specify definitely the purposes for which alone advances may be granted and to reserve for the decision of a higher authority applications for advances in excess of certain limits.

(b) I am not aware how subscribers meet the balance of their obligations if the advances permissible under the rules are inadequate.

(c) There are no such explicit orders, but the circumstances in which habitual indebtedness may justify dismissal are set out in rule 16 of the Government Servants' Conduct Rules.

(d) I have no information.

(e) The authority competent to sanction an advance of more than three months' pay is given in the Sixth Schedule to the General Provident Fund (Central Services) Rules. In some cases the competent authority is the Governor General in Council.

(f) Yes.

(g) and (h). The rules permit the sanction of an advance exceeding three months' pay for special reasons, and I have no grounds for supposing that, if these reasons exist, the competent authority has not in the past exercised that discretion or that he will not exercise it in future.

(i) Yes.

STOPPAGE OF LOCAL ALLOWANCE OF INFERIOR SERVANTS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

†333. *Mr. Lalchand Navalrai: Will the Honourable the Home Member be pleased to state if it is a fact that the local allowance paid to the inferior servants of the Government of India has been stopped? If so, why?

The Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman: With your permission, Sir, I shall reply to question No. 333 and parts (b), (c) and (d) of the succeeding question together. Under existing orders, inferior servants employed in the Government of India Secretariat and the offices attached thereto, who were hitherto entitled to the local allowance, will draw it upto 30th April, 1940. The question of its continuance beyond that date is under consideration.

Part (a) of question No. 334.—Government do not consider that the pay granted to their inferior servants is inadequate.

STOPPAGE OF LOCAL ALLOWANCE OF INFERIOR SERVANTS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

††334. *Mr. Lalchand Navalrai: (a) Is the Honourable the Home Member aware that the pay of the inferior servants of the Government of India is very low?

† Answer to this question laid on the table, the questioner being absent.

†† For answer to this question, see answer to question No. 333.

(b) Is he further aware that the stopping of local allowance of these poor employees will add much to their difficulties, particularly at a time when the prices of food stuff and other necessities of life are so high?

(c) Do Government propose to consider the desirability of reconsidering the case?

(d) If the answer to part (c) above be in the negative, how do Government propose to meet the grievances of the inferior servants, and how do Government propose to compensate them for their loss?

UNSTARRED QUESTION AND ANSWER.

IMPOSITION OF CIRCUMSTANCES AND PROPERTY TAX ON PERSONS SERVING UNDER THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT BY DISTRICT BOARDS IN THE UNITED PROVINCES.

65. Mr. Muhammad Azhar Ali: (a) Will the Honourable the Finance Member please refer to the reply given to unstarred question No. 37 on the 26th February, 1940, and to lay on the table the official letter to the Government of the United Provinces conveying the previous sanction of the Governor General?

(b) Will the Honourable Member please state whether it is a fact that the pay and allowances of an employee in the Central Services (residing during the course of the discharge of his obligation to those services in a rural area of a district board or of a local body) are not assessable to a "Tax on circumstances and property"?

The Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman: (a) No. The correspondence with the Provincial Government is confidential.

(b) The answer will depend on the terms of the provision made in this behalf in the relevant provincial law.

SHORT NOTICE QUESTION AND ANSWER.

CONGRESS WORKING COMMITTEE'S VIEW ON THE WAR.

Mr. F. E. James: Will the Honourable the Home Member be pleased to state what steps the Government of India are taking to counteract the view expressed by the Congress Working Committee that "Great Britain is carrying on the war fundamentally for imperialist ends and for the preservation and strengthening of her Empire which is based on the exploitation of the people of India as well as of other Asiatic and African countries",—a view which is being sedulously propagated in many parts of India and is of such material assistance to the enemy?

The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell: Since the Honourable Member has raised this question I am obliged to deal at some length with the allegations referred to. There is no shadow of foundation for those allegations, as will be perfectly clear from the repeated pronouncements of His Majesty's Ministers. It must be a matter of doubt how far their authors really believe in them, but in order that those who are prepared to study the question with an open mind may have an opportunity of forming correct opinions the Government of India have at all times done their best

to make available to the public all relevant facts regarding the war as expressed in official documents and statements made by responsible Ministers of His Majesty's Government. Much useful material of this kind will be found in Volume V and subsequent numbers of *Indian Information* which is in the Library of the House. But with particular reference to the allegation referred to in the question I should like to make one quotation with your permission, Sir, from the documents reproduced in the issue of *Indian Information*, dated the 15th September, 1939. These documents formed a record, which has been published in the form of a White Paper, of the correspondence between His Majesty's Government and the German Government which led up to the declaration of war. On August the 25th, Sir Neville Henderson, the British Ambassador in Berlin, had an interview with Her Hitler. I quote Sir Neville's words:

"The Fuhrer declared that the German-Polish problem must be solved and would be solved. He was however prepared and determined, after a solution of this problem, to approach England once more with a large, comprehensive offer He accepts the British Empire and is ready to pledge himself personally for its continued existence and to place the power of the German Reich at its disposal if one of his colonial demands, which is limited and can be negotiated by peaceful methods, is fulfilled, and in this case he is prepared to fix the longest time-limit The Fuhrer is ready to conclude agreements with England, which, as has already been emphasized, would not only guarantee the existence of the British Empire in all circumstances as far as Germany is concerned but also, if necessary, would assure to the British Empire German assistance regardless of where such assistance should be necessary."

To this unqualified guarantee to the British Empire, provided, of course, that Germany was given a free hand in Poland, His Majesty's Government replied, in a communication, dated August the 28th, as follows:

"The German Government will be aware that His Majesty's Government have obligations to Poland by which they are bound and which they intend to honour. They could not, for any advantage offered to Great Britain, acquiesce in a settlement which put in jeopardy the independence of the State to whom they have given their guarantee."

The correspondence I have just quoted will illustrate the type of proposition that the present enemies of the Empire were prepared to put to His Majesty's Government. It makes equally clear the attitude of His Majesty's Government towards a proposition that she should secure by agreement with a great military power at the expense of her formal undertakings to her allies "the preservation and strengthening of her Empire" without any need of fighting a war. I would repeat that there is no foundation whatever for the allegations referred to by the Honourable Member, which I would repudiate in the strongest terms. I must, however, agree with him that the dissemination of such propaganda is calculated to be of assistance to the enemy and I can only regret that such methods are followed in this country.

Mr. F. E. James: In view of the fact that the resolution to which I have referred in my question or the substance of it has been widely broadcast through the broadcasting agency of the Government of India, will the Honourable Member take steps to see that the rebuttal of this statement is as widely and as emphatically broadcast?

The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell: I will consider that suggestion in consultation with the Director General of Information.

Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad: What steps, if any, have the Government of India taken to correct this mis-statement of facts and the propaganda carried on?

The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell: As I have explained in answer to the question, the Government of India have done their best to bring the correct facts to the notice of the public, and this volume *Indian Information* to which I have referred is widely distributed to the press and has a very wide circulation.

Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad: Will they bring it to the notice of the public in simple language and not in the form referred to by the Honourable Member mentioning some books in the Library which will not be intelligible to the general public?

The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell: That was my object in quoting the precise passages to which I wished to draw special reference.

Pandit Krishna Kant Malaviya: May I suggest to the Honourable Member that broadcasting of these facts or carrying on propaganda will not help Government so long as people do not realise that Government really mean what they say and are willing to concede the people's demands? Our people cannot be made free before they can fight for the freedom of Poland.

The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell: That is an argument, Sir.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): That is an argument and not a question.

STATEMENTS LAID ON THE TABLE

Information promised in reply to unstarred question No. 14 asked by Mr. Muhammad Azhar Ali on the 9th February, 1940.

SCALES OF PAY OF STATION MASTERS ON THE EAST INDIAN RAILWAY.

(a) It is presumed that the Honourable Member refers to the Moradabad Division. There are two such posts.

(b) Moradabad and Bareilly.

(c) These posts are filled by selection irrespective of whether the employees selected are entitled to old East Indian Railway, or Oudh and Rohilkund Railway scales of pay.

Information promised in reply to starred question No. 77 asked by Mr. Lalchand Navalrai on the 14th February, 1940.

INCONVENIENCES AND IRREGULARITIES OF THE WORKING OF THE INCOME-TAX DEPARTMENT IN SIND.

(a) Yes. A report received from the Commissioner of Income-tax shows that the allegations of discourtesy against the Income-tax Officer are baseless and that instructions already issued to the income-tax authorities to give all reasonable help to the assesses in filling the form of return are being followed in Sind. The defects in the Act referred to in the editorial could only be removed by legislation.

(b) Yes. Instructions have been issued to the Income-tax Officers to assist such assesseees in the matter of making their returns and not to insist on the production of a profit and loss account or balance sheet in the case of small assesseees.

(c) Yes. Instructions have been issued that if regular and properly audited accounts are furnished in respect of incomes arising outside British India and the Income-tax Officer has no reason to believe that those accounts are incorrect, the foreign branch books should not be called for.

Information promised in reply to parts (a), (iv), (v) and (viii) of starred question No. 84, asked by Sardar Sant Singh on the 15th February, 1940.

PERSONS KIDNAPPED AND KILLED FROM BRITISH TERRITORY BY TRIBAL GANGS.

Serial No.	Serial No. given in the statement regarding persons kidnapped, etc., laid on the table on the 15th February, 1940	Name	Ransom said to have been demanded	Ransom claimed to have been paid	Compensation paid by Government to those who were forced to secure release by payment of ransom
1	2	3	4	5	6
			Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1	78	Uttam Chand . . .	..	2,005	..
2	82	Sham Das . . .	..	1,000	..
3	88	Bodh Raj . . .	..	705	..
4	81	Shivaram . . .	..	300	..
5	105	Gopal Dass . . .	..	650	400
6	159	Hari Singh . . .	..	3,000	1,500
7	114	* Mst. Bhagi Bai . . .	..	320	..
8	116	Chokha Ram . . .	..	600	..
9	107	Naunit Ram . . .	..	260	260
10	141	Khan Chand . . .	..	4,480	..
11	132	Murli Ram . . .	} 1,859 by Lal Chand only.	}	}
12	133	Bhola Ram . . .			
13	134	Nam Chand . . .			
14	135	Lal Chand . . .	} ..	}	}
15	136	Nad Lal . . .			
16	137	Lal Chand . . .				2,200

* Not Musammat Bhagan Bai as already intimated.

Serial No.	Serial No. given in the statement regarding persons kidnapped, etc., laid on the table on the 15th February, 1940	Name	Ransom said to have been demanded	Ransom claimed to have been paid	Compensation paid by Government to those who were forced to secure release by payment of ransom
1	2	3	4	5	6
			Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
17	1	Chhabil Lal	..	3,000	2,000
18	96	Vishan Das	..	600	600
19	Fresh	Chhabil Das	}	3,425	..
20	Fresh	Hukam Chand			
21	152	Bishan Das	}	650	..
22	146	Mst. Sundari			
23	151	Mst. Bhagwani				..	200	..

Information promised in reply to starred question No. 109 asked by Kunwar Hajee Isma'il, Ali Khan (on behalf of Mian Ghulam Kadir Muhammad Shahban) on the 15th February, 1940.

• BLOCK MAINTAINERS ON THE NORTH WESTERN RAILWAY.

(a) No. The designation 'Special Mistry' was changed to 'Block Maintainer' in 1928, and the scheme for appointing Block Maintainers was introduced in 1930.

(b) Block Maintainers were confirmed in 1936 from dates which varied in each case from 1928 onwards.

(c) Yes, from 24th December, 1934.

(d) Block Maintainers were classified as subordinates for the purpose of leave under the State Railway Leave Rules from the 24th December, 1934. Prior to this date they were classified as labourers.

(e) and (f). Because prior to the 24th December, 1934, they were classified as labourers, and Government are not prepared to give retrospective effect to the orders classifying them as subordinates.

(g) Block Maintainers were admitted to the Provident Fund with effect from the 1st August, 1934.

(h) The Honourable Member is referred to the reply to parts (e) and (f) above.

Information promised in reply to starred question No. 163 asked by Sardar Sant Singh on the 24th February, 1940.

SUPERVISORY STAFF FOR BUILDINGS IN CERTAIN OFFICES IN DELHI.

(a) A statement giving the information required by the Honourable Member is laid on the table.

(b) The reply to the first part of the question is in the affirmative. The second part, therefore, does not arise.

Statement.

Name of Office	Number and designation of the supervisory staff	Duties of the supervisory staff
Land and Development.	Two surveyors—one permanent and one temporary.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> (i) Outdoor inspection of buildings in progress to ensure that they conform to sanctioned plans. (ii) Checking of plans and specifications of buildings in office to ensure that they conform to lease conditions and Municipal Bye-laws.
Delhi Improvement Trust.	One Building Inspector and four Building Overseers.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> (i) To examine building plans with reference to the building bye-laws under the Punjab Municipal Act, and under the conditions of leases and submit their reports to scrutinising officers ; (ii) To watch buildings during construction and to report deviations from the sanctioned plans for necessary action ; (iii) To report unauthorised construction ; (iv) Other miscellaneous work connected with the administration of municipal bye-laws by the Trust ; (v) To report cases of encroachments on public roads ; (vi) Surveys and other miscellaneous work of a general kind. The Building Inspector checks the work of the building overseers and performs various other miscellaneous duties in connection with the administration of bye-laws under the Punjab Municipal Act and also in connection with the terms of the leases.
Delhi Municipal Committee.	4 Naib Tahsildars 8 Building Inspectors 14 Building Jamadars	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> (i) To examine building plans with reference to the building bye-laws under the Punjab Municipal Act and to submit their reports to the Committee. (ii) To watch buildings during construction and to report deviations from the sanctioned plans. (iii) To report unauthorised construction. (iv) Other miscellaneous work connected with the building, drainage and filtered water supply and other relevant bye-laws under the Punjab Municipal Act. (v) To report cases of encroachments on public roads

Information promised in reply to starred question No. 220 asked by Mr. H. M. Abdullah on the 27th February, 1940.

CLERKS RECRUITED DIRECT IN INTERMEDIATE GRADES ON THE NORTH WESTERN RAILWAY.

- (a) Eleven—three Hindus, seven Muslims and one Sikh.
(b) Five—one Hindu and four Muslims.

Information promised in reply to unstarred question No. 59 asked by Mr. Suryya Kumar Som on the 27th February, 1940.

PRICES FIXED FOR RULES AND REGULATIONS GOVERNING ESTABLISHMENT MATTERS OF SUBORDINATES ON STATE RAILWAYS.

Rules and regulations issued by the General Managers of the four State-managed Railways regarding non-gazetted services are for official use only and are not for sale, with the exception of the Walton Training School Calendar which contains certain rules regarding recruitment and training of staff and may be purchased from the Superintendent, Walton Training School, Lahore, and the Calendars of the Railway School of Transportation, Chandausi, and the Technical School, Jamalpur, which may be obtained from the East Indian Railway Press. Each of these publications costs one rupee, plus postage.

Information promised in reply to starred question No. 241 asked by Pandit Krishna Kant Malaviya on the 29th February, 1940.

PROMOTIONS OF OFFICIATING DIVISIONAL ACCOUNTANTS BY THE ACCOUNTANT GENERAL, BOMBAY.

- (a) Yes.
(b) Yes.
(c) Against temporary posts created for the Lloyd Barrage and Canals Construction, for other Divisions in the Presidency, and for the Bombay Development Scheme. It is not possible to state the specific vacancy against which each appointment was made.
(d) It is not possible to say so long after the event whether anyone was prejudicially affected by the Accountant General's orders.
(e) No order bearing the number referred to was issued by the Accountant General, Bombay.
(f) Does not arise.
(g) In view of the replies to clauses (c) and (d) above, Government do not consider it either necessary or advisable to reopen this case.

THE GENERAL BUDGET—LIST OF DEMANDS—*contd.*

SECOND STAGE—*contd.*

DEMAND NO. 12—EXECUTIVE COUNCIL—*contd.*

Forward Policy of the Government of India in the North-West Frontier Province—contd.

Pandit Krishna Kant Malaviya (Benares and Gorakhpur Divisions: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, the cut motions of the Muslim League can well be placed in the category of lovers' quarrels,—some strong words here and there, then sweet reasonableness, then requests for

better relations and hopes for better behaviour in the future. Sir, I was unfortunately not present here when my Honourable friend, Maulana Zafar Ali Khan, moved his motion the other day, but I have read the report of his speech in the two important dailies of Delhi. He is reported to have traced the history of this forward policy and said that the Congress left office because it was not consulted with regard to the declaration of the European war, but that there was a miniature war going on in the Frontier without consulting anybody in India. I did not know that the Muslim League thought it wise of the Congress to leave office, because it was not consulted about the war; as a matter of fact, they did not attach any importance to this grievance of the Congress. But if he thinks now that the ministries were right in resigning because they were not consulted, he should advise the Bengal and Punjab ministries to resign, because war has been declared on the Frontier without consulting them. But I know this was not meant seriously. He attributed these raids to the tribesmen resenting what they considered an effort to deprive them of the liberty which they had preserved through the ages. I think this is not correct. My friend seems to have rather hazy notions of the history of the Frontier Province. He then said that if one-tenth of what the Government were spending on the Frontier had been spent in building hospitals and schools peace would be restored on the borderland. If, as he assumes, those tribes are independent and are fighting for their liberty, with what grace can he ask the Government of India to open schools and hospitals there? He further said that Muslims were opposed to the forward policy and would like the war on the Frontier to be stopped at once. He knows his community well, but I can say that people who want another Ulster and Pakistan and the division of this country into Hindu and Muslim zones can only want the Frontier Province to remain an independent territory, but those Hindus and Muslims who have the interest of India at heart cannot but support the forward policy as the only logical policy to be pursued. The Maulana further said that peace in the borderland can be easily achieved and the remedy suggested by him was that Government should carve out a buffer State with a population of 30 lakhs and give it a subsidy. If these tribes are independent how can the Government of India carve out a buffer State? Recent events have proved the creation of buffer States to be an unsound policy as it is the creation of buffer States which has given rise to the wars in Europe today. At the same time if they are to be independent and to be treated as buffer States with what logic can he suggest to the Government of India to grant them a subsidy or subvention? In the end he asked that Government should give an assurance to the Faqir of Ipi that England was not inimical but rather friendly to Islam and that the Government forces would be withdrawn as soon as peace was restored. I thought the Maulana said that these people were fighting for their liberty. I never thought they would give up this fight if an assurance is given that Government were friendly to Islam. Another paper reports the Maulana asked for a definite assurance that the campaign was in the nature of disciplinary action and that it was not the intention to annex Waziristan and deprive the Pathans of their independence. He forgets that disciplinary action can only be taken against a subordinate body but it cannot be taken if the tribes are independent. And how does the question of annexation arise when the territories were annexed long ago? It seems to me that the

[Pandit Krishna Kant Malaviya.]

