

9th March 1943

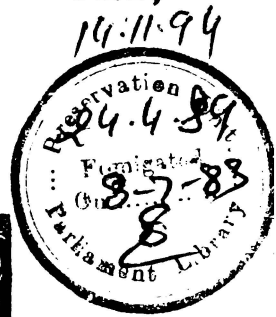
# THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY DEBATES

Official Report

Volumes I to II, 1943

(10th February to 2nd April, 1943)

## SEVENTEENTH SESSION OF THE FIFTH LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY, 1943



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# LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

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# LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

Tuesday, 9th March, 1943.

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.

## MEMBER SWORN:

Mr. Geoffrey Stephen Bozman, C.I.E., M.L.A. (Secretary, Indian Overseas Department).

## STARRED QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

### (a) ORAL ANSWERS.

#### PROPERTY CONFISCATED IN SIND UNDER MARTIAL LAW.

**260. \*Kunwer Hajee Ismaiel Alikhan:** (a) Will the War Secretary kindly give the total approximate value of movable and immovable property confiscated in the Sind Province under the Martial Law?

(b) What is the value of such property of the Hur Leader known as Pir Pagaro?

**Mr. C. M. Trivedi:** (a) The required information is not available here, but if it can be collected without undue expenditure of time and labour, I will lay it on the table in due course.

(b) Property, bullion and cash to the extent of Rs. 3.86 lakhs.

**Mr. Lalchand Navalrai:** May I know if the property other than that of Pir Pagaro and the real Hurs has also been confiscated in Sind?

**Mr. C. M. Trivedi:** Yes, Sir.

**Mr. Lalchand Navalrai:** Has it been confiscated under the martial law?

**Mr. C. M. Trivedi:** Yes, Sir.

**Mr. Lalchand Navalrai:** Will the Honourable Member give me the details of it?

**Mr. C. M. Trivedi:** I have said that the required information is not available here, but if it can be collected without undue expenditure of time and labour, I will lay it on the table in due course.

**Mr. Lalchand Navalrai:** Why is it that the confiscation has taken place of the property of civil people also when the martial law is intended for the Hurs only?

**Mr. C. M. Trivedi:** I understood the Honourable Member to ask me whether besides the property of the Pir Pagaro any other property was confiscated and I said 'Yes'.

**Mr. Lalchand Navalrai:** But why has the property of the civil population been confiscated?

**Mr. C. M. Trivedi:** I think I misunderstood the Honourable Member. As far as I am aware, the property of persons other than the Hurs has not been confiscated.

**Mr. H. A. Sathar H. Essak Sait:** With reference to the answer to part (b) of the question, my Honourable friend said that the property was worth 3.86 lakhs. Was it only in bullion and money or does it include the landed property also?

**Mr. C. M. Trivedi:** It does not include landed property as far as I am aware.

**Maulvi Muhammad Abdul Ghani:** What is the worth of the landed property?

**Mr. C. M. Trivedi:** I do not know.

**Mr. H. A. Sathar H. Essak Sait:** Has that been confiscated?

**Mr. C. M. Trivedi:** Not as far as I am aware.

**Dr. Sir Zia Uddin Ahmad:** With reference to the figure of Rs. 3·86 lakhs mentioned by the Honourable Member, does it include the value of the treasure recently unearthed as was reported in the papers?

**Mr. C. M. Trivedi:** I think it does as far as I am aware.

**Mr. Lalchand Navalrai:** Is it a fact that the Pir Pagaro's palaces have been razed to the ground?

**Mr. C. M. Trivedi:** Yes, one has been razed to the ground.

**Maulvi Syed Murtuza Sahib Bahadur:** May I ask how much property was demolished?

**Mr. C. M. Trivedi:** I have not the details with me.

**Sardar Sant Singh:** May I ask the reasons why the Government razed the palace of Pir Pagaro down? Is that in the spirit of vindictiveness or is it in the spirit of justice?

**Mr. C. M. Trivedi:** It is not in the spirit of vindictiveness.

**Sardar Sant Singh:** Then what are the reasons for razing the palace to the ground?

**Mr. C. M. Trivedi:** The palace was a visible symbol of Pir's authority.

**Sardar Sant Singh:** Does the Government hold that the visible symbols of old monarchy are to be razed to the ground?

**Mr. C. M. Trivedi:** It was used as a fortress for holding lethal weapons and ammunition.

**Sardar Sant Singh:** Were any weapons discovered in that building?

**Mr. C. M. Trivedi:** Yes, Sir.

**Sardar Sant Singh:** What was the nature of those weapons which were discovered?

**Mr. C. M. Trivedi:** They were lethal weapons.

**Sardar Sant Singh:** You mean to say *dhaus* and *soties*, or anything else?

**Mr. C. M. Trivedi:** The meaning of "lethal weapons" will be found in the dictionary.

**Hajee Chowdhury Muhammad Ismail Khan:** May I know what is the annual income of landed property which has been confiscated?

**Mr. C. M. Trivedi:** I said that so far as I am aware landed property was not confiscated.

**Maulvi Muhammad Abdul Ghani:** Are Government aware that all this property—landed and bullion—is held by the Pir Pagaro under a trust on behalf of the Mussalmans of India?

**Mr. C. M. Trivedi:** I am not aware of that.

**Maulvi Muhammad Abdul Ghani:** Do Government propose to make inquiries into this matter?

(No answer.)

**Dr. Sir Zia Uddin Ahmad:** May I ask whether the property confiscated belonged to the Pir Pagaro personally or whether it belonged to the Mussalmans?

**Mr. C. M. Trivedi:** I want notice of that question.

THE NEW INDIAN STANDARD TIME.

+261. \***Mr. Amarendra Nath Chattopadhyaya:** (a) Will the Honourable the Home Member please state the circumstances which led to the adoption of the new time in India whereby the standard time was advanced by one hour, and how long it is to be continued?

(b) What have been the advantages to Government?

(c) Does he propose to consider the desirability of reverting to the old standard time? If not, why not?

**The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell:** (a) and (b). The Honourable Member's attention is invited to the reply given to a similar question No. 189 put by Qazi Muhammad Ahmad Kazmi on the 25th February, 1943.

(c) The question whether the present Indian Standard Time should be changed during summer or not is under consideration.

## LANDS AND CROPS SEIZED UNDER DEFENCE OF INDIA RULES IN SIND AIR FIELDS.

262. \*Mr. Lalchand Navalrai: (a) Will the War Secretary be pleased to state if any lands and crops were seized under the Defence of India Rules in the Nawabshah District and other air fields in Sind?

(b) If the answer to (a) be in the affirmative, when and where were the lands and crops seized, and of which area?

(c) Has any compensation for damages been awarded to the owners of the lands and crops? If so, how much, and for what areas?

(d) Have the owners made any applications for compensation for damages? If so, which of them, and has anything been awarded to them? If not, why not?

(e) Is it a fact that for the very lands and the crops thereon, notices for payment of land revenue have been issued by the local Government to the owners? If so, what arrangement has the Government of India made to see that assessments are not levied for the lands and the crops seized by Government?

(f) Is it a fact that further works on the said lands have been suspended by Government? If so, were the owners given any previous notice to grow fresh crops on those lands? If not, why not? Do Government propose to take steps to meet the demands of these land-owners?

Mr. C. M. Trivedi: (a) to (f). The information asked for by the Honourable Member is being collected and will be laid on the table in due course.

## THE NEW INDIAN STANDARD TIME.

263. \*Bhai Parma Nand: Will the Honourable the Home Member be pleased to state:

(a) the reasons which led Government to advance the time by one hour;

(b) whether one of the reasons was to save electricity by utilising as much of daylight as possible in office or factory, if so, what saving in the consumption of electricity has been effected by the Central Government since the adoption of the new time;

(c) whether the scheme has been welcomed by the staff, specially the Indian staff, and the public;

(d) whether Government have received any representations of protest in this connection; if so, from whom;

(e) whether Government are prepared to review the position by considering the *pros* and *cons* of the scheme in the light of the experience gained by them and the Provincial Governments; if so, when; and

(f) how long Government propose to enforce the new time?

The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell: (a), (b), (e) and (f). The Honourable Member's attention is invited to the reply given to a question already put by Mr. Chattopadhyaya on the same subject. Since one of the objects underlying the change was the avoidance of an overload and not the saving of electricity by a reduction in consumption, the latter part of clause (b) of the question does not arise.

(c) Government have no information to that effect.

(d) No.

Dr. Sir Zia Uddin Ahmad: May I ask whether the Government are contemplating to go back to the old time?

The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell: The matter is under consideration.

## GRADUATE ENGINEERS AS SUBORDINATES IN MILITARY ENGINEERING SERVICE.

264. \*Mr. M. Ghiasuddin: (a) Will the War Secretary please state the names, qualifications and pay of graduate Engineers working as temporary or permanent Subordinates in the Military Engineering Service with foreign University qualifications, and since when they are employed?

(b) Is it a fact that the promotion of such subordinates to officer's rank is regulated purely by seniority and not by merit which is against the practice of other branches and Departments?



(c) Is it a fact that these temporary Subordinates (Sub-Divisional Officers) are considered 'junior to permanent Sub-Subordinates (Overseers) in making promotions? If so, why?

(d) Is it a fact that many Engineers have been recruited from outside as officers in the Military Engineering Service, but the authorities have been quite unsympathetic to the aspirations of such qualified men in the Department?

(e) What is the number of those qualified Subordinates who have been promoted to officer's rank during the War?

(f) Why is preference not given to the qualified departmental Subordinates in making promotions over the unqualified individuals of the same rank or in recruitment of qualified candidates from outside?

(g) Do Government propose to consider the desirability of giving promotion to the departmental men also in order to remove discontent?

**Mr. C. M. Trivedi:** (a) The information required is not readily available and its collection would involve an amount of time and labour which would not be justified in war time.

(b) The promotion of subordinates to gazetted officers status is made by selection on merit.

(c) No distinction is made between purely temporary S. D. Os. and permanent overseers employed as temporary S. D. Os. in selecting individuals for appointment as Assistant Engineers.

(d) The reply to the first part is in the affirmative and to the second part in the negative.

(e) 121 military and 97 civilians have been promoted to officer's rank during the war.

(f) and (g). In selecting subordinates for promotion preference is in fact given to better qualified individuals provided they are in other respects suitable.

**AUTHORITY FOR REDUCING PAY OR RANK OF OFFICER WHEN DECLARED MEDICALLY FIT FOR A LOWER RANK.**

**265. \*Mr. M. Ghasuddin:** (a) Will the War Secretary please state the authority under which the appointing authority of an officer, permanent or temporary, can reduce his pay or rank solely on account of his having been declared medically fit for 'C' category instead of 'A' or 'B' to which he belonged when entering service, although he is considered otherwise efficient?

(b) Have any instructions been issued which restrict the further advancement of such an officer? If so, does he propose to place a copy of such order on the table of the House?

(c) Is he aware that due to hard conditions and work the health of the individuals has been adversely affected during the War?

(d) Why should not the State compensate such officers for their devotion to duty in mitigating their hardships?

(e) Does he propose to consider the desirability of amending those restrictions that have been imposed on their further advancement? If not, does he propose to consider the possibility of exempting such cases from the operation of the 'Essential Services Ordinance' with a view to allowing them to better their prospects elsewhere? If not, why not?

**Mr. C. M. Trivedi:** (a) and (b). The pay of an army officer depends on the rank or appointment which he holds. On being placed in a medical category other than 'A', an officer can only be employed in an appointment appropriate to that category, and he draws the pay and holds the rank appropriate to that appointment. Such rank will not, however, be lower than the officer's Substantive or War Substantive Rank to which he is in any case always liable to revert. The orders of Government on this subject are contained in Army Instruction (India) No. 224 of 1941 and India Army Order No. 1000 as modified by India Army Order No. 1405 of 1941. Copies of these orders are placed in the library of the House.

(c) Yes, in a certain number of cases.

(d) An officer who is placed on a lower medical category by a Medical Board is, as I have said, always given employment when a vacancy for which he is suitable is available. Any officer for whom there is no such vacancy and whose disability is certified as attributable to military service is eligible for a disability pension.

(e) No. There can be no question of Government paying officers for duties which they are not physically capable of performing. The Essential Services Ordinance has no application in this connection since it is a fundamental condition of military service that an officer cannot resign his commission at will.

**Mr. M. Ghiasuddin:** With regard to part (a) is it not true that in certain cases people's health has suffered on account of the arduous duties and they have been placed in the category to which they first entered, for instance, A or B category people have been placed in C?

**Mr. C. M. Trivedi:** Yes, Sir, there may have been such cases.

**Dr. Sir Zia Uddin Ahmad:** What are the duties of officers in category C and do they get any remuneration?

**Mr. C. M. Trivedi:** Category C officers perform administrative or sedentary duties and they get remuneration.

#### INDIANS APPOINTED AS CHIEF ENGINEERS AND COMMANDERS, ROYAL ENGINEERS.

**266. \*Mr. M. Ghiasuddin:** (a) With reference to the reply to starred question No. 276 of the 27th March, 1942, will the War Secretary please state if any Indian has been appointed to any of the appointments of Chief Engineers and Commanders, Royal Engineers, so far? If so, what are their names, qualifications and source of recruitment? If not, why has no attempt so far been made to appoint an Indian to any of these posts?

(b) Does he propose to consider the desirability of appointing some Indians permanently in the Military Engineering Service for these high jobs? If not, why not?

**Mr. C. M. Trivedi:** (a) No Indian has yet been appointed Chief Engineer. One Indian has so far been appointed Commander, Royal Engineers.

The name of the officer appointed is Ty/Lt.-Colonel B. S. Nag, I.E., and his qualifications are: Degree of Civil Engineering from Thomason College, Roorkee. 9½ years service in U. P. Irrigation Department as Assistant Executive Engineer and Executive Engineer.

There are no Indian officers of the I. E. who have yet sufficient service and experience to be considered for these appointments.

(b) There is no intention of appointing War Emergency commissioned officers whether Indian or British to permanent senior appointments in the M. E. S. Permanent Officers of the Indian Engineers will, if suitable, undoubtedly rise to the highest ranks in the service in due course.

**Mr. Lalchand Navalrai:** May I know whether there is any Indian immediately below the Chief Engineer?

**Mr. C. M. Trivedi:** No Sir.

**Mr. Lalchand Navalrai:** How many Indians are there who can aspire for that post?

**Mr. C. M. Trivedi:** I have not got that information. As far as I am aware the highest permanent rank obtained by an Indian officer in the Indian Engineering is that of Captain.

**Sardar Sant Singh:** May I know if these Chief Engineers, who are now in the Military, belong to the Military Department or whether their services were borrowed from the Civil Departments?

**Mr. C. M. Trivedi:** Their services were not borrowed from the Civil Departments.

**Sardar Sant Singh:** Is it not a fact that good many officers in the Civil Departments are quite fit to hold this post? Will they be taken, if they volunteer.

**Mr. C. M. Trivedi:** No, Sir. The post of Chief Engineer not only requires technical qualifications but military experience also.

**Maulvi Syed Murtuza Sahib Bahadur:** Is there any Indian Superintending Engineer in the Department?

**Mr. C. M. Trivedi:** There is no such rank as that of Superintending Engineer in the Military Engineering Service.

**PROMOTION OF TECHNICAL M. T. STORE-KEEPERS TRANSFERRED TO THE INDIAN ARMY ORDNANCE CORPS.**

**267. \*Mr. M. Ghiasuddin:** (a) Is the War Secretary aware that:

- (i) technical M. T. Storekeepers of the Indian Army Ordnance Corps who were transferred from the Royal Indian Army Service Corps to the Indian Army Ordnance Corps were given clear understanding that their terms and conditions of service would remain unchanged but they have since been practically debarred from promotion to the higher grade;
- (ii) Indian Army Ordnance Corps Storemen and M. T. Storekeepers have the same duties in their respective units, but the M. T. Storekeepers have been denied promotion whereas the Indian Army Ordnance Corps Storemen have been promoted to the higher grade; and
- (iii) the new combatant storemen posted to the Indian Army Ordnance Corps Workshop Companies have to work under the M. T. Storekeepers because of their seniority and experience for training whereas they are drawing more pay than the storekeepers? Have any steps been taken to adjust their position, if so what?

(b) Has it been brought to his notice that great dissatisfaction is prevailing among the M. T. Storekeepers owing to the fact that on account of the expansion of M. T. in India, no promotion has been given to their cadre and no paid acting promotions have been given in the vacancy of seniors who have gone overseas and no scheme has been made for the uplift of the Corps?

**Mr. C. M. Trivedi:** (a) (i) and (ii). The terms and conditions of service of M. T. storekeepers who were transferred to the Indian Army Ordnance Corps have remained unchanged and they have not been debarred from further promotion.

(iii) Cases do occur in which Indian Army Ordnance Corps storekeepers have to work under M. T. storekeepers while the former are drawing higher rates of pay than the latter. This is due partly to the fundamental difference in their conditions of service (M. T. storekeepers being enrolled personnel while civil assistant storekeepers of the Indian Army Ordnance Corps are not) and partly because representations from the storekeepers themselves prevented amalgamation of the two categories in 1939. With the promotion of M. T. storekeepers to higher categories the position is gradually being adjusted.

(b) There has been a certain amount of dissatisfaction among M. T. storekeepers on the subject of promotion but in view of the steps which have already been taken to facilitate their promotion, Government consider that there is now little or no cause for complaint.

**EMERGENCY COMMISSIONS TO INDIAN WARRANT OFFICERS OF THE INDIAN ARMY ORDNANCE CORPS.**

**268. \*Mr. M. Ghiasuddin:** With reference to the reply to starred question No. 275 of the 31st March, 1942, on the subject will the War Secretary please state if any Emergency Commissions have been given to any of the Indian Warrant Officers of the Indian Army Ordnance Corps so far? If not, how long more is it likely to take to open this Branch of the Army for appointment of Indians to Commission Rank? In case any appointments have been made, what are the names, qualifications and appointments last held by those who have been given Emergency Commission from this unit?

**Mr. C. M. Trivedi:** No actual promotion to emergency commissioned rank has yet been made from among Indian warrant officers of the I. A. O. C., but all ranks of the I. A. O. C. are allowed to apply for emergency commissions.

Applications from 21 persons have been forwarded so far to G. H. Q. Of these, two have been selected and are undergoing training. Their names, qualifications and appointments last held are as follows:—

(1) Harbans Singh, B.A., Punjab University, Salvage Group, Rawalpindi Arsenal.

(2) Raghbir Singh, B.A., Punjab University, 14 years Army service, joined I.A.O.C. from Military Farms in April, 1940. Active service February 1941 to December 1942. I. A. Special Certificate of Education. Q. M. S., Stores, Ordnance Mobile Workshop Company.

One warrant officer has been selected and is waiting to proceed to an Officers' Training School. He is—

Manohar Singh Nagi, I.A., Special Certificate of Education. Service in I. H. C. from June, 1939. I.A.O.C. from October, 1936. 30 months active service during the war. Clothing Group, Rawalpindi Arsenal.

Of the remainder, 14 are awaiting interview by the Selection Board and four were found unsuitable for promotion to commissioned rank at present.

**Mr. M. Ghiasuddin:** Why is it that they are not promoted in their own Department like Anglo-Indians? Why are Indians debarred from getting promotion?

**Mr. C. M. Trivedi:** They are promoted to Indian Commissioned rank in the Department. Five have been so promoted.

#### ARREST OF SARDAR DIWAN SINGH OF THE *Riyasat*.

**269. \*Sardar Sant Singh:** (a) Will the Honourable the Home Member please state when Sardar Diwan Singh, Proprietor of the *Riyasat*, Delhi, was arrested? What were the reasons for his arrest?

(b) Is it a fact that he has never been a member of the Indian National Congress or has never taken any part in any political or subversive activities?

(c) Is it a fact that the Deputy Commissioner of Delhi had sent for Sardar Diwan Singh and gave him warning in regard to the tone of the articles published in his paper?

