

25th March 1941

THE

LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY DEBATES

Official Report

Volume II, 1941

THIRTEENTH SESSION

OF THE

FIFTH LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY,
1941



NEW DELHI : PRINTED BY THE MANAGER
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA PRESS : 1941.

Legislative Assembly

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SIR H. P. MODY, K.B.E., M.L.A.

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LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

Tuesday, 25th March, 1941.

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. Khedan Lal, M.L.A. (Benares and Gorakhpur Divisions : Non-Muhammadan Rural).

STARRED QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

(a) ORAL ANSWERS.

EMPLOYMENT OF ADDITIONAL STAFF IN THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT.

484. *Maulana Zafar Ali Khan (on behalf of Khan Bahadur Shaikh Fazl-i-Haq Piracha): (a) Will the Education Secretary please state if it is a fact that the charge of the execution of works of the Archæological monuments of Delhi Province was transferred from the Central Public Works Department to the Director General of Archæology on the condition that no additional charge would be involved on establishment?

(b) Is it a fact that the following staff has been employed as a sequence of that transfer:

- (1) clerk of works, Agra;
- (2) overseer (actually employed as clerk); and
- (3) a number of overseers, draftsmen, mistries included in works estimates?

(c) Was this staff included in the works estimates, when the work was done by the Central Public Works Department? If not, what is the reason for the employment of the additional staff now included in works estimates?

Mr. J. D. Tyson : (a) Yes.

(b) and (c). I regret that through oversight it was stated in reply to (b) of starred question No. 225, of the 3rd March, 1941, that an overseer was at present employed at Delhi. As the stated pay of Rs. 50 must have indicated, the post should have been described as that of a sub-overseer. No overseer has been employed. In regard to the remaining part of the question I would invite the Honourable Member's attention to my reply to parts (a), (b) and (c) to the starred question No. 225 on the 3rd March, 1941. No additional staff has been employed at Delhi since the transfer of this work from the Central Public Works Department to the Archæological Department.

Mr. Lalchand Navalrai : May I know from the Honourable Member with regard to clause (b), whether this clerk or sub-overseer or a number of overseers were already in service, or they were appointed after the transfer of the work from the Central Public Works Department ?

Mr. J. D. Tyson : I am not quite sure whether the Honourable Member means the individual people. If so, I cannot answer : but the post of a clerk of works, Agra, not Delhi, was created in the circumstances described on the last occasion when I answered a question on the subject and the posts of sub-overseers, draftsmen and mistries were provided for in the establishment when the P. W. D. did this work.

Mr. Lalchand Navalrai : May I know if these men are required for the execution of this work or not.

Mr. J. D. Tyson : They must have been required.

APPOINTMENT OF THE GOVERNMENT EPIGRAPHIST AS DEPUTY DIRECTOR GENERAL OF ARCHÆOLOGY.

485. *Maulana Zafar Ali Khan (on behalf of Khan Bahadur Shaikh Fazl-i-Haq Piracha): (a) Will the Education Secretary please state if it is a fact that a technical officer (the incumbent of the post of the Government Epigraphist) has been appointed as Deputy Director General of Archæology?

(b) Is it a fact that technical officers were never in the past appointed to this post?

(c) Will the Secretary please state why Dr. M. Nazim who is already in the general line, was not appointed to this post, in spite of the statement made by Government on the floor of this House on the 13th March, 1939 (*vide* page 1966 of the Legislative Assembly Debates) *viz.*, "The fourth vacancy is to be filled shortly, and I can inform the House now that we shall be asking the Public Service Commission, in that case, to give preference to a Muhammadan?"

Mr. J. D. Tyson : (a) to (c). I would invite the Honourable Member's attention to the reply given by me to starred question No. 166 in this House on the 26th February, 1941, and to the supplementary questions and answers.

With regard to part (c) I would add that the statement in question refers to recruitment for Assistant Superintendents and has no bearing on the appointment of a Deputy Director General of Archæology in India. The assurance that was given has been implemented.

Sir F. E. James : May I ask a supplementary question ? With regard to the answer to part (a) of the question, is it not a fact that officers with technical qualifications have previously been appointed to the post of Deputy Director and indeed to the post of Director General ?

Mr. J. D. Tyson : I am not sure whether that is so or not. They have been considered for those posts, but I could not say off-hand whether they have actually been appointed.

Sir F. E. James : Is not a technical officer eligible for this post ?

Mr. J. D. Tyson : It depends upon the post that he is occupying. We have an architect who is holding a general post.

Dr. P. N. Banerjee : Is it not a fact that Mr. Page and Mr. Blakiston, who were architects, were appointed Deputy Directors General ?

Mr. J. D. Tyson : They were, but I do not know what posts they were holding before they were so appointed.

Dr. P. N. Banerjee : They were architects by qualification.

Mr. J. D. Tyson : I could not say.

Mr. Lalchand Navalrai : Were these technical officers appointed on merit or communal basis ?

Mr. J. D. Tyson : Posts that we regard as technical posts are not subject to the communal ratio.

Sir F. E. James : May I know whether the post of Deputy Director General is a selection post ?

Mr. J. D. Tyson : It is so regarded.

APPOINTMENT OF A MUHAMMADAN CONSERVATION ASSISTANT FOR SUPERVISION OF DELHI MONUMENTS.

486. *Maulana Zafar Ali Khan (on behalf of Khan Bahadur Shaikh Fazl-i-Haq Piracha): Will the Education Secretary please state if it is a fact that almost all the monuments in Delhi are Muhammadan monuments? Does the Secretary propose to appoint a Muhammadan Conservation Assistant in view of the religious importance of these monuments?

Mr. J. D. Tyson : The reply to the first part is in the affirmative. As regards the second part, the question of appointment by the Department of Education, Health and Lands does not arise. There are six posts of Conservation Assistant in the Archæological Department of which three are held by Muslims. Postings are made entirely according to the exigencies of the service.

Mr. Lalchand Navalrai : May I know whether these appointments are made on merit or communal basis ?

Mr. J. D. Tyson : These postings are not made on a communal basis.

Maulvi Muhammad Abdul Ghani : What is meant by communal basis ?

Mr. Muhammad Nauman : May I know whether the Honourable Member means to say that communal proportions are not maintained in regard to these appointments according to the 1934-Resolution ?

Mr. J. D. Tyson : I was referring to postings. Recruitment is a different thing. As a matter of fact, these posts of Conservation Assistants are filled by promotion from among the overseers to a large extent, if not entirely. At the moment, they are held half by Hindus and half by Muslims. But "postings" are a different thing,—as to whether they should be transferred from one circle to another.

Mr. M. S. Aney : Does the Honourable Member think that the composition of a service, half by Muslims and half by Hindus, is in proportion to the ratio laid down in the 1934-Resolution, or is it in excess of that ratio ?

Mr. J. D. Tyson : If the communal ratio applies, then 50—50 is in excess of the ratio.

Mr. Lalchand Navalrai : May I know if there is any objection to a Hindu officer being appointed to take care of Muhammadan monuments and *vice versa* ?

Mr. J. D. Tyson : We cannot admit that in a country where, in any given circle, there must be both Hindu and Muslim monuments we can take religion into consideration in making postings.

Haj Traffic Enquiry and the Question of Rate-War.