Maulana's zeal has outrun his discretion and the whole speech is the result of muddled thinking, bad logic and poor knowledge of history.

Maulana Zafar Ali Khan (East Central Punjab: Muhammadan): From the point of view of the Hindu Mahasabha.

Pandit Krishna Kant Malaviya: The Maulana may say what he chooses, but I can say with more truth that he represents the views of those who believe in Pakistan. Recriminations do not solve the problem. The question has to be considered from the point of view of the true interests of India. As regards history, let us have a peep into history and trace when these tribes were independent. During the Hindu period, not only the Frontier Province but Kabul, Samarkand and Tashkand formed part of India.

Captain Sardar Sir Sher Muhammad Khan: There were no Muslims then.

Mr. M. S. Aney (Berar: Non-Muhammadan): It is Islam that creates divisions?

Pandit Krishna Kant Malaviya: Then, the Frontier Province formed part of the Kingdom of Jaisalmer. When invaders attacked India, there is nothing on record to prove that the tribes inhabiting the Frontier Province stood against those invaders. If they had been independent, if they had been patriotic, the result would have been that they would have put up a fight against the invaders but they did not. During the time of the Moghul period, in the time of Akbar as well as in the time of Aurangzeb—his commander-in-chief, Raja Yashwant Singh held his court in Kabul and he was Governor there. Even as late as yesterday, when Sikhs were ruling in the Punjab, the Sikhs ruled the Frontier Province and Kabul. Even today Afghan and Pathan mothers persuade their children not to cry and go to sleep by saying Harising Nalua is coming. I do not know from what history my Honourable friend gets the knowledge that the Frontier Province was ever an independent province.

An Honourable Member: From Congress history.

Pandit Krishna Kant Malaviya: If you had believed in Congress history, we would not be in the position we are in today. However, when the Britishers began to conquer this country, bit by bit, they got full sway over the country only in 1857. They were then busy consolidating their power and they were busy with internal affairs and, naturally, they could not do anything so far as the Frontier Province was concerned.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Honourable Member has two minutes more.

Pandit Krishna Kant Malaviya: In 1987, 30 years after as soon as they were settled the then Government of India wrote to the Punjab Government to push the policy forward. This is how the name of forward

policy has been given to this policy. The British inherited the Punjab and the Frontier from the Sikhs whose Raj extended up to Kabul. The British inherited this territory of the Frontier from the Sikhs and it is wrong to assume that these people were ever independent. I want to say that all that is happening in the Frontier Province is due to the weak milk and water policy of the Government of India. I can say this that all the previous Viceroys who have been here have all along been wrongly advised by their military experts. Modern military strategy and policy does not consist in massing troops and accumulating targets for the enemy. Modern tactics aim at diminishing national vulnerability. Have these military advisers ever heard the name of "Blitzkreig"?

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Honourable Member's time is up.

Pandit Krishna Kant Malaviya: I will finish this sentence. I will only say that I have been to this Frontier Province and I have been assured by the military authorities that they can bring peace and order in the Frontier Province within a month. Their difficulty is that the Government of India do not want it.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Honourable Member cannot have any more time.

Pandit Krishna Kant Malaviya: I support the Forward Policy, because that is the only logical policy.

Major Nawab Sir Ahmad Nawaz Khan (Nominated Non-Official): I rise to thank my friend, Maulana Zafar Ali Khan, for giving me an opportunity to inform the House of the real state of affairs in the Tribal area in the North-West Frontier Province affecting the independence of the tribes or the forward policy of the Government. I quite agree with the historical statement that from a very very long time, say from time immemorial, these tribes have been quite independent. They have been having a war-like life or leading a peaceful life and they have not been subject to any king or a ruling chief of their own or belonging to any other power. History shows this one thing. He will agree with me that history shows that these tribes have never had any tribal king or chief or a separate ruler. They were quite independent and free tribes, which proves that the British Government also wish to keep them in the same free and independent freedom. I assure him and the House that the British Government have not up to the present time interfered with their freedom and independence which means that the tribes are free and independent in their domestic life, their religious life and their customary law. They had never the right to make their treaties or make war with any ruler of a state or kingdom or annex other territories with their country, as sometimes the independent kings and rulers did or do. That state of freedom and independence, which these tribes enjoyed in the past, still exists there. Since the British Government annexed the Punjab in 1849 up to now, the British Government have maintained these tribes in the same independence and freedom and so far as my personal knowledge goes, none of the Chief Commissioners or the Governors of the North-West Frontier Province or the Lieut.-Governors

[Major Nawab Sir Ahmad Nawaz Khan.]

of the Punjab have ever intended to alter that independence or freedom unless and until that freedom becomes a source of very great troubles and crimes such as raids or kidnapping, murder and dacoities to other subjects of His Majesty's Government in the adjoining district, where as you daily see now in the newspapers, these raids, dacoities and kidnapping have been committed. It is due to their crimes that sometimes, occasionally, the British Government, when they fail after giving them their private advice, consultation or persuasion, that they send an expeditionary force. The first expedition, which was led against these Mahsuds, so far as my memory serves me, was in 1860, and since then, if you will see the list of those expeditions, you will find that it was only when their crimes accumulated to so much extent that there was no other resource left but to send an expeditionary force, that such a force was sent.

Now, every Muslim or non-Muslim Member who wishes to support the independence and freedom of those tribes will surely agree with me that such action should be taken for the safety and protection of Indian life and property in the settled districts of the North-West Frontier Province. Those tribes are again divided into sections and sub-sections; so, when the tribal people of different sections come down, as you read in the newspapers, say to Bannu, Dera Ismail Khan and the Kohat districts and kidnap and murder poor innocent Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs, men, women and children, then there is only one course left for the Government to protect the life and property of His Majesty's subjects in North-West Frontier Province and to punish the law breakers and maintain the full independence of the tribes as some of my Honourable friends wish. Is it also the duty of the Government to sit silent and watch such crimes and say or do nothing? I think no Honourable Member will tolerate that kind of independence or freedom not only for the tribes but even for their neighbours in any province. If the Government for a few years wait, then all the Honourable Members or the Indian Press at once criticise the British Government for weakness and silence or for great favouritism towards the tribes and some very clever extremist comes forward with such argument that, oh, it is the British Government that is doing all those things so as to create Hindu-Muslim disunity amongst the Indians. Then others say, "no, no", then others reply "the Government persuade the tribes because the Government are so mighty, cannot they manage to control the tribes?" All right, then when the British Government start an expedition to punish or control the tribes, and at once a hue and cry comes from another section of the Indian Press that it is the forward policy, that this is interference in the tribal areas, it is this thing and that thing. I cannot understand this logic. While these tribes kidnap women and children and murder men in the settled districts and if the Government remains for a short time silent, then the Government is blamed. If the Government go into the tribal territory and punish those *badmashes*, well, then too the British Government is blamed and some ones cry that this is a forward policy,—it is interference. I cannot understand, Sir, what policy then should the Government follow. I would request my Honourable friends and especially Maulana Zafar Ali Khan that he and they may kindly go to the top-leaders of India, say Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah, consult them and ask them to produce a joint scheme for the sake of interference or non-interference with the tribes and the properties of men, women and children in the North-West Frontier Province and produce it at the next session of September, 1940, here, as a practical thing. . .

Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan (Agra Division: Muhammadan Rural): Has the Honourable Member tried this himself? Have you tried it yourself when you met Mr. Gandhi?

Major Nawab Sir Ahmad Nawaz Khan: If the Honourable Members will kindly hear me, then at the end of my speech I am quite ready to give any answer that the Honourable Member wants, in the lobby. The time is so very short for my speech. (Interruptions).

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Honourable Members ought not to interrupt.

Major Nawab Sir Ahmad Nawaz Khan: The real independence and the real freedom which those people ever enjoyed from the time of Alexander the Great or the Moghuls they still enjoy but only on one condition of remaining peaceful. Even in the time of Alexander or the Moghuls none did tolerate all these crimes of the tribes who came and kidnapped and murdered people and committed dacoities in the settled districts. Such independence or freedom was never granted to those tribes, nor can it now be given under any scheme that can be produced by Honourable Members or even by my Honourable friend, Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan. He will never allow those tribes to come forward and commit these things.

There is another point. Sometimes people criticise the forward policy. To my knowledge, it is not that kind of forward policy which many Honourable Members seem to feel. Long ago the British Government had a close border policy, which was this, that whenever those tribes committed any crime, the British forces—the constabulary or police—followed them and when there was a demarcation of the line, which was called the *pathar* or stone line, as soon as the tribes entered that line the British forces stopped and could not pursue them further. So that policy of the Government could not bring about the desired effect upon the tribes. Then, it was after consultation with these people in the settled districts, and at that time it was part of the Punjab, that it was decided that our forces should not stop at that *pathar* or stone line but should go into that country further. So that change was called the forward policy, and it is very much mistaken to think that it was for annexation—as Germany has annexed Poland to Germany; it was not that kind of forward policy. Later on, when that policy failed and could not bring about the desired result, then there was a third kind of policy which was called “peaceful penetration” and that is the policy for the construction of roads and cantonments. Such construction of roads and cantonments was not for interfering in the tribes’ religious, customary or social laws, customs or their internal affairs. When the previous policies not having had the desired effect, then the question arose as to what should be done? So it was thought that it should be done in this way that in the heart of the country there should be cantonments. If those tribes attacked the British settled districts, then they should be pressed by two sides. . . .

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Honourable Member has two minutes more to finish his speech.

Major Nawab Sir Ahmad Nawaz Khan: So I will be rather quick now. The cantonments or the roads are not for the sake of any territorial advantage; they are simply for the sake of the maintenance of peace and

[Major Nawab Sir Ahmad Nawaz Khan.]

order, and as my friend, Maulana Zafar Ali Khan, has suggested, that the British Government should have hospitals and schools there, so for that purpose it is also necessary that for the protection of them there should be cantonments and roads there. Without these, you cannot go there. So if those tribes do not attack the people in the settled districts, so far as my personal knowledge goes, I may safely and surely say that the intention of the British Government is not to interfere with their proper, legitimate independence and freedom and anything else. But no Government will tolerate them if they do attack us and nobody can say that then they should not be punished. The real policy of the British Government is to keep friendly relations with the tribes and to make them as peaceful and prosperous as possible within their own tribal limits and not to allow them to attack the settled districts. I hope I have convinced the Honourable Mover of this cut motion that the policy of the British Government is satisfactory but I cannot request him to withdraw his motion because I know he will not do so. Sir, I oppose this motion.

Maulvi Syed Murtuza Sahib Bahadur (South Madras: Muhammadan): Mr. President, I rise to whole-heartedly support the cut motion made the other day by Maulana Zafar Ali Khan.

A voice: What about the Persian couplet?

Maulvi Syed Murtuza Sahib Bahadur: A friend of mine wants that I should recite a Persian couplet. This I will do. The other day when Sir James Grigg was the Finance Member, he set apart about 25 lakhs for constructing roads or rather for making inroads into the tribal area. Even then, I rose to oppose it and at that time I recited this couplet which I repeat today:

*"Kare khud kun, kare begana makun,
Bar zamine decgaran, khana makun."*

The meaning of it is that "you had better mind your own business and should not meddle with the affairs of others. In other words it is not advisable on your part to put up constructions on the lands belonging to others". Sir, the whole trouble has cropped up this way. There is no doubt that the Wazirs, the Mahsuds and the Afridis are the first class fighters in the whole world. They love their religion, their honour and freedom more than they love their own lives. This is a fact which cannot be gain-said by such historians as Malaviyaji and others. These Pathans do not like the interference of the Government in any way. They are leading very simple and happy life but they do not like that they should be interfered with in the enjoyment of their freedom. Now, the forward policy is the outcome of a desire on the part of the Government to undermine their independent spirit. In this connection, I have to refute the argument of my Honourable friend, the Panditji, that these tribal areas were for some time under others, particularly the Sikhs. It is quite obvious that he does not know the history of these tribal areas. The inhabitants of this area were never under any Government. They were never under the Sikhs, nor were they even under the Amir of Kabul. They have always been enjoying freedom and liberty at the cost of their lives. (Interruption.) A friend of mine says that they have been enjoying freedom at the cost of others, by which he means that about 400 crores of Indian money has been spent over the maintenance of law there. But who ever asked the Government

of India to spend any sum over that area? Leave them alone. If they make any raid or any inroad, they should be properly brought to book.

Major Nawab Sir Ahmad Nawaz Khan (The Honourable Member was not in his seat): How? That is the question. Produce a scheme in September next.

Maulvi Syed Murtuza Sahib Bahadur: Even now a scheme can be formulated. (More interruptions from Major Nawab Sir Ahmad Nawaz Khan.)

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Honourable Member is not in his seat, and he should not interrupt the Honourable Member who is speaking.

Maulvi Syed Murtuza Sahib Bahadur: The policy which has been resorted to by the Government of India has proved disastrous to their own Government. How much money is being spent every day even now? The state of affairs there is not what it ought to be. The Government of India have unnecessarily involved themselves in difficulties, worries and anxieties. They have also involved the Wazirs into trouble and they are spending a lot. So, the forward policy cannot but be condemned by all of us. Of course, there may be some Indians who are in favour of this policy. I do not know their political creed. But I know this much that the Hindu Mahasabha has passed a resolution to the effect that this forward policy should be adhered to, and Pandit Krishna Kant Malaviya as their spokesman has advocated the cause of the forward policy.

Mr. M. S. Aney: I want to assure my Honourable friend that the Panditji does not belong to the Hindu Mahasabha.

Maulvi Syed Murtuza Sahib Bahadur: I have not said that he belongs to the Hindu Mahasabha. Whether he belongs to it or not, he has given expression to the ideas of the Hindu Mahasabha. That cannot be denied. First of all, the Punjab Hindu Mahasabha passed a resolution advocating the cause of the forward policy. The same was endorsed by the All-India Hindu Mahasabha. But the Congressites, the Muslim Leaguers and I may say even the Members of the European Group do not like this forward policy. It is a mere waste of Indian money. Of course, the Panditji may not care for it.

Bhai Parma Nand (West Punjab: Non-Muhammadan): Where is the resolution of the Hindu Mahasabha or the Punjab Hindu Mahasabha advocating the forward policy? There is no such resolution.

Maulvi Syed Murtuza Sahib Bahadur: You had better contradict it through the press. Unfortunately, I am not in possession of those resolutions, but if my Honourable friend, Bhai Parma Nand, is very keen on getting a copy of those resolutions, I will furnish him with the copies of those resolutions which are to the effect that this forward policy should be pursued.

Now, Sir, the Panditji attacked my friend, Maulana Zafar Ali Khan, on the ground that his argument was not based on logic or on history and it was not a sound argument. Then may I ask what kind of history does he want to prove and say that the tribal area never enjoyed full freedom?

[Maulvi Syed Murtuza Sahib Bahadur.]

Then he unsuccessfully tried to prove that the Pathans were unpatriotic, that they did not withstand the onward march of the invaders and so they deserved no sympathy. That is really a strange logic. So far as patriotism is concerned, may I ask my Honourable friend, Pandit Krishna Kant Malaviya, as to whether it is not unpatriotic and want of historical knowledge to say that these tribal areas never enjoyed freedom and consequently they don't deserve to be free? If we follow that logic strictly, we, in British India, do not deserve any freedom, nor are we justified in asking for complete independence. When we are asking for Dominion Status or complete independence, how are we justified in denying the same privileges to the tribal areas who have been enjoying freedom for centuries? By the very religion which these tribal people follow they value their independence more than their lives. So far as my Honourable friend, Major Nawab Sir Ahmad Nawaz Khan, is concerned, the House of course is alive to the fact that as the nominated spokesman of the Government he generally overdoes his duty. Sir, with these words, I resume my seat.

Sardar Sant Singh (West Punjab : Sikh) : Sir, at this time the importance of a decisive policy in regard to the tribal areas cannot be gainsaid. The importance of this policy is much greater today than ever before. The unrest in the tribal areas and the abnormal increase in the raids and the bloody nature of them that have taken place in the settled districts of the North-West Frontier Province naturally has drawn the attention of the remotest quarters of India towards the present system of administration as regards the tribal areas. My Honourable friend, Maulvi Syed Murtuza Sahib Bahadur, just now said that the European Group also is against this forward policy.

Maulvi Syed Murtuza Sahib Bahadur: I said 'may be against'.

Sardar Sant Singh: In order to convince my Honourable friend of the attitude of Europeans in this country, I will just read a short extract from the *Times of India* :

"Since Waziristan was hopefully transferred from military to political control last April there have been 143 trans-border raids up to the end of January last. No less than 161 men, women and children were kidnapped, of whom, it is believed, the release of 134 was secured either by pressure or by ransom. A hundred and four people were killed in the same period, 41 being harmless civilians and the remainder personnel either of the regular troops or of the civil defence forces. Thirty-nine out of 214 wounded were also civilians. There have been no less than 17 further major incidents this month".

Recently we have seen one of the most respected and popular officer of the Indian Medical Service, Major Duggal, kidnapped and I do not know whether my information is correct—I speak subject to correction—I understand that about 34 or 35 Maliks had to be released and a large ransom had to be paid before the release of Major Duggal could be secured.

Mr. O. K. Caroe (Secretary, External Affairs Department) : It is not true that ransom was paid.

Sardar Sant Singh: I am glad that there is a contradiction. The public will be disillusioned now. However, later on the buses conveying British troops were stopped on the road side and officers of the Government

were kidnapped. Therefore, under the circumstances, if we want to bring to bear a calm and cool consideration about this policy, we will be justified in doing so, more particularly today when war is going on in Europe and there is a danger that the enemies with whom England is fighting today may use this tribal area as a base for their agitation and possible invasion of India. Under these circumstances, I will request my Honourable friends of the Muslim League not to look at it from a communal point of view, but to look at it from a broader point of view.