(d) Is it a fact that Sardar Diwan Singh asked the Deputy Commissioner to give that warning in writing?

(e) Is it a fact that the Deputy Commissioner took exception to this attitude of Sardar Diwan Singh and used his powers under the Defence of India Rules to get him arrested soon after the incident?

(f) Is it a fact that Sardar Diwan Singh was prosecuted and sentenced by the trial court for forging currency notes?

(g) Is it a fact that he was acquitted by the High Court on appeal?

(h) Is it a fact that the High Court passed strictures on the local authorities in regard to investigation in that case? If so, was he arrested on that account?

**The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell:** (a) Sardar Diwan Singh was arrested on August 20, 1942, under Defence Rule 129, and is now detained under an order made by the Chief Commissioner, Delhi, under Defence Rule 26. He was arrested with a view to preventing him from acting in a manner prejudicial to the public safety and the maintenance of public order.

(b) I have no information regarding Sardar Diwan Singh's membership of the Indian National Congress; he is, however, known habitually to have engaged in subversive activities.

(c) Sardar Diwan Singh was called before the Central Press Advisory Committee (the Deputy Commissioner, Delhi, being present) and a warning was administered to him on the 10th August, 1942, in connection with an article which appeared in the issue of the *Riyasat* newspaper, dated June 1st, 1942.

(d) and (e). No.

(f) to (h). Sardar Diwan Singh was convicted on the 5th June, 1941 by a magistrate of the Gurgaon District and sentenced to seven years rigorous

imprisonment in a note-counterfeiting case. On appeal to the High Court at Lahore he was given the benefit of the doubt and acquitted. The suggestion that the Judge who decided the appeal passed strictures on the local authorities in regard to the investigation is almost an exact reversal of the true facts. The following sentences may be quoted from the judgment, to show its tenor:—

“Throughout the whole course of the case, the police have been the subject of attack, and I feel compelled to describe this attack as in all respects absolutely baseless and in almost all respects foolish.”

The suggestion that the arrest of Sardar Diwan Singh last August was connected with his acquittal in the counterfeiting case has no basis whatever.

**Sardar Sant Singh:** May I know, Sir, the nature of the subversive activity and the prejudicial act which led the Government to arrest him?

**The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell:** I have ascertained the particulars myself, but I would rather not state it to the House.

**Sardar Sant Singh:** May I know if it is a fact that Sardar Diwan Singh was not a member of any political association so far? If the Government do not know it, do they propose to make enquiries on the point?

**The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell:** I said that I was not aware whether he was a member of the Congress or was not a member of the Congress.

**Sardar Sant Singh:** Of any political organisation? Will the Honourable Member make enquiries?

**The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell:** My information is that he is a member of a particular organisation. Which political organisation, I am not prepared to say at the moment.

#### DEMAND OF SECURITY FROM THE *Riyasat*.

**270. \*Sardar Sant Singh:** (a) Will the Honourable the Home Member please state if it is a fact that the *Riyasat* was asked to deposit a security? If so, on what date and for what amount?

(b) When was this security of this paper forfeited?

(c) Is it a fact that after the forfeiture, a further security has been asked for? If so, what is the amount of the security?

(d) Has any fresh declaration been filed? If so, with what result?

(e) Is it a fact that Government is withholding permission for publication of the paper? If so, what are the reasons for the same?

**The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell:** (a) Security of Rs. 1,000 was required from the publisher of the *Riyasat* by an order made by the Chief Commissioner of Delhi on the 28th January, 1939 under section 7 (3) of the Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act, 1931.

(b) This security was declared to be forfeited by an order made by the Chief Commissioner on the 25th September, 1942 under section 8 (1) of the Act. An application made to the High Court at Lahore under section 23 to set aside the order of forfeiture was dismissed on the 13th January, 1943.

(c) and (d). On the 2nd November, 1942 the publisher of the *Riyasat* addressed a letter to the District Magistrate stating that he wished to file a fresh declaration, his former declaration having automatically been annulled on the forfeiture of the security. An order was made by the District Magistrate on the 12th November, 1942 to the effect that if such a declaration was made the declarant would be required to deposit a security of Rs. 2,500 under section 9 (1) of the Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act 1931. The publisher has made no further move towards filing a fresh declaration.

(e) No. There is nothing to prevent the publisher from re-starting the paper provided he deposits the required security.

**Sardar Sant Singh:** With reference to part (d) will the Honourable Member please say if the order passed on 2nd November, 1942 and that passed on 12th November, 1942 were communicated to the applicant?

**The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell:** I have no precise information to that effect. I presume it was the case.

## NOMINATIONS TO THE HOUSE COMMITTEE.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): Owing to the death of certain Members there are three vacancies on the House Committee and I have accordingly nominated Mr. Hoosenbhoy A. Lalljee, Sir Frederick James and Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta to fill these vacancies.

I have also to inform the House that I have appointed Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan as an additional member of the Committee.

## ELECTION OF MEMBERS TO THE STANDING COMMITTEE ON EMIGRATION.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): I have to inform the Assembly that the following Members have been elected to the Standing Committee on Emigration:

Mr. N. M. Joshi, Sir Syed Raza Ali, Sir F. E. James, Mr. Ananga Mohan Darn, Mr. M. Ghiasuddin, Syed Ghulam Bhik Nairang, Shams-ul-Ulema Kamaluddin Ahmad, and Khan Bahadur Shaikh Fazl-i-Haq Piracha.

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

### SECOND STAGE—*contd.*

#### DEMAND No. 12—EXECUTIVE COUNCIL—*contd.*

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The House will now deal with the Demands for Grants. I think it is now the turn of the Independent Party to move their cut motions.

*Means whereby People may have better opportunity to place their Views before the Government regarding War Activities and the future Position of the Country and of the future Needs for the Prosperity of the Country.*

**Mr. Hoosenbhoy A. Lalljee** (Bombay Central Division: Muhammadan Rural): Sir, I beg to move.

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

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Honourable Member is apparently not satisfied with the Assembly.

**Mr. Hoosenbhoy A. Lalljee**: With regard to the Assembly, something is coming. Sir, it is now nearly four years that we have this great war and we have plunged into this total war with all that we have. It cannot be denied that the efforts made by this country to recruit as many soldiers as possible, to recruit officers, to train officers, to recruit technicians and above all to do all we can to increase our munitions and stores—all these efforts are comparable to what other countries are doing. In fact, it can be proudly said that during the first two years of the war, this country supplied the major portion of the requirements of war and also troops. It cannot be denied that during the last two years, since our own country has been directly threatened, every endeavour is being made to do our level best to prosecute the war successfully. In order to do so, we have not lagged behind others in making sacrifices, which is also a fact.

Sir, it is also admitted that almost all, or a very large portion of our people have been assisting war endeavours and all the sacrifices that they are making are with the intention of putting down Fascism, and Nazism and to acquire liberty for themselves and for all other people and also for those who have lost their liberty. While this is the position, we are often told that we are not doing enough or as much as this country can do. I make bold to say that aspersion is not correct. If it is the real desire that this country should do still more, and which she can really do, then I ask in all fairness whether the people in this country are taken into confidence as those of the other countries whether the people of this country are regularly and often told what is the condition of war, whether the people of this country are made aware as in other countries as to what they are required to do, and above all whether, except the formation of the National Defence Council very recently by the Viceroy, any

[Mr. Hooseinbhoj A. Lalljee.]

other regular duly formed body has been created in any other part of the whole of the continent of India to do any such work. Sir, with regard to the National Defence Council, I have nothing to say, but I will only say this much that a body like that in the Centre may give confidence to some as to something is being done, but it cannot and does not honestly give the masses that confidence. Compared to what is being done all over the world and more especially in countries where also war activities are going on can this little institute that has been formed to meet only in Delhi be said to be of the people's representatives only and created for people to know the real and full position; for less to make the people take any interest in the war. Sir, this country, as is almost acknowledged, is a continent. Its provinces are larger than many of the small countries of the world. Still one does not find that in any of the Provinces any attempt is made to have an institute or body where people's representatives and others can give out the views of the people. Is this fair? Is this right? Is this the way to really and sincerely work for the war specially when so many dispersions are made that full attempts are not being made? 22 crores of people in ten provinces and no institution in any of those ten divisions where people's representatives could talk about the war, or be able to know something about it, or suggest ways and means with regard to its activities or put their suggestions before the Executive Government with regard to the war and the relative position of the people of the country! Sir, as a result of the war, and owing to prevalence of the war in most of the countries, our foodstuff position in the country has been much disorganized. It wants planning and distribution. So far as my own personal opinion is concerned, we ought not to have come into that position, but unfortunately for the want of proper planning and distribution, for the want of not having obtained public opinion from time to time in different provinces as to what they think and for the want of not taking those people, who are vitally concerned, into confidence, or taking care to obtain true position that we have come to this position. It is a very serious position and it is as important as other war activities. But may I ask the Central Government whether any attempts have been made or are being made in the provinces, in the ten provinces (I ought to say that they should divide India into 20 provinces for this purpose) to create bodies, Councils or conferences, or whatever you may like to call and to take people into confidence in those places? Please ask for their views and act according to them, do not neglect them; because there are no legislatures there, it is your duty to be more careful about them. Sir it will I believe be conceded that those people who have got to undergo the distress due to the bad distribution of food are mostly those people who have been helping you to get recruits from all the provinces in India (even Madras has been giving you lots of recruits) therefore it is but just that they should be given some opportunity to express their views. And I cannot understand why has not this been done? Sir, I feel that it is high time that the Central Government should at least try and create advisory bodies like the National Defence Council in every province. There will be nothing binding on the Government. Take their views and advice, and I am sure that both the war activities and the foodstuff and such other questions will be very soon nicely settled and settled to the satisfaction of the people. There are other questions which are agitating the people for want of information, such as the shortage of small coins and currency question, hoarding and prices. If facts relating to these matters are placed before the public and explained to them, I am sure a lot of misunderstanding and heart buring will be removed. Their views, their necessities are to be looked into and ought to be taken into careful and due consideration. I ask again is India such a small place that it could be fully guided by a small number in the National Defence Council in Delhi or even by the holding of one or two meetings of the Central Legislature, wherein hardly a day or two is allowed to discuss the world war news and when every proceeding are taken down and reported in the English language? Is all that

is now done sufficient to make 22 crores of people take any important interest or any serious interest, or is this a sufficient opportunity for the people to express their views? Certainly not.

Therefore, Sir, my suggestion is that in order that the people in this country may be able to know their position, may be able to help the war activity, may be able to solve some of the difficulties that have come in their way with regard to foodstuffs and many other things it is the duty of the Central Government to form in every province such small Councils as the National Defence Council, over which the head of the Government could preside and at least two or three days should be set apart for discussion every two months. That is the right way to take those people into confidence who are helping you and to act according to their suggestions as far as possible.

It may be conceded, Sir, that attempts have been made to acquaint people through the National War Front. But that is really and honestly speaking very meagre. In fact, I may say very recently by some propaganda something is being done, but this is not at all sufficient. This is giving the mass of people a very faint light or idea as to what is really going on. No suggestion could be made, no discussion are possible, no joint deliberation undertaken. This war has been Sir very well described in the latest National War Front leaflet: the "Hindustan Hamara", it says:

"What is the National Front? It is the great responsible body of Indian citizens who are working for the future of India, knowing their own personal future is entirely dependent upon the country's destiny. Every man and woman who wants to see India greater, more efficient, more united is a National Front member."

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): What is the Honourable Member reading from?

**Mr. Hooseinbhoj A. Lalljee**: This is a National Front leaflet that has been circulated.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): I think the Honourable Member can advance those arguments himself.

**Mr. Hooseinbhoj A. Lalljee**: As a matter of fact the leaflet says that the cultivators are supplying his family and himself with food.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Honourable Member cannot go on reading from the leaflet.

**Mr. Hooseinbhoj A. Lalljee**: I am only paraphrasing.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): I suppose the Honourable Member wishes to make it part of his own speech.

**Mr. Hooseinbhoj A. Lalljee**: Well, Sir, the whole substance of my motion is that I do feel that this war has got to be fought out successfully with the will of the people. At the same time, the people's desires must be carried out, and that if the people are made responsible they should have opportunities to discuss, deliberate and give their suggestions. In every other country such opportunities are given and in most of these countries the legislatures are the bodies which take the initiative and carry things out. Unfortunately in this country the legislatures in the provinces, in most of the provinces, are not functioning, but that does not mean that all the elected representatives in those bodies do not wish to work. Many of the members elected by the people to the legislatures are desirous of co-operating with Government, but no opportunity is given. It is said that because one party will not co-operate the Government as such will not work, but that a small committee of three Executive gentlemen with the Governor shall go on with the business. That may do for the time being but it is most unsatisfactory. That position cannot go on with respect to war activities and the general welfare of the masses of people. Give opportunities; provide some opportunity for those members elected by the people who wish to work to do justice to their constituencies, to do justice to the cause of the war and of their country. That can only be done by creating bodies as I have suggested. Government are wiser and have more opportunities, they must find out ways and means, but it is not at all fair that the people's representatives who are anxious to work and co-operate and to do justice to their constituencies



[Mr. Hooseinbhoy A. Lalljee.] should not be allowed any opportunity to do any good for their people or for their country, when all over the world, not only activities of the war, but what is to be done for the future is being considered. Sir, we find that big conferences are held to consider economic problems of the allies after the war, and of the position of people all over. We find scramble for material after the war. We find, Sir, that the Prime Minister of New Zealand—Mr. Nash—new Minister, has been telling us that India cannot have independence, that India must be held as a strategic ground for the future of the world at large. These gentlemen want that this country should always remain under not only Great Britain but also under the Dominions and under other nations such as America. If such things are being discussed and talked all over the world, then what is the position of India, should people not have opportunity in India to discuss them.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): What has this got to do with this motion?

**Mr. Hooseinbhoy A. Lalljee:** This motion is very wide, Sir.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): No. I cannot allow discussion of all sorts of questions under this motion.

**Mr. Hooseinbhoy A. Lalljee:** Well, Sir, I will not go further. I will finish by saying that I have given my suggestions with regard to position prevailing in the country and I hope the Government will give them a very careful consideration, and assure us that needful will be done.

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

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

**The Honourable Sir Sultan Ahmed** (Law Member): The motion as it stands is so wide and so vague that it is very difficult to discuss all its implications, but from the speech which has just been delivered by my Honourable friend, Mr. Hooseinbhoy Lalljee, it appears that he wants the Government to devise means whereby people may have better opportunity to place their views before the Government regarding war activities mainly. In making his speech he has referred to various side questions: food position, currency question, the problem of ministries in the Provinces, the question of the status of India after the war. If he thinks all these questions are in any way covered by this motion, I submit that the motion is completely out of order.

Sir, so far as the food position is concerned, my Honourable friend is not satisfied with three-days debate in this House. He wants to have another go at it today. I am afraid, I can be of no assistance to him. Currency question again has been discussed twice on the floor of this House. My Honourable friend made two speeches in that connection. The Finance Member replied to all the points raised, but he wants to have another discussion today. I am afraid I can be of no help to him on that, either. He wants the ministries to function in the Provinces.

**Mr. M. Ghiasuddin** (Punjab: Landholders): He did not say that.

**Mr. Hooseinbhoy A. Lalljee:** I have not said that I want to discuss further here food question or the finance question or the currency question. I said that these questions could be discussed by a Council or a body if it could be set up in the Provinces, not here, and suggestions could be made in that Council by the large number of people in the Provinces, and who are vitally concerned in their provinces.

**The Honourable Sir Sultan Ahmed:** If the Ministry is not working there, there is another Executive under the Constitution Act functioning in the Provinces. And I will presently show as to what activities are being carried on in order to bring home the position of the war to the people of the country.

I was very happy to know that my Honourable friend in the very beginning of his speech stated, and very rightly stated, that we have succeeded in getting sufficient recruits, we have done all that is possible to be done to supply certain items of equipments and materials, and he further went on to say that people are, in fact, supporting the war efforts. That being so, what is the necessity of

this cut motion. I was expecting that he would give to us what he suggested in the cut motion itself the means whereby all this could be further achieved.

Now, let me tell the House that there is a body—as the Mover himself knows and he has referred to it—the National Defence Council. That Council, I respectfully submit, is not only set up to represent the territorial areas, but also is set up to have persons who will represent the various elements in the national life of British India. . . .

**Mr. Hooseinbhoy A. Lalljee:** Only one in whole of India.

**The Honourable Sir Sultan Ahmed.** . . . so that it contains effective representation of different interests, different functions and different communities. It is the intention that the Council should act as a means of liaison between the provincial war effort and the war effort of the Centre. Representatives of each Province are expected to keep in touch with the Governor and their Government or Advisers. It is expected also that Provincial representatives will maintain contact with Provincial War Committees or similar organizations.

**Sardar Sant Singh** (West Punjab: Sikh): Why don't you make clear?

**The Honourable Sir Sultan Ahmed:** Perhaps my Honourable friend knows that in each Province there is an institution which is called "War Committee". . .

**Mr. Hooseinbhoy A. Lalljee:** But they are not working in any sense like the National Defence Council.

**The Honourable Sir Sultan Ahmed:** They are working and working most satisfactorily.

**Sardar Sant Singh:** Satisfactorily from the point of view of Governors.

**The Honourable Sir Sultan Ahmed:** That is a difference of opinion between my Honourable friend and myself and that will remain so long as we do not agree.

**Mr. Hooseinbhoy A. Lalljee:** None of the elected Members agree with you.

**Mr. M. Ghiasuddin:** It is their misfortune.

**The Honourable Sir Sultan Ahmed:** It is not my misfortune anyhow.

It may also be remembered that so far as the activities of the Provinces are concerned, the Centre has not got very much concern. Each Province finds out the means of placing the people in a position to know the war efforts and bringing the position of the country as a whole known to them and also trying to place before the people what is required of them to do. You may laugh at the National War Front, but that is a very important organization.

**Sardar Sant Singh:** It is.

**Mr. Hooseinbhoy A. Lalljee:** It is.

**The Honourable Sir Sultan Ahmed:** And I suggest that not only here at the Centre but in the Provinces you have got men of light and leading representing all shades of public opinion working under it except those who will not like to do anything for war efforts.

**Sardar Sant Singh:** Question.

**The Honourable Sir Sultan Ahmed:** There are people representing all shades of public opinion doing their very best to take the position of the war efforts right home into the villages and to the masses.

**Mr. Hooseinbhoy A. Lalljee:** Who does it?

**The Honourable Sir Sultan Ahmed:** The National War Front.

**Mr. Hooseinbhoy A. Lalljee:** Oh, dear me!

**The Honourable Sir Sultan Ahmed:** Oh, dear me indeed! This is a very serious matter, and it is done by them and it is only with those who will not listen to anything that is reasonable where our helplessness comes in. We have done our best at the centre and we are doing our best in the provinces with the limitations that the Constitution Act forces upon us, and the Governor and his advisers are doing their level best; and I am very glad to say that the best result is achieved, as the Honourable the Mover of the Resolution himself admitted in the beginning of his speech. If my Honourable friend wants that further measures should be adopted in the provinces. . . .

**Mr. Hooseinbhoy A. Lalljee:** Certainly.

**The Honourable Sir Sultan Ahmed:** . . . it is open to him to go back to Bombay, as I hope he will do very soon, and make representations to the Governor and suggest to him the means which he has got in view, which may be adopted by the Governor; and I have absolutely no doubt that if those means are reasonable, practical and possible they will be adopted. So far as the future position of the country is concerned, which is envisaged in this motion, as I have already said that is a matter in which I can be of no help on a cut motion. The future needs for the prosperity of the country, he suggested, must be from reconstruction plans and so forth and Government are fully aware of the necessity of that; and I can assure this House that steps are under active consideration whereby this planning will be resorted to. What the plan will be it is very difficult to say at present, but I have no doubt in course of a few weeks, perhaps, the country will know as to what steps the present Government propose to take in that direction.