487. *Sir Abdul Halim Ghaznavi: (a) Will the Secretary for Education, Health and Lands be pleased to state if the question of rate-war in Haj traffic is within the terms of reference of the Special Officer recently appointed by Government to inquire into the whole question of Haj traffic?

(b) If the answer to part (a) be in the negative, will he please state why this question has not been included in the inquiry?

Mr. J. D. Tyson : (a) No.

(b) The so called "rate-war" is governed by considerations which cannot properly be investigated by the Officer on Special Duty who is primarily concerned with matters relating to accommodation and administration.

Bullockmen, etc., employed in Horticultural Division, Central Public Works Department.

488. *Mr. Muhammad Azhar Ali: (a) Will the Honourable Member for Labour please state the number of bullockmen belonging to different communities who are employed in the Horticultural Division of the Central Public Works Department?

(b) Is it a fact that the number of these bullock men is reduced during the summer? If so, will he please state the number of bullockmen, belonging to different communities, whose services were retained during the last summer?

(c) Will the Honourable Member please state the number of *malis* and work-charged chowkidars transferred to and from the II Section of the Horticultural Division during the current year?

(d) How many of these were dismissed and why?

The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar : (a) Hindus 97 bullockmen, Muslims 12 bullockmen.

(b) Yes ; Hindus 90, Muslims 12.

(c) Two Chowkidars were transferred to Section II and one *Mali* and three Chowkidars were transferred from that Section.

(d) Two Chowkidars were dismissed. One for neglect of duty and the other for unsatisfactory work and continued absence from duty without permission.

Mr. M. S. Aney : Are bullockmen appointed on a communal basis ?

(No reply.)

DISTRIBUTION OF AREAS UNDER HORTICULTURAL DIVISION, CENTRAL PUBLIC WORKS DEPARTMENT.

489. *Mr. Muhammad Azhar Ali: (a) Will the Honourable Member for Labour please state how the areas under different subordinates are distributed in the Horticultural Division?

(b) Are the areas equally distributed? If not, why?

The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar : (a) The areas under different Subordinates are distributed according to the acreage, number of men employed in each area, importance of the plant life in the areas, capacity of the Subordinates who are placed in charge and compactness of the areas for purposes of administration.

(b) No. Conditions differ as stated in the reply to part (a).

RETRENCHED AND RE-EMPLOYED STAFF IN THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT.

490. *Maulana Zafar Ali Khan: (a) Will the Secretary for Education, Health and Lands please place on the table of the House a statement showing:

(i) the number of employees of the Archæological Department (Hindus and Muslims separately) who were retrenched on account of the Retrenchment Campaign of 1931, and

(ii) the number of those who have been re-employed in that department since 1931 up to date in both temporary and permanent posts, separately?

(b) Is it a fact that there had been a temporary vacancy of a photographer in the Office of the Director General of Archæology and that the Muslim retrenched photographer was not appointed to this vacancy, while in a temporary vacancy of the draftsman a retrenched Hindu draftsman has recently been appointed to that vacancy?

(c) *What are the reasons for discrimination in employing retrenched hands of different communities?*

Mr. J. D. Tyson : (a) (i) Out of 36 retrenched 22 were Hindus and 12 were Muslims.

(ii) Three Hindus out of 22 have been re-employed,—one in a permanent vacancy, one in a temporary vacancy and one in a work charged post. Eight Muslims out of twelve have been re-employed,—six in permanent vacancies and two in work charged posts.

(b) Yes.

(c) From the answer given to the second part of (a) of the question, the Honourable Member will see that the discrimination, if any, has not been against the Muslims.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra : May I know, then, if it is the fear of criticism of the Muslims that discrimination has been made in the case?

Mr. J. D. Tyson : I do not admit that there has been any discrimination.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra : From the reply given by the Honourable Member just now, does not the Honourable Member see that, in the case of re-

appointments, the just claims of Hindus have not been fully considered, as he says, only three out of twenty-two Hindus who had been retrenched have been re-employed, whereas, in the case of Muslims, eight have been re-employed out of twelve Muslims who had been retrenched ?

Mr. J. D. Tyson : The Honourable Member has quoted figures that I myself have given, and I stand by these figures, but I say that there has been no discrimination on communal grounds. A great variety of the posts is covered here and they have been mostly filled by circle superintendents, many of them on a temporary basis, and they took the men as the posts fell vacant.

Mr. Lalchand Navalrai : May I know why is it that this time there has been so much campaign against the Archaeological Department ?

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim) : That does not arise.

COMPLAINTS CONCERNING THE PILGRIM SHIP "AKBAR" OF THE MOGUL LINE.

491. *Maulana Zafar Ali Khan (on behalf of Khan Bahadur Shaikh Fazl-i-Haq Piracha): Will the Education Secretary please state if the attention of Government has been drawn to the two articles published in the *Din Dunia*, a weekly newspaper of Delhi, dated the 2nd March, 1941, on pages 9 and 32, wherein among many other complaints, the following serious complaints regarding the pilgrim ship "Akbar" of the Mogul Line which sailed from Calcutta in November, 1940, are made and state :

- (a) whether it is a fact that the steamer reached Jeddah from Calcutta in twenty-four days; if not, how many days she took to complete the voyage;
- (b) whether it is a fact that an aged Haji named Abdul Karim, from district Tripura, expired while inside a lavatory and that his corpse was not found and taken out from there till after three days of his death;
- (c) whether it is a fact that the food given to the pilgrims on board the ship was not only unwholesome, but also uneatable;
- (d) whether he is aware that the medical and hospital facilities on the ship were far from satisfactory, so much so that the pilgrims were afraid of getting their ailments attended to;
- (e) whether it is a fact that these complaints have already been made by the pilgrims to the Port Haj Committees of Bombay and Calcutta; and
- (f) if the answers to all or any of the above parts be in the affirmative, what action Government have taken against the Mogul Line in view of the seriousness of the matter and if they have not taken any action so far, whether they propose to take any action shortly; if not, whether Government are prepared to investigate the matter thoroughly and lay the results of their investigations before this House?

Mr. J. D. Tyson : (a)—(f). Government have seen the articles referred to and are making enquiries.

COMPLAINTS CONCERNING ARRANGEMENTS ON BOARD THE MOGUL LINE
PILGRIM SHIPS.

492. *Maulana Zafar Ali Khan (on behalf of Khan Bahadur Shaikh Fazl-i-Haq Piracha): Will the Education Secretary please state if any further complaints regarding food or other arrangements on board the Mogul Line pilgrim ships this year have been received either by Government or any other Port Haj Committees? If so, will he state particulars of the same? If not, is he prepared to make inquiries and lay the results of the same on the table of this House?

Mr. J. D. Tyson : Government have not received any complaints so far, but these are usually received from the Port Haj Committees after the end of the pilgrim season. A statement giving particulars of all complaints of any importance will be laid on the table of the House.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The answer to question No. 493 will be laid on the table as this question is in excess of the quota of five.

PILGRIM SHIPS HAVING ARRANGEMENTS FOR CONGREGATIONAL PRAYERS AND A
LIBRARY ON BOARD.