My Honourable friend, Maulana Zafar Ali Khan, the other day challenged me saying that I advocated certain strong measures. I told him that I never did it. I look at the problem entirely from an Indian point of view. (Applause.) I am glad that I find approval from unexpected quarters. However I find that my Honourable friend wants to make the tribal area into an independent buffer State. May I ask him what he means by independence, in connection with tribal areas? Is this independence worth anything when the tribal area has been accepting subsidy from the Indian Government? Is this the sort of independence for the tribal area which has been accepting bribes and subsidies from the neighbouring British India, which my Honourable friends demand? If my Honourable friend's conception of independence is of this variety, then I am not prepared to accept independence for India even.

Sir Syed Baza Ali (Cities of the United Provinces : Muhammadan Urban) : It will be independence of the same sort as that which the Congress demands.

Sardar Sant Singh : Then, I am glad that we both differ entirely from that point of view. There is no independence or character among the people who carry on their blood feuds and who depend upon Indian money for their living, so that they may not raid the settled districts. This is slavery of the worst sort and this sort of independence I cannot understand.

Another point which my Honourable friend brought about was that hospitals should be established. What is this independence which demands hospitals and other civilised amenities to be provided by a neighbouring country?

An Honourable Member : From a humanitarian point of view.

Mr. F. E. James (Madras : European) : They will enjoy the benefits of independence of the hospital variety.

Sardar Sant Singh : This is the independence which the patient enjoys in the hospital. I fail to appreciate this sort of independence for the tribal areas.

Another point referred to by my Honourable friend, Maulvi Syed Murtuza Sahib Bahadur, is that these tribal areas were never under the Sikh rule. I wish him to study Sikh history. In 1820, Peshawar, which was then part of the tribal districts, was conquered by the Sikhs for the first time. The land beyond the banks of the Indus came under Sikh sovereignty.

Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan : Peshawar was not in the tribal territory.

Sardar Sant Singh: It remained with the Kabul Government for several centuries and it was brought back to India in 1823 by the first conquest of the Sikhs. After that a tribal area chief was appointed to carry on the Government on behalf of the Sikhs.

An Honourable Member: Not at all.

Sardar Sant Singh: I wish my Honourable friend would go to the Library and read the history wherein he will find that an attempt was made to govern the area beyond the Indus by appointing local Chiefs as feudatories to the Sikh Raj and, later on, in 1836, the Sikh took the Government of Peshawar, Kohat, Bannu and the reins of government of my Honourable friend's ancestors were taken over by the Sikh Chiefs. However that is past history which can be learnt by reading a few extracts from any book on the Government of the Sikhs of this province.

As regards the contest between the forward policy and the close border policy, my Honourable friend the representative of the Frontier Province has given a complete reply. Here the raids have become so many and so numerous that some steps have to be taken. In 1906, this forward policy was advocated by Sir Henry Dean, the Chief Commissioner, who wrote that he advocated a forward policy on the ground that the attempts to maintain peaceful relations with the Mahsuds had resulted in inordinate expense and a widespread conspiracy to terrorise Government by assassination. The same thing is re-occurring today. Again Mr. Barton (afterwards Sir William Barton) said that "any sort of moral or material progress was next to impossible without a forward policy". The opinions of these two high authorities have proved to be correct when we review the history of these tribal areas up till now. The tribal areas were not so threatening to the peace of the British districts as they have become since this forward policy has been given up. Even today the attempt that is being made to clear up this hill—I forget the name of it now—has resulted in some sort of security. Therefore, I would suggest to my friends, the Members of the Muslim League, to think like an Indian and always have the interests of India most at heart. I will close my speech by repeating the couplet which my friend, Syed Murtuza Sahib, has quoted :

"Kare khud kun, Kare digran makun".

Think and attempt for the complete independence of India : do not
12 Noon. talk of the independence of the tribal areas : first secure your
own independence before you secure anything for others.

Mr. O. K. Caroe: Sir, as I was listening to the debate and to the many quotations from Persian poets, I have been reminded of a poem by a previous Law Member of the Government of India—a very simple poem—"Those behind cried 'forward!' And those before cried 'back!'" This immense problem of the North-West Frontier tribes comes before this House year after year, and I should like to assure the House that I, personally, am the last man to be complacent. I feel that there is no ground for complacency at the present moment, and I have no desire to be dogmatic about forward or any other kind of policy. But surely, as my Honourable friend, Sardar Sant Singh, said, it is the duty of any government to secure the lives and the liberty and the honour of the persons, men, women and children, residing in British India. The figures which my Honourable

friend has quoted and the figures which I have given in reply to questions in this House show that that object during the past few months is not being achieved. I do not wish to quote statistics but any one who is acquainted, and well-acquainted with the situation in the Derajat—that is to say, the districts bordering on Waziristan—can point to facts in the course of the last twenty-five years or so in which a loss of control over the tribal areas has led to an immense increase in raiding and in the insecurity of the districts; and it was because of the intolerable raiding which took place there during and after the third Afghan War that the Government of India had to make up their mind to attempt a closer control, but without interfering with the internal arrangements of the tribesmen.

Now, Sir, I yield to no man in my affection for and admiration for the Pathans. I have spent almost the whole of my working life amongst Pathans and I admire their personal loyalty to their friends, their hospitality and their warm-heartedness and their response to a leader. But, Sir, all races have the defects of their qualities. The Honourable the Mover of this motion the other day said that we, I think meaning the British, had an extraordinary failing, that we always turned our friends into our foes. He did not remember, to digress for a moment, the case of Turkey, to which he himself is fond of referring. But leaving aside that digression, the tribes of the North-West Frontier have sometimes been described as uncivilised. The Honourable Member who moved this resolution himself spoke of them as wild. They have the defects of their qualities. I wish to weigh my words, but they have intolerance of other men and of other creeds; and in order to control these tendencies and to safeguard the lives and honour of Indians who reside in the districts, it is essential to curb these propensities. I would rather say that the tribes are in the tribal state of civilisation and have the great qualities and the great failings of that state of civilisation

Maulana Zafar Ali Khan: They are more civilised than us.

Mr. O. K. Caroe: There is another aspect of this matter which has been emphasised before to this House by more than one of my predecessors. For good or for ill, the international frontier of India was drawn along with Durand Line including those tribes in India juridically, though not in British India. But internationally they are part of India and for that reason it is necessary that any attempt made by the tribes to upset their neighbours on the other side of the international frontier should be controlled

Maulana Zafar Ali Khan: May I ask whether this Durand Line is co-terminous with the boundary of Afghanistan?

Mr. O. K. Caroe: Yes; the Durand Line is the boundary between India and Afghanistan, and it is necessary that the Government of India should control any movements by the tribes which may be directed against the stability of our neighbour. On more than one occasion in the last two or three years, attempts have been made from a base in this tribal territory to interfere with the stability of our neighbour

Maulana Zafar Ali Khan: Is not Afghanistan capable of taking care of itself?

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): If the Honourable Member wishes to put any question, he must go back to his seat.

Mr. O. K. Caroe: It has become necessary, therefore, to control such movements and to assist our neighbour by so doing. The argument has been used that the limited control which has been set up in the tribal areas is the reason for the raiding into British India. If that were so, how could we explain movements from that same tribal area in the other direction? I feel tempted to use my Honourable friend, Mr. Aney's metaphor, about the cat out of the bag.

The Honourable the Mover of this motion asked for assurances. I have tried to make clear that it is not the object of the Government of India to interfere with the internal regulation and management by the tribes themselves of their own affairs. All that it is desired to do is to secure peace. We have no intention of setting up administration in Waziristan or other parts of the tribal area. We must, however, when from a refuge in the hills—if any Honourable Member has been in Bannu he will know that the hills overlook Bannu from three or four miles away and that the raiding gangs issue from caves in those hills and descend on the city and villages and the robber must be followed to his lair and prevented from his robberies. Schools and hospitals have been discussed. I should like to point out that during these disturbances the tribes themselves have burnt more than one school. They have also descended on hospitals and even stolen the bedding. I do not wish to infer that schools and hospitals and the extension of beneficent activities are not a most desirable end but only to point to the difficulties in the extension of civilising influences among the tribes. When one thinks of the alternative, the close border policy as it has sometimes been called, one has to remember that these tribes are, as the Maulana Sahib himself said, homogeneous with the tribes in the North-West Frontier Province. For instance, the Afridis do all their marketing in Peshawar. They come down every winter. The Orakzais go to Thal and Hangu and Kohat. The Wazirs—their metropolis is Bannu—and that of the Mahsuds Tank. It is not possible to keep men away from their economic centres, nor would it be in our view desirable. They are within the Indian economic system. Surely, the ideal should be that they should eventually and freely come within the Indian economic and political system.

I have had many appeals, printed and other, from various sufferers from these raids during the last few months. Some of them are rather communally minded, and others are I think on broader lines. But all of them are instinct with feeling. I have one here which is signed by a number of well-known people in Bannu. It is at first addressed to the newspapers in India and then proceeds to single out the leading political parties, such as, the Congress, the Muslim League, the Jamiat-ul-Ulema, the Hindu Mahasabha, and then at the end it appeals for the support of the Legislature. It seems to me that the order should be reversed. If this House could only show clearly that it was behind the efforts for the maintenance of order on this Frontier, much would have been achieved. One of my predecessors, Sir Arthur Parsons, said in this House two and a half years ago, referring to the opposition at that time, that there was scarcely any action of theirs which was not designed to bring law and order into contempt on this Frontier, and he wished to warn the Opposition that their turn would come and they would then find that they were reaping the whirlwind.

We are now in the midst of a great war and we have been told on the highest authority, and we ourselves understand, that no man can predict the issue. It is for us to join our ranks, to avoid sectionalism and to see that all forces and interests in India stand together to meet the dangers that are before us and that the house in which we live is not divided against itself. It is in the belief that, incomplete and imperfect as our policy is at present, it is intended to achieve the ideal which I saw quoted in a speech in London by a prominent Labour politician,—that it should be not domination, but civilisation that we seek, and that this should be done by the establishment of justice, the promotion of liberty and the ensuring of peace,—that I wish to oppose this motion.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The question is:

“That the demand under the head ‘Executive Council’ be reduced by Rs. 100.”

The motion was negatived.

Government of India's Policy re-Recognition of Unions.

Mr. Muhammad Nauman (Patna and Chota Nagpur *cum* Orissa : Muhammadan): Sir, I beg to move:

“That the demand under the head ‘Executive Council’ be reduced by Rs. 100.”

This is probably for the first time in the history of this Assembly that a motion of this nature is being moved in this House and Honourable Members will realise the depth of the feeling of the elected side of the House who have felt that strong constitutional action is unavoidable and must be taken in regard to this matter. The plea has been put forward that Government Departments cannot recognise unions on a communal basis. On the one hand, division of communities is so numerous in India that existence of unions by communities is practically impossible. This pretext has been found out chiefly to put away the Muslim claims and ignore the Muslim unions and Muslim associations, particularly those organised in the Department of the Railways, Post Offices, and other Government Departments.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Chair wishes to remind the Honourable Member that the Congress Nationalist Party is to begin their motion at 12-30 P.M. So, he must finish his speech by that time.

Mr. Muhammad Nauman: Very well, Sir. It has been stated and proved to the hilt that the Mussalmans form a nation by themselves. They co-operate with their Hindu friends, the Sikhs, the Christians, and all other sections of people living in this continent much in the same way as the British co-operate with the French, or Turkey co-operates with the Britishers, with a separate national identity for themselves, claiming to be a separate nation, and maintaining a separate identity in all the activities. Simply because we inhabit this country we cannot be expected to have submerged our separate identity. Our separate identity has been accepted in the constitution by separate electorates to themselves and there can be no reason why Government of India should find out a pretext

[Mr. Muhammad Nauman.]

or ground to refuse recognition and say that Muslim unions could not be recognised because they were communal bodies. Are the claims of ninety millions of Muslims to be ignored and refused for any longer period? I hope not, Sir.

When the Government of India have accepted the principle of Muslims having a right to have a separate existence and a separate electorate of their own, there is no reason why Government Departments should refuse the recognition of Muslim unions maintained by Muslims as a distinctively separate organisation and who want to keep up their separate identity. We have this unfortunate experience of refusal particularly with regard to the Railway Unions, the Muslim Railway Employees Association, Delhi, and the Muslim Railway Employees Welfare League at Calcutta. Whenever their office-bearers sent correspondence directly to authorities, the plea was taken by the General Managers and others that the Unions were not recognised and that the Government of India were not prepared to recognise unions on communal lines. I want to impress this fact upon the Members of the Railway Board and others that there is no sense in refusing recognition when separate electorate has been maintained. Suggestion was made by responsible Government Members that if we amalgamated our association with other people like the Anglo-Indians or the Hindus, we would have no difficulties in getting the unions recognised. We have consistently refused to do so and reasons are obvious, whether you recognise the unions or not. We are trying to lodge our protest in the most constitutional manner which is open to us and if the Government of India are not prepared to accept our point of view even at this stage, I must say, they will have to take serious consequences on themselves. This is not a new thing. In Holland and other places in the early days of formation of trade unions every effort had been made even by the State to restrict and prohibit establishment of labour unions by means of legislation and by providing penalties for membership, but what happened? Unions were organised and established and the employers had to yield. In England they have a Jews' Union which is based on absolutely religious basis and they are recognised. In Calcutta as well the Muslim Chamber of Commerce got its recognition as a Muslim traders organisation. In this connection, I want to cite examples of few other European countries. As I have not got time for details I would only refer to a book which has been compiled by Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad. You will find this on page 259:

"Even in an advanced country like Germany, there have been three main trade organisations known as :

- (1) Allgemeinen Deutsche Gewerkschaft Bund or (A. D. G. B.) which had about 8 million members.
- (2) Christian Union whose members are Roman Catholics and it has over one million members.
- (3) National Trade Union popularly known as Hirsch-Duncker-schaft which had about one quarter million members."

I think the Honourable Member will realise that in other countries it is not prohibited to have unions of a particular class or of people of a particular faith. They do not say that a certain union cannot be recognised because a certain section of the people have organised it and its membership is limited.

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow (Member for Railways and Communications): It is not prohibited here.

Mr. Muhammad Nauman: I do not want to say more on this except that these unions must be recognised if they are registered and based on the same lines as the Act of 1926 requires. The Act does not debar a particular class of people from having their own unions. The purpose of the union is to ventilate the particular grievances of individuals or a class of individuals and also of a particular class of people who may be serving there. It cannot be said that the grievances of Hindus, Muslims, Christians and others are always identical. It is quite possible that Muslim grievances as a nation may be of quite a different character. For instance, take the question of holidays, the particular days and times of prayer. In these and many other instances, the grievances of the Muslim employees as a whole are entirely different from those of other sections of people, like Hindus or Sikhs. In that case how can the Government of India and their responsible Members go on consistently refusing recognition of Muslim unions on the pretext that they remain to be communal bodies. By moving this on behalf of my Party we now take the highest constitutional method open to us to impress on the Government that the time has come when this plea should be forgotten and Muslim organisations should be given recognition as such. With these few words, as I had only six minutes allotted to me, I move the motion in my name.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Kahim): Cut motion moved:

“That the demand under the head ‘Executive Council’ be reduced by Rs. 100.”

Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad (United Provinces Southern Divisions: Muhammadan Rural): Any one who has followed the history of the development of Unions in various countries will notice that they have passed through different stages before the ideal was achieved. The ideal union is the one composed entirely of persons engaged in that particular trade. In the ideal union no outsider is permitted. A person who is not in the trade cannot be a member or a spokesman of a union but before that stage is reached, you will find that they passed through various stages, and I do not know whether the ideal stage has been reached in any country. Sir, if you read history, you will find that in intermediary stages communal unions had been recognised and even in advanced countries like England, where no communal things are possible, the bakers had a communal union consisting of Jews alone. The communal unions were recognised in the earlier stages in every country. People formed these unions on different lines. They were not intended originally to represent their cases to the employers or to have a pitched battle with them. That is not entirely the object of these trade unions. There should be some kind of corporate life. Personal trade interest and social intercourse between themselves always move side by side. Now, what objections can there be if one may form a union consisting only of persons who are above six feet, or over two maunds in weight? What is the harm in saying that no person should be a member unless he is of a particular colour—a particular shade of whiteness or blackness? What is the harm in any one forming a union in which he has got a particular opinion about politics or religion or any other matter? You cannot dictate that persons following a particular faith should not form a union of their own.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Honourable Member has to terminate his speech now.

Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad: I will continue it on the occasion of the Finance Bill.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): Mr. Aney will now move his motion No. 45.

War Aims of the British Government.

Mr. M. S. Aney: Sir, I move:

"That the demand under the head 'Executive Council' be reduced by Re. 1"—(To discuss the unsatisfactory nature of declaration regarding the refusal of British Government to declare their war aims and their effect on the political status of India and non-insistence of Government of India to obtain such a declaration.)

Sir, the motion which I have just moved raises an issue of vital importance to the people of India as well as to the people of the United Kingdom. It requires to be seriously, dispassionately and immediately tackled and decided by His Majesty's Government and the Government of India. Delay must inevitably result in the deterioration of the situation which may, in all probability, render an amicable settlement extremely difficult, if not impossible in the future. That is my main reason for raising the issue for discussion now. If I mistake not, the Government of India, I think, have not so far made any authoritative statement of their position on this matter on the floor of this House.

Sir, I do not want to go in detail into the causes that led to the declaration of war by England and France against Germany. It is generally conceded that the territorial distribution made by the Treaty of Versailles and various other iniquitous conditions imposed by the victors upon the vanquished had been resented by the people of Germany, and since the assumption of power by Hitler and the Nazis in that country demands are being persistently made to undo what they regard as a great wrong done to them. Certain territories such as Danzig and the Polish Corridor have been the subject matter of dispute between them and Poland. In September last matters were brought to a crisis. All negotiations for an amicable settlement of the issue had, according to the opinion of the British Government, become impossible, as part of the Polish territory was invaded by Germany. There was thus a state of war between Poland and Germany: and France and the United Kingdom declared war against Germany to carry out the pledges given to the Government of Poland in their various treaties. Immediately on the declaration of war important communiqués were published in England and in India and all over the British Empire with detailed circumstances that led to the unfortunate decision. In those communiqués and subsequent pronouncements made by the Prime Minister and His Excellency the Viceroy certain principles were enunciated as being the basic principles underlying the declaration of hostilities with Germany. I have not before me the precise text of the various communiqués and the pronouncements made but, I think, I am fairly right in summarizing them in the following words:

"This war was a war for the safety of democracy. It was against Hitler and Nazism and not against the people of Germany. It was for the protection of the liberty of Poland and other small nations whose existence was guaranteed under the terms of collective security. It was for the vindication of the principle of arbitration as against that of brute force in the settlement of international disputes."