**Mr. M. Ghiasuddin:** Sir, I have heard the speech of the Honourable the Mover of this cut motion and so has the Honourable the Law Member. But there are certain points which the Honourable the Law Member seems to have understood rather differently than myself. I also admit that the scope of this motion, as the Honourable the Mover has moved it, is rather wide; but there is one little point which the Honourable the Law Member seems to have missed. The motion touches on the question of currency and post-war status of India and the food problem and other things, only in the sense that the Honourable the Mover wants that there should be some channel by which the opinion of public men should be ascertained on these questions. He was not discussing exactly those questions; he was only pointing out that there are so many questions which are facing the country and which are troubling the minds of public men, and there should be some channel by which those views should be conveyed to the Government. This is one little point which the Honourable the Law Member seems to have missed.

Now, Sir, I would say that broadly speaking there are two categories of people in this country. One set of people say that they will help in the war effort only if certain conditions are fulfilled: for instance, even the Congress say that if such and such things are done they are prepared to come and help the war effort, and similarly the Muslim League also are prepared to help if certain conditions are fulfilled. But there is another set of people who say, "We are going to help you. As things are, we do not care for what is going to happen tomorrow: today, we are ready to help you under the present circumstances, under the present constitution, under the present Government, however satisfactory or unsatisfactory it may be." They say that whatever the case is they are prepared to help you to win this War. Can the Honourable the Law Member lay his hand on his heart and say that full use is being made of those people who are prepared to help him? I say "No". The Honourable the Law Member has suggested to the Honourable the Mover "Go to the Governor". Why should not the Governor go to him? It is the duty of the Governor to come to him and not for him to go to the Governor. Why should he?

**The Honourable Sir Sultan Ahmed:** May I just say a word? I certainly agree that the Governor should go to an organisation as an organisation of men who are neither in the League nor in the Congress nor in the Hindu Mahasabha. Have an organisation and you will force the Governor to come to you; but as long as you have not got any, you cannot expect the Governor to go to Mr. Lalljee or Sir Sultan Ahmed or Mr. Ghiasuddin individually.

**Mr. M. Ghiasuddin:** Certainly not; but if the Governor is there to see that the war effort is carried on, it is his job as well as that of a private individual like Mr. Lalljee to create such an organisation. I say that in most provinces the Governors do not care to have any such organisation. The present attitude of the Government of India is. I think, that you have contempt for those people who want to help you. This is my experience—I may

be right or wrong. There is no doubt that no major Political Party is with you in this war effort; but surely there are people who want to help you, and you are not making full use of their co-operation, because probably you think, rightly or wrongly, they are nobodies, what can they do?

The Honourable the Law Member also referred to the Provincial War Committee. I have the honour to belong to the War Committee in my province since almost its very inception; but I know how these war committees are working. They meet once or twice a year—a sub-committee meets for one or two days, presided over by somebody; they come and say "How do you do? How is this and how is that?", and they give thanks to the members who have come and the thing is closed. In a serious moment of national crisis, is this the way how this committee should work? People are prepared to work if properly organised: they want to work, to go to every village, to do their job for you so far as lies in their power; but are you being helpful? As soon as the war was declared, at least in my province lots of people wrote to the Governor and to other officials that their services were at the disposal of the Government to be utilised for the successful prosecution of the war and all that. Yet, three years have passed, and in the majority of cases no use has been made of their offers. They have only been told "You come and see the Governor or somebody".

Now, we come to the National War Front. I am prepared to pay my tribute to the organisers and the persons who conceived the idea of a national war front and if I am not wrong, the most important one of them is very near me just now at this moment, I mean Mr. Griffiths and I take this opportunity to pay him my tribute. He is doing all he can; and without being disrespectful, I may say that he is doing more than a good many Members of the Government of India. But after all he is a private individual; he has put his services there and although pamphlets are being issued, still the National War Front has not been organised on the scale on which it should have been organised. There should have been war front central boards, provincial boards, district boards and even village and tahsil boards; and although my province is supposed to be very war-minded—and so it is under its popular Premier and the Legislature functioning there—I am afraid a lot still remains to be done; and therefore I would request the Honourable the Law Member, not to pooh-pooh the idea of what Mr. Lalljee has said—there is a lot of truth in it and I hope the Government will ponder over it very calmly, and I think there is a lot of constructive suggestion in what he has said. Sir, I support.

**Mr. P. J. Griffiths** (Assam: European): Mr. President, it was not my intention to take part in this debate this morning, but since reference has been made to the National War Front I feel impelled to make a few brief remarks. From what I have heard of the remarks by various speakers I have formed the impression that at least one of those speakers had no conception whatsoever of the amount and intensity of detailed work which is, in fact, being done by the National War Front in various parts of the country. I feel this not so much because of what that speaker said in his speech as because of one of his interjections. When I heard the phrase, "sleeping in Simla" I realise that the interjector must have an entirely different conception of sleeping from what I have experienced myself. I wonder what my Honourable friend really means when he says that what is being done by the National War Front is hopelessly inadequate. Has he thought out what propaganda means? What does he consider that the National War Front should be doing? It seems to me that propaganda depends mainly on four things, public meetings, production of pamphlets, visual publicity, and publicity in the press. With regard to which of those four things is my Honourable friend dissatisfied? Is it with regard to meetings? I wonder if my Honourable friend is at all aware that something like 2000 meetings were held last month alone in different parts of India, by people

[Mr. P. J. Griffiths.]

speaking for and with the assistance of the National War Front. I wonder if my Honourable friend knows that every one of those speakers has, sent to him, if he cares to use them, very detailed notes giving facts, figures, suggesting lines of argument and helping him in every other possible way, so that those public men who are willing to talk about the war can do so without having to spend time and energy in carrying out research themselves. They are spoon-fed, their task is made so easy that there is no excuse for any public man, whether a Member of this Assembly or not, not doing his share in addressing meetings with regard to the war.

**Sardar Sant Singh:** Inspired.

**Mr. P. J. Griffiths:** They are inspired. That is why my Honourable friend quotes them in this House. I now turn to pamphlets as a form of propaganda. Does my Honourable friend know that from the National War Front central organisation alone something like 15 pamphlets of various kinds are issued every month? I think my Honourable friend himself, by doing me the honour of reading one of those pamphlets, is at least admitting that they tell the right story and they tell it in a simple language. What more does my Honourable friend expect? I turn to the third form of propaganda, visual publicity. Is any of my Honourable friends aware that every single portable cinema projector on which we can lay our hands is at this moment being used for the purpose of war propaganda? Our work in that sphere is limited not by lack of funds—Government provides funds freely,—not by lack of intention to use them, but by the physical difficulty of getting projectors and getting vans in war time. We make the utmost possible use of the cinema and visual publicity in this country to-day. And the final main form of publicity, press publicity, is not one which requires very much detailed description from me, for Honourable Members can see it for themselves day by day in the press. They may disagree with it. They may say it is badly done. I claim no recipe of infallibility, but I ask them this—if they are dissatisfied with press publicity or advertising, why on earth don't they write in and say so? My Honourable friend in this House is full of criticisms. Has he ever come forward with any constructive suggestion? Has my Honourable friend ever once written to me and said, this form of National War Front propaganda is worthless? If my Honourable friend is so keen to see the National War Front made into an even more effective instrument for propaganda, for heaven's sake, let him start co-operating with us and telling me what to do. I claim no monopoly of knowledge of propaganda. I want help, I want advice, I want criticism provided it is constructive criticism.

In conclusion, I would like to make an offer to those of my Honourable friends in this House who say, why does not the Government or the Governor come to us and ask us to do something?—I want to make them an offer here and now. If any of my Honourable friends in this House will undertake to address 12 meetings in the course of the next two months, I will bear the necessary cost of the meetings and I will see that they get the meetings. What I feel is that those Honourable Members who are the most vocal in their destructive criticism are the ones who are the least ready to do anything practical and concrete about it. I therefore put forth this challenge. I hope my Honourable friend, Mr. Lalljee, will take it up. If he takes it up, if he can come to us in the next Session and say, "I have myself addressed 12 meetings," then he will have a right to talk about the failures and inadequacies of the National War Front. But unless and until he and those who think with him are prepared to do that, let them be content to accept the fact that we are doing our best without that measure of co-operation which ought to be forthcoming from some of those Honourable Members who are so voluble in their criticisms. I am not saying this for the sake of scoring a debating point. I mean it as a perfectly sincere appeal, an appeal to Honourable Members and those others who have not yet done so, to come forward

and say, "We are public men. We represent constituencies in different parts of India. We are responsible for moulding Indian thought and Indian feeling. We will place ourselves, all our spare energy, all our spare time and all our knowledge at the disposal of the National War Front", so that that campaign, which even now is not entirely ineffective, may be turned into an irresistible campaign that will sweep this country like a whirl-wind and make people realise that this is India's war.

**Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta** (Bombay Central Division: Non-Muhammadan Rural): I was somewhat surprised that my Honourable friend, Mr. Hoosainbhoy Lalljee, complained about non-association in the National War Front work. Only a few months ago he has been taken in Bombay on the National War Front to assist.

**Mr. Hoosainbhoy A. Lalljee:** I have never said it. My Honourable friend has not followed what I said. I said, you form more bodies like that. I have never said they have not consulted me. I myself addressed two meetings for which we were called. No third meeting was called. Let my friend, Mr. Griffiths, take note, and enquire.

**Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta:** In the province of Bombay at least there are people who invite his co-operation, and he gives co-operation. Therefore, he should have said a kind word about the province of Bombay.

**Mr. Hoosainbhoy A. Lalljee:** I have nothing to say about that, what I want is that a real body should be created like the National Defence Council—I repeat the National War Front. I am not criticising.

**Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta:** I do not want a concert between him and me. I do say that my Honourable friend, Mr. Lalljee, is really an active co-operator in the National War Front in Bombay. He has unnecessarily depreciated his own contribution to the work of the National War Front. I cannot understand why he does so. I quite agree that there are several things which can yet be done to improve the work of the National War Front. One thing which can be done is to eliminate advertisements in daily English newspapers. These are utterly useless. The Anglo-Indian newspaper readers already know everything worth knowing about the pros and the cons of the war, and the so-called Nationalist papers do not want to publish anything worth knowing about the war in the right perspective. So, in one case the advertisement is superfluous and in the other case; it is pure waste. I have raised my protest more than once against this colossal waste of public money on advertisement, in English daily papers, either the Anglo-Indian or the so-called Nationalist. Particularly in the daily papers it is wholly unnecessary. What is necessary is to advertise in the weekly papers in the districts and talukas, which are published in the vernaculars. You can thus save this huge waste of money in advertising in daily English newspapers and you can reach the masses of the people with the same amount of money far more intensely than you are reaching now. Today, what you do is a mere show, a costly show and a wasteful show. I know that my friend, Mr. Griffiths, has promised to curtail the expenditure on advertisement but I still see page long and column long advertisements in the *Statesman* and the *Times of India*. They are utterly wasteful and in the so-called Nationalist papers, it is worse than wasted. I would beg of him not to use one single copper coin over those who can do no good to the National War Front.

Then there is the next thing. Let my friend not think that the meetings which he organises are the only meetings. The Labour party in this country, to the extent that I am able to control it, does continuous war propaganda in its business meetings and annual general meetings. It does little else except to propagate with the utmost conviction that this war is for the security of the country and for the creation of international good will. We have never failed. I know that the Congress and the Muslim League are neutral. The Congress is hostile. The Muslim League is neutral. If the Japanese do not enter India, it would not be the fault of the Congress or the League. If

[Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta.]

this country's frontiers remain inviolate, the credit would not go to either of these parties. The credit will go to those who are, today, in spite of much misunderstanding and misrepresentation, fully seized of the fact that this war must be fought and won and the enemy must be destroyed. For that purpose, one thing that should be done is to back up the National War Front and do everything which will make the war a success and a quick success. There is no difference of opinion on that point.

About these two thousand meetings that my friend organised, I fear there is a danger of his taking them all to be genuine. I can tell him that some of the war contractors invite us to dinner or to tea. There they held meetings and asked us to speak. They are no more interested in the success or failure of the war than the Man in the Moon. I have attended such meetings and I have told them that this is a mere show. (Interruption.) In spite of these drawbacks, let me say quite clearly that the National War Front propaganda is telling in its effect. It is not wasted. In their totality, the National War Front efforts are successful. They are going deeper into the masses and they can be made to go still deeper. That is what I am pleading.

One thing more I should like to say and that is that in the National War Front leadership and directorship there is too much officialdom. People who are considered safe are alone allowed to go there. Non-officials who are considered quite safe are allowed to go there. Men like me are sometimes admitted to make a show of independence. They know that this disgruntled man cannot make a majority. It gives an appearance of cosmopolitanism to these committees but it will not be effective. The knowledge is there.

**Sir F. E. James** (Madras: European): Is Mr. Nilakantha Das a safe person?

**Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta:** I ask my friend, Sir F. E. James, to take this as a serious matter. There might be an exception. Let my friend take it from me that I am giving him a correct picture because I am one of those who are interested in perfecting and improving the National War Front Organisation until it becomes a really live, effective body. If it is not national, it is not the fault of those who have organised it. It is the fault of those who, for political reasons, are getting away from their duty of doing everything to preserve the security of their country. The fault is not that of the organisers. I am not going to cavil at the imperfections of the National War Front except with a view to correcting them. That is my contribution to this debate. So far as the contact between the Government and the people is concerned, it can be made livelier, more intense and more genuine than it is but these criticisms can only come from those who mean to help. Those who want to ridicule are not wanted. Those who want to scoff are worse than useless. Those who are the agents of the enemy in their opposition to the war, they had better remain at a distance. I speak for those who regard this war as primarily India's war and a war to be won and everyone who can help to win the war is welcome to make such criticisms as he can, provided he means that the war must be won.

**Pandit Nilakantha Das** (Orissa Division: Non-Muhammadan): I had no mind to join this debate but I find that something has been said about the National War Front. Not only my name has been mentioned in this connection, but some amount of heat has been imported into the debate. I have told the House many times that I differed and broke away from the Congress primarily on the question of joining these war efforts. My view was that India should wholeheartedly join this war and it is for that reason that I differed fundamentally from the Congress and broke away. I find there is one defect in the mentality of the whole administration and on account of that, the war effort is being frustrated perhaps unknowingly. Much has been said about the repressive policy. Everyone must admit that when there is open rebellion, there must be suppression and repression if you like to so call it. You cannot

say 'No' to it. When you declare open rebellion, you cannot fret if the rebellion is met by this kind of repression.

**Sardar Sant Singh:** Ruthless!

**Pandit Nilakantha Das:** There may be mistakes. Ruthlessness may exhibit itself at times. But these are bad times, and therefore such ruthlessness may only be dealt with by co-operation. But I find such co-operation sometimes becomes impossible. Government must suppress disorder if administration is to go on; but at the same time popular representative interests must be included in the Government. The civilian rule, as I said the other day, is a danger, and that particularly at this time. I do not mean every civilian as such in all places. Mr. Griffiths himself was at one time a Civilian. He is not a Civilian now. I admit that generally the civilian is doing very good and useful work. But the superannuated civilians who work in the old traditional way are not desirable particularly at this time as rulers. That is my impression and that is my contention. Be he a Governor or be he a Secretary, he is not desirable as a ruler if he is a civilian.

I admit that men like Mr. Griffiths are trying their best to make the National War Front popular. Still I know it has not yet been made either national nor even war front. Attempts are being made in both directions; but very little national outlook has been developed, nor the war front has yet been carried to the villager. Mr. Griffiths and his Assistant who went to Orissa recently, no doubt, made very good speeches and profuse propaganda. But I shall give one experience of mine to the House to show how the National War Front is actually working in the Provinces.

As soon as the national war front organisation was contemplated, I was asked by my Provincial Government, perhaps in consultation with the Governor himself, that I should take charge of the war front in Orissa. I was very glad because that was an opportunity for me to do what I could as a popular leader of the province. I was very happy and I began to work in right earnest. I told my people that for six generations they have not been given an opportunity for fighting either for themselves or for anybody else. Here was an opportunity. I asked them to come forward and show to the world that India is full of heroes and that nobody can forcibly enter into their country, their hearth and home except by walking on their dead bodies. But still I found that meetings were held time after time and only the 'safe' non-officials and officials were invited to attend them. There were the usual festoons and the decorations and there were the streamers "God save the King". Once I told the organisers of the meetings, who were always officials, "The King is not here to be used in this way and we do not want his personal weal by saying 'God save the King'. He is not ill and we are not praying for his health to God. It is regarded rightly or wrongly as a symbol of Imperialism and even educated people know it as such". I said that I could give them some other mottos like "God save the nation; God save democracy; God save the Allies", Do not say "God save the King", for people will be scared away by that symbol. We may have our respect for the King and may for the matter of that have our respect even for the Empire; but this is not the time for this motto. I told them all this, but the officials persisted. On the occasion of the War anniversary on 3rd September, 1942 I was invited to speak in the meeting and these streamers were there and I found people appeared to come to see a fun and were laughing in their sleeves. I could know their minds at a glance. The Honourable Minister Pandit Godavri Misra was presiding. I told him how the officials don't understand and don't take hint or hear suggestion and then we decided that I should say something to clear the atmosphere so as to attract people to pro-war mentality. I said on Imperialism and democracy and in that connection addressing the organisers of the meeting, I said; "You should have for the time being at least, God save democracy; God save the nation and there are so many other things which you can say."



**Mr. Jampadas M. Mehta:** Or let God alone!

**Pandit Nilakantha Das:** I said, "do something with the object of achieving something. If you do not know how to handle the situation and how to attract people, then it is better that you do not handle the organisation of these meetings at all". After that I found there was some freshness and enthusiasm among the audience in the meeting. Then, I said, 'these streamers are taken as symbols of Imperialism and therefore we do not want these'. If by "God save the King" is meant the personal weal of King George, VI, no body can have objection to it. But unfortunately it is not so. Some people who were in the War Committee and who want the National War Front for themselves were up against me and the Governor himself said, "I cannot agree with Pandit Nilakantha Das for he is against my King". I went to see the Governor and told him not to misunderstand me.

**An Honourable Member:** "Is that all in order?"

**Pandit Nilakantha Das:** I am not going into the details, but even now the controversy is going on and I do not know whether under these conditions I can work for the war front, for in that case I shall lose my people. Now, this is the dilemma under which people are working in the provinces and I do not think even Mr. Griffiths or his Assistant, who made a very impressive speech, can save the situation. Sir, our nation must be understood and approached only by the representatives of the people. Everywhere non-official representatives should be selected very carefully. . . (Interruptions.)

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): I think the Honourable Member had better go on with his speech and pay no heed to what others say.

**Pandit Nilakantha Das:** So, I appeal to my friend, Mr. Griffiths, who is very enthusiastic about this National War Front to proceed with this matter very carefully. I hope that my voice will be heard in the provinces, even by the authorities and civilians everywhere, that they should now think of approaching the real representatives of the people. Many sensible friends and followers of those who are in jail are outside in the country. All those people who are in jail are not bad. From amongst these people should be selected those who have by now understood their mistake. If they can be utilised to make the war front a national institution, great success can be achieved and that very easily. I trust after the great Fast, things have settled down and some more effective technique in practical politics will now appeal to the people. That technique should timely be taken advantage of by those who are in charge of administering this land and for this purpose the administration should be in the hands as far as practicable of representative Indians. With these words I support the motion.

**Sardar Sant Singh:** I did not propose to intervene in this debate, nor do I propose to take more than three minutes. Sir, after the eloquent speech of Mr. Griffiths, President of the National War Front, on the value of propaganda nobody can disagree with him on the basic idea of propaganda. But he has overlooked one fact and that is this; after all he must understand that the people in this country go to the extent of worshipping some of their leaders. Whatever falls from the mouth of their leaders is given more value than that which comes from the bureaucratic source. He forgets that Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, a venerable leader of India, once said about this National War Front—it is neither a national war nor a national war front. As I said, Sir, the words of a leader carry more conviction with the people of this country than the words coming from any other source, so these words of Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru have gone into the hearts of the masses. The idea of this National War Front once expressed by a leader carries more conviction with the people than the articles and advertisements published in the papers. Therefore, I will suggest to Mr. Griffiths, as I do not want to take up any more time of the House, to suggest to his masters, to his people, the British people, that before this War Front can become national in the real sense of the word, the real political deadlock in the country should be dissolved. National Government should be formed

in the Centre and the power should be transferred to Indian hands, before I am asked to accept each and every thing which is being done in connection with this National War Front. Sir, with these few words I resume my seat.

**Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari** (Tanjore *cum* Trichinopoly: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Mr. President, I had no intention of taking part in this discussion and I would not have interfered but for the fact that the discussion had largely centred round the efforts of the National War Front. Sir, it may be said that a sceptic may not be permitted to enter a temple and as one who is sceptical about the utility of the National War Front I should not speak about, Sir, at the same time, there is another side to the question. Even if I am a sceptic I am a citizen of this country and a tax-payer and a representative of people who pay taxes; as such I am interested to know that the money that is realized by taxing the people of this country, the sum of one crore and twenty-six lakhs that has been provided for the National War Front and counter-propaganda is not wasted. I am here to see that that money is properly spent and is not spent for the purpose of creating a party for the Government in this country. Sir, I am concerned with this aspect of the work of the National War Front and I will confirm myself to placing before the House my views on this aspect. It is true, Sir, that people of this country need to be educated about this War; as much of our misery today is due to it. But in speaking about an interest or lack of interest in this War I do not want to say anything that would offend the susceptibilities of my friends of the European Group. We are aware that England has been fighting this War almost with its back to the wall and it must not be understood to mean that we do not sympathise with them when we enforce this Government's efforts to interest our own people in this war. This National War Front organisation is indeed a very queer one. We do not know why it has been created, and what is the element that is nationalist amongst those that are in charge of it. I do not want to repeat the words that have been used by my Honourable friend, Sardar Sant Singh, that it is neither national nor is a front. While the recruits for the army sell their brawn, those recruited for work in the National War Front sell their brains as well as their souls to the Government. It is said that the brain work of this front is to do propaganda in regard to the war. Paid district National War Front leaders are appointed. Paid lecturers are appointed to work under district organisers. The primary qualification for selection for those posts happens to be first that they are anti-national in their avowed views and secondly that they are prepared to sell their souls as well. I have some experience of propaganda and I am aware of the way in which propaganda is done. Sir, I have also some experience of platform speaking in my own province at any rate. But knowing as I do how these National War Front meetings are arranged and how people react to these efforts I cannot help feeling that it seems to do nobody any good except those paid by this National War Front organisation.

Sir, I have been a member of the Provincial War Committee for one day: but had to sever my connection on that very day. I went there with the full hope of being able to do something in the way of serving my country. But the whole show proved to be a rally of reactionaries. I went to the first meeting of the Committee with hope and came out completely disillusioned. Any war effort which is organised by Government or Government sponsored shows can only mean creating a party for the Government by purchasing the brains and souls of some Indians. That is how the National War Front is worked today. Will the Honourable Mr. Griffiths please tell us how many men are there who work in organisations without expectations of reward.

**Mr. P. J. Griffiths:** There are several thousands. I will get the figures for you next week.

**Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari:** Sir, this House is really interested in the proper utilisation of money that is spent by the Government of India—the money is raised by taxes that have been practically squeezed out of the poor people of this

[Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari.]

country. We are therefore interested that it should be spent properly and not for the purpose of creating a party for the Government. I would like to point out to the Government that that is what the National War Front is doing today. I would tell the Government that support for war effort that is purchased is of little avail. I would also tell them that the work done by the National War Front propagandist leaves the masses cold, as no real mass consciousness can be created except by people who know the masses and command their respect. The Government cannot expect lasting loyalty from people who are prepared to sell their souls and it is futile to expect that a party of Government supporters can be created in this manner.

**Sir Cowasjee Jehangir (Bombay City: Non-Muhammadan Urban):** Sir, I will take not more than four minutes. I regret that I was not in the House when this interesting discussion took place. One does not know what subject is going to be discussed in this House, and therefore one is sometimes not here. If I had known that my Honourable friend Mr. Lalljee was going to raise such an interesting discussion, I would have made it a point to be here. In the interesting speech just made by my Honourable friend who is sitting behind us and who is a new-comer to this House—we are glad he is now taking active part in the discussions,—he made certain remarks which might be misleading. In his speech he said that Government was spending one crore and 25 lakhs of rupees. I do not think that that figure is altogether correct. That is one fact. The next is that money is being spent on propaganda and on people who go to meetings. He was kind enough to tell us that he had gained some experience. But what kind of propaganda he had been doing, he did not tell us. If he has some experience of propaganda, then I presume that he knows that all propaganda costs money. How he spent the money on his propaganda, I do not know. Has he paid anybody to speak? Has he ever given travelling allowance to people who go to meetings? I know that large meetings are held, where we are told in the newspapers that 50,000 people attended, while a little bird whispered the next day that a large number of the audience had to be paid four annas, eight annas and twelve annas to be present there. We have heard of such meetings. We have also heard that large sums of moneys have been spent on propaganda. Therefore, if some money is spent on propaganda in instructing people as to why we are fighting, that money cannot be said to be wasted. It is not always easy to raise money for propaganda. Some people get it very readily for certain kind of propaganda. But when you come to propaganda of a character which may not be very popular, money is not easily forthcoming. Now, perhaps this Honourable House may not have been informed that this National War Front came into existence on the initiative of Indians. My Honourable friends may say that these Indians have sold their body and soul. That expression can also be applied to others that they have sold their body and soul for a purpose. But the fact remains that the idea originated with Indians, that the idea originated with men who felt that our people do not really understand for what we are fighting. If they really understood the objects for which we were fighting, they would realise that every assistance given to the war, was assistance given to India. They would be made to realise that this war was a question of life and death to Indians just as much as it is to Englishmen. They would be made to realise that losing this war would mean losing all prospects of swaraj or independence. Is it not a good thing to make people realise what it is that will come in the way of independence and swaraj? There are two sides to every question. Political agitation may help to bring independence and swaraj. I do not deny it. It may advance you a step further. But losing this war will undoubtedly make us lose all chances of future agitation on the part of the people of India and will make India a slave country as it has never been made before. Is it not worth while spending some money to make people realise that? I believe it

would take lakhs and lakhs of money to make my friend Sardar Sant Singh understand it. It might be waste of money, I agree.

**Sardar Sant Singh:** I never said it is a waste of money.

**Sir Gowasjee Jehangir:** There are three classes of people in India. The first class of people are those who are not prepared to be convinced and who are determined that they shall not be convinced. Another class of people are those who are only too ready to be convinced and a third class of people are those who have no views, no definite views. It is this third class that has got to be tackled. If we can really, regardless of politics, make our people understand the real issues that are involved in this war, I do not think we should grudge the money that we are now budgeting for. It is more a help to gain independence and swaraj than the other way about.

**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.

**DEMAND NO. 14—LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY AND LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY DEPARTMENT.**

**The Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman** (Finance Member): Sir, I move:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 6,47,000, be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1944, in respect of 'Legislative Assembly and Legislative Assembly Department'."

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 6,47,000, be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1944, in respect of 'Legislative Assembly and Legislative Assembly Department'."

*Necessity of holding more Sessions of the Legislature in view of the War and the future Position of the Country in the great Developments that are taking place in the World at large.*

**Mr. Hooseinbhoj A. Lalljee:** Sir, I move:

"That the demand under the head 'Legislative Assembly and Legislative Assembly Department' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Sir, I really thought there was very little inclination on the part of the Government to accede to the request that I was going to put. After the discussion on the last cut motion I find that the Central Government wish to take upon themselves all the work and responsibility, they wish to concentrate all the activities at Delhi and to themselves. My only appeal then was that some body like the one established in Delhi for national defence purpose, may be formed in the Provinces and representatives of the people associated with it and nothing more. My suggestion then was that all those items such as recruiting and the difficulties of obtaining and distributing foodstuffs and so many other things may also be discussed in the Provinces in such a body. However, I am very glad that now it has been made clear that everything is going to be centralised in Delhi and that central Government desire to take upon themselves the whole administration of the country at Delhi. If that is really so then I do feel that in all fairness they will at least agree in the circumstance that there should be more frequent Sessions of this Legislature. The Government here have taken upon themselves more and more work, and they want that the Legislature should have as few meetings as possible. This is not at all fair. Formerly, before this great war, we used to have at least three Sessions. After the great war started when the country's activities are no doubt in the first instance to be applied to war purposes and war efforts besides to the vast administration the meetings have been reduced. In fact the Legislature meets now only twice a year and thus the number of sittings in reality are reduced. When the whole world is now at conflict, and when the world has been changing so considerably, surely we are entitled and we should know something about war activities as often as possible as also the position of our people here and outside, and what is being done by other people in the world.

**The Honourable Sir Sultan Ahmed:** The Legislature meets ordinarily twice a year.

**Mr. Hoosainbhoy A. Lalljee:** I am an old Member of this House, I know the Legislature used to meet three times a year. But even if it was only twice a year, surely we ought to have in these trying times many more meetings. I would suggest to my Honourable friend the Leader of the House to condescend to find out how many meetings the British Houses of Parliament have been holding ordinarily and how many since the war began. How often are now those meetings held? How many times they are held on even small occasions and how often when any important event takes place. The Houses of Parliament as a matter of fact meet every now and then and whenever people want a meeting. It may be at the interval of seven days, or ten days or 12 days or at most a month. Would you like to believe, Sir, it is democracy that 22 crores of peoples representatives should meet here once in six months to consider in these times the position in this world. Once in six months even during this total war in which we are involved you call a meeting of the Legislature. Is this in any sense fair? Is this how you want the people of the country to be acquainted with war efforts and with war activities. Sir, it is necessary also to remember that half of India has not got any Legislatures functioning and no opportunity is available to them to say anything about war or the general administration, what is the position of people in those provinces—there are a large number of them in my Province who are anxious and want to ventilate the grievances of the people and want to co-operate and make suggestions on behalf of the people but they have no means to do so; they are barred from doing so, because there is no Legislature working and no other opportunity is provided for them. Under these conditions, even the Central Government—the grandfather of all—hesitate to give the people representatives the necessary opportunities and the representatives of the people are helpless, this is really the position in India.

**An Honourable Member:** Who is the father?

**Mr. Hoosainbhoy A. Lalljee:** Father is somewhere else.

We have got only two elected Muslim representatives from the whole of the Bombay Province here, Mr. Jinnah and myself. All the Muslim members in the local Legislature are not having any opportunity to say anything about their people or their condition or to bring to the notice of the executive Government the grievances of the people far less to be able to suggest any improvements or reforms. I do not know what is their guilt and why no opportunity is being provided to them, this is the state of affairs in these days. Now Sir, the two representatives who are here—what is their position—they get a chance to do something but that again is once in every six months, and this is certainly not at all fair. Are we fighting for liberty and democracy? Is this the way in which the Government should even now take people into their confidence? Is this the way in which the Government should give opportunity to the mass of people of this country to know how things are going on, how they are faring, how their Government is acting, and further to find out what they want? Sir, I do feel to say the least that it is high time that Government should concede the request that I am making in view of the facts I have shortly placed before this House. I do not wish to speak more on this motion as the time at my disposal is short and I have got some other cuts as well, but I must say emphatically that we feel this position very much. Let me respectfully warn the Government that it is no good their trying to belittle those who are co-operating with them and who are working with them. We find from every side and more so from Government side that all those who work with the Government on behalf of the people and not only not cared for but are kicked. Sir, I move.

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

"That the demand under the head 'Legislative Assembly and Legislative Assembly Department' be reduced by Rs. 100."

**The Honourable Sir Sultan Ahmed:** I feel happy that though only a few days back a motion was tabled that the Central Legislatures should be suspended or even abolished, one Honourable Member, at any rate, has now realized

the utility of this House and has asked for holding more Sessions in view of the war and the future position of the country in the great developments that are taking place in the world at large. Government have always taken the view that our Legislative Chambers are useful bodies and Government always welcome their views and reactions to Government decisions and actions. The feeling that at a time of emergency the Central Legislatures should meet more frequently, and there should be more frequent opportunities of contact with the Executive and for making its views on important questions of policy known and felt, is one with which Government have every sympathy. I, however, hope that the House will not misunderstand me if I just place a few difficulties which might stand in the way of any large increase in the number of Sessions held in the course of the year.

In the first place, we have to remember the vast distances from which Members of this House have to come whenever a Session is held and the extreme pressure on the Railways and other forms of transport . . .

**Mr. Hoosainbhoy A. Lalljee:** Pressure on account of 120 representative people of India. Where is the War Transport Member?

**The Honourable Sir Sultan Ahmed:** I am very glad to hear that the Honourable Member suffers no inconvenience.

**Mr. Hoosainbhoy A. Lalljee:** No inconvenience at all if we have to do our duty.

**The Honourable Sir Sultan Ahmed:** In the second place, I do not know whether it is fully realized how seriously the holding of a Session interferes with the day to day administration of governmental departments and, in particular, with the handling of measures of which a rapid disposal is vital to the war efforts.

**Mr. Hoosainbhoy A. Lalljee:** Does it not happen in England?

**Sardar Sant Singh:** Abolish the official class.

**The Honourable Sir Sultan Ahmed:** In this connection, I cannot refrain from referring, in particular, to the number of questions which are put down for answers and the effect they have on the ordinary routine work of the various departments. I do hope the House will not misunderstand me if I refer to one case. One Honourable Member in this House put the other day 18 questions for answers on one day when he should have known that he was not entitled to answers to more than five.

**Sardar Sant Singh:** Dates are confused sometimes.

**The Honourable Sir Sultan Ahmed:** Government do not know which of these will be pressed.

**Mr. Muhammad Azhar Ali** (Lucknow and Fyzabad Divisions: Muhammadan Rural): Sir, I rise to a point of order. Were the remarks which the Honourable the President himself made about those questions not enough and could a further reference now be made by the Honourable Member? I rise to justify . . .

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Honourable Member should not regard it as a personal reflection.

**The Honourable Sir Sultan Ahmed:** I never mentioned the name at all. I am sorry that I have been misunderstood by the Honourable Member. The relevancy of it will appear presently. I can assure the House that the replies to those 18 questions when worked out in terms of the time taken to prepare them and answer possible supplementaries, would mean the engagement of one senior officer of the Government for full two or three days. The replies to those questions had to be given after collection of materials from different departments and three-fourth of this labour was simply wasted. I do not for a moment suggest that the Honourable Member deliberately put those questions to create any difficulties for us. Not a bit of it. It did not, I am sure, strike him what the result of putting so many questions on one day was. I can assure

[Sir Sultan Ahmed.]

the House that the Government will welcome enquiries from Members and consider it their duty to give helpful answers.

I will refer to another difficulty: Some of the Honourable Members insist that during the Budget debate, the Government Member to whose department they are addressing themselves should lay aside the matter in which he may be engaged in his office room in this very building, matter which may be of immediate urgency and vital importance, with a view to listening to a criticism of his department which ultimately may not be so novel.

These difficulties which I have just pointed out, may, however, be got over if the House will be willing and prepared to co-operate with the Government in securing maximum result in shortest possible time. There is one further difficulty and that is of finding accommodation for the Honourable Members.

It is difficult to see how far sufficient accommodation can be secured. If the quarters which are at present occupied by them are again required for another short Session for them, then they will have to be kept vacant most likely for the whole of the summer. This also is not an insuperable difficulty and it may be possible for us to get over it. Government will do their best and see how far this can be got over, and perhaps it may be necessary to consult the Leaders of the different Parties on these points.

I have pointed out these difficulties, but I may state that in a matter like this Government would not desire to be intransigent, and I am desired to state that if the debate on this motion reveals a desire for more frequent Sessions, His Excellency the Governor General will be prepared to agree to holding of a short Session during the latter part of July or the beginning of August, and another short Session during perhaps the latter part of October or beginning of November. An arrangement of this nature would materially reduce the length of time elapsing between Sessions and is as far as we can reasonably be expected to go. I hope the Honourable the Mover will be satisfied with the assurance and will not press the motion to a division. But I should like to have the views of the other Parties also on this point.

**Mr. P. J. Griffiths:** I rise to support the cut motion made by my Honourable friend, Mr. Hooseinbhojy Lalljee, and in supporting such a motion I feel that from me and from this Group no detailed speech is necessary; for we come from that country whose greatest glory it is to have developed the parliamentary system and to have held that system forward for the inspiration and the imitation of the civilized world. The essence of that system, as we see it is that it provides a mechanism for contact between Government and the people, and it seems to us that in this country, at this particular stage where Government is not in the technical sense responsible, the maintenance of that contact and the existence of an adequate mechanism for providing it, is even more important than it can be in countries governed under the system of responsible government. It is for this reason that we attach great importance to that function of this Assembly, which consists in providing contact between Government and the people.

In war time events move so fast that those functions cannot be fulfilled if long intervals occur between one Session and the next, and we in this Group feel that, under present circumstances, six months is too great an interval between consecutive Sessions. We, therefore, fully support in principle the proposal made by my Honourable friend, Mr. Hooseinbhojy Lalljee.

There is, however, one other aspect of this matter of which we must not lose sight, and that is that whenever we lengthen out the Sessions of this Assembly, to some extent we are unintentionally slowing down India's war effort. It is difficult for those who have not sat on the Official Benches to realise quite what a strain Assembly Sessions impose on the officials who have to attend them during the day and do such of their work as they can in the evening. I am not now speaking out of sympathy—having been an official

myself, I know that no official expects sympathy but I have in mind the practical result that the strain which long Assembly Sessions imposed on officials does, in fact, mean serious dislocation of their departmental duties. When those who stand at the head of the Department of Supply, of Food, or of Commerce, or of War Transport are in this Assembly, do not let us forget that their other war duties are, in fact, being delayed. That is not an argument against having frequent Sessions of the Assembly, but it is an adequate reason why everyone of us should do everything in his power to ensure that our business is conducted in the smallest possible time. In supporting this cut motion of my Honourable friend, I, therefore, want to make an appeal to Government, and I make an appeal to Government not because it lies solely in the power of Government to prevent the wastage of time, but I appeal to them because they are the right and proper persons to take the initiative: I want to appeal to my friend, the Leader of the House to get into consultation with Party Leaders, to ask all Parties to come together and to apply their minds to the problem as to how we can save time in this House. It is not for me here and now in this preliminary stage to suggest methods by which time can be saved. It may be that our procedure needs reconsidering. It may be that there ought to be a self-denying ordinance with regard to the asking of questions, or with regard to the time spent on speeches. These are matters which require detailed consideration by Party Leaders in consultation with Government, and I do hope that my Honourable friend, the Leader of the House will, before we disperse this Session, have such a consultation with Party Leaders.

I then go on to appeal to Leaders and to their Parties to come together with a real determination to try and find ways of saving time. We in this Group yield to nobody in the importance which we attach to our right of freedom of speech and to the opportunity of saying what needs to be said, but we still think that without giving up those rights and privileges, there is scope for saving time in this House. I feel sure that my Honourable friend, the Leader of the House, will accept this point of view and will, in fact, enter into consultation with Party Leaders to try and secure this.

Independently of that, we do in any case support the motion of my Honourable friend, Mr. Hooseinphoy Lalljee.

**Sardar Sant Singh:** Sir, it is refreshing to learn from Government that Government regard the Legislatures to be useful bodies.

**The Honourable Sir Sultan Ahmed:** Certainly. Most certainly.

**Sardar Sant Singh:** The Members on this side of the House have got themselves elected at great expense and inconvenience too. They were under the impression that the Legislatures were useful bodies but from the experience of the last three or four years they came to realise that they were not useful Members of a useful body but were regarded as obstructionists by Government.