†493. *Khan Bahadur Shaikh Fazl-i-Haq Piracha: Will the Education Secretary please refer to his reply to my starred question No. 278 of the 6th March, 1941, and state:

- (a) if it is not a fact that it was only after the advent of the Scindia Company in the Haj traffic that the Mogul Line provided on board its two ships, out of seven, special prayer decks and libraries;
- (b) if it is not a fact that the part of the deck which the Amirs-ul-Haj on the other five ships of the Mogul Line could set apart for prayers, as stated by the Education Secretary in his above referred to reply, is no other special deck but the same airing deck which is already measured for the pilgrims and which, if not measured, would have reduced the carrying capacity of the ships; and
- (c) whether the so-called special prayer decks on the s.s. "Rahmani" and s.s. "Rizwani" are not a part of the airing decks which are already measured for pilgrims?

Mr. J. D. Tyson : (a) and (b) Yes.

(c) The special prayer decks on the s.s. "Rahmani" and s.s. "Rizwani" are in excess of the minimum upper deck space laid down in section 193 of the Indian Merchant Shipping Act, 1923.

GOVERNMENT POLICY CONCERNING DEVELOPMENT OF INDIAN MERCANTILE
MARINE.

494. *Mr. Akhil Chandra Datta: (a) With reference to the answer which the Honourable the Commerce Member gave to part (b) of my question No. 239 put in this House on the 3rd March, 1941, will he be pleased to

† Answer to this question laid on the table, the questioner having exhausted his quota.

state what exactly the declared policy of the Government of India is for developing the Indian Mercantile Marine and what steps Government have taken to develop the Indian Mercantile Marine in the coastal and the over-seas trades of India?

(b) What exactly do Government mean by the expression the "Indian Mercantile Marine"?

(c) By Indian Mercantile Marine do Government mean Indian shipping owned, controlled and managed by the nationals of the country?

(d) If not, will they be pleased to state what they exactly mean and why they do not accept this meaning of that expression?

The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar : (a) The policy of the Government of India with regard to the development of Indian Mercantile Marine is to give all possible and reasonable assistance to it. As regards the latter portion, the Honourable Member's attention is invited to the reply given by me on the 28th March, 1940, to Maulana Zafar Ali Khan's starred question No. 545.

(b) and (c). By Indian Mercantile Marine Government mean all merchant shipping owned and controlled by Indian nationals.

(d) Does not arise.

POSTPONING TILL AFTER THE WAR OF BUILDING OPERATIONS ON THE DELHI IMPROVEMENT TRUST PLOTS.

495. *Bhai Parma Nand: (a) Has the attention of the Education Secretary been drawn to the news published in the *Statesman* of the 7th November, 1940, to the effect that the Delhi Municipality has decided that buildings on plots of lands purchased from the Municipality should be constructed within one year after the war instead of within one year of sale, because of the rise in the prices of building materials?

(b) If so, is the Delhi Improvement Trust also taking a similar decision in regard to plots of land under their control on which buildings have not yet been constructed? If not, why not?

(c) Have the Trust considered this question? If not, are Government prepared to instruct them to do so now? If not, why not?

(d) Are Government aware that by postponing the building operations, the capital thus saved will be available for investment in avenues of more urgent need in connection with war?

(e) Is it a fact that besides looking to building operations, the duty of the Trust is to improve the present sites and buildings, and are Government aware that if it is decided to stop building operations, the Trust staff could be kept busy with improvement schemes in the existing areas on which buildings have already been built?

(f) Are Government now prepared to ask the Trust not to insist on any more building operations by lease-holders?

Mr. J. D. Tyson : The information has been called for and a reply will be furnished to the House when it is received.

UNORTHODOX QUARTERS IN NEW DELHI AND PROVISION OF SEPARATE ENTRANCES FOR IRWIN ROAD QUARTERS.

496. *Bhai Parma Nand: (a) Will the Honourable the Labour Member please state the number of unorthodox quarters by categories separately, in New Delhi for the Government of India staff? What is the assessed rent for each category?

(b) Is it a fact that with the exception of some 40 quarters on the Irwin Road West, all the unorthodox quarters all over have separate entrances? If so, why is there no separate entrance provided for these 40 quarters.

(c) How many times has it been represented to Government to provide separate entrances on the Irwin Road, by the tenants by means of interpellations in this House and by the Imperial Secretariate Association?

(d) What are the grounds for not acceding to this request?

(e) Have Government estimated the cost of providing separate entrances for these quarters? If so, what is it? How many schemes for improvement of quarters costing much more per quarter than the amount for separate entrances per quarter on the Irwin Road, have been put through after the quarters were built?

(f) Are Government now prepared to provide separate entrances for the Irwin Road quarters? If so, when? If not, why not?

(g) Are Government aware of the inconvenience caused to tenants of these quarters by having a common entrance, and have Government satisfied themselves that common entrance is in the interest of neighbourly relations? If so, why are they having separate entrances in all other quarters?

The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar : (a) A statement giving the information is laid on the table.

(b) Yes. These quarters were constructed in the early days according to the old type plan.

(c) A representation was received from the Imperial Secretariat Association in 1929, and there were three questions on this subject in this House later.

(d) The advantage gained would be little in comparison with the expenditure involved.

(e) Separate gates and culverts, if provided for these quarters, are estimated to cost about Rs. 13,000. A statement giving the information asked for in the latter portion of this part is laid on the table.

(f) No, in view of my reply to part (d).

(g) Government are not aware of any great inconvenience caused to tenants of these quarters by having a common entrance.

Statements.

Unorthodox Quarters in New Delhi.

Class.	Number.	*Standard rent.		
		Rs.	A.	P.
A	32	63	2	0
B	97	43	7	0
C	98	49	8	0
D	158	36	11	0

*Tenants are required to pay the standard rent or ten per cent. of their monthly emoluments, whichever is less.

	Approximate cost.
	Rs.
1. Providing W. B. Latrines in U. O.C. Quarters Class "B" on Irwin Road	20,000
2. Providing attached kitchens in U. O. C. Quarters Class "B" on Irwin Road	24,400

Mr. M. S. Aney : With reference to the reply to part (e) of the question may I know how many houses will be served at the net cost of Rs. 13,000 which the Honourable Member says will be required for building entrances to these houses?

The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar : I must have notice of that question.

Mr. Lalchand Navalrai : May I know if these entrances cannot be separated at the cost of a smaller amount of money than what the Honourable Member has quoted? All that is asked is that only the entrances may be altered.

The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar : The Public Works Department estimate is Rs. 13,000 for this purpose.

Mr. Lalchand Navalrai : Will the Honourable Member please see that these more or less adjoining quarters are occupied by people who are friends or relatives? May I suggest that such arrangements might be made so as to obviate the difficulties of there being strangers occupying adjoining houses?

The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar : Last year I went round these quarters and inspected them. I felt there was no great inconvenience caused by the present arrangement. It has to be remembered that this arrangement is confined to unorthodox quarters; if people want to observe greater privacy, they are eligible to apply for orthodox quarters, where there is a special arrangement of this kind.

Mr. Lalchand Navalrai : Have complaints been made by these tenants to say that they are inconvenienced or not?

The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar : A few complaints have been made, and it was on account of that that I made a personal visit to these quarters.

EXTENSION OF THE SPECIAL PROVISIONS FOR COMPENSATION IN RESPECT OF WAR INJURIES AND WAR DAMAGE TO CERTAIN CATEGORIES OF EMPLOYEES.