And some other minor points were also referred to. Those were the major principles underlying those pronouncements. The effect of the enunciation of those lofty principles was the enlistment, for the time being, of the sympathy of a considerable part of the civilized world for the cause for which the United Kingdom and France had to take up arms against Germany. Sir, it is truly tragic that notwithstanding the active participation in the war on her behalf by the United Kingdom and France, Poland was completely crushed within a few weeks by Germany and was even partitioned between Germany and Russia without any substantial assistance being given to that State by either of her great allies.

The Russian intervention in the war on behalf of Germany was indeed, in my opinion, the triumph of German diplomacy and it is likely to have far-reaching effects on the frontiers of India even. It is fraught with potentialities of a dangerous nature and I am sure that the British Government must have been fully alive to them. This war becomes a live problem for the Government of India and for the people of India more on account of this Russian intervention than for any other thing. Sir, soon after the declaration of war His Excellency the Viceroy invited the leading public men of the country and interviewed them. His Excellency must have been flooded over with suggestions for securing the active and effective co-operation of the people of India for the successful prosecution of the present war. I will try to give in brief what I have tried to gather from the utterances and pronouncements of public men as the various important points insisted upon by most representative bodies such as the Indian National Congress, the All-India Muslim League, the Hindu Mahasabha and so on. I find that all of them first expressed their sympathy with the objects for which the Allies have declared war and even wished them success. That was the first reaction that I observed. I also find that there was a discordant and jarring note struck by an important section of Indian politicians, both Hindus and Muhammadans, *viz.*, with regard to the fact of involving India in this war without the consent of her representatives in the legislatures or probably even its duly constituted executive Government itself. The difference between the position of India and other self-governing dominions thus became obvious to every one. The Dominions joined the war upon being consulted: India was dragged into it; they had the choice to join or not; India had none. That was the position. It was very often stated by one of the Secretaries of State on the floor of the House of Commons that though India had no Dominion Status conferred by any parliamentary Statute, yet there was Dominion Status in action, and, Sir, a reference was even made in this connection to the participation by the representatives of the Government of India in Imperial Conferences and in the international Conferences held under the auspices of the League of Nations, but the differential manner in which Dominions like Canada, the South African Union, and Australia were invited to shoulder the responsibility for the Imperial war—and I deliberately use the word "Imperial" in spite of the explanation given by the Honourable the Home Member on the floor of this House in reply to a question, I won't say an inspired question by my Honourable friend. Mr. James

Mr. F. E. James: Inspired by the Congress.

Mr. M. S. Aney: I am glad my Honourable friend admits anyway that it was inspired.

Mr. F. E. James: Like your speech.

Mr. M. S. Aney: My speech is certainly inspired by Congress ideals and I am not ashamed of owning them; in respect of those ideals I shall stand by them. And the way in which this country was called upon to enter the war will leave no doubt in the minds of people how the plea of Dominion Status in action was simply hollow and bogus. There was intense resentment at this exhibition of our humiliating position before the world. India was tied, as it were, to the chariot wheels of an Empire and had no independent and free existence of her own either to think or to act. This had a very baneful effect on the public men who had agreed to shoulder the responsibilities of running what was described as the Governments of autonomous provinces. The powers which belonged to the Government were taken away by the Acts of the Parliament in more than one way and also by Orders-in-Council and they were reduced to the position of subordinate administrations in certain matters. They were to carry out the orders of the Government during the period of hostilities. It is true that the Provincial Governments under the control of the National Congress continued to function for some time in the hope that the interviews which His Excellency the Viceroy had with the leaders of various organisations and public bodies in the country may result in the recognition of the legitimate and just rights of the people of India by His Majesty's Government.

The third thing I find is that all the leading parties offered a sort of additional co-operation to the Government. When I carefully read the resolutions of the Working Committees of the Indian National Congress, of the Muslim League and the Hindu Mahasabha, I clearly and unmistakably read in them all an important reservation. It is that cheerful and active co-operation and support for the successful prosecution of the war by the classes and masses of India can be had on the fulfilment of certain conditions by His Majesty's Government immediately and in the near future. There is a spirit of profound discontent with the existing political relations between England and India and an immediate revision of the same is demanded by them all. That is a common factor of which the Government ought to take serious notice.

I find also that the people of India are not prepared to accept the *bona fides* of the British Government when they declare that they are fighting the present war for the establishment of the principle of democracy and for the protection of liberty and freedom of Poland and other small nations so long as they are not prepared to recognise the rights of India to be a free nation in clear and unequivocal terms.

I find that India stands for self-determination. The late Lokmanya Tilak, of hallowed memory, had to lead an Indian deputation to England under the circumstances in which we find ourselves today when the last European War was going on. At that time, in his famous letter to President Wilson of the United States of America, whose intervention on behalf of the Allies turned the scales of war in favour of the Allies, he emphatically demanded the application of the principle of self-determination for India. The pronouncement of some of the leading statesmen even gave grounds to hope that it may be generously conceded. But the British statesmen, later on, put their own constructions and denied the right of India to determine and frame her own constitution and foisted on them the Government of India Act of 1919 which, for the first time, introduced

the principle of partial responsibility in the sphere of Provincial Governments. To my mind, the demand of the Congress today for the constitution of a Constituent Assembly on a broad franchise is nothing more than the reiteration of the same old claim which is now certainly overdue. I venture to say that the Indian politicians including the Congressmen, the Muslim Leaguers and the Mahasabhaistes, would be prepared to consider any other alternative that may be suggested by the British statesmen, either as a substitute or as an alternative for the Constituent Assembly provided it is not radically inconsistent with the principle of self-determination. That is a legitimate right which no foreign power has a right to withhold from a civilized people like the Indians and at the same time demand their co-operation in a war which is being ostensibly fought for the emancipation of Poland and certain other European States. Sir, the question is whether the principles enunciated by the British Government as the war aims are meant to be confined to European nations or are they to be extended to apply to all the civilized countries of Asia, who happen to exist in the Asiatic Empires of England and France? That is the crux of the situation. England has to make up its mind on this point once and for ever if it wants to carry with her the people of India in the prosecution of the war. The principles may have no meaning to the people of India if their actual application and extension is denied to them. India has raised a moral issue of first magnitude for England to solve. History will judge England by her success or failure to solve this issue.

I also find that the granting of the demand of India for self-determination, self-expression and independence is a necessary corollary to the position taken by the British Government for many years in the past. In 1911, 1920, 1935 and half a century before that, efforts were being made by Parliament to lead India, so to say, on the path of self-government. I maintain without hesitation and without any fear of contradiction that Great Britain must recognise that the period of keeping India in tutelage and holding the strings of Indian progress in her hands has some definite time-limit. If England only recognises this fact, however unpleasant it may appear for the present, Indian problem will be very much nearer solution and the co-operation of her people can be assured.

Sir, I find that the bogie of the problem of minorities and particularly that of Hindu-Muslim unity is not deemed sufficient and proper excuse for indefinitely delaying the recognition of the right of independence and the creation of a machinery to frame the constitution immediately after the cessation of the hostilities.

Sir Syed Raza Ali: What does independence mean?

Mr. M. S. Aney: I am sure my Honourable friend who has worked as an Ambassador for India in South Africa should have some idea as to what independence means. I have a limited time at my disposal and, therefore, I cannot enter into the expostulation of independence.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Honourable Member should not be interrupted.

Mr. M. S. Aney: In this connection, I want to make a pointed reference to one important principle to which the British Government is definitely and rightly committed by the passing of the Government of India Act of

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1935. The principle is that India is one indivisible nation having no doubt several important minorities to protect within her border. That principle is the basic principle of the Government of India Act of 1935. My Muhammadan brethren constitute, no doubt, an important minority and they are entitled to claim proper and adequate safeguards for the protection of their culture and language. I maintain this position and I state this on the principle underlying the Government of India Act, 1935, itself. They cannot take any other stand. (Interruptions.) I do admit that they are entitled to claim for the protection of their culture, language, observance of religious rites and usages and their personal laws. The British Government must not allow any fissiparous tendencies to grow. The task of dividing India into two or three nations and the formation of these separate and free nations into an artificial federation is a mischievous cry which must not be allowed or connived at or in any way encouraged but should be put down with a strong hand. Let the Government also take note of the fact that the creation of vested interests in the political atmosphere in the name of Communal Awards and communal decisions is wholly incompatible with the conception of India as one indivisible nation.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Honourable Member's time is up.

Mr. M. S. Aney: I will finish my speech with one sentence with your permission.

It is not yet too late to improve the situation. But if things be allowed to drift and not handled in a statesmanlike spirit, a shot may be fired, the Rubican may be crossed and the inevitable follow. The whole nation may be plunged in a disorder and chaos; and it may be a decade, if not more, before order and cosmos can be restored. I do hope that statesmanship will triumph and that the catastrophe which I see impending before me on account of the delaying tactics of the Government of India will be yet averted. With these words, I move my motion.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): Cut motion moved:

"That the demand under the head 'Executive Council' be reduced by Re. 1."

Mr. Akhil Chandra Datta (Chittagong and Rajshahi Divisions: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, the general case of India as regards the present political situation has been so ably presented by my Leader, Mr. Aney, that I do not venture to touch upon that aspect of the question any more, for to add anything to it would really mar it.

I shall deal with the other question which occurs towards the end of the motion namely, "the non-insistence of the Government of India to obtain a declaration about war aims". Sir, ever since the declaration of the war, the Government of India have come up before this House with all sorts of measures, both political and financial for the successful prosecution of the war. To begin with, the Defence of India Act was passed and the rules thereunder. On the financial side, the sugar duty and, the petrol duty have been enhanced and the Excess Profits Duty Bill is now pending before the Legislature. All these measures are designed for the successful prosecution of the war. As has been correctly said by my

Honourable leader, up to now the Government of India said not a word in this House about the war aims of Great Britain. If you want our men, money and materials, we have a right to know what is it that you are fighting for. We are all familiar with the slogan of the last War. The slogan of freedom, democracy, self-determination and so on and so forth. These slogans are also now being repeated on this occasion. But our difficulty is this. The slogans of 1914 were trampled under foot. Therefore the question arises now as to what is the intention of England in prosecuting this war and what is the intention of the British Government with regard to the application of those war aims to India? Now, Sir, on this point I shall confine myself to what has happened between the Congress on the one side and the British Government on the other as regards the question of peace aims and war aims. The Congress demand is not for any constitutional change during the war. The Congress have not claimed that. They only want that the British Government should make a declaration of their war aims, and a declaration as to whether those principles of self-determination and democracy will be applied to India or not. Of course, the Congress have said also that they will not be satisfied with mere declaration of these intentions, but that they want a little more because, very unfortunately, it is a matter of great profound regret both to the United Kingdom and India that we, the people of India, have lost faith in mere promises and assurances. Therefore the Congress want something more than a mere declaration. The Congress want the utmost possible advance to be made in that direction during the war.

I want to give in precise and chronological order the history of this controversy ever since the declaration of the war. First of all, the Congress Working Committee wanted a declaration as regards the aims and intentions of the British Government and whether those aims and principles will be applied to India or will be applied only to the smaller nations of Europe. Now, Sir, that demand was reiterated by the All-India Congress Committee on 10th October. The Viceroy gave his reply to that demand on the 18th October saying:

"I am authorised by His Majesty's Government to say that at the end of the war they would be very willing to enter into consultations with representatives of the several communities, parties and interests in India and with the Indian Princes with a view to securing their aid and co-operation in framing such modifications as may seem desirable."

Every word, every comma and semi-colon is carefully worded. That was the reply to the Congress demand for a declaration of the intentions of England.

The Congress Working Committee immediately held its meeting, four days after that, namely, October 22nd, and pronounced their opinion on on the Viceregal statement "as an unequivocal reiteration of the old imperialistic policy". Then, Sir, as is well known, some talk took place between the Viceroy of India and the President of the Congress and it was followed by the Viceroy's letter to the President of the Congress and to Mahatma Gandhi. That was on 2nd November, 1939. His Excellency the Viceroy put into concrete form his propositions and they were two-fold. Firstly, an *ad hoc* arrangement—a make-shift arrangement—for the period of the war, that is the inclusion of a number of party leaders into the executive Government. This is proposal number 1. His proposal number

[Mr. Akhil Chandra Datta.]

2 was that he repeated the proposal of constitutional reforms at the end of the war. This was the same declaration which was made in his earlier statement of the 18th of October. The President of the Congress gave his reply to the Viceroy to the effect that the Congress did not get its reply to the demand for a clarification of the war aims. Later on, on the 28rd November the Working Committee passed a Resolution which *inter alia* said:

“ The answer to this demand has been entirely unsatisfactory and an attempt has been made on behalf of the British Government to create misunderstandings and to befog the main and moral issue. In justification of this refusal to make a declaration in terms of the Working committee's resolution, communal pleas have been advanced and the rights of minorities and of the Princes pleaded as a barrier to India's freedom The committee can only interpret this attempt to avoid a statement of war aims and Indian freedom by taking shelter under irrelevant issues. as a desire to maintain imperialist domination in India in alliance with the reactionary elements in the country.”

That was in November. Then we come to the most momentous Viceregal pronouncement at Bombay on the 9th of January at 1 P.M. the Orient Club. There he stated in so many words “I make this pronouncement in response to the request for clarification of the aims of His Majesty's Government and of their intention towards India”. He said that the ultimate objective was full Dominion Status of the Westminster type,—the ultimate objective and not the immediate objective. Secondly, he said that for the intermediate period—mark the very carefully-weighed words—they were ready to consider the reopening of the scheme of the Act of 1935 after the war with the aid of Indian opinion. Thirdly, that in the meantime there would be an expansion of the Executive Council by the inclusion of a small number of political leaders in the Viceroy's Executive Council; and, lastly, some practical difficulties were emphasised which stood in the way of the immediate acceptance of the claims of the Congress. There were some further talks and then came the pronouncement of the Secretary of State on the 10th February. There again the difficulties were emphasised and the sum and substance of the pronouncement of the Secretary of State was that so far as the question of self-determination is concerned that cannot be granted to India: the constitution of India must be framed by Great Britain and not by India.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Honourable Member has two minutes more.

Mr. Akhil Chandra Datta: So Britain says India's constitution must be framed by Britain and India says that the constitution is to be framed by India. The result is a deadlock and the constitution under the Act of 1935 has been suspended in the Provinces excepting only two or three.

So far as the present cut motion is concerned the most pertinent portion is that which relates to the insistence on the Government of India to obtain a declaration. So far as the Government of India are concerned, those gentlemen over there, sitting comfortably in their seats, think that I am saying all sorts of impossible things. But one question they should ask themselves, and that is, are they here only to ask for men and money? They do not feel they have any other duty towards the people of India.

All this controversy is going on in the country, but with supreme indifference and contempt they are sitting tight in their seats and they are concerned only with a Bill for Excess Profits Tax and Sugar and Defence of India Act and Defence of India Rules and persecution of people in their normal activities in the name of war emergency. Sir, I support the motion.

Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan: Sir, this cut has been moved by the Leader of a Party which, unfortunately, does not stick to its own principles, as the debate on the last cut motion fully revealed. That shows that they are not very serious. If they were serious about the liberty and freedom of their own country, they should not have shown such scant regard for the freedom and liberty of others whose freedom they said in the last debate should be taken away. If they wanted freedom they should respect freedom of others.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Honourable Member need not discuss the past nor allude to the debate on the previous motion.

Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan: The Mover of this cut pointed out that the British Government had laid down the principle that they were fighting this war for democracy, they were fighting only Hitlerism and not the German people, they were fighting to defend smaller nations against the aggression of bigger nations, they were fighting for methods of persuasion as against brute force. I had hoped that the Honourable the Mover and this Party would have advocated these principles some time ago. It has been said that India was not consulted, before joining this war, as the Dominions were consulted. I say India was fully consulted. When Italy went to fight against Abyssinia, when Japan started war against China, when Germany attacked Czecho-Slovakia, this country as one man stood up and asked the British Government to fight against aggression wherever it took place. Here there was no time for the British Government to delay. So this theory that India was not consulted is only the manufacture of those who wanted to absent themselves from this House on any small pretext. India's self-determination is advocated by those who do not want to come here but want that everything should be done outside this House and they should be invited for consultations with the Viceroy. India's self-determination as voiced by that Party can never be self-determination for India as a whole. Because that Party is numerically strong they want to dictate to the British Government and crush those who are numerically less than them. That is repudiated by all the minority communities in this country. . . .

Sardar Sant Singh: Who says that?

Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan: Excepting my friend, Sardar Sant Singh.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Honourable Member must not go on interrupting.

Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan: Self-determination must be by India as a whole and not by India as represented by one political party. It was said that Muslims are a minority and they should be given full protection for their religion, culture and legitimate interests. I do not know who is to decide what is legitimate and what is illegitimate. If this is to be left by us in the hands of the Congress or of Mahatma Gandhi or the Congress High Command, I say that the Muslims as one man repudiate it and they will never agree to leave their fate in the hands of the Congress or its High Command or of Mahatma Gandhi or whoever may represent it.

They want that their fate should be decided by themselves and not by others in this country. A Constituent Assembly has been so much spoken of outside this House as well as great stress laid upon it by my Honourable friend, the Mover of the cut. The Constituent Assembly has been rejected by the whole country on the ground that it is nothing but a trap for minorities and that it has got force merely as a catchword and has nothing alluring behind it. It has got nothing except that the Congress by numerical strength may come to dictate on account of their claim that they have got more heads to count. We can never agree to this Constituent Assembly or anything of that sort to decide our fate. My reply or the reply of the Muslim League is this. If the Hindus and the majority in the country are represented by the Congress as claimed by the Congress, then that Congress is itself the Constituent Assembly and what decision have they come to? How have they decided up to now to deal with the minority problem? A few years ago Mahatma Gandhi sat down in London and he wanted to give a blank cheque to the Mussalmans. Then came my Honourable friend, Sardar Sant Singh's class and the whole thing fell through on account of one vote in the Punjab. These are things which are being ignored and are being told to the people in Europe that they do not exist. But they exist, and as long as we do not settle the differences between ourselves then Great Britain can only impose,—it was a farce to say that the Communal Award should not have come. When these people could not come to any understanding between themselves the result was that the award was given by somebody else. And now we find the Honourable the Mover of the cut denouncing the Communal Award. The Communal Award is the outcome of our not coming to a settlement between ourselves. My Honourable friend says that a great responsibility lies on Great Britain to solve this issue of enormous magnitude. If it is of enormous magnitude, why leave it to Great Britain? Why don't my friends come together and join their heads together

An Honourable Member: They will get broken.

Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan: and settle the differences. My Honourable friend is afraid that if he will join his head with mine his head will be broken. If that be so, then I say nothing can be done. We should not ignore facts and unless we settle our differences ourselves, we can never achieve anything; on the other hand, we will always remain the slave as we are today, and there is no way out of it.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Honourable Member can continue his speech after Lunch. He has five minutes more left.

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

The Assembly re-assembled after Lunch at Half Past Two of the Clock, Mr. Deputy President (Mr. Akhil Chandra Datta) in the Chair.

Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan: When the House adjourned for Lunch, I was dealing with the question of what the Muslims of India would like, as far as the question of their being considered as a minority community is concerned. The Mussalmans hold that though numerically a minority, they are not a real political minority and they will never accept the proposition that politically they are a minority.

Sardar Sant Singh: Since when?

Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan: Since they got the experience of the Congress administration in eight provinces and that has opened their eyes as to how a numerical majority can deal with a numerical minority and the Muslims have got their own culture and tradition. They have ruled this country for 900 years and they were last rulers of this country before the British came in.

An Honourable Member: I deny that.

Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan: The Sikhs may have been the holders of a portion of India but the Mahrattas were never the rulers. They were something else. I do not want to go into that question. The Muslims are not a minority in the sense in which it is understood in Europe and the great propaganda which is carried on by the Congress Press and through the Congress organisations in order to impress upon the Europeans and the British, who are not really aware of the conditions existing in this country, has got to be repudiated through the columns of the Debates of this House and that is

Mr. M. S. Aney: that the Muslims are a nation?

Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan: They have got an exclusive civilisation of their own and that civilisation is shared by all the Mussalmans all over India, combined with the Muslims of other countries, but I leave that point.

Mr. Deputy President (Mr. Akhil Chandra Datta): The Honourable Member has two minutes.

Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan: My friend says that India is an indivisible whole. I repudiate this. India is not an indivisible whole. What has a frontier man in common with a Bengali? What connection has a Punjabee got with the Madrasi? Are they the same race? Do they speak the same language, wear the same dress and eat the same food, do they have the same features or colour? No. The Punjabees, the Madrasis and the Bengalies are absolutely different from each other. Therefore, India cannot be called an indivisible whole. India is geographically one, because it is under the rule of the British Government which is the only unifying factor and which has brought all the country under one umbrella. Besides this, there is nothing in common in one province with the other and, therefore, India is really a Continent and not a country. Therefore, it can be

[Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan.]

divided and it is divisible and that theory of indivisibility at once goes away. My friend said—what are the other minorities doing? I say, even the Princes will be in a minority under the constitution which my friends want to impose on them. They will be in a minority and they will never consent to that because the Rajkot affair has opened their eyes and they will no longer succumb to this propaganda which is carried on by the Congress machinery in England.

Mr. Deputy President (Mr. Akhil Chandra Datta): The Honourable Member's time is up.

Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan: I oppose this motion and I think that nothing will be gained by moving this, unless we come to a settlement between ourselves.

Mr. Muhammad Muazzam Sahib Bahadur (Nominated Non-Official): Sir, the cut motion as framed reads thus:

"To discuss the unsatisfactory nature of declaration regarding the refusal of British Government to declare their war aims".

I suppose the answer to that is simple enough. If we ask the British Government what their war aims are, the answer will be—to win the war. That is their aim. My friend has added on to that "and their effect on the political status of India". The complaint of Mr. Aney, the Mover of this cut motion, is that the British Government have not made a declaration in the present crisis as to what their idea is regarding the grant of more privileges and rights to the Indian people. Sir, quite apart from the fact that a war is now on, may I ask my friend, Mr. Aney, as to how we are situated in this country—divided as we are by barriers of religion into large compartmental groups. Call them nationalists or by any other name you like. Now the Indian National Congress claims to be a national institution. We all know the character of that institution and if I have any complaint to make, it is against the Government of India, because they are allowing this pretence, this farce to continue. They know that the organisation which is called or which is calling itself the Indian National Congress is on the face of it and to the very core a communal organisation and how long are you going to carry on this farce? It appears to me that the attempt to blend democracy with autoocracy has resulted in precipitating hypocrisy on both sides. I say that the Congress claim to nationalism is only a profession and my complaint is not against His Majesty's Government because their opinion is guided mostly by the Indian newspapers of which my Hindu friends can claim a majority. We, the Mussalmans of India, have not one English daily newspaper to speak of and as such British public opinion is naturally moulded on the lines that if there is any community in India worth speaking of, it is the Hindu community.

An Honourable Member: Why don't you start a paper?

Mr. Muhammad Muazzam Sahib Bahadur: I am taking the facts as they are. I do blame myself and my community but I take the facts as they are. You cannot get away from the facts and situated as we are without any newspaper to back us and finding, as we do, that British public opinion is carried away by the Hindu press, my complaint is against the

Government of India. I ask them why they continue this farce for any length of time? They know that the Indian National Congress is not a national body. As a matter of fact, it strikes me, whenever I come to this House and see my friends, Sardar Sant Singh and Mr. Aney calling themselves Congress Nationalists, that the organisation known as the Indian National Congress is really a communal organisation. Otherwise, why should this Party call itself "the Congress Nationalist Party"? It is a simple question.

Mr. M. S. Aney: Unfortunately, I have no opportunity to reply.

Sardar Sant Singh: There is always a bliss in ignorance.

Mr. Muhammad Muazzam Sahib Bahadur: They call themselves "nationalists" which implies that there are certain Congressmen who are communalists, and that, I think, can only be the Indian National Congress and it cannot be any other Party. Sir, if you analyse the facts just preceding the outbreak of hostilities, you will find that England has been forced, as a matter of fact for her very existence, to take up hostilities against Germany and she could not do otherwise. That fact is clear, *viz.*, that England has been forced into it to save herself,—and the other fact is that the interests of Indians are so indissolubly bound up with those of England that we cannot be lookers-on in this fight. We cannot. If England, unfortunately, falls, we fall with her too,—never mind about Dominion Status which might be granted to us after a short interval of time, but I think the longer the better, because, as I said, unless each one of us, Hindu, Muslim, Sikh and Parsi, begins to have a national outlook nothing should be done. As a matter of fact, I know what nationalism means, but I have not seen it actually working! (Interruptions.)

Those friends of mine call themselves nationalists, but the moment they get down from the platform I know what stuff they are made of! That is my experience. I am speaking from my heart. So, in these circumstances, when we have not got a national outlook, I think it is the imperative duty of the Government to train us to have that nationalism, to prepare us for this federation, to prepare us for Dominion Status. My Honourable friend, Mr. Aney, said, that the proposal put forward by Mr. Gandhi for a constituent assembly would satisfy all parties. I would say, certainly not; it will not satisfy the Muslim minority,—and we as a minority are not a minority quite to be neglected;—as the Honourable the President of this Chamber said on a memorable occasion in his address at Aligarh, it is a minority which the majority, if it attempts to swallow it, will stick in their throat. It is a huge minority, not a small minority, and as such, any attempt on the part of the Hindu majority to ride roughshod over our rights and not to give us that consideration which we deserve is bound to be fruitless. I think no good can come of a constitution framed on the lines which the Indian National Congress puts forward—neglecting all other rights, the rights of all other minority communities, such as the Depressed Classes, the Parsis, the Indian Christians . . .

Captain Sardar Sir Sher Muhammad Khan (Nominated Non-Official):
. and the Sikhs.

Mr. Muhammad Muazzam Sahib Bahadur: The Sikhs are Hindus: as a matter of fact for one purpose they are Hindus and for another purpose they are Sikhs, according as it suits them.

Sardar Sant Singh: You talk many things which are incorrect; you indulge in many inaccuracies.

Mr. Muhammad Muazzam Sahib Bahadur: We have heard that song sung in this House

Sardar Sant Singh: And you will hear more often very soon.

Mr. Muhammad Muazzam Sahib Bahadur: So that is my trouble. It is this, that unless Great Britain trains us on the lines of nationalism, nationalism of the type which exists in Egypt, for instance,—nothing can be done. Now, in Egypt, there is a conglomeration of races and I am told on very high authority that there are a number of races, probably far more than in India, but yet there is that feeling of nationalism permeating the whole population which I am sure you do not find in any place in this country. There is no place for nationalism in this country so far. The time may come when we may develop it

Mr. M. S. Aney: It can never come so long as you are there.

Mr. Muhammad Muazzam Sahib Bahadur: My friend, Mr. Aney, is of the same type. On the platform he is a nationalist but once he comes down from the platform,—there, that is what he is. I have posed as nationalist sometimes. I myself have done that. Of course, you have a right to represent your nationality. Sir, I do feel that to ask for steps to be taken by the British Government at this juncture, in this crisis, for granting to India full Dominion Status of the Westminster variety or any other sinister variety, and placed as they are in this crisis, is not at all opportune. I would just ask my friend, Mr. Aney, to reverse the position,—to visualize how he would feel if he were in the position of the British people with this crisis on. We have got to consider these things and in an emergency like this when England is far more than fighting for humanity, fighting for her very existence, this cut motion, I say, is very inopportune and a matter like this ought to be deferred for at least for another quarter of a century.

Mr. P. J. Griffiths (Assam: European): Mr. Deputy President, in rising to oppose the cut motion moved by my Honourable friend, Mr. Aney, I must begin by congratulating him on the studied moderation of the language employed by him. But lest that studied moderation should serve its own purpose of making the worse appear the better reason, I would like to remind Honourable Members of this House that in this particular matter Mr. Aney is the unconscious instrument through which speaks the harsh and less moderate voice of the Congress Party and I must also remind them that the spirit underlying this cut motion is a spirit engendered by that Party which, today, is conspicuous by its absence and which, in the future, will have bitter cause to be deeply ashamed of the part which it played in this great international crisis.

The motion itself seeks in its terms to censure His Majesty's Government for their failure to define Britain's war aims in regard to India. It would not be difficult to traverse that motion by arguing that the issuing of abstract statements and detailed definitions of aims and objects never has been the way by which Britain has sought to achieve its desired ends. One could go on to argue that least of all in a time of war, when the energies of all should be concentrated upon the one task of beating the

enemy, least of all would it be suitable at that time for Great Britain to issue a highly metaphysical statement,—which, of necessity, would be interpreted in one way by the Congress Nationalist Party, in another way by the Muslim League and in a third way by the Congress Party

Sardar Sant Singh: May I ask my Honourable friend one question? Does he not know that at the Imperial Conference of 1916 definition of Dominion Status was insisted upon by Dominion Ministers and that Dominion Status had to be defined during the middle of the war?

Mr. P. J. Griffiths: I must congratulate my Honourable friend on being so far in advance of his times as to refer to the Imperial Conference (if I heard him correctly) of 1960! I shall not, however, attempt to shelter under a technical argument of that nature. I will assume that the gravamen of the present charge is that there is something fundamentally inconsistent between Britain's professed war aims and the conduct of Britain in this country. That charge takes two different forms in different quarters. From one quarter we are told that Britain's war aims are not in fact sincere, that Britain is really fighting for selfish and imperialistic ends. From another quarter we are told:

"yes, we are quite prepared to agree that your war aims are sincere enough, but when you come to India you apply different standards from those which you adopt, elsewhere, and there is a radical inconsistency between what you are doing here and what you are doing in Europe."

Before we can start any profitable discussion on a question of this nature it is essential to make sure that we are quite certain that we are both seeing the picture against the same background. For my own part, when I look at the picture of India today, I see two factors most prominent in that background. They are factors which are vital to any consideration of the relations between Britain and India. They are the factors of safety and of freedom. I cannot help reminding myself that at a time when most of the world is in danger of a great cataclysm, we here, thanks to the Imperial connection, live in safety, carry out our everyday business and suffer practically no disturbance in our day to day routine. I cannot forget that at a time when thousands of people in many parts of the world are living in daily terror, terror of air raids, dread of invasion by land and by sea, we here are so secure behind the wall of British Imperialism that we are apt to forget the nightmare and the horror which are stalking abroad in other parts of the world. The second factor which we must bear in mind, if we are to appreciate the relations between Britain and India, is the remarkable degree of personal freedom which exists in this country today.

On the morning of the 2nd of March when I opened my *Statesman* and read the Resolution of the Congress Working Committee, I realised, as I had never realised before, the degree to which personal freedom had been carried in this country. When I read that Resolution impugning the motives of the British Empire, suggesting that we were fighting not for law and order but for our own selfish ends I cast my mind back through history and I asked myself one question. I asked myself: Was there ever any other Empire of which it could have been said that the love of freedom was carried so far that, while that Empire was engaged in a life and death struggle, a prominent political party could, with impunity and without hesitation, commit itself to the view that it wholly disagreed with the aims

[Mr. P. J. Griffiths.]

for which the Empire was fighting? As I read that Resolution, I said to myself: The Empire does stand for freedom and this very freedom, the existence of which is proved by the possibility of this Resolution, carries, on the face of it, the refutation of the charge that our policy in this country is inconsistent with the aims for which we stand in Europe. But if I may say so, the very question as to what are the war aims of Britain is based on a fundamental misunderstanding of the position. If I were to embark voluntarily on an enterprise, you would be entitled to ask me what my aims were. If Mr. Aney and I decided jointly to open a shop—let us say a tea shop, since tea is perhaps the one thing really worth selling, you could reasonably ask us what are your aims? But suppose Mr. Aney were sitting peacefully in his shop in the village and were attacked by dacoits—or suppose that his friends in the house next door were attacked by dacoits, would there be any sense in asking him: Please tell us what your aims are in resisting those dacoits? Would it really be reasonable if we were to ask him to postpone the fight for a little while and tell us how he proposed to re-organise his shop after the dacoits have been dispersed. We shall be very happy to tell you how we can re-organise our shop when we have got rid of our dacoits, but for the time being let us get rid of the dacoits so that there may be some shop left worth re-organising. Let us make certain of the one thing that matters, namely, our continued existence or at any rate, our existence on terms which make existence at all worth while. You talk of Britain's war aims. Britain's only aim is to defend those who need defence. Our aim is to make it possible for people to live in this world in peace and in decency, to live in order and freedom. If you want to discover the aims of Britain, you will not find them in any manifesto or in any speech but you will have to read the history of the last ten years. You will have to remember the rise of the most hateful system of philosophy that the world has ever known. You will have to remember the annexation of Austria. You will have to recall the ruthless suppression of intellect, of imagination, of individuality, that has been characteristic of the Nazi regime. You will have to visualise the Nazi concentration camps. You will have to conjure up in your imagination the rancorous voices of Nazi propagandists, inspiring falsehood and engendering hatred. And, lastly, you will have to remember the dismemberment of Czecho-Slovakia and the final outrage against Poland.

In the face of these facts, what is the sense of asking: What are Britain's war aims? Britain's war aims are to ensure that there shall not be a repetition of these things, which make life not worth living over a large portion of Europe today. Let us put an end to these futile questions and face the facts. If ever there were a war, fit to be called a Holy War, it is this war in which we are now engaged. The principle behind the present motion was stated in its most extreme form in a Resolution passed some days ago by that curiously amorphous body, the Congress Working Committee. The Resolution, in the midst of a great deal of verbiage, went on to attack British Imperialism and to allege that this war was being fought in defence of that Imperialism. I must confess I have been trying for many years to understand exactly what is meant by "Imperialism". If "Imperialism" means the greatest practical approach to the League of Nations that this world has ever seen, if it means the most beneficent organisation of different communities on a basis of justice and progress for

their common good, if it means that institution under the shadow of which India has lived in tranquillity and under which progress and prosperity have taken place, if it means all those things, then I am proud to call myself an Imperialist and the British Government and the British nation will willingly accept the charge that this war is being fought in defence of Imperialistic aims. But if by Imperialism is connoted domination over subject peoples, the exploitation of one people for the sake of another, then without hesitation I maintain that the whole course of the history of the twentieth century gives the lie to that charge.

Mr. M. S. Aney: Question.

Mr. P. J. Griffiths: Of course, it is a question, but I am giving you the answer. You say that we are fighting for selfish ends. What territories do we covet? What commercial concessions do we hope to enforce after we have brought this war to a victorious conclusion? I do not myself believe that even the sponsors of that statement believe in it for a moment. But even in Indian politics, there is a humorous aspect. One of the most humorous sides of Indian politics today is the fact that we are being accused of inconsistency by a party, the whole history of which is one long record of inconsistency, from start to finish. May I remind Honourable Members of the noble speeches made by the Members of the Congress Party with regard to Czecho-Slovakia in 1938? May I remind them of the fine scorn poured upon Britain by these Congress Leaders because Britain did not then see fit to make war on Germany? I want to remind Honourable Members of the contrast between the brave words of 1938 and the cold facts of 1939. In 1938, when there was nothing to be done, there were words of chivalry. In 1939, when some practical action might have been called for, brave words gave way to the spirit of the market place, and we had the spectacle of that Party which had always professed to stand for principle, which had arrogantly claimed a monopoly of idealism, replacing statesmanship by a spirit more appropriate to the *phutka* market.

Sir, there used to be a recruiting slogan which was very popular and very effective in the last war. It consisted of a question by a small boy to a middle aged man. The question was: "Daddy, what did you do in the Great War?" I suggest that when the Congress Party has to answer that question at the bar of history, it will find itself in a sorry plight. Its answer will have to be—"At a time when the Allies were fighting for everything we have always professed to hold dear, at a time when the whole of civilisation was at stake, we decided to make the best bargain we could, and to extort as much as possible from Britain in her hour of need." That will be the answer of the Congress Party but it is not the answer of India. That is not the answer of Honourable Members of this House. The spirit of idealism is too strong in this country for its people to allow themselves so to be dominated by the machinations of the Congress Working Committee as to be forced to subscribe to a policy which is the apotheosis of materialism. That is not the spirit of India. I have no doubt myself that the Congress Working Committee has lowered itself, its influence and its prestige in this country far lower than ever before as a result of this deliberate, cold-blooded materialistic attitude.