**The Honourable Malik Sir Feroz Khan Noon** (Defence Member): No, no.

**Sardar Sant Singh:** So when the Honourable the Leader of the House came forward with such a refreshing expression there was a touch of joy in our breasts. I hope I am expressing the view of the other Members when I say that. At the same time, I would request the Government just to reconcile their position of considering this Legislature to be a useful body with the rule of Ordinances that they have ordained in this country. If Government really want to explore the utility of this House, they should be bold enough to consult this House on matters of policy and on matters which vitally touch the interests of this country. Their method of doing work during this war particularly when the war is regarded to be something very dreadful for any country, is not consistent with the principles of democracy. Therefore, when a Member of this House tabled a motion that the Legislature should be scrapped, there was a feeling of frustration.

**An Honourable Member:** It was not moved.



**Sardar Sant Singh:** That was not moved, but it has been referred to by the Honourable the Leader of the House in his speech. I assure him that the feeling of frustration in this country is getting intensified, and whatever they may do to remove the causes that go to the intensification of that feeling, they are really serving themselves and nobody. Therefore, I will say that so far as my Party is concerned, they welcome the proposal of more frequent consultation: but I would add one suggestion or the consideration of the Government: make us really useful advisers, consult us on vital points as well—not merely when a Repealing and Amending Bill comes dealing with a hundred and one Acts. But when vital questions about a certain policy being adopted towards a certain agitation or movement in this country arise you have no consultation with the Legislature. This attitude should be abandoned and I am sure you will find more response from the Members than you have hitherto got.

The second point urged was about the officials being inconvenienced in the discharge of their functions. I will not say duties—no doubt it is true and may be true to a great extent; but is it not helping the officials in the discharge of their duties, apart from their functions, when they sit and listen to helpful criticism about their work, about the methods they should adopt for carrying on the Government . . . .

**An Honourable Member:** No.

**Sardar Sant Singh:** One official says "No". He is right because he is brought up in the I.C.S. traditions. He does not want it; he believes in despotic methods which he has been taught to respect, more than in democratic methods for which his country is fighting everywhere. Therefore, I would say that if a little change is brought about in the Government of India and the consultation is more frequent, more free, less reserved, the Legislature will serve them greater than they are doing today. Therefore I support this motion.

**Dr. Sir Zia Uddin Ahmad:** Sir, during the war things are moving very fast; new problems arise, and it is very desirable that we should meet frequently and discuss the new situation. I, therefore, welcome the suggestion of my Honourable friend about frequent meetings of the Legislature.

As regards one of the points, which came by the way, mentioned by the Honourable the Leader of the House, about the number of questions, my complaint is that we are not asking a sufficient number of questions. If we look at the record of questions asked by a single Member in a Session—Mr. Azhar Ali or anybody else—they do not come to the number of questions asked by one single individual, Mr. Satyamurthi, in the course of one week.

Another matter which I have mentioned already on the floor of the House and also to a Member, was that when they do not recognise Muslim unions of railway workers and employees, then who will ventilate their grievances? There is no other alternative but that we Muslim Members of the Legislature will have to form a sort of union ourselves, and according to the Honourable Member, they will waste—and according to us they will utilise—the time of the House to ventilate all their grievances; and you will have not 18 but 200 questions a Member on that day. But if the Honourable Member wishes to solve this problem and to relieve us and himself from a number of questions, he has to recognise our unions.

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.

**Mr. Muhammad Azhar Ali:** In to-day's debate the Government of India have evinced a mentality and action which in my experience of thirteen years in this House, I have never heard or seen with my eyes. It may be all right for the Government of India to consider themselves immune from mistakes, that they

cannot commit any mistakes in this world, that they are immune from everything that Honourable Members on this side may say on certain occasions. But, Sir, is it right, is it meet and proper for the Government to advance such financial arguments on the floor of this House which cannot stand even for a single moment in any court of justice? My great surprise is that the argument was advanced by such an experienced lawyer of India whom I have heard in our own courts in Lucknow. To advance an argument based on the financial expenditure and to say that simply because a few more questions were tabled in this House by a certain Member—whom he did not want to mention—against new rules, was such a blunder that the Government of India think that they will be forced to incur a great deal of expenditure on that account.....

**The Honourable Sir Sultan Ahmed:** I did not say one word about finance at all.

**Mr. Muhammad Azhar Ali:** Excuse me. It is a financial question.

**The Honourable Sir Sultan Ahmed:** Not at all.

**Mr. Muhammad Azhar Ali:** When you say that you incur great labour, etc., you incur great expense too.

**The Honourable Sir Sultan Ahmed:** Time and labour. But it has nothing to do with finance.

**Mr. Muhammad Azhar Ali:** However, I put it to the honesty of the whole House, that if the questions were not tabled for one day, but had been tabled and split up into three days or four days, at the rate of five questions a day, how would it have helped Government? The Government would have incurred the same expense, they would have spent the same time and labour over it. Questions in this House could not be disallowed. They could be refused either by the President or the office. Where was the difficulty for the office? Where was the difficulty I ask, as this has been several times done in this House. The Members of the Government or the office might say to the Member, there are more questions than are prescribed, and they could either refuse or cut them down.

**Sardar Sant Singh:** The rule is that they can be answered, that the answer can be placed on the table of the House. They cannot be rejected.

**Mr. Muhammad Azhar Ali:** To say that more expense would have been involved and more labour would have been required—I submit that it could not be more at all.

**Dr. P. N. Banerjea** (Calcutta Suburbs: Non-Muhammadan Urban): They ought to be treated as unstarred questions.

**Mr. Muhammad Azhar Ali:** They could treat like that, but to refer to it on the floor of the House is simply vindictive, and I can only say from my experience that it was nothing but vindictive in this case on the part of the Government to say that.

**The Honourable Sir Sultan Ahmed:** Not at all.

**Mr. Muhammad Azhar Ali:** If such an argument were advanced in any school even by the boys, such a debate would have been considered puerile, and childish. I quite acknowledge that the Government of India to-day has been very broad-minded in giving the House another occasion to come to Delhi for another Assembly Session. But it has also shown how petty-minded the Government of India has become. I submit to the House that it is no use our coming to this Assembly when even in small matters like this holes can be picked because a single Member has given notice of 18 questions for one day and not only five questions. It might have been a slip of the pen or a slip of memory or it might have been due to inadvertence on the part of the Member, but to make it the basis of an argument which such vehemence only shows how petty minded indeed the Government of India has become. I would ask the Government not to bring up these matters on the floor of the House in future. If such an argument were advanced in any court of law, it would have been simply dished like anything or pooh-poohed.

**An Honourable Member:** Dished?

**Mr. Muhammad Azhar Ali:** If the Honourable the Railway Member thinks that I have used a wrong word, I repeat that such an argument would have been thrown into the waste paper basket. The Government thinks it is immune from all consequences in these days as the Benches on the right are vacant and you can advance any peurile and petty argument that you want to advance to-day. I again submit that it is very kind of Government to give the Assembly an occasion for discussion in July or August, but I also submit that such arguments should not be advanced again.

(At this stage, Mr. Lalchand Navalrai rose in his seat.)

**Mr. Hooseinbhoy A. Lalljee:** In view of the statements made by the Leaders of Parties and the Leader of the House I beg to withdraw my motion.

**Mr. Lalchand Navalrai:** The discussion should not be stifled like that. I want to speak.

**Mr. Deputy President (Mr. Akhil Chandra Datta):** I do not quite follow the Honourable Member.

**Mr. Hooseinbhoy A. Lalljee:** I thought that the discussion was over and I wanted to withdraw the cut motion that I have moved, in view of the statements that were made by the Leaders of Parties and the Leader of the House.

**Mr. Deputy President (Mr. Akhil Chandra Datta):** Has the Honourable Member got the permission of the House to withdraw his motion?

**Mr. Lalchand Navalrai (Sind: Non-Muhammadan Rural):** No.

**Mr. Deputy President (Mr. Akhil Chandra Datta):** One Member having objected, I think the rules do not permit the Honourable the Mover of the cut motion to have it withdrawn.

**An Honourable Member:** Even one Member objecting?

**Mr. Deputy President (Mr. Akhil Chandra Datta):** Yes, even if a single Member objects.

(At this stage, both Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi and Mr. Lalchand Navalrai stood in their seats.)

Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi.

**Mr. Lalchand Navalrai:** Sir, . . .

**Mr. Deputy President (Mr. Akhil Chandra Datta):** I have called Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi. The next chance will be given to Mr. Lalchand Navalrai. Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi.

**Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi (Dacca cum Mymensingh: Muhammadan Rural):** Sir, I am glad to find that the Honourable the Leader of the House has acceded to the cut motion which my Honourable friend moved. He has stated that in future there would be more frequent sittings of this House. The Honourable the Leader of the House made certain observations before he acceded to what my friend wanted. The first observation he made was that the problem of railway travelling was very acute. Leaving those who have absented themselves, the number of Honourable Members is only 60.

**The Honourable Sir Sultan Ahmed:** I did not stress all these points. I simply mentioned them.

**Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi:** The Honourable Member should not have mentioned them at all, knowing fully well that the House of Commons in Britain sits from day to day during the war. There is no question of any Sessions there. They are getting an opportunity every month, every week, to discuss the war position, whereas here the Government do not take us into confidence at all. You want us to give you every help but you do not keep us informed of what you are doing and what we should do. That can only be done through the Assembly. My Honourable friend, the Mover, made out one point with which I entirely agree. He said that only two Muslims were elected by the Bombay Presidency. One Member is here. Where is the other member, I wonder! I do not see him here.

**Mr. Hooseinbhoy A. Lalljee:** Those Benches are all empty.

**Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi:** Much has been made about what the Honourable the Leader of the House said about questions. My friend, Mr. Azhar Ali, got angry. My Honourable friend must know the rule that he cannot put more than five questions during one sitting. What was the idea in putting 18? It is not a question of finance. It is a question of embarrassment to the Government in the sense that they have got to find out the facts and figures to reply to 18 questions, while they do not know which five of the eighteen questions will be asked on any particular day. That is the grievance of the Honourable the Leader of the House. He does not turn down the 18 questions.

**Mr. Muhammad Azhar Ali:** You invariably support the Government.

**Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi:** This is a point on which one ought to support the Government. The Honourable Member has asked us to co-operate. It is our duty to co-operate. They should not be put to unnecessary trouble and expense; but one can certainly urge the Government to accede to the request for more occasions for the Assembly to sit than obtaining now. I support the motion.

**Mr. Deputy President (Mr. Akhil Chandra Datta):** Before I call upon Mr. Lalchand Navalrai, may I point out that strictly, under the practice, after a moving Member has asked for permission to withdraw the cut, the question has to be put forthwith. To be frank, I was not aware of that practice. Now, that it has been brought to my notice, it is not proper that there should be any lengthy discussion. I have promised to call Mr. Lalchand Navalrai and I would request him to be very brief.

**Mr. Lalchand Navalrai:** Sir, I shall be very brief. I wanted to make only one suggestion. It is more or less the sense of the House as well as the view of the Government that the House should be kept more in contact with the Government. It is beneficial to the Government more than to us. When we go out to our constituencies, several people ask us about the war situation and we have to tell that we are sorry, we are not taken into confidence. That reproach against the Government will be removed if the Assembly is called oftener. It is also not without precedent. During my tenure here, on three or four occasions extraordinary Sessions have been called. Now, the suggestion is that the Assembly should meet in July or August.

**The Honourable Sir Sultan Ahmed:** I have said so.

**Mr. Lalchand Navalrai:** My suggestion is that it will be very hot in Delhi at that time. It will be very uncomfortable and inconvenient for us to meet in Delhi at that time. I would suggest that the meeting in July and August should be in Simla. If the Honourable Member wants a full House, then the Assembly should meet at least for once in Simla, if the meeting is held in July or August.

**Mr. Hoeseinhoy A. Lalljee:** Sir, I beg to withdraw my cut motion.

**Mr. Deputy President (Mr. Akhil Chandra Datta):** That has been objected to.

**Mr. Lalchand Navalrai:** I do not object now. My object has been served.

**Mr. Deputy President (Mr. Akhil Chandra Datta):** In that case, I must say that it is not fair to the House.

Has the Honourable Member leave of the House to withdraw his motion.

(Voices—Yes)

The motion was, by leave of the Assembly, withdrawn.

**Mr. Deputy President (Mr. Akhil Chandra Datta):** The next cut motion is No. 82.

**Mr. Hoeseinhoy A. Lalljee:** I am not moving 82 and 84 but I propose to move No. 93, under Demand No. 22.

#### DEMAND No. 22—COMMERCE DEPARTMENT.

**The Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman:** Sir, I move:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 12,16,000, be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1944, in respect of 'Commerce Department'."

**Mr. Deputy President (Mr. Akhil Chandra Datta):** Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 12,16,000, be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1944, in respect of 'Commerce Department'."

*Exports from India and Trade Relationship with other countries.*

**Mr. Hoosainbhoy A. Lalljee:** Sir, I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Commerce Department' be reduced by Rs. 100."

I must say, in the first place, that recently or for some time the Commerce Department have been carrying on the business in the situation they are to the satisfaction of the people. In fact, we have always found recently that they have been trying their level best to put themselves in communication with the interested people and I have not much to say against that policy except that do not put them in so much communication with the Members. My whole object in moving this cut motion is not against the policy that has been recognised that it is the welfare of the country that requires the Commerce Department to support the exports. But these are extraordinary times and in these times we must, to a large extent, reverse the policy as has been done by the world at large. We have had a lot of trouble with regard to many articles in this country and it has been said that this was due to heavy exports. Although I do not believe that the cause of this trouble was all due to heavy exports or that there were heavy exports, however, I would like to draw the attention of the Commerce Department to two things. One is that they should export only as much foodstuff and other things as are really necessary for the purpose of our own army abroad and, secondly, we should export only such things as we can spare to be sent to those markets which have been our customers all these years. We ought not to at the present time encourage any other exports under any circumstances beyond these two objectives. It has been said that the exports have been made at random in 1941 and 1942, but I must say that recently the control that has been set up with regard to the exports has been working to the satisfaction of many businessmen. The great trouble that has recently arisen and to which I would like to draw the pointed attention of the Commerce Department is with regard to the exports that were being made from India to East Africa. The exports are regulated by quotas and I am prepared to prove that the exports to East Africa have not been more than they used to be or anything equal to what they used to be. Therefore, so far as that part is concerned, there is no complaint. But what has happened in the meanwhile? It has happened that the Government in East Africa have thought fit once again to bring in their old policy of trying to keep out India from those markets, the markets which were created by Indians and where the Indians are and have been the real businessmen. It is very regrettable that even during this great war a policy has been attempted to be followed of trying to monopolise the business in the hands of a few foreigners who are only backed by the Government element there. I do not want at the present time to create any bitterness between the different subjects of His Majesty but I do feel that it is high time that we told the responsible people in East Africa that we shall not tolerate any more their attempt during the war and much less after the war to take away our business. Sir, a representation was made to the Honourable the Commerce Member and Honourable the Overseas Member and I must say that the Deputation which represented the Indian merchants of East Africa were pleased with the assurances that were given and I thought that that would be quite sufficient as those responsible in East Africa would know that Government is with us. But what has happened thereafter? As usual, the East African Government have become vindictive. They have got hold of eleven very important businessmen and they have called upon them to submit certain returns which they cannot do and that is with the object of coercing them so that the Indian agitation must be stopped against the formation of their monopolistic tendencies for themselves. I had thought that the Commerce Department must have taken serious notice of this and by now some

action in the matter was taken. Of course, I must concede that in these days it is very difficult to keep in communication and it may have been that they have not had sufficient time but I do ask the Commerce Department specially and Government generally that if they really want the people in the country to help the Government in their endeavours to create good feelings amongst the Indians and Britishers and even other people, they must see that no undue influence prevails with them and they must be strong enough to maintain the position which they have fortunately taken up and I assure them the country is with them. With these words I move my cut motion.

**Mr. Deputy President** (Mr. Akhil Chandra Datta): Cut motion moved: "That the demand under the head 'Commerce Department' be reduced by Rs. 100."

**Mr. T. S. Pillay** (Government of India; Nominated Official): Sir, we in the Commerce Department are grateful for what I thought to be the Honourable Member's general trend of remarks, namely, that he approves of the general policy adopted in the Commerce Department with regard to the regulation of exports during war days. Sir, he proceeded to emphasise that in his view we should allow the exports of only those commodities which we could conveniently spare and that we should allow them to go to such markets as were our peace time markets or, as he called them, our usual customers. On another occasion, I believe on a non-official day, I explained the policy of the Government of India in this respect. To restate it, in brief terms, it is this. We do allow the exports of only those commodities which we could conveniently spare consistent with the war effort of the United Nations. We also, as far as is consistent, again, with the war effort of the United Nations, supply those markets who were our customers and who are likely to be our customers and those markets which are very vital for the United war effort. I am sure my Honourable friend, Mr. Hooseinbhoy Lalljee, will take no exception to this policy.

Sir, he drew our attention to one or two aspects of exports to East Africa. As far as we are aware, there seems to be no attempt by the East African Government to monopolise exports into that country, that is, imports from this country into East Africa, into any Government hands. We have received information that in order largely to help them in the administration of their price control policy and also in properly distributing those commodities that are in short supply, they are thinking of certain trade organisation that would handle all these imports and function under Government control. We are very carefully examining, in consultation with all concerned, the agency they are proposing to establish and I am in a position to assure the Honourable

3 P.M. Member that as far as possible we shall see that the normal trade channels are not unduly disturbed. When I say "unduly disturbed" I do not want to take shelter under a vague phrase like that, but what I do mean is this: Honourable Members of this House are fully aware that war conditions do demand, in fact, certain alterations in the existing trade channels, it may be that in the interest of shipping and in the interest of war effort certain modifications may have to be made in utilizing the existing trade channels. Subject only to that over-riding consideration only, the Honourable Member may rest assured, Sir, that the Commerce Department maintains and will maintain its policy of not disturbing the existing trade channel.

Sir, the Honourable Member mentioned one more point to which, unfortunately my Department is not in a position to answer. He referred to certain prosecutions of certain Indians in East Africa. We have no information. We in consultation with the Overseas Department are trying to ascertain the facts. If there is anything suggestive of vindictiveness, I am sure, the Honourable Member will be quite satisfied if I tell him that we shall take suitable steps to get justice done.

**Mr. Hooseinbhoy A. Lalljee**: Sir, I do not wish to press the cut. I wish to withdraw it in view of the statement made by the Honourable Member. The motion was, by leave of the Assembly, withdrawn.

## DEMAND No. 23—DEPARTMENT OF LABOUR.

**The Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman:** Sir, I move:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 11,84,000, be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1944, in respect of "Department of Labour."

**Mr. Deputy President** (Mr. Akhil Chandra Datta): Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 11,84,000, be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1944, in respect of "Department of Labour."

*Position of Labour including Indian Seamen.*

**Mr. Hoosainbhoy A. Lalljee:** Sir, I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Department of Labour' be reduced by Rs. 100."

It is very difficult to understand why up to now the Indian seamen who number in India over one hundred thousand are still under the Commerce Department when we have got the Labour Department of our own. However, Sir, I must say that the conditions of Indian seamen are very pitiable. We have had the Indian Merchant Shipping Act enacted some fifty years ago and no change whatsoever has been made in that. There is no provision for the maintenance of the scale of crew for a particular tonnage. There is no provision for the number of crew to be engaged. It is entirely within the discretion of the Master of the ship. There are no working hours fixed on board the ship. The Master of the ship can terminate service at any port where he likes. Furthermore even if a crew is left owing to certain accidental position, or owing to sickness he is unable to work he is discharged at any port by the Master of the ship. It is very difficult for him to be repatriated back into India for a year or sometimes even more, in these times. Sir, we have found such conditions prevailing about any working class of people in these times, and still, Sir, what do we find, it is going on so far as the poor Indian seamen are concerned, who number over one hundred thousand, and who are employed not only in the Merchant Navy but in the Royal Navy as well. Representations have been made by the National Seamen Unions of India to the Government of India, but nothing has been done. In fact, the position has been that the Conventions that are existing in the United Kingdom and the world at large are not given any cognizance here. Sir, this is not all. We find, Sir, that the crew of the Merchant Navy are also to sign in Bombay before the Shipping Master and their condition is almost the same. When they come down to India they are supposed to be paid at once, but for months together they have not been paid. The worst of all is this: I will give you one instance, when in the middle of 1942 a ship by the name of "Montaneil" went down by the enemy's action somewhere between East Africa and South Africa the crew were rescued.