497. ***Mr. T. Chapman-Mortimer :** (a) Will the Honourable the Labour Member be pleased to state whether the Government of India intend to extend to all persons to whom Workmen's Compensation Act applies special provisions for compensation in respect of war injuries and war damage to effects sustained during the war period comparable to the special provision recently made in the case of merchant sea-men?

(b) If the answer to part (a) be in the affirmative, will steps be taken to relieve employers of their legal obligation under the Workmen's Compensation Act in such cases?

(c) Will compensation be extended to employees of Indian Steamer Companies and to owners and employees in country boats operating in inland waters?

The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar : The Government of India have not yet reached their final conclusions in the matter.

GOVERNMENT SCHOLARSHIPS OR HELP TO STUDENTS FOR SPECIAL TRAINING UNDER PORT TRUSTS.

498. *Maulvi Muhammad Abdul Ghani (on behalf of Mr. H. A. Sathar H. Essak Sait): (a) Will the Education Secretary be pleased to state whether the Government of India grant scholarships or help students for special training under the Port Trusts?

(b) How many students receive such scholarships or help under each Port Trust?

(c) How many of them are Muslims?

(d) Are Government satisfied that the Mussalmans, as disclosed by these figures, receive their due share in this matter? If not, is the Honourable Member prepared to take necessary steps to see that a proper number of Mussalmans get help for this special training?

Mr. J. D. Tyson : (a) The Government of India in the Education, Health and Lands Department give scholarships and help students in respect of general education but not for special training under the Port Trusts.

(b), (c) and (d). Do not arise.

INDIAN STORES DEPARTMENT ADVERTISEMENT INVITING APPLICATIONS FOR CERTAIN POSTS FROM MUSLIMS ONLY.

499. *Bhai Parma Nand : (a) Will the Honourable the Leader of the House be pleased to state whether Government are aware that in the Advertisement Column of the *Statesman*, dated the 11th March, 1941, there appeared an advertisement on behalf of the Indian Stores Department inviting applications for Examiners of Stores (i) Mechanical, (ii) Textile, and (iii) Supervisors of Textiles, from Muslim candidates only?

(b) Will he please state why such applications are invited from Muslim candidates only to the exclusion of candidates of all other communities?

(c) If the reason for this be the shortage of communal proportion in service, will he be pleased to state the proportion of the respective communities in the departments for which these posts are advertised?

(d) If there is found a shortage in the proportion of other communities, do Government call for applications from the candidates of those communities alone?

The Honourable Sir Mohammad Zafrullah Khan . (a) Yes.

(b) As the vacancies to be filled were reserved for members of the Muslim community, applications were invited from Muslim candidates only.

(c) and (d). The communal ratio is fixed in accordance with the Home Department Resolution No. F.14/17-B/33, dated the 4th July, 1934, a copy of which is in the Library of the House. This Resolution has allotted a specific quota to the Muslim community while the other minority communities have

been grouped together and given a separate quota. Sometimes when it is found that the Muslim community or the other minority communities as a group are not as well represented in a particular cadre as they should be in accordance with the orders referred to above, then applications are invited specifically from members of the Muslim community or other minority communities, as the case may be. Posts other than those reserved for minority communities are treated as "Unreserved", and, consequently, applications for such posts cannot be invited from the members of any particular community. They are open to all.

Mr. Lalchand Navalrai : May I know if the proportion of Muslims is increased, or reduced, if Hindus are appointed in their place to fill up the ratio ?

The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan : Where ?

Mr. Lalchand Navalrai : In that Department.

The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan : I cannot answer that without notice, but the condition must have been attached because a sufficient number of Muslims had not already been recruited to these posts.

Mr. M. S. Aney : Will the Honourable Member be in a position to see what was the number of Hindus then and what was the amount of deficiency of the Muslims to make up the ratio ?

The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan : I am unable to say without notice.

INADEQUACY OF PILGRIM SHIPS FOR RETURN JOURNEY FROM JEDDA.

500. *Mr. Umar Aly Shah : (a) Will the Secretary for Education, Health and Lands be pleased to state whether it is a fact that at the time of sailing of the s.s. "Alavi" from Jedda on about the 26th February, 1940, with a full complement of pilgrims, about 100 pilgrims were left behind in Jedda as there was no space or steamer available to bring them back? If not, what was the number of pilgrims left behind?

(b) Is it a fact that within three days of the sailing of the above ship, about 1,300 more pilgrims reached Jedda? If not, what was the number of such pilgrims?

(c) Is it a fact that by the time the next ship sailed with the full complement of pilgrims who had already waited in Jedda for about two weeks, about 800 more pilgrims were still waiting in Jedda for a ship? If not, what was the number of pilgrims left behind after the sailing of this ship?

(d) Is it a fact that ultimately these pilgrims got a ship after a stay in Jedda of about four to five weeks?

(e) Is it a fact that at the above time, when these pilgrims had to wait in Jedda under unfavourable conditions for 35 to 40 days, the other ships of the Mogul Line were plying on other cargo and trade routes? If so, how many ships were plying on cargo runs and, if any, where and on what run were they employed during the above period?

Mr. J. D. Tyson : (a) 487.

(b) Yes.

(c) Yes.

(d) The maximum period of stay at Jedda did not exceed 27 days.

(e) I regret that in present circumstances I cannot supply information about the movements of ships, but I would remind the Honourable Member that the object of Government's intervention in the shipping arrangements for last year's pilgrimage was to prevent the uneconomical use of tonnage and to release as much tonnage as possible for other purposes.

Maulvi Muhammad Abdul Ghani : May I know what is meant by "uneconomical use of tonnage"?

Mr. J. D. Tyson : Pilgrim ships going half-full—if the tonnage could be employed in carrying troops for the Far East or—this year—in bringing back Italian prisoners.

INADEQUACY OF PILGRIM SHIPS FOR RETURN JOURNEY FROM JEDDA.

501. *Mr. Umar Aly Shah: Will the Secretary for Education, Health and Lands please refer to the answer he gave to the starred question No. 280 (h) of 6th March, 1941, and to state why the Central Government did not claim any amount on account of detention of pilgrims in Jedda for more than the specified time, from the Mogul Line, as provided in section 209 A of the Indian Merchant Shipping Act, 1923?

Mr. J. D. Tyson : The question of making a claim against the shipping company was not considered as the company paid on their own initiative adequate amounts to detained pilgrims and in addition provided food for them.

EXPENDITURE BY CENTRAL GOVERNMENT ON THE PORT HAJ COMMITTEES.

†502. *Khan Bahadur Shaikh Fazl-i-Haq Piracha: Will the Secretary for Education, Health and Lands kindly state the amount spent by the Central Government from their own funds on the Port Haj Committees in the first year when they were established and how much money they propose to spend during the current year?

Mr. J. D. Tyson : The amount spent by Government in the first year was Rs. 33,451. As regards the current year, the attention of the Honourable Member is invited to my reply to part (d) of Mr. H. M. Abdullah's starred question No. 446 on the 21st March.

OLD GRAVEYARD FOR MUSLIMS ON MIRDARD ROAD, NEW DELHI.