I would appeal to Honourable Members of this House to show that their answer is a better one. I know that however much we

3 P.M. may differ as to methods or as to the tempo of political change,

[Mr. P. J. Griffiths]

the aim of the Honourable the Mover of this motion is fundamentally the same as our aims. There is no difference between the aims of India and the aims of Great Britain. Every honest man among us is aiming at the development of the prosperity and the freedom and the tranquillity of this great country, and secure in the confidence that in the matter of aims there is no difference between us, I want to appeal to the Honourable the Mover to withdraw this cut motion and, thereby, to give a demonstration, a demonstration which will not be without its effect on the forces of barbarism, a demonstration that we are solid and united in the fight for law, for decency and for everything that makes civilisation worth while.

Pandit Krishna Kant Malaviya: Sir, it is always a great pleasure to listen to my Honourable friend, Mr. Griffiths. He is one of the best speakers in this House. I wish I had the same eloquence and the same command of language which my Honourable friend has in order to point out to him the half truths and the fallacies which are to be found in every sentence which he uttered in this House. We are grateful to him for taking the discussion to a higher plane than that in which it was since this morning. We now see where we stand actually, so far as the demand of India is concerned. We are told that the war aims of England are well-known. We are told that we are displaying a spirit of the market place, that we are bargaining when England is in trouble. May I know from my Honourable friend as to who began this question of war aims? The Congress may have taken it up today. Are there not people in England, in France, are there not other Governments in the world, are there not other States who raised this question of war aims?

Great Britain herself began declaring her war aims in order to create public opinion in her favour. Is it materialistic to enquire what are the war aims? If it is materialistic to remain neutral, how is it that one of the biggest nations on earth,—the United States of America,—is neutral today? Is it not materialistic to proclaim to the world the policy of cash and carry? How is it that America is not coming forward with all its might and with all its wealth to support England in this war, if the war aims are as they are professed to be? We are told today that England is fighting for the freedom of small nations. England is not fighting for Finland; she has not declared war against Russia. May I know where England was when Abyssinia was grabbed by Italy? May I know where Great Britain was when Manchuko was devoured by Japan? What about the Republican Spain? May I remind my Honourable friend, Mr. Griffiths, that all along England stood in the way of collective security and did not allow the League of Nations to help weaker nations. (Interruption.) It is God's own truth. There is nothing to question unless we forget history and unless we are prepared to lie in this House. It is not a fact that England killed the League of Nations?

Mr. F. E. James: No, no.

Pandit Krishna Kant Malaviya: You do not know then. There would have been no war in Europe today if only England and France had stood by Ethiopia. Is it not a fact that the fate of Czecho-Slovakia would have been different if England had helped her?

Voices: No, no.

Mr. P. J. Griffiths: Is it not a fact that the Honourable Member's own Party expressly said in 1938 that they reserved the right to do what they liked if England went to war on the side of Czecho-Slovakia?

Pandit Krishna Kant Malaviya: We are entitled to say so. We are even entitled to say that we will not support Britain so long as we are kept as slaves in our own country. We are perfectly justified in saying so, so long as we are treated as slaves in our own land. What is the good of fighting for Poland when we ourselves are not free? It is very easy to talk, to give lectures where others are concerned. May I know how you have been treating India all along? It is very easy to preach, amidst cheers, but where is the action? It is all easy to talk and get applause by claiming to fight for the freedom of small nations, for the freedom of this and the freedom of that country while doing everything to keep India in bondage.

Kunwar Hajee Ismail Ali Khan (Nominated Non-Official): Will Hitler cut your chains of slavery?

Pandit Krishna Kant Malaviya: We are slaves and if we do not put up a fight, we will remain slaves whether the master be Hitler or my Honourable friend, Mr. Griffiths. (Interruption.) My Honourable friend wants us to wait till Doomsday. We have had enough of promises! Promises were made during the last war.

Several voices: No, no.

Pandit Krishna Kant Malaviya: If history were read aright, it was the Indian Army that saved the Allies during the last war. Our troops were highly praised then and all sorts of promises were made then. We were assured we would have self-determination, a new heaven was to be born and a new order was going to be created. But when the war was over, all the promises were forgotten. If we bargain today, it is not our fault. It is the result of our bitter experience of the past. It is our misfortune, it might be due to the treatment meted out to us after the last war that we have no faith in Britain's professions. Before we fight for England, we want to know where we stand. Is it not human, is it not the duty of every mortal man to know what the result will be before he leaps or before he plunges into the dark? Why should our money and our resources be placed at the disposal of the British Empire, an Empire in which we are treated as hewers of wood and drawers of water and helots? What love can we have for an Empire in which we are treated as we are today. It is all very good for my friend to talk, because he belongs to the ruling race, and he has all he wants.

An Honourable Member: But the minorities stand to loose. What about the minorities?

Pandit Krishna Kant Malaviya: I will come to the minorities presently. So far as my Honourable friend, Mr. Griffiths, is concerned, let me leave him there. We are entitled to know where we stand before we are asked

[Pandit Krishna Kant Malaviya]

to assist in the war. Before we are asked to share our burden in the war, we ought to know whether we will be free or not. The Congress does not want to embarrass you, it does not demand that you should grant her freedom here and now, it only wants a declaration from the Government that, 10, 20, even 50 years after the war, India will have the making of her destiny in her own hands and will be absolutely free to do what she likes. The Government are not prepared even to make such a declaration. We should certainly know whether we will be fighting for the freedom of other peoples or of our own also. So long as we are not assured of our own freedom we feel that all the resources we can command should be used for getting our own liberation before we can fight for the liberation of other countries

(Maulana Zafar Ali Khan rose to interrupt.)

Mr. Deputy President (Mr. Akhil Chandra Datta): Order, order: the Honourable Member does not give way.

Pandit Krishna Kant Malaviya: So far as my friends on my right are concerned, their speeches do not come to me as a surprise. I can only say in the words of a poet

“Apas men adawat kuchh bhi nahin

Lekin ek akhara qaim hai

Jab is se aqa ka dil bahle

Ham log tamasha kyon na karen.”

These are the men who want freedom, who want to fight for freedom.

My friend, the Honourable Mr. Griffiths, raised the question of minorities. There are other friends on the other Benches who want to know how the rights and interests of minorities are going to be safeguarded. Those friends may not be aware of the solution which the League of Nations has provided for the sake of minorities. But I am sure that my Honourable friend, Mr. Griffiths, who knows a lot about what is going on in the world, is aware of that solution. Minorities are not a monopoly of this country alone. Minorities are to be found in other countries of the world as well. Whatever solution and safeguards have been provided for minorities in other parts of the world will be provided here also. We do not have a special variety of minorities here in this country.

An Honourable Member: What about different nations?

Pandit Krishna Kant Malaviya: My friend thinks that he belongs to a different nation. I may be excused for saying it, but I would tell him that his forefathers were of us. He could not be another nation. They talk of a different culture. So far as I know, the culture is a joint creation of both Hindus and Muslims who inhabit this land. They may take pride in calling themselves a different nation. But may I know to which country they belong? Were they born outside India? Does not our blood run in their veins too? They are talking like this so that they may be able to please their masters and get a few crumbs from their table.

Mr. Deputy President (Mr. Akhil Chandra Datta): The Honourable Member has got two minutes more.

Pandit Krishna Kant Malaviya: My friend, Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan, said that people in this country are different—that the provinces are different, languages are different and even their dresses are different. I hope my friend has studied the history of Canada and Switzerland. Even today there are many different languages in Switzerland but still Switzerland is an independent country. Many different languages are spoken in Canada, the people there are French, Germans, Englishmen and still Canada is an independent country. But the tragedy here is that sons of the motherland take pride in saying they belong to other nations.

Sir Syed Raza Ali: We are disinherited sons.

Pandit Krishna Kant Malaviya: I am glad that my Honourable friend does not disclaim the fact that he is a son of Mother India. His complaint only is that he is a disinherited son. Very likely the cause of disinheritance might be due to his own fault or to his own failings. There is no gainsaying the fact that these friends are sons of the soil. They may be disloyal sons but they are not a different nation: they are one of us and they will remain one of us. It is said that there is nothing common between the various peoples who inhabit this land. If my friend had only studied the history, the traditions, the culture of this country, I think he would not have dared to utter a word like that

Mr. Deputy President (Mr. Akhil Chandra Datta): The Honourable Member's time is up.

Pandit Krishna Kant Malaviya: I support the motion moved by the Honourable the Leader of my Party.

Maulana Zafar Ali Khan: Sir, a very interesting discussion has been going on on the cut motion of my Honourable friend, Mr. Aney. It has been said that the attitude of the British Government has been very unsatisfactory in regard to the declaration of war aims. When we go and study the question on the spot, by proceeding at once to England and listening to what Mr. Chamberlain has to say about it, we find that he clarified the position. Our Congress friends gave up their ministries and their administrative function in eight provinces because the attitude of the Government was quite unsatisfactory. So far as Mr. Chamberlain is concerned, we may say that he has made the position quite clear. He says:

"We are fighting Germany in order to protect the small nations of the world from being engulfed. We want democracy to prevail. We want that instead of flourishing a quarterstaff round the head of a weak adversary, you should come to terms with him by negotiation."

This is what he wants. But the question arises whether these objects are confined to the four corners of Europe or extend beyond to India also. The answer to this question was given by the Viceroy the other day when he said that after the war is over England would concede Dominion Status of the Westminster variety to India, provided that Hindus and Muslims

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came to a settlement and furnished us with a formula acceptable to them and acceptable to us. Here was a three-cornered contest between the Muslims on the one side, and the Britishers and the Congress on the other. Now, what does the Congress want? The Congress declares :

"We say in so many words that we are not content even with Dominion Status : we are now for complete independence and we declare from the house tops that we have the right of framing our own constitution and nobody must interfere."

How to frame that constitution? Through the agency of what we call a constituent assembly. Now, so far as the aim or objective is concerned—complete independence declared by the Congress and full independence declared by the Muslim League—they are at one. Even so far as the constitution of this country is concerned, the Congress says "We repudiate the Government of India Act." And so does the Muslim League which says it must go lock, stock and barrel and the whole question should be treated as open. But then there arises the difference. The Congress says "We will frame our own constitution through a constituent assembly." What does that mean? It means democracy of the western type with all its implications; that is to say, 75 per cent. Hindus on one side and 25 per cent. Muslims on the other side, and they are to be treated as a helpless minority. But Mussalmans are not going to accept that position. And here comes the question of questions. My friend, Mr. Aney, has referred to it in the course of his speech when he said that the basic principle of the Government of India Act was that India was indivisible and there was only one nation in this country. We Muslims say that the greatest blunder was committed both by Englishmen and Hindus in putting forward this theory of one nation. Hindus don't understand us, nor do Englishmen, though they have been in this country for over 150 years, understand us. It is really a pity that my friend, Mr. Aney, who ought to know us better does not understand us.

Sir, 1,300 years ago a new conception of nationality was presented before the world. Formerly nations were made of race, colour, environment, language and other things, which formed the constituent parts of a nation. But then came the Holy Prophet of Arabia and said that the conception of nation grows out of a change in the mentality of the people. He laid down five great principles, the principle of the Unity of Godhead, prayer five times a day, giving of alms to the extent of 2½ per cent. of one's yearly income, fasting for 30 days in a year and pilgrimage once in a life time. These cardinal principles constituted Islam, and those who acted on these principles were called Mussalmans, whether they lived in Europe, Africa, America or India. All those who followed the principles were called a nation. Therefore, Sir, we are a nation of sixty crores throughout the world. Although geographically we have been separated from one another, still we in India ten crores of Muslims are part of a great nation which will be found throughout the world. Now, Sir, people demand swaraj or complete independence. My friends, Sardar Sant Singh and Pandit Malaviya, want independence. I should like to suggest one thing to them. We can get independence in five hours before we rise. What do we Muslims stand for: *La Ilaha Illallah*,—there is no God but one. Join us in this cry and you will get independence in no time, when 40 crores of people will be shouting *La Ilaha Illallah* from the housetops, no earthly power would be able to withstand them.

An Honourable Member: The cat is out of the bag.

Maulana Zafar Ali Khan: The cat was out of the bag when my friend, Sardar Sant Singh, was speaking at the top of his voice about complete independence, but directly the question of independence of the tribesmen cropped up, he asked the Britishers to go forward, go forward. Similarly, my friend, Pandit Malaviya, was saying that they had not been consulted on the aims of the war and, therefore, they were not going to supply the Government with even one man or one pie; but my friends were not consulted with regard to the war that is now being waged in the North-West Frontier, and yet they support the forward policy of Government. In one breath you demand independence for India, while you deny the same privilege to the Frontier tribesmen. That is blowing hot and cold in the same breath, and I cannot understand the mentality of my friends when they do so.

Then, Sir, my friends want independence, but independence cannot be acquired in the manner in which they want to acquire it. I should just like to make one suggestion for the consideration of my friends. They want to treat Muslims as a minority, but Muslims won't condescend to be treated as such. They are a self-sufficient people; they are made to look with their head erect; they will not bow down before anybody; they will bow down only before God. Rest assured, without their help you cannot get independence. I may tell my friends here that the setting up of a Constituent Assembly is entirely out of the question. It will require a very expensive machinery, and as long as the Britishers are here,—and we all know their nature, they are not going to provide you with a Constituent Assembly. Why not constitute an Assembly yourselves. Let a few outstanding personalities from Hindus be given the right to nominate 300 representatives of India, let distinguished men like Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Jawaharlal, Mr. Patel, Babu Rajendra Prasad, Subash Babu, Mr. Savarkar and two or three others from the Chamber of Princes select 300 representatives. Then let another 50 people be nominated from among what are called the *Achuts* or *Harijan* class, and the total will come to 350 members. Now, give the same right to the Muslim League to nominate 300 Muslims as representatives of Muslim India. These 650 members would constitute the Parliament of India, like the Members of the British Parliament. This is an extensive country, and 650 members are not a big number considering the vastness of the country. Let all these 650 members hammer out a constitution for the country by mutual consent. The President of this body will be a Muslim for one year, a Hindu for another year, a Christian a third year and so on in rotation

An Honourable Member: A Sikh for the 4th year.

Maulana Zafar Ali Khan: Let them evolve an Assembly composed of representatives of people in the manner I have suggested. Let the world know what we want—nobody knows now what we want, we do not know what the League wants. So far as the Indian National Congress is concerned, I know it wants that the Muslims, as a small minority, should be trampled under foot. The time will come for the "cat" to be taken out of the Muslim League bag. But this is my own view, and if my friend, Mr. Aney really wants that the Britishers should listen to him, then for

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God's sake, do not take up an attitude which will make them laugh at our bickerings—Pandit Malaviya going one way, Bhai Parma Nandji going another way, and here my friend, Mr. Aney, asking for a third thing. I would ask my friends not to act in a manner which will make the Britishers laugh at us. We will have our own way if we can all speak with a united voice, and all your cut motions will be respected. At present they will not be.

Dr. P. N. Banerjee (Calcutta Suburbs: Non-Muhammadan Urban): Sir, I am very sorry to find that a great deal of unnecessary heat has been imported into the discussion on this question. This question is a very serious one, and it ought to be discussed in an atmosphere of reasonableness.

Sir, my friend, Mr. Griffiths, said that there is no sense in asking what are Britain's war aims, and he suggested that it was India alone which was asking for Britain's war aims. He forgot that these war aims were being discussed in every newspaper and every periodical in England, France and America; and when people in Europe and America speak of democracy and freedom, is it unnatural on the part of Indians to ask what is India's position with reference to these high principles? That is all that India has asked.

My friend went further and said that this was not a time for bargaining. I do repudiate this charge. India has not bargained and is not bargaining. The demand for freedom is not a new one. It has been before us and before the British Government for a long time past. When my Honourable friend, Mr. Griffiths, and his friends want to dispose summarily of India's demand, what will be the consequences? Let us look calmly and dispassionately at this question. When the war broke out, what was the feeling in India? There was a wave of sympathy and goodwill, and after the lapse of six months what is the feeling today? My European friends will do well to ponder over the question. Feelings of goodwill and sympathy are gradually giving place to feelings of disappointment and even antipathy. If this state of things is allowed to go on, what will happen? Surely it will lead to trouble. I am not one of those who believe in scares. I am not a scare-monger, but he who has eyes to see the future will say that the country is heading towards trouble. My European friends may say, if there is trouble, it will be put down by force. All right. Britain possesses sufficient force at the present day to put down any trouble in India. But what will be the effect of this use of force in order to coerce India into submission? What will be the effect on world opinion? What will be the moral effect on neutrals and on English opinion itself? These are questions which should have been asked by my European friends before they dealt light-heartedly with such a matter. The time has come when the question should be handled in a serious manner.

The declarations of the authorities both in India and in England in the beginning of the war were extremely disappointing, but the Bombay speech of His Excellency the Viceroy held out a hope for an amicable settlement of the question. But, unfortunately, shortly afterwards Lord Zetland indulged in a few remarks which were taken in a spirit in which perhaps they had not been uttered. Now the right thing to do on this occasion would have been to clarify these remarks, and if Lord Zetland had made it clear

that it was not his intention to insult the intelligence of the country or to treat the people of India as mere babes, the situation would have greatly improved.

His Excellency the Viceroy spoke at Bombay about Dominion Status of the Statute of Westminster variety. I do not attach much importance to the Statute of Westminster. The Statute of Westminster merely recorded in legal form what the position of a Dominion was at the moment. As we all know, the Dominions have reached their present status after a long course of development and that even after the passing of the Statute of Westminster, the course of evolution has not ceased. When we look at the State of Eire what do we find? We find that allegiance to the Crown has been omitted from the Statute-book and that Eire is practically a republic. But still the British Ministers claim that Eire is within the Commonwealth. Here is a further development of the Dominion Status idea. It may also be pointed out that it is now the accepted view that Dominion Status carries with it the right of secession from the Commonwealth. As regards neutrality during a war, that claim has been established by the attitude of Ireland. Therefore, it appears to me that there is no real difference in substance between complete independence and Dominion Status. But there are some who think that Dominion Status is a status inferior to that of complete independence. If Britain is really anxious to do the right thing by India, let her give the choice to India; and it is quite conceivable that India will choose Dominion Status rather than complete independence. But even if India chooses complete independence, Britain will not be a loser. She may lose a small amount in things material, but she will gain vastly in moral ascendancy; and this moral ascendancy will be incomparably greater than the small things which she will lose.