**Mr. Deputy President** (Mr. Akhil Chandra Datta): The time limit is approaching. If the Honourable Member wishes to have a reply from the Government, he should cut short.

**Mr. Hoosainbhoy A. Lalljee:** Sir, I will just finish my speech. Sir, this crew were landed on Durban and thereafter nothing was done except that they were laid on the road and a single blanket was given. When they came down to India nothing was done in Bombay for them and the only blanket which was given by the Durban people was taken away. On the other hand what do we find so far as the European crew are concerned. As soon as the European crew land in India they are taken to rest houses and are provided with meals and otherwise. But these poor Indians, as soon as they come to India in Bombay they are left without being paid and without being fed. Sir, I hope the Government will give an assurance that Indian seamen who are doing great work at the peril of life during this war will be given better treatment and something will be done for them.

**Mr. Deputy President** (Mr. Akhil Chandra Datta): Cut motion moved:

"That the demand under the head 'Department of Labour' be reduced by Rs. 100."

**Mr. T. S. Pillay:** Sir, I have got only five minutes and I shall endeavour to answer the Honourable Member as best as I can. I must confess that I have

not followed exactly the nature of the grievances he has mentioned. The first grievance which I think was that several Indian seamen were not paid their wages in time. As far as my information goes, they are paid very promptly and no case of undue delay has been brought to our notice. If the Honourable Member can give me actual cases in which there was delay, we shall be very happy indeed to make enquiries. I did make some enquiries about the payment of wages to seamen recruited for the Royal Indian Navy; but there again, it is not in the Commerce Department. I was endeavouring to make enquiries yesterday when the Honourable Member told me informally about this and I found the War Department who are concerned have no information that there is any actual complaint of delay in payment. Here again, I can assure the Honourable Member that I shall make full enquiries if actual cases of delay in payment are brought to notice. As regards the second point where he said that the injured seamen or seamen who were landed after their ship was lost in enemy action were not properly attended to. This is a matter in which I must assure the Honourable Member and the House that all proper arrangements have been made by the Commerce Department through the agency of their shipping office to attend to the comforts of seamen who are being landed in Indian coast under those circumstances. We are getting periodical reports of attention paid to them by the Shipping Masters. There are standing instructions that the Shipping Master himself should go and attend and receive those seamen. There are funds placed at their disposal from His Excellency the Viceroy's War Purposes Fund. They have got full powers to spend out of these funds; they have got powers again to give them all the necessary creature comforts and see that they are sent to their homes. I am really sorry to hear from the Honourable Member that there were cases in which the seamen were not properly attended to. Here again, if the Honourable Member would give me actual cases, I shall have proper enquiries made. I can assure the Honourable Member that the Commerce Department is insisting upon periodical reports from their officers at Bombay and Calcutta of the arrival of such seamen and what arrangements are made for their comfort. My Honourable friend drew my attention to a particular case where the blanket of a seaman was taken away. I must confess I am not aware of the case. If he would give me more particulars, I shall make enquiries and I am sure that I will be in a position to satisfy him that the officers of the shipping office in Bombay are really kind. They are all Indians, one belongs to the class from which seamen come; especially the Shipping Master now in Bombay knows the seamen class very well indeed and shows them great sympathy. If there are any cases of genuine grievances, we will certainly go into them.

**Mr. Hooseinbhoj A. Lalljee:** What about the Indian Merchant Shipping Act? Have any changes been made anywhere in that Act for the past several years?

**The Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman:** The Indian Merchant Shipping Act was very extensively amended within the last ten years.

**Mr. Hooseinbhoj A. Lalljee:** But the conditions of the seamen remain the same.

**Mr. Deputy President (Mr. Akhil Chandra Datta):** The question is: "That the demand under the head 'Department of Labour' be reduced by Rs. 100." The motion was negatived.

#### DEMAND No. 56—BROADCASTING.

**The Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman:** Sir, I move:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 59,64,000, be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1944, in respect of 'Broadcasting'."

**Mr. Deputy President (Mr. Akhil Chandra Datta):** Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 59,64,000, be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1944, in respect of 'Broadcasting'."



*Grievances of Muslims with regard to Services, Language and Programmes of the Broadcasting Department.*

**Nawab Siddique Ali Khan** (Central Provinces and Berar: Muhammadan):

Sir, I move:

"That the demand under the head 'Broadcasting' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Sir, year after year it has been the practice in this House to move cut motions on different subjects to draw the attention of the Government. This year it has fallen to my lot to move this cut motion to draw the attention of the Government. I am moving this cut motion on behalf of the Muslim League. Due to shortness of time, I do not think I will be able to do full justice to the subject. On this cut motion, three issues have been raised. First of all I will take up the programme and language together and will try to establish three things, firstly, that the Broadcasting organisation is propagating the cause of the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, secondly, that it is manufacturing a new language and thirdly that the standard of programme is deteriorating and favouritism is shown to a particular set of artists.

Sir, regarding the language, protests were made by Hindus as well as Muslims throughout Northern India and in some other parts also. Sir, it is an admitted fact that Urdu is spoken and understood in general throughout the length and breadth of India and in particular in Northern India. Sir, it is also an admitted fact that Urdu is the "common heritage" of both Hindus and Muslims in the words of the Right Honourable Dr. Sapru.

**Pandit Nilakantha Das:** Then why make it a Muslim league affair?

**Nawab Siddique Ali Khan:** Even in the army the necessity of Urdu is badly felt. Here is a report before me which was published in the *Statesman* of 10th January, 1940. It was with regard to Belgaum Military School. I will read only the relevant portion from that report:

"The authorities insist on a thorough understanding of Urdu which is considered essential before a young officer is ready to lead his men in battle."

Sir, there is another example. In Cairo, Sir Edward Cook while inaugurating the Army club spoke to the army people who were present there in Urdu so that they could understand him properly.

Sir, sometime back a questionnaire was issued by the All-India Radio. I will now quote the figures of those listeners who expressed a desire to hear programmes in Urdu, which the All India Radio Department calls Hindustani. There are other listeners who wanted to hear programmes in other languages also. The figures as given by the All India Radio are as follows:

In Bombay there are 2,500 Urdu listeners, 2,500 English listeners, 1,700 Gujarati listeners and 1,500 Mahrati listeners.

In Delhi there are 4,800 Urdu listeners and 1,700 English listeners.

In Calcutta there are 3,500 Urdu listeners, 1,700 English listeners and 399 Bengali listeners.

In Madras there are 3,500 Urdu listeners, 1,700 English listeners, 400 Tamil listeners and 200 Telugu listeners.

The total comes to 14,300 Urdu listeners and 7,600 English listeners. These figures do not include the number of Urdu listeners of Lahore and Lucknow stations. If they were to be added to the number of Urdu listeners which I have just now quoted it would go very high. From this it is crystal clear that Urdu is very popular and universal.

Now, Sir, with regard to the words and phrases which the All India Radio organization uses in its broadcasts and announcements. I will show how the All India Radio is encouraging high-sounding Sanskritized Hindi and discouraging Urdu which is understood and spoken by the teeming millions of India. These are the passages and words used by announcers and commentators:

"In ko woh saphalta nahin mili jiski woh asha kar rahe they. Is yudh ka doo-va karan veh hai ke parja ko shanti nehin mili. Agar woh apni laojon ka samohatan thik kar sakey to German ka chopat ho jaiqa. Perja sukhi nahin hai. Parantu unka andolan marboot ho gaya hai. New York Times ka sandesa diya gaya hai. Dosh bhaqton ne faida kerliya hai ke is yudh men sara jungi saman juta diya jaiqa. Is ne apne nird

pan ka suboot diya hai. Parantu Parmatma perja ko shakti de ga aur uski asha puri ho jaigi."

The second passage is :

"All India Hindu Mahasabha ke pursal Mr. Savarkar Weerwar ko Delhi zahonchenge."

Sir, I am confident that the majority of the Members of this House, and sepecially my Honourable friend, Sir Feroz Khan Noon, who was very attentively hearing these passages, will not be able to tell me the meaning of the words, "Saphalta", "Yudh", "Sanghatan", "Chopat", "Andolan", "Juta Diya", "Nirde Pan", "Pursal".

Sir, there are Hindi words also which are unnecessarily used in these announcements and comments, e.g., "Parantu", "Santosh", "Swagat", "Widyarthi", "Ankde".

Sir, words equivalent to these, and very simple, are used by Urdu papers, such as, *Tej*, *Milap*, *Riyasat*, and other papers which are owned and edited by Hindu gentlemen. The All-India Radio freely uses some English words also which are quite unnecessary. In the Urdu vocabulary simple words conveying the same meaning or purpose are to be found. They use such words as 'meter', 'copyright reserved', 'broadcast', 'informal', 'imperialistic'. Apart from this they have coined some words and phrases which are ridiculous and absurd. I will quote some of those words: 'Samandar' meaning sea or ocean. They say 'Mahasagar'. As far as my knowledge of Hindi goes 'sagar' means 'tank' and 'Maha' means 'big': big tank! My submission is that it is not at all necessary to use the word 'Mahasagar' when you have a simple familiar Sanskrit word 'Samandar' which is spoken and understood by all.

There is another word, 'Safir'. They have coined another word for that. They say 'Alchi'. For the information of those gentlemen who do not know the meaning of 'Safir', I will say 'Safir' means 'ambassador', and 'Elchi' means 'messenger'. So there is a lot of difference.

There is another word in Urdu which is called 'Sangebuniad' meaning 'foundation-stone'. For that word they have coined another word which is 'Kone ka pathar' i.e., corner stone.

There is another expression in Urdu, 'Wazahat karna' which is freely used by these papers. But our learned people of the All-India Radio have translated the expression to 'Khol ke batana'. If I were to say that Mr. so and so in this Honourable House explained or amplified, the All-India Radio people will say that 'Member Saheb ne Assembly me khol kar bataya'. Sir, I am sure no gentleman would like to use this expression in decent company, but the All-India Radio people are using this expression 'Khol kar batana' from morning till night regardless of the fact that among the listeners of the All-India Radio station there are also those who belong to the fair sex!

Sir, it is a pity that Urdu is being mutilated in this manner by some Radio stations in Northern India, and especially in Delhi and Lucknow. Sir, Delhi is admitted to be the cradle of Urdu. It was in Delhi that Urdu was actually born and brought up, and it was in Lucknow that it grew and attained perfection.

Regarding programmes also I will say this much that *Thumri*, *Dadra*, *Dharpat*, *Todi*, etc., are being broadcast in an increasing number, while 'Ghazals', *Naats* and Urdu poems are being thrown into oblivion. Religious broadcasts for Muslims are also receiving step-motherly treatment. All this clearly shows that the powers that we are bent upon crushing Urdu. Sir, I will be happy if the language which is spoken in Northern India is introduced, or that language is adopted about which a pact was signed by Dr. Maulvi Abdul Haque and Dr. Rajendra Prasad. I will go even to this length, and I am sure members of my Party will agree with me, that we are willing to accept that language which is spoken by the Right Honourable Dr. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru.

Sir, the charge of favouritism is an old one. I think this is the proper time to tell the Members of this House that in this respect my Province is

[Nawab Siddique Ali Khan.]

completely ignored. Year before last, I had strongly recommended Professor Shaikh Lal of Nagpur to be given a trial here. He is a well known singer. The Bombay Radio Station invites him every month, but, I am sorry to say, that no heed was paid to my request, and the All-India Radio officers did not even have the courtesy of acknowledging my letter. I may remind the House that Sardar Mangal Singh moved a Resolution in the year 1938 for the appointment of an Enquiry Committee. He had made serious allegations of nepotism and jobbery. I had opposed the Resolution on that occasion on the ground that the organisation was in its infancy and, as such, it was in an experimental stage. I had suggested the appointment of Advisory Committees of competent non-officials for all the Radio Stations. After the lapse of five years and after gaining sufficient experience during this time, I have come to the conclusion that the Department requires overhauling.

Now, I turn to the paucity of Muslims in the Department. Last year on the 23rd of March, 1942, in reply to Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan's starred questions, the Honourable the Home Member said that there were only two Muslims working as Station Directors out of 8; there were 7 Assistant Directors only out of which only one was a Muslim; out of 10 Station Engineers one was a Muslim; 6 Muslims were Assistant Engineers out of 41; there were two Muslim Technical Assistants out of 92; there was not a single Muslim out of 8 Installation and Deputy Installation and Research Engineers. According to these statistics, the percentage of Muslim representation comes to 9.6 in the Broadcasting Department. Here I may remind the House that in the year 1934 a Resolution was passed and according to that Resolution, Muslims as a matter of right are entitled to get 25 per cent. representation in all the Services. My information is that some high posts of the All-India Radio organization are excluded from the application of this Resolution of communal representation of 25 per cent. Last year the Honourable the Home Member in replying to a supplementary question put by Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan said that a sufficient number of Muslims possessing necessary qualifications and technical training were not coming forward. But, Sir, that is not the fact at present. During the last two recruitments, Muslims possessing necessary technical qualifications applied for the job, but I do not know why their applications were not entertained and they were not offered those jobs. Sir, these are the just, legitimate and long-standing grievances of Muslims. We, the Members on this side of the House, demand that these grievances should be redressed, Sir, I move.

**Mr. Deputy President** (Mr. Akhil Chandra Datta): Cut motion moved:

"That the demand under the head 'Broadcasting' be reduced by Rs. 100."

**Pandit Nilakantha Das**: I have nothing particularly to do about the Muslim representation part of the speech of my Honourable friend from Nagpur, the Mover. But something is said about the linguistic character of the Urdu language which interested me very much. Many of my friends in my Province blame me to be a purist in these days so far as the linguistic aspect of my own language is concerned, and I find that my friend the Mover of the cut motion is, like me, a purist. The question, however, is very controversial.

**Maulana Zafar Ali Khan** (East Central Punjab: Muhammadan): What is a purist?

**Pandit Nilakantha Das**: Purist is a puritan.

**Maulana Zafar Ali Khan**: *Khol kar batayic.*

**Pandit Nilakantha Das**: *Khol kar batata hun.* Today we find in our vernacular languages even Portuguese words like: *Alkatra* for coal-tar, *Padri* for missionary, *Papaya* for *papita*—a word which we have taken from Malaya. Even if you examine philologically, you will find that in all the Northern Indian languages, which are called Indo-European,—including Urdu, so far as the vocabulary is concerned, more than 50 per cent. is from the Dravidian

stock, which is the language of the land. So a language is known—this is authentic opinion—not by its vocabulary but by the scheme of its syntax. When people come together vocabulary is freely taken from other languages, otherwise in this age you cannot deal with your neighbours. The world's distances are so short now-a-days. English people now say 'curry'—that is not their language. Some people might object. They also say 'paddy'—it is taken from Borneo. Even mango is not their language. Same is the case all over the world. Spanish people brought in so many words from South America. For instance 'Guava' comes from 'gualu', a South American word. So is 'tobacco'. Whatever that be, if you object to adopting vocabulary your language will remain stagnant.

Vocabulary also includes idioms, and phrases. In Bengali or my own language Oriya—it is good etiquette to say '*Kholkar batana*'. There is nothing wrong about it; why object to it. Similarly our people object when I say '*Jatna Neba*' (take care) both in Oriya and in Bengali. '*Bisram lena*' in our language means taking rest—these are translated from English idioms and there are so many. Had it been a language class, I would have gone on for hours. We should not object to these things nowadays. We also objected to adopting English words and English expressions; they are sometimes necessary and there have been so many associations for coining scientific words, and the general opinion has been till today that English words should be taken as Latin and Greek words were taken into English. It is necessary, for our ideas nowadays are expressions of the way of thinking and speaking in English. We always express ourselves in English idioms for there are so many things that we were not used to thinking in our own language in our mother tongue. So English must come, and when Urdu is going to be an all India language as my friends of the Muslim League wish, they will not deny me the right to claim it as my own national language and therefore, they ought to accept '*Kholkar batana*'—otherwise there is no help for me. I cannot adopt Urdu. It must be the common language of all and all sorts of vocabulary and idioms must enter into it. The distinctive feature of the language is the scheme of syntax. Of course, the purist section may be useful one way. For instance, in the second millenium B. C. . . .

**Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta:** Second or third?

**Pandit Nilakantha Das:** I think about 1400 or 1500 B. C. among the Mitannians and Hytites there were Aryan elements. Now, from inscriptions orientologists study their languages. Particularly from a word '*satam*' or '*Centum*' which stands for 'hundred' they can find out whether those ancient Aryan people were allied to Indians or to Greeks and other Europeans. If that be an appeal to some of the Honourable members here that some one will come in distant future and find out whether this man was a Punjabi or an Oriya. If that be the outlook then only you can think of these puritanic things. Otherwise I think our language must grow as a common language and the only difficulty in India and the difficulty in the way of our national workers is the want of a national language; and if my Muslim friends were ready to accept Urdu as the national language they know we have no objection; but if they be so puritanic as to stick to only what Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru or Fundit Jawahar Lal Nehru speak or what Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan was prattling when as a child he was speaking to his mother, if that be Urdu, then we poor people will be thrown out. So I appeal to my friends not to raise this. . . .

**An Honourable Member:** You want your language to be improved: you will not be thrown out.

**Pandit Nilakantha Das:** My language will be improved or otherwise—I am not in a position to say; but I know a commercial language will grow, and apart from literary languages in the vernaculars, a commercial language will grow in India and that in course of time will be adapted to all other languages by the provincial people, and in course of time again a common literature will

[Pandit Nilakantha Das.]

grow and that will be the common language—call it Urdu, call it Hindi, call it in any way by any name you like, I do not mind; but do not be so particular about *samandar* or *sagar*—both are Sanskrit words. So this puritanic way of looking at languages will land us nowhere. With these words, I appeal to my friends at least not to be much bothered about that part of the speech which my Honourable friend made on the character of the language in connection with its vocabulary.

**Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta:** Sir, I do not wish to make any lengthy observations. I only wish to say to the Honourable the Mover of this proposition that I happen to be the President of certain Listeners' Association in Bombay; and they have made a public protest that the All India Radio which daily broadcasts between 9 and 9-30 p.m. uses high flown Urdu words, not one of which is intelligible to them, '*kamyabi*' and '*shikayat*'—what is the meaning of this *shikayat* and what is *kamyabi*? Is it a *bibi* or gentleman? That is the protest made at public meetings by the users of the radio, that the All India Radio from Delhi between 9 and 9-30 broadcasts in a language which is utterly and absolutely unintelligible to them because there is hardly a word of anything except Urdu—except perhaps by mistake. . . .

**Mr. Umar Aly Shah** (North Madras: Muhammadan): *Kamyabi* means *Kritakritya* which is a pure Sanskrit word meaning 'successful'.

**Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta:** *Kamyabi* means successful, I understand, and *shikayat* means complaints, I understand; but the point is that the large number of listeners in Bombay, 15 lakhs of people, and 3 lakhs in the suburbs, have unitedly made a protest that the Delhi radio. . . .

**Mr. Muhammad Nauman:** (Patna and Chota Nagpur cum Orissa: Muhammadan): That is not the number of radios in Bombay, probably?

**Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta:** I am talking of the people, not the number of radios: you kindly take this as a fact that the population of Bombay is 15 lakhs, and 3 lakhs in the suburbs: and amongst them the number who use the radio is a much larger number than elsewhere. I assure you, that they are unitedly protesting that they simply do not understand. . . .

**An Honourable Member:** What do they understand?

**Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta:** They will understand Hindi or local Sanskrit dialects. You must not be surprised if they do not understand Urdu; it is not their crime. Do you admit or not that they have a right to understand if they are to pay for the radio?