†503. *Khan Bahadur Shaikh Fazl-i-Haq Piracha: (a) Will the Honourable Member for Labour kindly state whether the old graveyard for Muslims on Mir Dard Road, New Delhi, is unprotected and is defiled by washermen and stray cattle?

(b) Are Government prepared to take immediate steps for protecting its sanctity by erecting a suitable enclosure? If not, why not?

The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar : (a) and (b). There are three Muslim graveyards on the Mirdard Road and I am not aware to which one the Honourable Member is referring. All the three graveyards have been leased to the Jama Masjid Committee and it is perhaps for that body to consider the question of enclosing them, but I am making enquiries.

† Answer to this question laid on the table, the questioner having exhausted his quota..

RECONSTRUCTION OF THE MOSQUE ON THE CIRCULAR ROAD, NEW DELHI.

†504. ***Khan Bahadur Shaikh Fazl-i-Haq Piracha**: Will the Honourable the Labour Member please state whether a mosque found on the grassy ground on the Circular Road is without any walls and shed and that the praying public is much inconvenienced during heat and rains? Have Government received any application for its reconstruction? If not, do Government propose to sanction reconstruction? If not, why not?

The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar: The matter is being looked into and the information required will be laid on the table of the House in due course.

PAUCITY OF MUSLIMS IN THE STAFF OF THE IMPERIAL VETERINARY RESEARCH INSTITUTE.

505. ***Maulvi Muhammad Abdul Ghani**: With reference to starred questions Nos. 141 to 153, asked by Haji Chaudhury Muhammad Ismail Khan on Monday, the 18th November, 1940, regarding the paucity of Muslims in the staff at Imperial Veterinary Research Institute, Muktesar, and its sub-station Izatnagar, and the replies thereto, will the Education Secretary please state:

- (a) whether he is aware that the statement placed on the table of the House in reply to question No. 141(a) shows that the number of Muslims in Veterinary staff is 16 out of 35 and that the Muslim percentage is 44.4, whether actually this percentage has been reached by including the number of dressers and that if dressers are excluded from the number the percentage of Muslims comes down to 12.1;
- (b) whether the Honourable Member is aware that according to the statement given in reply to question No. 141(b), it comes out that since 1934 to 1936 permanent appointments were made for eight posts but, in spite of the paucity of Muslims, Muslims could get only one and that, too, in the third year, i.e., in 1936; in 1937, though two permanent appointments were made, yet no Muslim was appointed; in 1938 when six more appointments were made the Muslim community got only two, i.e., from 1934 to 1938 out of 16 appointments, the Muslim community got three only, and whether he will explain this;
- (c) whether the Honourable Member is aware of the effect of such method on the seniority and promotions of Muslims in the service; what the Honourable Member proposes to do so that in future such injustice may not be done to Mussalmans;
- (d) whether the statement supplied in reply to question No. 142(a-b) includes the cases of those Muslims who were taken in for temporary and officiating jobs also; and
- (e) whether it is a fact that in letter No. 81/6/39-Est. (5), dated the 29th September, 1939, from the Home Department to Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad, a copy of which was sent to the Muslim League, Bareilly, the number of Muslim clerks is shown as six, while in reply to question No. 153(a) this number

is given to be nine; whether the number of permanent clerks is increased from six to nine, or whether this number includes temporary or officiating clerks also?

Mr. J. D. Tyson : The information is being collected and a reply will be laid on the table of the House when the information is received.

PAUCITY OF MUSLIMS IN THE STAFF OF THE IMPERIAL VETERINARY RESEARCH INSTITUTE.

506. *Mr. Umar Aly Shah: (a) With reference to starred questions Nos. 141 to 153, asked by Haji Chaudhury Muhammad Ismail Khan on Monday the 18th November, 1940, regarding the staff at the Imperial Veterinary Research Institute, Mukteswar, and its sub-station, Izatnagar, and the replies to the said questions, will the Education Secretary please state, with reference to question 141(a), whether there are at present 15 Class I and 20 Class II officers in the said Institute and whether out of these 35 officers there are only 5 Muslims (2 in Class I and 3 in Class II), i.e., 14·3 per cent? If these figures are not correct, what is the correct number of officers in each of these services and how many of them are Muslims? How many posts in Class I and Class II are vacant and what is the sanctioned strength in each of these two classes? Separate figures may kindly be supplied.

(b) Taking the above figures into consideration and in view of the low percentage of Muslims in these services, is the Honourable Member prepared to order the filling up of the above vacancies by Muslims alone?

Mr. J. D. Tyson : (a) A statement giving the desired information is laid on the table.

(b) The posts require high technical qualifications and Government are therefore unable to confine recruitment to persons belonging to a particular community. They do, however, consider favourably cases of Muslim candidates provided that they find a place in the list of candidates recommended as suitable by the Federal Public Service Commission.

Statement regarding Muslim representation in Class I and Class II posts at the Imperial Veterinary Research Institute.

	Total number of sanctioned posts (including temporary posts in I. C. A. R. schemes.	Number held by Muslims.	Number vacant.
Class I	16	2	1
Class II	22	3	2

UNSTARRED QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

TEMPORARY VACANCIES IN THE THIRD DIVISION CREATED IN CONNECTION WITH WAR AND FILLED DIRECTLY.

197. Sardar Sant Singh: (a) Will the Honourable Member for Labour please state the total number of temporary vacancies in the Third Division

created in connection with war and filled directly, viz., not through Home Department?

(b) How many of them are Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims?

The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar : (a) Six.

(b) Hindus	3
Sikh	1
Muslims	2

STENOGRAPHERS IN THE SUPPLY DEPARTMENT.

198. Sardar Sant Singh: (a) Will the Honourable the Leader of the House please state the number of stenographers in the Department of Supply (including Director General of Supplies) and how many of them are Sikhs?

(b) Is it a fact that vacancies of stenographers are filled after holding a test in stenography?

(c) How many tests have been held for recruitment of stenographers in the Supply Department?

(d) What was the number of candidates called at each test?

(e) Were these vacancies properly advertised or circulated? If so, will the Honourable Member kindly lay on the table of the House the circulars or advertisements that were issued?

(f) Is it a fact that no Sikh applicant was called to appear in a test for unreserved vacancies? If not, why not?

The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan : (a) 27 of whom two are Sikhs.

(b) Yes, but persons already employed as stenographers in other Government offices are sometimes appointed without a test.

(c) There is no record of the actual number of tests held but tests are held very frequently.

(d) The number of candidates called for each test varies and depends on the number of candidates available at the time.

(e) Departments are usually circularised but so far there has been no occasion for advertising. The number of candidates is still sufficiently large to provide a wide selection.

(f) Sikh applicants are regularly called for tests both for reserved and unreserved vacancies whenever suitable candidates are forthcoming.

PROTEST AGAINST THE PROPOSED UNIVERSITY IN ASSAM.

199. Maulvi Abdur Rasheed Chaudhury: (a) Will the Honourable the Leader of the House please state whether he has got a copy of the resolution passed at a meeting of the Assam University Opposition Committee, Sylhet, on the 23rd February, 1941, protesting against the proposed university in Assam?

(b) Is it a fact that when Sylhet was separated from Bengal in 1874, the Government of India gave a solemn assurance to the people of Sylhet that they would never be separated from Calcutta University?