Mr. F. E. James: Can you guarantee that?

Dr. P. N. Banerjee: I can guarantee that Britain will gain very greatly in moral ascendancy, although I cannot guarantee that India will choose Dominion Status in preference to complete independence.

Coming to the question of self-determination, has not, I ask, that right been exercised by all free countries including the Dominions? It may be said that a Constituent Assembly is an unpractical proposition. But the modified form of Constituent Assembly which was suggested by Sardar Vallabhai Patel a short while ago is not an unpractical thing, and this was supported by no less a person than His Highness the Aga Khan. My Mussalman friends will, I hope, accept the idea which has been supported by His Highness. If the elected members of all the Legislatures in India, together with the Standing Committee of the Princes, sit down together and appoint a committee to frame a constitution for India, no parties in this country will be left unrepresented.

Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan: Mr. Savarkar has repudiated it.

Dr. P. N. Banerjee: On first thoughts he may have done it, but on second thoughts he may accept.

Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan: Make him accept it.

The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan: On second thoughts His Highness the Aga Khan may not accept it.

Dr. P. N. Banerjee: You know his mind better than I do. But his statement is there and he has not repudiated that statement as yet.

Sir, the time has come when definite steps must be taken towards a settlement. It is already very late, but I hope it is not too late. Before it is too late, I would ask Britain to take courage in both hands and try and arrive at an amicable settlement with India. With all his shortcomings, Gandhiji is still the greatest factor for peace in the country. Let not the Government lose his support. Will British statesmanship rise to the occasion and by giving India freedom secure the moral leadership of the world for herself?

Mr. N. M. Dumasia (Nominated Non-Official): I rise to oppose this motion. It is ill-advised and ill-conceived. The war aims of Great Britain and her allies have been declared over and over again. They have received the approval of no less a man than Mr. Gandhi. The war aims of the Allies are to save the weaker countries from the domination of Hitlerism and to protect the lives and property of the people of smaller States.

Pandit Krishna Kant Malaviya: What about Finland?

Mr. N. M. Dumasia: I hope you will not interrupt me. The Congress wants independence. Several speakers on the other side of the House have spoken about independence but nobody has given the slightest hint as to how that independence is to be maintained in India. From time immemorial, from the dawn of history, India has never enjoyed independence. If you want today independence, you must be able to defend it. If we are allowed the freedom of speech and writing it is because Great Britain has given us that freedom in this country. We are not slaves as has been alleged. We are free men. We have liberty of thought and action. If independence were given to us today, tomorrow the Congressmen themselves will say 'Save us from it'. They will themselves say to the British Government 'Return and protect us'. Sir, the Congress which has never contributed one rupee, which has never given one soldier, wants the British Government to separate India from the British Empire and would not accept the status of a Dominion within the Commonwealth. Unless the Government make an immediate promise to this effect, it threatens to start civil disobedience as soon as the inner voice of Mr. Gandhi whispers that the country is ready. As an Indian citizen who is as eager as any politician for the orderly progress of India, I should like to know what right the Congress has to throw the country into the turmoil of a civil disturbance and at a time when the Allies are fighting to save civilisation from the domination of brute force? The Congress has chosen its time to hold a pistol at England's head. Its tone and temper drive all soberminded Indians to despair. It is getting increasingly bellicose and is kindling the torch of war in India. It pretends to speak on behalf of the people of India but the people of India have not demanded separation from Britain. Educated India has demanded the right of self-government within the Empire. By controlling a section of the Press and preventing, by means of hooliganism, other people from expressing their views, the Congress wants to create the impression that it represents all Indians. The fact is that it does not. The Moslems who form a fourth of the population repudiate the impudent claim. And so do the depressed classes who form a

similar proportion. There are other minority sections who do not owe allegiance to the Congress. The liberals who provide the bulk of the brain of India differ from the Congress. The Hindu Mahasabha resents the impertinence of the Congress. The fighting Sikhs do not share the Congress view. Yet, there is no limit to Congress bluster. Let the Congress start a civil war. The more sober-minded citizens will know how to deal with the revolt. It will be the Congressites who will be the first to rend the skies with the cry that freedom is being trampled upon. It will be they who will appeal to the authorities to protect them. It is intolerable that a caucus of crazy individuals should be allowed to disturb the peace of the country. The Congress pretence of non-violence is all humbug as one knows from past experience. Hatred is the mainspring of their action and coercion is their method. The country has long tolerated their antics. If they start a revolt now when the war is on, they will not only do immense injury to the country but they will be sorry for the adventure. Sir, the majority of the people are opposed to the extravagant demand of the Congress. Those who have had experience of Congress Governments in the provinces have declared themselves disgusted with them. Lord Halifax recently said that he would prefer to die rather than live under Hitlerism. There are thousands of people who would say today that instead of living under Congress rule they would prefer to die. So far as my province is concerned, a reign of terror actually existed in Bombay and we heaved a sigh of relief when the Congress Government went out.

Sir, the British Empire is engaged in a life and death struggle with the forces of evil which want to impose Nazi-cum-Bolshevik domination over the whole world. If the Allies lose the War, it will not take Germany or Russia long to conquer India. Thinking Indians, therefore, wish victory to the Allies and want to implement that wish by giving all the assistance that this country can render at this time of crisis; When the whole future of civilisation and progress are at stake, the Congress has started bargaining with the British Government. The British Government promised to raise India to the Status of a Dominion with the least possible delay after the termination of the war. The Congress was not satisfied with the declaration of the British Government and its generous offer. It started blackmailing tactics by demanding complete independence on pain of internal revolt by means of civil disobedience. If it be bluff, it is dirty bluff and it has only the effect of encouraging Hitler and inflaming the passions of the ignorant people of India. It is, however, not bluff, as several Congress leaders have said in clear terms. We are thus face to face with a possible revolt in the near future. Indians who do not belong to the Congress and have no faith in the wisdom of its policy regard the situation with misgivings. If a disturbance breaks out as a result of the folly of the Congress; it will be incumbent upon all people to quell that disturbance. It will not do merely to trust the Government to deal with the rebels. The responsibility is on the citizen also to maintain the peace of society.

Sir, I happened to attend the meeting of the Indian Princes' Chamber this morning and it was refreshing to hear the speeches of the Chancellor His Highness Maharaja Jam Saheb and H. E. the Maharaja of Bikaner. If Congress people read those speeches, I am sure that will have a sobering effect upon them. While the Congress refuse to contribute anything towards the success of the war, the Indian Princes are helping the cause of Great Britain with men and material. I hope that wiser counsels will prevail and that the Congress will see the necessity of working hand in hand

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with the authorities to bring the war to a successful conclusion. If India, as I have said, were granted independence today, invaders would pour upon the country. If Congress insists upon its ridiculous demand, there will be civil war, there will be bloodshed and destruction in the country. Sir, I belong to a minority whose members have worked for the political salvation of India, and I have at heart the welfare of my country. I know that nobody in my community stands in the way of the progress of India. If anybody stands in the way of the progress of India, it is Mr. Gandhi and the Congress Party. It is useless to blame the Government of India or His Majesty's Government, or the Moslems for retarding the progress of the country. If Congressmen will not listen to the voice of wisdom, India will go to the way of Czecho-Slovakia, and Poland. With these remarks I oppose the cut motion.

Sir Syed Raza Ali: Mr. Deputy President, I cannot congratulate my Honourable friend, Mr. Aney, for throwing this apple of discord on the floor of the House. Sir, if the object of Mr. Aney was to demonstrate the hopeless disunity of India on the question of England's war aims as applied to India, he could hardly have succeeded in his aim better than by bringing a motion of this character before India's Parliament. Sir, I have listened to the speeches and I have got up to speak—I assure the House—more in sorrow than in anger. (Interruption.) I know there is none in these quarters whom my Honourable friend represents; I am speaking of honest people whom I have in mind when I said that. Sir, what is the constructive effort that India is making at a time when the destinies of big nations and big countries are shaking? What is the effort that the Congress or the Congress-cum-Nationalist Party is making to bring the various political parties in India nearer together? All I hear is that if you will do away with the curse of "the Communal Award" in Bengal, the millenium will have arrived.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra (Presidency Division : Non-Muhamadan Rural) : Who said that?

Sir Syed Raza Ali: Your Party. Then, if we have for the whole of India a constituent assembly to begin with, that is sure to end in independence which will bring in a new heaven and a new earth. May I just inquire as to how this is going to happen? I did not want to interrupt my Honourable friend, Mr. Aney, as to what really independence means; I would like to know; I believe there are yet some members of his Party to speak. Sir, to begin with, how are we to achieve independence? That is what I would like to know. Is it to be done through using the armament and weapon of "non-violence"? Is that the way to achieve independence? I have a very great respect for Mr. Gandhi, and I do not want to say anything which is likely to produce any misunderstanding. May I give you Mahatma Gandhi's cult as issued through that medium of divine will—I mean the *Harijan*? I won't quote the whole of it, but I will quote a passage. This is what the author of non-violence says :

"I feel that riots will be a welcome relief if that is the price we have to pay for freedom, for out of them I can conceive the possibility of peace coming, not out of the present unreality".

Sir, I thought riots meant the shedding of blood, riots meant misery, riots meant the breaking of heads and bones? All that surely means

violence, and yet that is the cult that is put by Mr. Gandhi before his followers? I leave it at that. How are we to achieve independence? I have got a very defective imagination—I must plead guilty to that—but I do not see how we are going to get rid of our Treasury Benches, a high proportion of the Treasury Benches by offering non-violence? I do not think my Honourable friend who is responsible for the cut motion has violation in contemplation. I make a present of this precious cult of independence to Mr. Aney more in imagination than in reality. May I ask how long my Honourable friend and his Party, together with the help of the strong stalwarts of the Congress, are going to keep this independence? Suppose two divisions were to come into India from the North-West, or half a squadron of ships were to invade our western and eastern coasts, who is going to defend India against those hordes? Again, I suppose non-violence would be applied to foreigners also.

Dr. P. N. Banerjee: No.

Sir Syed Raza Ali: I did not know that the use of violence was allowed against foreigners and forbidden against our own countrymen? I did not know that. The whole position is hopeless, absolutely hopeless. What is the use of talking like that. Surely it was time that we talked like sensible, practical and practicable people and when we formulated a scheme which would help us in achieving our own destiny in our own country. Take the case of the constituent assembly that has been dinned into our ears in season and out of season. Now, we are told that the one solution of the communal and internal problem in India is to set up a constituent assembly. May I know, how the constituent assembly is going to be set up? How many of them are going to be Muslims, may I know? We will assume that the constituent assembly will be composed of 200 people. May I know how many of them will be Muslims, Parsees, Sikhs, Harijans, and so on? I am not here to speak for all the minority communities, but surely I would like to know the fate of my own community. May I know how many of these 200 are going to be Muslims? I suppose the idea is that we should be in the minority. If that is the idea, what will be the procedure that will be followed at the constituent assembly? Will the decision be taken by the majority of votes? I suppose so. (Inaudible remark by Pandit Krishna Kant Malaviya.) Sir, I want an honest answer. I do not want quibbling. If the decision is taken by the majority of votes, where shall we be? I believe my Honourable friend, Mr. Aney, knows the temper of our own people and of the Muslim League Party and of the Muslim community. They have made up their mind not to be dictated to having regard to the bitter experience of the past two and a half years. Once burnt, twice shy. We have already burnt our fingers and we are not prepared to burn them again. That is the long and short of it. What is the use of saying, have a constituent assembly and the communal problem will solve itself. We want to know, how? They say they will appoint an arbitrator. There will be a court of arbitration. If the question is going to be referred to arbitration, why should it not be referred today? Why should we wait for this blessed constituent assembly? How will a better award be arrived by the arbitrators after six months or one or even two or three years than today? That is what I would like to know. I am afraid there is a strong tendency to play with words in Congress circles, of whom my friends of the Congress Nationalist Party are all disciples, if not very loyal colleagues. They use catch phrases; they indulge in

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shibboleths. All these things really mean nothing. On the other hand, I can see one thing. If the idea is that by the force of constant repetition, the public should get used to it, and that this idea of a constituent assembly should command public confidence, then I can see the game. But my reply would then be in the words of a Persian proverb : which means this : You said the thing once, and I believed it. You repeated it, and I started having doubts. You said it the third time, and I knew it was an untruth. That is the effect of repetition. It is not dignified really to go on repeating the same thing and refuse to give answers.

Now, Sir, the point, it seems to me, is that we are to take whatever suits the Congress and their allies. I have often given my careful consideration to this question and the conclusion at which I have arrived is this. Two and two in this physical world of ours invariably make four, but according to the Congress creed the sum-total of two and two may be three or five according to the exigencies of the hour. When we come to the Congress Nationalist Party, the sum-total of two and two may be six, if it is a case of payment by a Muslim to a Congress Nationalist creditor. And the sum-total of two and two may be even less than two if the payment is due to an unfortunate creditor who is a Muslim Leaguer. That seems to me to be the logic of the whole thing. Again, let me repeat. I am very sorry that a motion of this character has been moved. I assure my Honourable friend with the greatest respect that a motion of this character serves nobody. I am not here to plead the cause of Government Benches : they are strong enough to take care of themselves. I am sure, Mr. Griffiths has stated very fully the viewpoint of his own Party. Now, let me summarise the viewpoint of my Party.

Sir, we fear that if things take a development when the Government think that they can better their position by entering into an alliance with the Congress, they might leave us in the lurch. That is our fear, let me state it plainly and frankly in this House. The Government have done so in the past and we are not satisfied that they will not do it again if it suits them. Therefore, let me state on behalf of my Party that if there is a tendency in Government circles to yield to the Congress demand and to purchase peace with the Congress by yielding on the question of this demand of constituent assembly, then we, the Members of the Muslim League, will oppose the efforts of the Congress, the Nationalist Congress and the Government, all three combined, by all the means at our command.

Mr. F. E. James: Sir, when I was listening to the debate this afternoon, a small voice within me—that inner voice—of which no one has a monopoly, said to me : “Daddy, what are you doing in the Great War to save your Empire from ruin?” I woke up with a start and realised that I was doing nothing. So, I decided to make a speech. Words, words, just a battle of words and how unreal most of them are! My Honourable friend, Pandit Malaviya, spoke today of his horrid position in the Empire as a slave and a helot. Of course, he is a slave : they are all slaves,—slaves of their own words.

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

He gave rise to statements today which neither he nor any Member of his Party believes. Words have no reality when they are used in that sense. And one of the tragedies of the situation in India at the moment is that people place more reliance upon declarations, upon Resolutions, upon statement of aims than upon the plain, hard and sometimes brutal facts of the situation of this world.

Now, Sir, I have noticed in all these discussions in this House, and outside this House, that they proceed on the assumption, which they take very lightly, that in the struggle today, Great Britain will win. Themselves not even lifting one little finger, not even a pen, not even a pencil to assist, yet they argue on the assumption that Great Britain will win and that she will be living in the days after the war to confer upon this country what they choose to call independence. Any one who has had anything to do with any war is a fool if he makes the assumption that his country, however much he may wish it to win, will win on mere assumption. We have faith that in this war, the Allies will eventually be victorious. But speaker after speaker in responsible positions in the Allied countries have warned their peoples, and have warned the Empire, that it would be the height of madness to underestimate the forces which are arraigned against them. I feel that this bland assumption of the Empire's victory, on the part of those who decline to assist, leads them not only to unreality but to an amazingly false position.

The best exposition of the position of India with relation to this war was given by Mr. Gandhi himself when, after his first interview with the Viceroy in September, he said in words which resounded throughout this country and indeed throughout the Empire and in France, "what will the deliverance of India be worth if Britain and France are defeated". But why his change later on, I know not.

An Honourable Member: Why has he changed his opinion?

Mr. F. E. James: I suspect various reasons, and one of them resides intermittently in Allahabad. All I can say is that Mr. Gandhi's second thoughts are traitors to his first thoughts, and that his first thoughts were his best,—because they were genuine. I have been puzzled very often in my own mind over the position of the Congress Party. I am sorry they are not here to argue their own case, but I am glad that they had such an able lieutenant in my Honourable friend, Mr. Aney. I noticed that he had read out his speech from beginning to end, which is not usual for him, fluent as he is. I did wonder whether, while the speech was the speech of Mr. Aney, the writing might not have been that of Mr. Bhulabhai Desai. I am not in a position to prove anything in that direction. But I wondered what was it that made them suddenly change their minds. Just before the war, they knew the war was coming. They were making the best use possible of the Government of India Act, 1935, and consolidating their position in the country. They had, after a period of hesitation in 1937 during which they succeeded in abolishing some of the most important safeguards in that Statute,—they had assumed office and in the years following their assumption of office, they had used their power to consolidate their own influence in the provinces. They used this House as their sounding board in the country and so many of them have spoken to me since with almost tears in their eyes that they are now deprived of the publicity which they once enjoyed, a self-deprivation for which they alone

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are responsible. Then came the war, and immediately they began to pass those long, philosophical—and as my Honourable friend, Mr. Griffiths, said in his brilliant and eloquent speech—“amorphous” Resolutions which really are designed to conceal their real intentions. They ask the Government in the United Kingdom to declare first of all what their war aims are. Well, of course, every one knows what they are. They have been stated many times. Let me quote the speech of Mr. Chamberlain, the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, which he delivered on the 31st January of this year :

“Their war aims had been stated over and over again and were well known to every one, but one thing was becoming clearer every day, not from anything they said but from the actions of the Germans themselves, and that was that, ‘we are fighting, not only for ourselves, but for every country which is oppressed by the fear that some day they might find themselves in the position successively occupied by Czecho-Slovakia, by Poland and now by Finland’.”

And who shall say that India would not be included in that list, were it not for the strong arm and the protecting hand of the Commonwealth of Nations which we call the British Empire?

I will not rely only on the British Prime Minister. Let me turn to the speech delivered by the Premier of the French Republic. On 29th January he said :

“Hitler did not treat with the nations he vanquished. He destroyed them, suppressing their entire political and economic existence, and even trying to wipe out their history and their culture.”

I seem to remember something like that being repeated on the Independence Day by Congress stalwarts in regard to the independence pledge. I wondered if they copied their technique from Hitler. I had no idea until I read this speech of the affinity which appears to exist between the High Command, the dictatorial part of the Congress Party, and the Nazi regime in Germany. M. Daladier went on to say :

“As a result, millions of human beings were encountering miseries that they could not have even dared to imagine a few months ago. Entire nations had no alternative but to work for their torturers, who scarcely left them enough to assure the most wretched existence. Thus was being set up a world of masters and slaves made in Germany’s own image”.