**Mr. Muhammad Nauman:** I say they do understand.

**Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta:** No; they do not. *Kamyabi* means nothing to them and *shikayat* means worse; and there are words of that kind which are spoken every three or two seconds by the man who is speaking from the All India Radio.

**An Honourable Member:** May I know what is the substitute for *kamyabi* and *shikayat*?

**Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta:** *Kamyabi* means *Yeshasvi* and *shikayat* means *Fariyad*. I may know them. But those words are not understood there; and what is understood is welcome and what is not understood is not welcome.

**Syed Ghulam Bhik Nairang** (East Punjab: Muhammadan): That is precisely our point.

**Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta:** I am not blaming you for that. But the All India Radio is under fire from all quarters; that is what I am telling you. When it will evolve something which will please everybody God knows. If the word '*khothkar batana*' is objected to, it shows a diseased mind—there is nothing to laugh at in it. You are laughing at your own diseased mind. You have a diseased pre-conception—it is a pure word. It means 'explain' or make clear. One speaker did not even hesitate to go to the length of bringing women in this. 'What does it show? It does not show a healthy attitude. I object to that kind of perversion of a language for the sake of pleasing your

ears for a few minutes. What were you laughing at? At your own ignorance, for half an hour.

**An Honourable Member:** Your ignorance.

**Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta:** It is quite a simple word, it means to make it clear, to expose, to clarify.

**Nawab Siddique Ali Khan:** On a point of personal explanation, Sir.

**Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta:** I am not giving way. I strongly object to the way in which the Honourable Member used that *Kholke batana*. He can explain it in his reply. (Interruption.) I understand you thoroughly. You were going throughout on a wrong track. You were trying to misuse, to abuse a simple word.

**Kunwer Hajee Ismaiel Alikhan (Nominated Non-Official):** On a point of order, Sir.

**Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta:** I am not giving way.

**Kunwer Hajee Ismaiel Alikhan:** It is a point of order.

**Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta:** It is for the Chair.

**Mr. Deputy President (Mr. Akhil Chandra Datta):** Is it a point of order?

**Kunwer Hajee Ismaiel Alikhan:** Yes. Is the Honourable Member in order in addressing direct, Members of that Party?

**Mr. Deputy President (Mr. Akhil Chandra Datta):** It is not a point of order, but I may say that that has been done on almost all occasions.

**Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta:** What I say is that if the discussion about words is to be carried on, it should be carried on in a tolerant spirit, in a spirit of accommodation. *Mahasagar* happens to be a Hindi word. It is understood everywhere where the Sanskrit language is the mother of the vernacular. *Mahasagar* and *Samandar* mean the same. The Honourable Member must not think that *Sagar* is a tank. Where did he get it from?

**Pandit Nilakantha Das:** In the C. P. it means a tank.

**Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta:** *Sagar* is not a tank, it is an ocean or sea. It is only by secondary meaning that *Sagar* may mean a tank. *Sagar* means sea. *Mahasagar* means ocean. I have no dogmatic views in this matter. I only say that more tolerance is desirable. In course of time some evolution of a language which all of us will understand will follow, but to go to the length of misrepresenting the words *kholkar batana* to the extent to which my Honourable friend went is to me a perversion, an absolute perversion. That is not the meaning of it. It has the purest, chastest meaning of making it clear, and if you pervert it, it is not the fault of the language. (Interruption.) Certainly not. Those who are using that word are using it with the chastest, cleanest, purest mind; it is your perversity which makes it wrong. I leave that kind of diseased mentality to those who possess it and those who enjoy it. What were you enjoying? Your own ignorance, your own intolerance, not of the Radio men at all. I understand the use of the word *Kholker Batana*, quite clear, from a chaste, clean mind. You bring to bear upon it a dirty mind and you see perversion in it.

**An Honourable Member:** You cannot even appreciate a joke.

**Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta:** Is it a joke? I do not want to have a joke at the expense of women in which the speaker indulged. What is that joke? A joke must be clean and pure. This coarse indulgence, intolerance is not a joke. You forget the difference between wit and coarseness. One point which I really wanted to emphasise was the grievances of the Broadcasting staff. I wish to know from Government whether it is a fact that their wages and their salaries are so low that the right kind of men are leaving the jobs. That is one point to which I wanted to draw the attention of the House if I had not been deflected by this tomfoolery of the wrong use which had been made of the words.

(At this stage, Maulana Zafar Ali Khan rose in his place.)

I will give you ample notice. Don't jump about, the Chair is there to tell me when my time is up. If somebody gets between us it will not be my fault. So, Sir,

[Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta.]

I want Government to definitely make it clear to the House whether there is anything in the nature of a serious discontent among the staff of the All-India Radio on account of their wages and salaries not being equal to the amount of work they are doing. That point, if it is true as represented to me that a large number of the staff has left or is leaving, would be a matter worth the attention of those who are in charge of the Department. One thing more which I am sorry I have to say. Will the Gentleman in charge of this Department tell the House whether since April up to now the broadcasts reported from the All-India Radio in favour of Pakistan were authorised. What is the number of times that pro-Pakistan broadcasts were allowed and those against Pakistan were systematically shut out. I want to know if he has got a record. How many times any Tom, Dick and Harry who made a speech in favour of Pakistan was reported and how even the most famous people—among whom I do not include myself—who spoke against Pakistan were shut out. I only want to know the number of times. I am not blaming anybody. Then if he thinks that it is one-sided publicity, he might stop it. But let him first of all tell us facts on the floor of the House. I have a complaint that I am compelled to listen to only one-sided version of this controversy. On these two points, the conditions of wages and salaries of the staff, and the one-sided representation of Pakistan propaganda, I want information.

**Maulana Zafar Ali Khan:** Sir, I wholeheartedly support the motion moved by my Honourable friend, Nawab Siddique Ali Khan. A very interesting discussion has been going on with regard to the rights and claims of Urdu to be regarded as the only dominating language in India, in short, to be the *lingua franca* of India. Our friends like to talk of one India, Akhand Hindustan, one nation, one language. All very good slogans. But when we begin to claim relationship with you on the basis of language, you bring in Hindi, you bring in Sanskrit, you bring in all sorts of explanations to prove the justness of your point of view.

**An Honourable Member:** Address the Chair.

**Maulana Zafar Ali Khan:** I can only say that Urdu is the common heritage of both Hindus and Mussalmans. It is the language understood in all parts of the country. It is a common language. . . .

**Bhai Parma Nand (West Punjab: Non-Muhammadian):** Since what date?

**Maulana Zafar Ali Khan:** Since the days of Babar, since the days of Shah Jahan, since the days you were born. Let us not quarrel over this question of language. My Honourable friend, Pandit Nilakantha Das, was most reasonable and I welcome his assurance that he would speak the language understood by all the peoples of India and that nobody should quarrel or cavil over what the percentage of Sanskrit in the language is, what the proportion of Persian words in the language ought to be. Languages are not formed in this way. They are the result of thousands of years of inter-language impact. The Mussalmans came 1300 years ago and settled down here and mixed with the Hindus. The civilisation of the Hindus and the civilisation of the Mussalmans joined together and as a result—the linguistic result—one language was born which was common throughout India.

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

**Bhai Parma Nand:** Only for the army.

**Maulana Zafar Ali Khan:** There may be the provincial language, Punjabi for the Punjab, Nagari, Hindi, Oriya, or Tamil, in other provinces, but there is only one common language for the whole of India which is called Urdu. By a compromise between some friends like Maulana Abdul Huq and Babu Rajendra Prasad, the use of the word Urdu was given up and the word Hindustani was used. Where is the harm in sticking to the word Urdu? It is the only language understood by everybody and the only common medium of expression. So, I will not say anything further about the language question. One thing is

left to me to expatiate upon and that is the programme of broadcasts arranged by the All-India Radio. In that programme we find that the All-India Radio is encroaching upon the domain which is forbidden to it. Sometime ago, in the month of October last, the All-India Radio announced that the lives and teachings of Hazrat Abu Bakr and Hazrat Umar will be broadcast on the All-India Radio. Directly that announcement was made, a few days afterwards it was suddenly announced, without any rhyme or reason, that the programme was withdrawn. Nobody knew the reason for it. Then, later on we came to know from a Shia paper in Lucknow called the *Vasekadar* that when this announcement was made a great outcry arose in certain extreme Shia sections in Lucknow. When I say 'extreme Shia sections' I want to explain it. Everybody in this House knows—all are educated and versed in the history of Islam—that after the Holy Prophet passed away, the leadership of Islam fell to the lot of his old companion Hazrat Abu Bakr. His period of the Khalifate was 2½ years. After him came Hazrat Umar the Great and he ruled for 10 years. After him came Hazrat Usman and Hazrat Ali. The overwhelming majority of the Mussalmans of India and of the world believe that these are the leaders of Islam to whom Islam owes a great debt of gratitude, because, it was during their sway in Arabia that Islam was spread, by proselytization, through Asia and Africa. When other great men are being introduced through the Radio, such as Baba Nanak, Sri Krishna and Sri Ramchandra, Mussalmans have the right to insist that the lives of Hazrat Abu Bakr and Hazrat Umar should also be there. When the All-India Radio announced that the lives and teachings of the two Khalifas would be broadcast from Delhi there was a great outcry in Lucknow and some of the Shia gentlemen of Lucknow came to Delhi and they saw the authorities of the All-India Radio and told them that their religious susceptibilities would be injured if the lives and teachings of these two Khalifas were broadcast and they succeeded in getting the broadcast withdrawn. The *Vasekadar* gleefully declared: "This question of the praise of Abu Bakr and Umar has been settled once for all and any tribute to their memory is not to be allowed. I do not want to make it a Shia Sunni question but this is what a certain extreme type of Shia opinion actually did. Thereupon I wrote to Sir Frederick Puckle who was then the Secretary of the Information Department. His reply was laconic and was couched in language of which only a sun-dried bureaucrat can be capable. He said that he was not going to enter into that discussion. Why not, Sir? This is a question which affects the religious liberty of millions of people and you take a step by which you commit yourself to the strange decision that the lives of Abu Bakr and Umar have no right of being broadcast on the All-India Radio. You simply give a challenge to Mussalmans when you ban their religious liberty. This decision of the All-India Radio has produced a disastrous effect so far as Lucknow is concerned. Only the other day, five people were turned out of 11 districts of Oudh and from Lucknow and Cawnpore and they were not allowed to remain there simply because they wanted to sing the praises of Umar and Abu Bakr. This matter is exercising the Mussulmans of India. We want an assurance from the Radio authorities that in future no such invidious distinction will be allowed and that the All-India Radio will have the same obligation of broadcasting the lives of these religious leaders as of any other religious leaders. Maulvi Abdul Ghani tells me that it was of their own accord that the *Indian Listener*, published under the authority of the All-India Radio, announced that the lives of Abu Bakr and Umar would be broadcast for the benefit of listeners. So, how is it that suddenly it was announced to a surprised world that their own self-imposed programme was withdrawn. We feel very strongly on this subject. The whole Muslim world feels very strongly and we trust that the Government of India would respect its pledges to give religious liberty to every section of the population and not to interfere with it. I tell you that this action is trying us too much. Our patience is exhausted and if immediate steps are not taken to remove our grievances a cry would arise throughout India and the results will not be very happy so far as you are concerned. I support the motion.



**Nawabzada Muhammad Liaquat Ali Khan** (Rohilkund and Kumaon Divisions: Muhammadan Rural): Sir, there were three points raised by the Honourable the Mover of this motion. Some of the Honourable Members who have followed him have confused the issues which are for the consideration of this Honourable House. One point that was raised by the Honourable the Mover of the motion was that the language which is used by the All-India Radio is the language which is neither spoken nor understood in India; that it is neither Urdu nor Hindi nor English nor Sanskrit but it is a hotch-potch of all these languages. What he was trying to say was that the All-India Radio instead of broadcasting in the language which is generally understood by the people of India, were inventing and developing a language of their own. It may satisfy the desire of some of those who have the destiny of the All-India Radio in their hands to develop their idiosyncrasies but it is certainly not for the benefit of the people for whom this money is being spent and who pay an annual tax and spend money on buying radio sets. Mr. Jamnadas Mehta, as is usual with him, put quite a different interpretation on the speech of the Honourable the Mover. It is unfortunate that Mr. Jamnadas Mehta does not know or understand Urdu. I sympathise with him. I do not say that it is his crime, but it is certainly his misfortune. What my Honourable friend the Mover of the motion was trying to place before the House was that some of the expressions that are used in the language that is broadcast from these stations are such that they have acquired a certain meaning which is not very wholesome or clean. It is not a question of the people having a diseased mentality or anything of the kind. My Honourable friend, Mr. Jamnadas Mehta, knows that in every language there are certain expressions which have acquired certain meanings which the words do not lend themselves to. Therefore, what my Honourable friend, the Mover, was saying was this that at least in this part of the country, I mean in Northern India, where Urdu is spoken and understood most, some of the expressions that are used are such which have not got that meaning attached to those expressions which the words convey. Surely, those people who are in charge of the stations of the All-India Radio are not so ignorant as not to know what meaning certain expressions have. And if they can be avoided, why should they not be avoided? When there are words which can convey the same meaning, why should they not be used? So, there was no question of putting a vulgar interpretation or a vulgar meaning and my Honourable friend, Mr. Jamnadas Mehta, knows very well that in every language there are certain expressions which have certain meanings attached to them which are not very desirable. The words may have any meaning, that is not the point. Therefore, I think Mr. Jamnadas Mehta was neither just nor kind to the Mover of this motion in putting an interpretation on his speech which the Mover neither intended nor could it be attached to it from the way in which he conveyed his meaning.

**Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta:** There was laughter for half an hour.

**Nawabzada Muhammad Liaquat Ali Khan:** That should have been sufficient proof of the fact that that expression is not the one which should be used by the All-India Radio.

Now, Sir, the second point that was raised by the Honourable the Mover was the question of showing favouritism to certain artists and my Honourable friend, the Mover, gave certain instances. I have nothing much to say about it. All I can say is that it is very seldom that I consider it worth while to waste my time on listening to the broadcast which is done by the All-India Radio. It is neither linguistically good nor is it good from the news point of view, or the music point of view or any other point of view. The news that they give you contains hardly any Indian news. It contains those news which you hear again at half-past nine from the B. B. C. After all, it should be the function of the All-India Radio to tell the people of India, what is happening in their own country. My Honourable friends who must have tuned in to this Radio station must have

found that there is hardly any news about India. As far as foreign news are concerned, they are regularly broadcast by all the foreign stations and there are a number of people who listen in to all the foreign stations. So, as far as that goes, it is a general complaint and not only amongst those who understand English but even amongst those who know no other language except Urdu or Hindustani, I do not care what you call it. I pride myself to know something of Urdu and a little of Hindi. My Urdu is not Arabic or Persian; my Urdu is what it really is. In other words, my Urdu is the language that is spoken and understood by practically everyone in Northern India. And I can assure you that on several occasions I found it difficult to understand what is meant by the broadcast which is made from the All-India Radio. The words that are used are such that I am sure that even those who claim that Hindi is their mother tongue will find it difficult to understand them.

Now, there was another point that was raised by Maulana Zafar Ali Khan Sahib. He made a complaint that in the programme which was published by the All-India Radio there were two items included which were about the two Khalifas of Islam and wherein it was stated that a broadcast of their lives will be given. I think the Government were not right in withdrawing that programme. After all, praising the leaders of any sect or religion is not a crime. I can understand if the broadcast was to run down the leaders of any other sect or any other community. If the people belonging to different religions could hear broadcast about the leaders of different religions, then I do not see any reason what objection could anyone have in listening to a broadcast of that kind. And if he did not want to listen to it, there was no compulsion. But to withdraw from the programme an item which had already been included and on the ground, as is presumed, that certain people objected to it was wrong and I think it would be very difficult for the Government to justify this action of theirs. And if they were to say in their reply, as they might, that this question had raised a great deal of trouble in Lucknow and so on and, therefore, they withdrew it in the interest of peace and tranquillity—I am only anticipating what the Government might have to say and I am intervening at this stage because I understand that the Government have only one spokesman on their side and we will not have an opportunity of saying anything after we have heard the Government case. Then I would say that they showed colossal ignorance and callousness in including an item if they knew that it would create trouble when they were already aware what had happened in Lucknow and other places. They should not have included an item of this nature in the programme. But once having included that—having known the whole past history of this question, having been in possession of the facts regarding this matter—once they had placed it on the programme they should not have withdrawn it. They have by their action offered an insult to the leaders of a large section of the Mussalmans, and I find, Sir, that it will be very difficult for the Government to justify their action.

There is another point that was referred to by the Honourable the Mover of this motion and that was the question of the paucity of Mussalmans in the All-India Radio and Broadcasting Department. Last year I asked certain questions and the replies that were given on that occasion by the Honourable the Home Member were most unsatisfactory. His only excuse was that as far as the technical branches of the service were concerned they could not get qualified Mussalmans who could be taken in. I have certain information here which goes to show that during the recent times qualified Mussalmans did apply and yet they were not taken. Now, as was pointed out by the Honourable the Mover of this motion, there is only 9·6 per cent. representation of the Mussalmans in this Department. This is a new Department. This Department has really been started only a few years ago, and if the Government have only succeeded in finding places for Mussalmans to the extent of 9·6 per cent., then I am afraid, unless special effective steps are taken as the Department grows

[Nawabzadu Muhammad Liaquat Ali Khan.]

the position of the Mussalmans will become worse and worse. What is the use of your passing Resolution saying that the Mussalmans will get 25 per cent. representation in all the services of the Central Government? If that Resolution was intended to be carried out then steps should have been taken to give effect to the recommendations of that Resolution, but we find that in this matter that action and that care has not been taken by the Government to recruit Mussalmans in this Department, which it was their duty to do. Sir, there are, as was pointed out by the Honourable the Mover of this motion, in certain branches of the Department no Mussalmans and in others out of 92 technical Assistants there are only two and out of 41 Assistant Engineers there are only 6 and so on. I do not want to repeat these figures as they were already brought to the notice of the House and the object of raising this question again on this motion is to find from the Government whether any improvement has taken place in the situation with regard to the representation of the Mussalmans in the Broadcasting Department since last year, and we shall be glad to hear from the Government if the position of the Mussalmans in the Department is any better than what it was last year when I had put certain questions to the Honourable the Home Member. Sir, these were the issues that were raised by the Honourable the Mover of this motion and these issues are very simple and very plain. I only intervened in the debate because I found that the ingenuity of Mr. Jamnadas Mehta had confused the issues which were for the consideration of this Honourable House.

**Dr. Sir Zia Uddin Ahmad:** Sir, I do not know who is god-father of this orphan and who represents this Department in this House. Any how, I would like to draw the attention of the Honourable Member who is going to reply on behalf of Government to one or two things. The first is: it is the established principle of the Radio that they are not there to carry out the propaganda of any society or of any group. Now, when it is an established practice, I only ask them to follow it. There exist in the country certain societies which are creating artificial language which is not generally spoken in the country. I ask the Radio Department not to carry out the propaganda of those particular societies. I ask them to carry out their broadcast in a language which is spoken and not in a language which is artificially being created by those particular societies. They are not there to carry out their propaganda.

The second thing is this: there are certain words in every language which are unfortunately used in slang manner and it is the duty of the Director to remove those particular words from their broadcast. I will give you a simple example. I was travelling with Mr. Ray in the same compartment. Very innocently I asked him "*kela khao ge*". He explained to me that in Bengali this phrase had ten different meanings and one of them is more obscene than another. That being so in Bengali, it is the duty of the Broadcasting Department, when any person is broadcasting in Hindustani and he uses that phrase innocently, to remove it and substitute it by some other words which have got no obscene meaning. When a person is broadcasting in a language and a particular phrase unfortunately has a slang interpretation, then it is the duty of the Broadcasting Department to remove those words and substitute some simple words for them. The number of slang words are very few. These are the two points which I wanted to bring to the notice of the House.