(c) Do Government propose to exercise their influence and see that the question of establishment of a university in Assam is postponed till the people of Sylhet approve of the establishment of such a university, and failing that to see that Sylhet is retransferred to Bengal?

Mr. J. D. Tyson : (a) The Government of India have received a copy of the resolution.

(b) No such assurance is traceable.

(c) The matter is still under the consideration of the Provincial Legislature. The Government of India do not consider that any action on their part is called for.

UNION OF THE EMPLOYEES OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA FORMS PRESS, ALIGARH.

200. Mr. N. M. Joshi: Will the Honourable the Labour Member be pleased to state:

- (a) whether a union has been started by the employees of the Government of India Forms Press, Aligarh;
- (b) whether a resolution was passed by that union to affiliate it with the Government of India Press Workers' Union, New Delhi;
- (c) whether Government were approached for official recognition of that union; if so, with what result;
- (d) whether the Controller of Printing and Stationery, India, New Delhi, has issued orders to the Manager, Aligarh Press, to stop even the preliminary activities of the office-bearers of the Aligarh Press Union; and
- (e) whether the Manager of that Press issued letters to the Secretary of the Union asking for his explanation for collecting subscriptions, etc., for the said Union?

The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar : (a) and (b). Yes.

(c) No specific request has so far been received from the newly formed Union.

(d) No.

(e) Yes.

AFFILIATION OF UNIONS TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA PRESS WORKERS' UNION, NEW DELHI.

201. Mr. N. M. Joshi: Will the Honourable Member for Labour be pleased to state:

- (a) whether the Government of India Press Workers' Union, New Delhi, passed a resolution, deciding to affiliate to itself unions in other Provinces;

- (b) whether it applied to the Labour Department for the approval of such a course; if so, with what result; and
- (c) if the Labour Department disapproved of such a course, what were the reasons for their doing so?

The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar : (a) to (c). The Government of India Press Workers' Union, New Delhi, recently passed a resolution inserting in its rules certain new rules with the object of affiliating to it all Unions composed of industrial workers of Government of India Presses, Calcutta, Simla and Aligarh and other Government Press Workers' Unions. The proposed amendments to the rules of the New Delhi Press Workers' Union could not be accepted as they permitted of the affiliation of (1) Unions not yet recognised by Government and (2) Unions the members of which may have conditions of service different from those of employees of the Government of India Presses, *e.g.*, establishments under the control of Provincial Governments to which the rules framed by the Government of India for recognition of Associations did not apply.

PAUCITY OF HINDUS AMONG CERTAIN STAFF OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA PRESS, NEW DELHI.

202. Bhai Parma Nand: (a) Will the Honourable the Labour Member please state the total strength of Machine Room Staff, *i.e.*, Machinemen, Machine Inkers, Hand Proof Pressmen and Fly-boys in the Government of India Press, New Delhi, with communal proportion before 1934?

(b) What was the total strength of Binders and Warehouse-men in the Government of India Press, New Delhi and the communal proportion before 1934?

(c) What has been the proportion of Hindus in each class of staff since 1934?

(d) Is it a fact that the communal proportion of Hindus was low? If so, what steps were taken to adjust the low percentage of Hindus?

(e) Were Government instructions regarding communal adjustment issued from time to time, complied with?

(f) If so, how much has the percentage of Hindus increased since 1934?

(g) Are Government prepared to pass specific orders to appoint Hindus in all the vacancies till the due percentage is secured?

(h) What are the orders of rotation and is any communal roster being maintained? If so, is a copy of the same proposed to be placed on the table of the House?

(i) What are the specific reasons for appointing Muslims when a good number of trained Hindus have always been available and there was also paucity of Hindus among the staff?

(j) Are Government prepared to set up a Commission to investigate and enquire into the grievances of the Hindus?

The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar : (a) and (b). The information desired by the Honourable Member is not readily available and its compilation would entail time and labour disproportionate to the result.

(c) No such information is maintained in respect of inferior servants like machine-inkers and fly-boys. Information regarding superior employees is available in the annual statements of communal composition, etc., of the Press, printed copies of which have been supplied to the Library of the Central Legislature.

(d), (e), (g) and (i). The instructions issued by Government regarding communal representation in services, which are being duly complied with in the Press, do not lay down any reservation for Hindus. It is, however, open to that community to secure 66 2/3 per cent. of vacancies filled by direct recruitment in competition with other communities on merit. No preference can be shown to Hindus with a view to improving their generally low representation in the grades mentioned by the Honourable Member.

(f) A statement showing the increase in the percentage of Hindus in the permanent grades of (i) Machinemen and Hand Pressmen, (ii) Binders, and (iii) Warehousemen on the 1st January, 1935, and the 1st January, 1941, is laid on the table.

(h) The order of rotation followed is that laid down by Government, *viz.*:

1. Unreserved.
2. Muslim.
3. Unreserved.
4. Unreserved.
5. Muslim.
6. Unreserved.
7. Unreserved.
8. Other minority community.
9. Unreserved.
10. Unreserved.
11. Muslim.
12. Unreserved.

Communal rosters for various categories of appointments in the Press are duly maintained. Government do not consider that any useful purpose will be served by furnishing a copy of the roster.

(j) In view of the reply given to parts (d), (e), (g) and (i), the question does not arise.

Statement showing the proportion of Appointments held by Hindus in the Permanent Grades of (i) Machinemen and Hand Pressmen, (ii) Binders and (iii) Warehousemen in the Government of India Press, New Delhi, on the 1st January, 1935 and the 1st January, 1941.

	Percentage of Hindus on 1-1-1935.	Percentage of Hindus on 1-1-1941.	Increase in percentage of Hindus.
(i) Machinemen and Hand Pressmen	24.0	26.9	2.9
(ii) Binders	Nil	20.0	20.0
(iii) Warehousemen	37.6	55.7	18.2

PAUCITY OF HINDUS AMONG CERTAIN STAFF OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA PRESS, NEW DELHI.

203. Bhai Parma Nand: (a) Will the Honourable the Labour Member please state the number of permanent officers in the Machine Room of the Government of India Press, New Delhi, drawing Rs. 50 and above and how many of them are Hindus?

(b) How many appointments of officers drawing Rs. 50 and above were made since the promulgation of the Government of India's orders for communal adjustments?

(c) How many vacancies were filled after 1934 by direct recruitment, promotion and selection and how many of them have gone to Hindus?

(d) What are the specific reasons for appointing Muslims when a good number of qualified Hindus have always been available and there was also paucity of Hindus in the staff?

(e) If the percentage is lower than that contemplated in the Government of India Resolution of 1934, what steps do Government propose to take to make good the deficiency?

The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar. (a) 27 of whom six are Hindus.

(b) and (c). Only two appointments were made of persons drawing Rs. 50 and above in the Machine Room since the promulgation of the orders regarding communal representation in services in 1934. None of these posts, both of which were filled by direct recruitment, went to Hindus.

(d) and (e). I would invite the attention of the Honourable Member to the answer given to parts (d), (e), (g) and (i) of his unstarred question No. 202 above.

REVISION OF THE SENIORITY LIST OF BINDERY AND WAREHOUSE STAFF OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA PRESS, NEW DELHI.