Let me now turn to my Honourable friend, the Pandit, when he talks about slaves in India. Let him imagine what slavery really means. If he wants to enjoy being a slave, let him go and taste slavery which the Nazi regime imposes upon those it conquers.

Pandit Krishna Kant Malaviya: Do you mean to say yours is a better type of slavery?

Mr. F. E. James: The slavery which Britain imposes upon this country is the slavery “under which she invites this country to march forward to a goal which has been described in successive stages by successive eminent persons from Queen Victoria to Halifax and to Linlithgow,—the goal of free association of a free country with the other Dominions in the Commonwealth”. That is the goal that Britain has held out to this country, and it is dishonest of any Honourable Member, however eminent he may be, to refer to India’s conditions even in the past, much less in the present, as conditions of slavery. That is another reason why I say that in this war of words there is more unreality than truth

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Honourable Member has two minutes more.

Mr. F. E. James: What is the position in India as we see it today? I notice that lately the Congress has been pointing out that while it does not necessarily, as a party, represent the nation, yet it is voicing the nation's hopes and aspirations. How can they possibly have the effrontery to say that? Are they voicing the hopes and aspirations of the Princes? What about the Resolution which was passed this morning, which I understand congratulates the British Government for its fight for freedom and for the sanctity of treaties? What about the Muslims? I have yet to hear that the Congress Party is voicing the opinions of the Muslim League, although they have at the moment a dummy Muslim as its president? What about the other minorities? Does the Congress Party represent their views? Can they speak for their hopes and aspirations with regard to India? No. That claim to speak for India is a sham. Let them bend their energies, which are undoubted, and their influence, which is almost unrivalled, to the first essential, namely, the achievement of some semblance of unity in this country, so that India as a united country can fight with Britain, and after the war is won, can achieve whatever she wants, whatever her heart's desire dictates to her; for Britain will not in those days be laggard: the promises she has made today will be fulfilled in the letter and the spirit, as they have been fulfilled in the past. I believe that the Princes have today shown a better path of statesmanship than has been shown in the speech of my Honourable friend, Mr. Aney, today, or of those whom he represents.

Mr. M. S. Aney: The question may now be put.

Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi (Dacca *cum* Mymensingh: Muhammadan Rural): Sir, I am sorry I was not here this morning and I did not have the pleasure of listening to the approved written speech which my Honourable friend, Mr. Aney, the Leader of the Nationalist Congress Party, delivered this morning

Mr. M. S. Aney: Let me take exception to the words "approved written speech". I thought it was a joke when Mr. James first used the expression and so I did not object.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): What is the remark objected to?

Mr. M. S. Aney: "Approved written speech". Approved by whom? Written by whom? I do not know.

Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi: What sin have I committed by saying the word "approved"?

Mr. M. S. Aney: I thought you might have meant it as literally true: that is why I interrupted.

Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi: You may have written it and approved it yourself.

Mr. M. S. Aney: Then I have no objection to your saying that.

Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi: My Honourable friend, so far as I can remember, has never delivered a written speech.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Honourable Member should go on with his own speech.

Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi: I understand this is a cut motion to discuss the unsatisfactory nature of declaration regarding the refusal of British Government to declare their war aims and their effect on the political status of India and non-insistence of Government of India to obtain such a declaration. In 1922, when Mr. C. R. Das was in prison, Lord Reading who was in Calcutta then offered us Dominion Status, at any rate, a greater advance, Mr. Das accepted that in jail, but he wanted that Mr. Gandhi should also agree to the gesture that was made by Lord Reading. Mr. Gandhi refused to have anything to do with it and he was responsible

Mr. Akhil Chandra Datta: There was no question of Dominion Status at that time.

Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi: The Deputy President says "No question of Dominion Status." I have been forty-five years in the political field—much more than the Deputy President himself. He was then a nobody, but I was one of the prominent men fighting for the independence of India. That offer was a great advance. (Interruption by Dr. Banerjea.) Here is another gentleman on my right. He was a mere school-boy then. I ask my Honourable friends sitting there—how on earth one can ask the British Government for a declaration until we set our houses in order? You cannot agree to anything. (Interruption.) Whatever it may be—you refuse or I refuse—the position is the same, that we cannot approach His Majesty's Government with an agreed proposal by all those who call themselves Indians. Only the other day the Congress in a Resolution in Patna said that that will be the only resolution at Mazharsharif or some such place—that will be the only resolution—complete independence. What a farce! What nonsense! Complete independence! If tomorrow we get complete independence, we would be crushed. Look at the big powers. Suppose the British Government, to make a test of what will be our position, by way of practical demonstration, gives my friends what they want. How will they defend our country?

An Honourable Member: With *lathis*.

Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi: Perfectly right. *Lathis*. What else have you got?

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: Who is responsible for that?

Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi: We are not united. Settle your differences first.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: It is impossible so long as you are here.

Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi: Do not ask for the moon which you cannot get.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: We will get the moon.

Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi: Not in your life time.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: Much earlier than you dream of.

Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi: What is the use, as my friend, Mr. James, just said, of the battle of words here? In your heart of hearts you do not feel what you say to be correct.

Mr. M. S. Aney: Are you speaking to the motion or talking to somebody about something?

Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi: I am talking about what you have said here. You don't believe in your heart of hearts what you have said; the inner man tells you that what you say is not correct.

Mr. M. S. Aney: Is that so?

Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi: Ask the inner man.

Sir, at the second Round Table Conference in England Mr. Gandhi was present.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: What has that got to do with the motion before the House?

Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi: You will hear it presently. Mr. Gandhi said he represented 95 per cent. of the people of India, not British India, but India, and Dr. Ambedkar asked who were the other five per cent. whom he did not represent. Sir, even Mr. Gandhi representing 95 per cent. of the people of India at the second Round Table Conference could not bring about a communal settlement

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: What else would have been declared?

Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi: The position of India would have been quite different to what it is today. Settle first the differences between the Hindus and Muslims. Do not fight among yourselves, unite among yourselves and then come up with Resolutions on the floor of the House. As my friend, Mr. James, remarked, you want all the benefits of independence of a winning war. But what have you done till now to help the allies, to crush Hitlerism and Stalinism? Nothing. Why should you claim the benefits of a winning war when you are not a party even to

[Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi.]

assist the Government to win the war? It does not lie in your mouth, when you do not render the least assistance even with a pencil, to say that the British should declare here and now that they would grant complete independence to India after the war is won.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: Hear, hear.

Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi: My esteemed friend says "hear, hear". That is a complete truth. Assist the allies to win the war. Meantime, settle your differences here. That is the first thing on which you should concentrate; put all your efforts together and find out a solution for the communal problem which is obstructing the progress of India. Settle that first and help the Allies to fight Hitler and Stalin. . . .

Babu Baijnath Bajoria (Marwari Association: Indian Commerce): England is not at war with Russia.

Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi: And then ask England to give you your just dues. Sir, it is high time that we in India gave serious thought to the situation. The present is a serious war which is now going on in the West. Goodness knows for how long it will drag on

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Honourable Member has two minutes more.

Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi: What will be the position, if the Britishers lose the war? Good Heavens, I cannot imagine the situation. We say that we are slaves, though we are not, but we shall be slaves if the Britishers lose, which God forbid, and there will be no longer Britishers existing to fight Hitlerism and Stalinism. Sir, I oppose this motion.

Mr. M. S. Aney: The question may now be put.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The question is:

"That the question may now be put."

The Assembly divided:

AYES—9.

Abdur Rasheed Chaudhury, Maulvi.
Aney, Mr. M. S.
Bajoria, Babu, Baijnath.
Datta, Mr. Akhil Chandra.
Lalchand Navalrai, Mr.

Maitra, Pandit Lakshmi Kanta.
Malaviya, Pandit Krishna Kant.
Parma Nand, Bhai.
Sant Singh, Sardar.

NOES—47.

Abdoola Haroon, Seth Haji Sir.
 Abdul Ghani, Maulvi Muhammad.
 Abdul Hamid, Khan Bahadur Sir.
 Abdul Hamid, Khan Sahib Shaikh.
 Ahmad Nawaz Khan, Major Nawab
 Sir.
 Azhar Ali, Mr. Muhammad.
 Bajpai, Sir Girja Shankar.
 Campbell, Mr. D. C.
 Caroe, Mr. O. K.
 Chambers, Mr. S. P.
 Chettiar, Dr. Rajah Sir S. R. M.
 Annamalai.
 Clow, The Honourable Sir Andrew.
 Daga, Seth Sunderlal.
 Dalal, Dr. R. D.
 Dalpat Singh, Sardar Bahadur Captain.
 Dumasia, Mr. N. M.
 Essak Sait, Mr. H. A. Sathar H.
 Ghiasuddin, Mr. M.
 Ismail Ali Khan, Kunwar Hajee.
 Jawahar Singh, Sardar Bahadur Sardar
 Sir.
 Kamaluddin Ahmed, Shams-ul-Ulema.
 Khan, Mr. N. M.
 Kushalpal Singh, Raja Bahadur.
 Lillie, Mr. C. J. W.

Mackeown, Mr. J. A.
 Maxwell, The Honourable Sir Reginald.
 Miller, Mr. C. C.
 Muazzam Sahib Bahadur, Mr.
 Muhammad.
 Oulsnam, Mr. S. H. Y.
 Pillay, Mr. T. S. S.
 Rafiuddin Ahmad Siddiquee, Shaikh.
 Rahman, Lieut.-Col. M. A.
 Raisman, The Honourable Sir Jeremy.
 Raza Ali, Sir Syed.
 Scott, Mr. J. Ramsay.
 Sen, Rai Bahadur G. C.
 Shahban, Mian Ghulam Kadir
 Muhammad.
 Sheehy, Mr. J. F.
 Sher Muhammad Khan, Captain Sardar
 Sir.
 Siddique Ali Khan, Khan Bahadur
 Nawab.
 Sivaraj, Rao Sahib N.
 Spence, Sir George.
 Umar Aly Shah, Mr.
 Yamin Khan, Sir Muhammad.
 Zafar Ali Khan, Maulana.
 Zafrullah Khan, The Honourable Sir
 Muhammad.
 Ziauddin Ahmad, Dr. Sir.

The motion was negatived.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): Major Nawab Ahmad Nawaz Khan.

Mr. M. S. Aney: Sir, I may bring to your notice that our time for this debate expires at 5 P.M. today. We have debated the motion the whole day and it is time for the Member of Government to reply.

The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan: I shall reply immediately after the Honourable Member who has been called upon just now has finished.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): I cannot extend the time.

The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan: I shall not want any extension.

Major Nawab Sir Ahmad Nawaz Khan: My Honourable friend, Mr. Aney, raised two points, in addition to others which have been replied to by other speakers, to which I desire to reply. The first was that in his opinion the declaration made by His Majesty's Government in England or by the Viceroy in India was not satisfactory. The second was whether the principle of these aims was to be applicable to Europe only or to India also. I tell my Honourable friend that in reality the war aims are satisfactory but for a satisfactory declaration of these aims which may

[Major Nawab Sir Ahmad Nawaz Khan.]

please the Congress, the Muslim League, the Depressed Classes and others the Government of India shall require not one but several sets of war aims to satisfy the various disunited and different parties. Therefore, to issue a satisfactory declaration of war aims to satisfy all the conflicting interests, as we have seen in the Indian Press and in this debate, is impossible for the Government of India or any Government and even for the High Command of Congress Government.

With regard to his second point, I think the war aims issued by His Majesty's Government in England or in India are applicable to Europe and every other country which is not disunited like India. They could be safely and easily applied to India if Indians were united and belonged to one nation and religion as the nations of Europe are united, like Poland and other countries. And on account of our disunity mostly, we make the application of these war aims to India impossible. The British Government have often promised Dominion Status to India, but it is not a free gift like a cash cheque to be given easily to any one, rich or poor and literate or illiterate. We have to make first ourselves quite fit and capable in each respect of those powers and responsibilities which entitle a country to have the Dominion Status and so long as we cannot do that we cannot make that demand and it cannot be given to us by any Government however desirous it may be. Sir, I oppose the motion.

The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan (Leader of the House): Sir, I have failed to grasp the real object that the Honourable the Mover of this motion had in mind in moving this cut. I am really at a loss to understand what he exactly desires Government to do in response to this cut motion in order to avoid being censured. He has by this time, I hope, himself realised that the cause of India has not been advanced one inch by the debate that has taken place today.

Sardar Sant Singh: You are mistaken. The country outside is with us and we have created an impression of that character.

The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan: That is another cut out of the bag. The Honourable Member says that the country outside is with them and on that country which is with them they have created an impression. That was the object of the debate. A more futile object I cannot imagine,—to impress those who are already with you according to yourselves. But there is considerable doubt on that. Is the country really on their side? The cut motion has been prompted by the doubt perhaps the country is more with the Congress than with the Nationalists, or perhaps it is more with the Hindu Mahasabha than with the Nationalists,—and why should we not try to take the credit rather than anybody else. But I shall not go further into that; these are remarks provoked by the explanation attempted by the Honourable Member.

If I did attempt to sum up the debate at this stage it would be a very difficult task and, I must observe, for an Indian and I hope a patriotic Indian a very unpleasant and painful task. I shall, therefore, not try to attempt that. Briefly put, the object of the cut motion, as it appears in

the Order Paper, is to censure the Government of India for not having insisted upon His Majesty's Government making a clear declaration that Great Britain along with France has been forced to declare war upon Hitler and the Nazis in order that Great Britain may be enabled to set up a constituent assembly in India so that that assembly might frame the constitution of a free India. That is the whole object of the cut. I would leave it to the House to decide whether in that respect the Government of India deserve a censure. But I do want to assure the House that in the absence of any war in Europe the case for India's freedom would have been no weaker than it is today, on its own merits apart from any war. Those who are trying to link up the two questions are placing themselves in this position before the world that in their own heart of hearts they do not think that they had much of a case on the merits, but taking advantage of Great Britain's difficulty they feel that they might win an otherwise desperate case. Therefore, they are doing no service to the cause of the freedom of India. Whatever freedom India deserves India deserves it on the merits rather than because there is a conflict of the kind that we know of in Europe which, unfortunately, may not, as it proceeds, be confined only to Europe. In these circumstances, Sir, as I have said, it is a hopeless task to try to sum up the various points of view to which expression has been given in the course of this debate. And indeed it was a most pertinent observation of the last speaker that His Majesty's Government are being placed in a very embarrassing position if they are being set the task of framing a declaration which would satisfy the various points of view to which expression has been given today in the House. It would be an impossible task. However, that would be their responsibility. All that we can do is to transmit a full record of the views of Honourable Members on this matter to the Secretary of State and we are quite certain that they will from him receive such consideration and attention as they merit.

Before I sit down may I, with your permission, just say one word on my own behalf and not on behalf of the Government of India? The question perhaps is such that I may assume that liberty on this occasion. I am not in the habit of making claims on my own behalf, but I do claim that I have had more than the normal opportunities available to people from India of association and discussion with those in whose hands lies ultimately the political destiny of India. And to my people I may say this that they have today within their reach the reality of freedom if they will have the courage and the confidence and the magnanimity to grasp it.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The question is:

"That the demand under the head 'Executive Council' be reduced by Re. 1".

The Assembly divided:

AYES—10.

Abdur Rasheed Chaudhury, Maulvi.
Aney, Mr. M. S.
Bajoria, Babu Baijnath.
Banerjee, Dr. P. N.
Datta, Mr. Akhil Chandra.

Lalchand Navalrai, Mr.
Maitra, Pandit Lakshmi Kant.
Malaviya, Pandit Krishna Kant
Parma Nand, Bhai.
Sant Singh, Sardar

NOES—54.

Abdoola Haroon, Seth Haji Sir.
 Abdul Ghani, Maulvi Muhammad.
 Abdul Hamid, Khan Bahadur Sir.
 Abdul Hamid, Khan Sahib Shaikh.
 Ahmad Nawaz Khan, Major Nawab Sir.
 Azhar Ali, Mr. Muhammad.
 Bajpai, Sir Girja Shankar.
 Bewoor, Sir Gurnath.
 Boyle, Mr. J. D.
 Buss, Mr. L. C.
 Campbell, Mr. D. C.
 Caroe, Mr. O. K.
 Chambers, Mr. S. P.
 Chapman-Mortimer, Mr. T.
 Chettiar, Dr. Rajah Sir S. R. M. Annamalai.
 Clow, The Honourable Sir Andrew.
 Daga, Seth Sunderlal.
 Dalal, Dr. R. D.
 Dalpat Singh, Sardar Bahadur Captain.
 Dumasia, Mr. N. M.
 Essak Sait, Mr. H. A. Sathar H.
 Ghiasuddin, Mr. M.
 Ghuznavi, Sir Abdul Halim.
 Griffiths, Mr. P. J.
 Gwilt, Mr. E. L. C.
 Ismail Ali Khan, Kunwar Hajee.
 James, Mr. F. E.

Jawahar Singh, Sardar Bahadur Sardar Sir.
 Kamaluddin Ahmed, Shams-ul-Ulema.
 Khan, Mr. N. M.
 Kushalpal Singh, Raja Bahadur.
 Lillie, Mr. C. J. W.
 Mackeown, Mr. J. A.
 Maxwell, The Honourable Sir Reginald.
 Miller, Mr. C. C.
 Muazzam Sahib Bahadur, Mr. Muhammad.
 Murtuza Sahib Bahadur, Maulvi Syed.
 Oulsnam, Mr. S. H. Y.
 Pillay, Mr. T. S. S.
 Rahman, Lieut.-Col. M. A.
 Raisman, The Honourable Sir Jeremy.
 Raza Ali, Sir Syed.
 Scott, Mr. J. Ramsay.
 Sen, Rai Bahadur G. C.
 Shahban, Mian Ghulam Kadir Muhammad.
 Sheehy, Mr. J. F.
 Sher Muhammad Khan, Captain Sardar Sir.
 Siddique Ali Khan, Khan Bahadur Nawab.
 Sivaraj, Rao Sahib N.
 Spence, Sir George.
 Yamin Khan, Sir Muhammad.
 Zafar Ali Khan, Maulana.
 Zafrullah Khan, The Honourable Sir Muhammad.
 Ziauddin Ahmad, Dr. Sir.

The motion was negatived.

The Assembly then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Tuesday, the 12th March, 1940.