**Bhai Parma Nand:** Sir, I rise simply to correct a very wrong impression which the Honourable the Mover of the Motion has got. My Honourable friend, Nawabzadu Muhammad Liaquat Ali Khan, pointed out that there are three parts of his speech. As regards the two other parts, about Hazrat Abu Bakr and Hazrat Umar and the objections thereto by the Shias, I, as a Hindu Member, have nothing to say about it. As regards his other point that broadcasting is of no use, that it is neither good music, nor good language and Indian news, my Honourable friends must remember that the head of this Broadcasting Department is Mr. Bokhari who is a Muslim.

**Mr. Muhammad Nauman:** What difference does it make?

**Bhai Parma Nand:** Yes, it does, while on the one hand you are clamouring for increased representation of Muslims in the services, here in this branch of the public service, if you are told that the officer-in-charge is a Muslim, he has all along been in charge, you are blaming him for inability. I do not say that, therefore, you should excuse him, better condemn him as much as you can if he is at fault, we have nothing to do with this matter. . . (Interruption.)

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): Order, order.

**Bhai Parma Nand:** I said, we are not concerned with this. The other point on which there is difference of opinion is this. The Honourable Mover has in a way confused the two words, Hindi and Urdu. He has just shown by figures that the listeners are mostly Urdu; he gave the figure of Urdu listeners as 17,000 or more in the whole of India. May be; there may be more. But I put to him this question whether in Urdu listeners, he includes Hindi listeners also or not. Of course, he does not give the figures for Hindi listeners, naturally he includes both Hindi and Urdu listeners in his term Urdu.

**Mr. Muhammad Nauman:** These are the figures given by the Department.

**Bhai Parma Nand:** The next point he referred to was this. He talks of Urdu being the language of all the listeners. My question is whether all these listeners are Urdu knowing or Hindi knowing. If most of them are Hindi knowing persons, then he can have no possible objection to the use of Hindi words in the broadcasting. The wonder is that he has given some quotations of Hindi speeches and he criticises that some words cannot be understood by Urdu knowing people. I can also give instances of Urdu speeches which cannot be understood by Hindi knowing people. Undoubtedly these broadcasts must be understandable and intelligible to as many as possible. Therefore, such words should be used which are easily understood whether they are from Urdu or Hindi. Then again, my Honourable friend should keep in mind the difference in the figures he has quoted that there are a very large number of Hindi knowing people. If Hindi knowing people begin to talk like this, just as for instance my Honourable friend, Mr. Jamnadas Mehta, has told us that Hindi knowing people in Bombay did not understand the Urdu words used in Broadcasts, it is clear that Hindi knowing people can object, just as my Honourable friends have any objection to certain words or phrases that are used in broadcast. My view is plain that if Urdu and Hindi are taken to be one language, then these people should understand and speak Hindi words just as well as they use Urdu words.

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan remarked that Mr. Jamnadas Mehta was wrong and that he altogether mistook the interpretation put by the Honourable Mover on the cut motion. Nawabzada is utterly mistaken. Mr. Jamnadas Mehta had a strong feeling and he expressed it. I also have got the same feeling and I support my Honourable friend, Mr. Jamnadas Mehta, entirely. There may be certain phrases and certain sentences which are quite simple and pure in meaning. If certain classes of people and especially our friends up there think that those phrases or sentences have got a bad sense among them, that is the perversion of their own mind. They may imply a bad meaning in their circle, but that does not make a pure sentence vulgar. They should take its meaning as is clear and tolerate it in its real sense. They claim that "*Wasahat*" is very important but that word is clear to them, not to Hindi knowing persons.

Now coming to the main point, the question is how this Hindi and Urdu problem is to be settled, so far as broadcasting is concerned. This is not a new problem. This question has been raised by my Honourable friend the Mover just now. But I may tell him that this question is a little more than two years old. It was brought in the Committee of Broadcasting. I also happen to be a Member of that Committee. Sir Andrew Clow was the Chairman of that Committee. The Muslim Members of that Committee objected that there were Hindi words which they could not understand. Of course, I, a Hindu, and some other Hindu Members said that Urdu words were used in

[Bhai Parma Nand.]

the broadcasts which the Hindus did not like and which they could not understand. This discussion went on for some time and finally Sir Andrew Clow had to decide it. He concluded that we should prepare a new lexicon of words for the use of broadcasting and those words should be made so common as to be understood by all the listeners to broadcasting. Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan said that this language was a sort of hotch-potch. No doubt the language of broadcasting is a sort of hotch-potch. The trouble is that my Muslim friends say they cannot understand Hindi words; on the other hand, the Hindus would say that they cannot understand Urdu words. Naturally, the Committee had to decide upon preparing a new lexicon to prepare a list of proper words and that that lexicon should be in the hands of people and that it should be published in the journal "Listeners" so that people might understand them.

**Maulana Zafar Ali Khan:** I can understand the language used in *Vir Bharat*, *Prabhat* and *Milap*, but I cannot understand one word of your paper the *Hindu*.

**Bhai Parma Nand:** You are talking of the Punjab only. But the Punjab is not whole India, the figures given by my Honourable friend do not cover only those from the Punjab; they include those coming from the United Provinces, Central Provinces, Bihar and other Provinces of India possibly Bombay and Bengal also. He has given several thousands of listeners in Calcutta who cannot understand the language used in the Punjab. I do not know whether that decision of the Committee to publish a lexicon was carried into effect or not. Anyhow we arrived at the decision that that is the only way in which we could remove the complaints of Hindus and Muslims altogether. My Honourable friends ought to know that broadcasting has got a special language of its own and that with regard to certain areas, if the listeners want to profit by broadcasting, they ought to know and understand the meaning of words used in broadcasting.

I must point out that my Honourable friend the Mover has in this way confused two words, he calls Urdu as Hindi and then he says that Urdu is the language of all the people in India. I should like to ask him when Urdu was introduced into this country. It was only in the time of Shah Jehan that this was introduced. It was not a language, it was only a sort of vernacular which was to be used in the army. The very word 'Urdu' means "army". Just as we have now-a-days battalions from different Provinces, in those days also there were battalions from different provinces and in order to make all the people in the battalions understand one another, they invented a sort of dialect for themselves. It was not the language of the people. Hindi was the basic language for Urdu and it had been the spoken language of the people in this country for thousands of years. My Honourable friend altogether ignores the existence of Hindi for ages past. He takes one or two words here and there and says he cannot understand those Hindi words and he says his party also cannot understand those words. Therefore, he concludes that Hindi is no language. This is a peculiar and funny way of reasoning of these friends of ours while the fact is that the people of India consider that Hindi is their language and that it has been the language of the people for thousands of years.

**Mr. Umar Aly Shah:** Hindi is no language. Sanskrit is the language. What is the meaning of the word 'Hindi'. 'Hindi' is not a good term.

**Bhai Parma Nand:** Sanskrit is the parent language out of which Hindi was developed. Hindi means the language of the people of Hindustan, the people of India. How can Urdu which was invented for the purpose of the Army intercourse, be supposed to be the language of India, the Hindi language which was used for thousands of years is to be thrown away simply because it is not liked by my friends here. With these few words I oppose the motion.

**The Honourable Malik Sir Feroz Khan Noon:** My only object of intervening in this debate is that I take a great deal of interest in the possibility of a common language for all our people, and I must congratulate Nawabzada

Liaquat Ali Khan in restoring the necessary calm in this debate, which unfortunately had started to move on controversial and perhaps difficult paths. Not one of the Members opposite have ever objected to the use of simple words from any language in the Urdu language. They realise it as well as Members on the other Benches that Urdu was a language originally invented in order that people in this country from all over India as well as from across the border may be able to converse with each other. That took place nearly 700 years ago. It is not a language which was born yesterday, and a language which has lasted for 700 years is a language which has come to stay. Unfortunately now-a-days because the Urdu language is written in Persian or Arabic script, therefore some enthusiastic and misguided people in this country begin to think that it is the language of the Mussalmans only. This is not the case. Urdu is based on many languages and if you pick up any word you will realise that it is not a language which the Muslim religious leaders brought in their pockets from Arabia or Persia. It has grown and it is growing even today. Now take the simple word of "Kamiz". Some might say it is from Arabic. Some might say it is derived from French *Chemise*. Take the word "Patloon". It is derived from the French word "Pantaloons". Again take the word "Kartooos" which is from the French word "Cartooch". Urdu is not based only on Arabic and Persian. It is derived from all languages. My friends opposite have not the least objection to Urdu absorbing words from Hindi, Arabic, Sanskrit, Persian or any other language, so long as it can remain a simple language.

When I came back from England in 1941 and I listened to the Radio I heard the words, "Uttar", "Pachcham", "Dakhan" and "Purab". In my school days we had learnt Shumal, Maghrib, Janoob, and Mashriq, and except for the word "Dakhan" I did not understand the others. Eventually by process of elimination I found that "Purab" must be the country of the Purbias, "Pachcham" meant west, "Dakhan" meant south, and "Uttar" meant north. All the time that I heard these new words a wave of pleasure and pride went into my mind, because I knew that our language was absorbing more and more words, and words which were acceptable to the majority community in this country. Therefore, nobody welcomes more than the Mussalmans an absorption of Hindi and Sanskrit and other words into Urdu language so long as they are simple.

In my last tour in November, I moved about in Southern India and I went and saw a lot of troops. The language of the Army is rather interesting because a very large number of recruits now coming into the Army come from Madras, and the language spoken in the Army is Hindustani. You can abolish the word Urdu and you can abolish the word Hindi. Let us call it Hindustani for a compromise. In Southern India I saw that in these new schools for recruits they were being taught Hindustani.

(Interruption by Mr. Umar Aly Shah.)

I think if the Honourable Member were to have a drink of cold water he would probably derive a little pleasure from what I am saying!

In these Army schools they have boys who have been recruited in Madras who know no other language except Tamil and Telugu. I even went and tested these boys and asked them: 'Did you know any Urdu before you came here?' And those who said, yes, I eliminated them. Then I got hold of the boys who never knew a word of Urdu or Hindi before they came to the recruiting centres, and believe me that within 10 weeks those boys were speaking Urdu, or Hindi let us say, if that pleases anybody, or Hindustani if my friend will not be too angry. So it is a simple language and for the purpose of the Army we need a language like that because if you get boys from Madras and officers from the Punjab: or officers from Madras and boys from the Punjab, in which language are they going to talk with each other? Educated people can use the English language but that is not the privilege of many, and throughout the whole Indian Army now they are teaching them Hindustani in the Roman characters and making these people literate, and it takes only 10 weeks to make one of these boys learn this language.

**Pandit Nilakantha Das:** Hindustani without the verbal gender!

**The Honourable Malik Sir Feroz Khan Noon:** I leave this to your learned mind. But they are being taught the simple Urdu and simple Hindustani. They are learning that in 10 weeks. I would ask the House to be patient and tolerant. It is in a spirit of toleration and patience that we can evolve a *lingua franca* for this country. Whether you divide this country into five bits, or keep it united, you must have a common language. If that has to come into existence, it must be based on words which come from all languages, so that it is the language of all people, and that is what my friends on the opposite side have been pressing for. All that they want is that they should be simple words and be understood by everybody. They do not object to the absorption of a few words from here and there. Only then can Urdu become a real language and worthy of the great future that lies before it as the *lingua franca* of our motherland.

**The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell** (Home Member): Sir, not very much time remains for me to reply to all the very miscellaneous points raised in this debate, which has in fact ranged almost over all the operations of the Broadcasting Department. One isolated point raised by Mr. Jamnadas Mehta I would answer now, and that is that it has been recognised that the salaries paid in this Department have not been altogether adequate and their readjustment has been and is under very active consideration, and I hope that results will be reached fairly soon.

The main topics of this discussion have been three. The first was the communal composition of the staff of the Department and I will take that first, although not very much has been said about it in this debate. It has got to be remembered that a certain number of posts in the Department have been already exempted from the communal orders because they are isolated posts or they require some special qualifications. That exemption is not an arbitrary one. Before any post is exempted from the communal orders the means of filling it and the nature of the qualifications required are examined very carefully in order to ascertain whether it is a post to which this special exemption should apply. The number of such posts is limited and no complaint can be made about their composition because there is no communal claim on any of them. But the bulk of the posts in the Department are subject to the communal orders. Now, I have been supplied with figures showing how the Department is staffed, and I find that among all the non-gazetted posts, out of a total of 630 posts filled, 156 are filled by Muslims. That is almost exactly the prescribed 25 per cent.

**Dr. Sir Zia Uddin Ahmad:** Including peons and chaprasis?

**The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell:** Not chaprasis, as far as I can see.

One point emerges from the study of this list and it is that to which Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan drew attention and that is the paucity of Muslims in the ranks of Assistant Engineers and Technical Assistants. That is an unfortunate, but important, defect, because these posts are the reservoir from which promotions are made to certain superior posts, and it is, therefore, not surprising to find that among the gazetted posts in the All-India Radio the portion held by Muslims is below the prescribed percentage even in posts to which the communal orders are applicable.

**Maulvi Syed Murtuza Sahib Bahadur** (South Madras: Muhammadan): What does it come to?

**The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell:** On the figures supplied to me of these miscellaneous posts, practically all of a technical character, there are 30 of them of which 2 are held by Muslims. There are also three isolated posts at the Headquarters.

**Sardar Sant Singh:** I would like the Honourable Member to give the number of appointments made from other communities.

**The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell:** It would take too long for me to go into such details, because I would like to finish by 5 O'clock.

The trouble, therefore, really is in obtaining Muslims having the requisite technical qualifications for these lower grades from which the higher technical grades can be filled. Many efforts have been made in the past to improve the recruitment of Muslims for posts of technical assistants and it must be remembered that recruitment of these two grades is made through the Federal Public Service Commission and the Board of Selection in Delhi, and there is nothing arbitrary about the manner in which they are filled. In 1939 special orders were passed to enable selective appointments of Muslims to these ranks, but they were not successful in obtaining more candidates. The real reason for scarcity of Muslim candidates is that so few Muslims take training in wireless engineering which is of a specialized nature. However, I can assure Honourable Members that special efforts are still being made to find ways in which better facilities may be afforded to Muslims for entering the technical grades.

Now, as regards the language policy of the All India Radio, the House has already heard the speech of my Honourable friend the Defence Member which has, or should have, brought prominently to the notice of the House the real issue involved in this policy. These Hindustani broadcasts are not meant to represent either Urdu or Hindi purely. The object is to establish some kind of compromise with the main object of obtaining the maximum intelligibility over an area which extends as far as Peshawar, Nagpur, Patna and Bombay. It is not easy for anyone to find an exact vocabulary which will suit all the various listeners in this very large area, and, therefore, it is absolutely necessary to adopt a certain amount of compromise, and, as my Honourable colleague has just pointed out, the efforts made to reach such a compromise may ultimately be very much for the good of this country in helping it to establish a common language. Of course, the only alternative would be to have separate Urdu and Hindi news bulletins, and even if that could be done we should have to go on with the same policy and have separatism in various other categories, such as talks, plays and songs. And, again, much of that would be a waste of valuable broadcasting time, because news bulletins must be in simple language and a simple Hindi bulletin will differ from a simple Urdu bulletin only in a very limited number of words and, therefore, separate bulletins in these two languages would mainly be a duplication at the cost of valuable time.

Now, I have very little time left to deal with the question of programmes, but very little was said about them in this debate. There again it is a question of compromise. The All-India Radio have to balance the communal interests of a particular community against the interests of the general listener and while gratifying the former, they make an effort not to make the programmes too exclusive in character so that the general listener will not find material of interest in them. Too many special items of a communal character tend to crowd out items of general interest and, of course, lead to further demands of the same kind, and, therefore, after very careful consultation with Station Directors the policy has been adopted of reducing, as far as possible, the number of items of what I might call a quasi-religious or mainly communal character without at the same time reducing the purely religious items. I have a chart showing the time allotted at all stations to items of a really religious character and they are fully catered for, but apart from items of that kind, it must be the policy of the All-India Radio to make its programmes acceptable to the general listener and not to have too many specialized items.

**Maulana Zafar Ali Khan:** Are we to understand that in future the lives and teachings of Hazrat Abu Bakr and Hazrat Umar Faruque will be excluded from the All-India Radio programmes?

**The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell:** I do not think there is any intention of excluding such items. It is a matter for decision in relation to the programme as a whole. I do not know exactly what the policy is, or is likely to



[Sir Reginald Maxwell.]

be, on those matters, but surely it is not part of the policy, as far as I can understand it, to exclude items of such a character more especially if they seem to be of some general interest.

**Maulana Zafar Ali Khan:** Why were the names of these two Khalifas of Islam withdrawn from the broadcasts?

**The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell:** It is in accordance with the policy of, as far as possible, restricting the space devoted to matters of a mainly communal interest, but I have no doubt that if the matter were properly represented to the All-India Radio . . . . .

**Maulana Zafar Ali Khan:** There is nothing communal about it.

**The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell:** . . . . . they would be prepared to meet the wishes of a particular community in matters of that kind so far as it is compatible with the general principles which I have explained to the House. That is all I have time to say and I hope the House will accept these explanations.

**Nawabzada Muhammad Liaquat Ali Khan:** May I know why were these two items regarding the two Caliphs of Islam included in the programme and published and then withdrawn?

5 P.M.

**The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell:** I am sorry I have not got precise information. The Honourable Member will realise that this is not my department and I cannot answer such questions off-hand.

**Nawabzada Muhammad Liaquat Ali Khan:** Whose department is it, may we know?

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): I think the Honourable Member had better put down a question in proper form.

The question is:

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

The Assembly divided:

AYES—14.

Abdul Ghani, Maulvi Muhammad.  
Azhar Ali, Mr. Muhammad.  
Essak Sait, Mr. H. A. Sather H.  
Fazl-i-Haq, Piracha, Khan Bahadur  
Shaikh.  
Ismail Khan, Hajee Chowdhury Muham-  
mad.  
Liaquat Ali Khan, Nawabzada Muham-  
mad.

Murtuza Sahib Bahadur, Maulvi Syed.  
Nairang, Syed Ghulam Bhik.  
Nauman, Mr. Muhammad.  
Siddique Ali Khan, Nawab.  
Umar Aly Shah, Mr.  
Yusuf Abdoola Haroon, Seth.  
Zafar Ali Khan, Maulana.  
Zia Uddin Ahmad, Dr. Sir.

NOES—31.

Abdul Hamid, Khan Bahadur Sir.  
Ahmad Nawaz Khan, Major Nawab Sir.  
Aiyar, Mr. T. S. Sankara.  
Ambedkar, The Honourable Dr. B. R.  
Benthall, The Honourable Sir Edward.  
Bewoor, Sir Gurunath.  
Bhagchand Soni, Rai Bahadur Seth.  
Bozman, Mr. G. S.  
Chettiar, Dr. Rajah Sir Annamalai.  
Dalal, Dr. Sir Ratanji Dinshaw.  
Dalpat Singh, Sardar Bahadur Captain.  
Dehejia, Mr. V. T.  
Haidar, Khan Bahadur Shamsuddin.  
Imam, Mr. Saiyid Haidar.  
Jawahar Singh, Sardar Bahadur Sardar  
Sir.  
Kamaluddin Ahmaḍ, Shamsul-Ulema.

Kushal Pal Singh, Raja Bahadur.  
Lalchand Navalrai, Mr.  
Mackeown, Mr. J. A.  
Maxwell, The Honourable Sir Reginald.  
Mehta, Mr. Jamnadas M.  
Noon, The Honourable Malik Sir Feroz  
Khan.  
Pai, Mr. A. V.  
Parma Nand, Bhai.  
Raisman, The Honourable Sir Jeremy.  
Spear, Dr. T. G. P.  
Spence, Sir George.  
Sundaesan, Mr. N.  
Thakur Singh, Major.  
Trivedi, Mr. C. M.  
Tyson, Mr. J. D.

The motion was negatived.

The Assembly then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Wednesday, the 10th March, 1943.