204. Bhai Parma Nand: (a) Is the Honourable the Labour Member aware that some of the Hindu employees of the Bindery and Warehouse in the Government of India Press, New Delhi, are being subjected to differential treatment?

(b) Was the Seniority List of Bindery and Warehouse revised last year?

(c) What are the specific reasons for revising the seniority list after so many years?

(d) Were not a number of the Hindu employees reverted from their senior position after the lapse of ten years by revising the seniority list?

(e) Was not a similar case from the Reading Branch rejected on the plea of its being time-barred?

The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar : (a) No.

(b) Yes.

(c) The seniority list was first prepared in 1937 and revised last year as 19 additional binders transferred from the piece to the salaried establishment had to be included in it.

(d) Yes. The seniority of certain Hindu binders and warehousemen was affected.

(e) No.

PAUCITY OF MUSLIMS IN THE STAFF OF THE IMPERIAL VETERINARY RESEARCH INSTITUTE.

205. Mr. Umar Aly Shah: (a) With reference to the reply to starred question No. 144, parts (a), (b) and (c), asked by Haji Chaudhury Muhammad Ismail Khan on Monday, the 18th November, 1940, will the Education Secretary please state the exact dates of appointments of all the unqualified non-Muslim clerks at present employed in the Imperial Veterinary Research Institute?

(b) What were the actual designations of the posts to which these unqualified officials were originally appointed and what were the rates of pay when they were appointed?

(c) What are the rates of pay and the designations of the posts they are at present holding? What are the dates of their appointment to the present posts?

(d) Is the increase in the rate of pay and change of designation not considered a new appointment and promotion?

(e) Is it a fact that Government had issued an order that unqualified persons, i.e., those not possessing matriculation or equivalent qualifications making one eligible to join a college, should not be taken in ministerial staff?

(f) If so, when were these orders passed?

(g) In view of the above orders, are these appointments not in contravention of those orders?

(h) Were Muslim qualified candidates not available?

(i) Was any attempt made to secure them?

(j) What are the specific reasons for promoting these qualified persons to higher scales in preference to qualified Muslims?

(k) Were no qualified Muslim clerks available for promotion or appointment to the above posts? If so, will the Education Secretary please state their number, and their last and present appointments and the rates of pay?

(l) What action do Government propose to take to set right the wrong done in this direction?

(m) Is the Education Secretary aware of the orders issued by the Government of India in 1925? Is it a fact that according to these orders, 33 per cent. of the posts were reserved for Muslims? If so, were any steps taken by the Department to comply with these orders in full?

Mr. J. D. Tyson: The information asked for is being collected and a reply will be laid on the table of the House when the information is received.

MUSLIM PERCENTAGE IN THE IMPERIAL COUNCIL OF AGRICULTURAL RESEARCH SCHEMES.

206. Mr. Umar Aly Shah: With reference to the reply to starred question No. 141 (f), asked by Haji Chaudhury Muhammad Ismail Khan on

Monday, the 18th November, 1940, will the Education Secretary state the total strength of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research Schemes in which the Muslim percentage is 75 per cent.?

Mr. J. D. Tyson : The information asked for is being collected and a reply will be laid on the table of the House when the information is received.

PERMANENT MUSLIM VETERINARY INSPECTORS IN THE IMPERIAL VETERINARY RESEARCH INSTITUTE.

207. Mr. Umar Aly Shah: With reference to the reply to starred question No. 152, put by Haji Chaudhury Muhammad Ismail Khan, on Monday, the 18th November, 1940, will the Education Secretary please state how many Veterinary Inspectors were confirmed after the issue of the orders regarding communal representation in July 1934, and if any permanent appointments were made after this date, why Muslims were eliminated from this branch of service?

Mr. J. D. Tyson : The information asked for is being collected and a reply will be laid on the table of the House when the information is received.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): I understand that Sardar Sant Singh has given notice of a motion for adjournment. As it was received after 11 o'clock, it cannot be taken up today.

ELECTION OF MEMBERS TO THE STANDING COMMITTEE FOR THE DEPARTMENT OF LABOUR.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): I have to inform the Assembly that upto 12 Noon on Wednesday, the 19th March, 1941, the time fixed for receiving nominations for the Standing Committee for the Labour Department five nominations were received. Subsequently two members withdrew their candidature. As the number of remaining candidates is equal to the number of vacancies, I declare Maulvi Muhammad Abdul Ghani, Mr. N. M. Joshi and Mr. C. C. Miller to be duly elected.

MESSAGE FROM THE COUNCIL OF STATE.

Secretary of the Assembly : Sir, the following Message has been received from the Council of State :

"I am directed to inform the Legislative Assembly that the following motion was passed in the Council of State at its meeting held on Monday, the 24th March, 1941, and to request the concurrence of the Legislative Assembly in the said motion :

'That this Council do recommend to the Legislative Assembly that the Bill to make better provision for the administration of Masajid and the Endowment of the Jama Masjid, Fatehpuri Masjid and Kalan Masjid of Delhi be referred to a Joint Committee of this Council and of the Legislative Assembly and that the Joint Committee do consist of 12 members'."

RESOLUTION *RE* RECOGNITION OF UNIONS OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES.—*contd.*

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The House will now resume consideration of the following Resolution moved by Mr. H. M. Abdullah on the 20th February, 1941 :

“ That this Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that the present discriminatory policy of Government as regards the recognition of so-called common unions of Government employees and non-recognition of the so-called communal unions of Government employees should be abandoned forthwith and unions of employees belonging to any one particular section or community should be officially recognised.”

Mr. N. M. Joshi (Nominated Non-Official) : Mr. President, I rise to oppose this Resolution. You know, Sir, in this House I have consistently sympathised with the demands of the minority communities that their interests should be safeguarded. I believe that the majority community in this country ought to make large sacrifices in order to secure the confidence of the minority communities. But, Sir, I cannot support the Resolution which has been promoted by the members of the Muslim League asking for recognition of the unions of Government employees from the Government of India. In order to understand thoroughly and in order to come to a right decision on this subject, we must know what a trade union is and what are the functions of a trade union. A trade union is an organisation of an economic class, namely, the class of employees. Its function is to protect the interests of that class, generally the economic interests of that class. Such an organisation, in my judgment, need not be communal and cannot, consistently with the interests of the class for which these organisations are intended, be communal. There is no clash of interests between the employees of Government who are either Hindus or Muhammadans. The rates of wages or salaries, the leave rules and the rules regarding pension are the same both for the Hindus and the Mussalmans. There is no discrimination made between the Hindus and the Mussalmans regarding the rates of salaries paid, regarding the leave granted and regarding the pension provided. In order that the Government employees should secure improvement in their condition, it is necessary that their organisation **should** be strong and I feel that communal organisations of Government employees will weaken their cause. Their cause will suffer and they will not be able to exert the same influence and pressure upon Government when they ask for improvement in their condition. Some classes of Government employees **will** sometimes have to resort to what we call “ strikes ” and communal organisations will certainly not only not be useful, but will be injurious to the interests of the Government employees whether they are Hindus or Mussalmans. Multiplicity of organisations in any Department of Government will lead to weakness of the employees, and such multiplicity will be against the interests of the Government employees. I, therefore, feel that if this question is considered impartially and without any prejudice, it should not be difficult to come to the conclusion that recognition by Government of communal unions will be harmful to the interests of the employees of Government whether they are Hindus or Mussalmans. Sir, the communal unions, as I have stated, are not needed, because there is no clash of interests. The interests of the Hindus and the Muhammadans are the same.

Mr. Muhammad Nauman (Patna and Chota Nagpur *cum* Orissa Muhammadan) : Are they not the same in politics ?

Mr. N. M. Joshi : I shall come to that.

(1925)

[Mr. N. M. Joshi.]

As there is no discrimination, they are not needed. And if they want to improve their condition, they will require strength, and communal unions will go against their strength. Many arguments have been used by the speakers who have spoken on this question in favour of communal unions. One of their arguments is that the Government of India observe the communal ratio in the matter of recruitment. Well, Sir, the Government of India, in my judgment, have wrongly accepted the principle that there should be a communal proportion in the matter of recruitment. But the question of recruitment and the question of improving the conditions of life and work of Government employees are two different questions. A trade union does not at present engage itself in the matter of recruitment, and I am quite sure the Government of India are not going to leave the question of recruitment in the hands of trade unions. A trade union deals with those people who are already recruited. Therefore, the argument that Government observe certain communal proportions between different communities in the matter of recruitment does not support the claim for separate communal unions in respect of those people who are already employed.

Then, Sir, we were told that the Muslim community is a nation, that the Muslim community is a separate nation, that the Muslim community has a distinct separate world of its own—these are not relevant to the consideration of this question at all. It was said that the Muslim community consists of people who always feel all the twenty-four hours of the day, all the days of the month and all the months of the year that they are Muslims. They never forget that they are Muslims. I do not know about that, but I can tell you this that if a Government employee does not forget that he is a Muslim while doing his duty, he is not fit to be a Government employee.

Sir Syed Raza Ali (Cities of the United Provinces : Muhammadan Urban) : Let them all be dismissed.

Mr. N. M. Joshi : A Muslim may be a Judge, but while trying a case, if he does not forget that he is a Muslim, he is not fit to be a Judge. Take the railwaymen whose question you have been considering on the discussion of this Resolution. If a clerk whose business is to issue tickets does not forget, while doing his duty of issuing his tickets, that he is a Muslim, in my judgment he is not fit to be even that clerk issuing tickets to passengers.

Sir Syed Raza Ali : Why should he forget ?

Mr. N. M. Joshi : He must forget, because he has to do his duty impartially. He cannot show partiality to a Muslim while doing his duty. Similarly, a Judge cannot show special sympathy to a Muslim client simply because he is a Muslim judge and he is trying the case of a Muslim client.

Maulana Zafar Ali Khan (East Central Punjab : Muhammadan) : May I remind my Honourable friend.....

Mr. President ((The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim) : The Honourable Member is not giving way. The Honourable Member will have his own turn.

Mr. N. M. Joshi : I, therefore, feel, Sir, that in the Government service there is no separate class as Muslim employees and there cannot be a separate class of Muslim Government employees. There can be only one class, namely, that of Government employees.

Then, Sir, it seems to me, after reading the speeches that this demand is due to the fact that in the general labour movement, and especially in some of the trade unions of Government employees, the number of people who take part in the movement, who guide the movement consists predominantly of Hindus. This dissatisfaction is claimed to be based upon the fact that smaller number of Muslims are found in the managing committees of trade unions, among the presidents and office bearers of trade unions and even among members of the trade unions. In the first place, it is not a fact that the Muslims do not take part in the trade union movement of this country. I know very prominent Muslims who have taken part in the trade union movement of this country. Mr. Daood and Mr. Aftab Ali of Calcutta, Mrs. Chand Bibi of Delhi, Mr. M. A. Khan of Lahore and many others.

Sir Syed Raza Ali : Just as some Muslims are found taking part in the Congress movement.

Mr. N. M. Joshi : There are so many Muslims who have taken part, taken a very great and distinguished part in the trade union movement of this country. But I am prepared to admit that if you take the trade union movement as a whole, the number of Muslims who take part in the trade union movement as compared with the Hindus is small.

Mr. Muhammad Nauman : We will have to remain small for all times.

Mr. N. M. Joshi : We cannot help that. It is for the Muslims to think how their population in this country should increase, or if the population cannot increase by ordinary methods, how conversion should be made.

Mr. Muhammad Nauman : But you are against conversion.

Mr. N. M. Joshi : It is not for me to say anything on the subject of how to increase the Muslim population. I am prepared to admit that the number of Muslims who take prominent part in the trade union movement in this country is smaller, but the reason for that is that the Muslim community, as a whole, is unfortunately backward in education, and the number of people who take part in public movements is, therefore, less than the number of people from the Hindu community who take part in the public movements. Then, Sir, the Muslims have got seats reserved in the Government employment. They have got seats reserved in the Legislature, with the result that the number of people who are available for public work is smaller. Not only that, the trade union work is not a work for which there are prizes like political work. Trade union work is a work where you have to make sacrifices without expecting any prizes, and naturally the number of people among Muslims who take part in trade union movements are smaller. It is easy at present for a Muslim to get jobs in the Government service and rise high in politics, and that is the reason why the Muslims are not attracted to the trade union movement. Not only that, the Muslim League, if it wants its young men to take part in the labour movement, must itself show that it cares for the interest of the working classes in this country. If the Muslim League Party in this House supports the cause of labour, young men outside will feel attracted, young men will feel it their duty that they must follow their leaders in supporting the cause of labour. What do I find? In this House my experience is that whenever we had discussion on labour questions and I had moved amendments in favour of labour, the Muslim League Party had generally opposed my amendments.

Some Honourable Members : No, no.

Sir Syed Raza Ali : Cite some cases.

Mr. N. M. Joshi : The proceedings of the Legislative Assembly will provide all the cases that the Honourable Member wants. I am not going to waste the time of the House over this question. It is a patently admitted question.

Mr. Muhammad Nauman : It is a great reflection on the Party.

Mr. N. M. Joshi : It is a reflection. Sir,

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim) : The Honourable Member must refrain from casting any reflection.

Mr. N. M. Joshi : I am not casting any reflection. I am only suggesting that the Muslim masses in this country are in a very unfortunate position.

Mr. Muhammad Nauman : They are not.

Mr. N. M. Joshi : Their political leaders do not support them. I can give you a personal experience of mine in Bombay. About the year 1928, we had a strike in Bombay and I happened to be the President of a Union.....

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

Mr. N. M. Joshi : I am sorry, Sir, that my time is up. The subject is a very vast one, but the time at my disposal is very short. But before I sit down, I would suggest to my colleagues of the Muslim League Party that the Resolution which they have promoted is not in the best interest of the Muslim employees in the Government of India.

Sir Syed Raza Ali : You know that best.

Mr. N. M. Joshi : They know best, not you. Once I asked my Honourable friend, Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad, to hold a meeting of the Muslim workers and to find out whether the attitude he had taken up on some labour questions was right or not. He could not accept my challenge.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim) : The Honourable Member must conclude his speech.

Mr. N. M. Joshi : Sir, I oppose the Resolution.

Maulvi Muhammad Abdul Ghani (Tirhut Division : Muhammadan) : Sir, when one looks to one's own self-interest he is never prepared to consider the inconvenience of others, and such is the case with my Honourable friend, Mr. Joshi. The point here is that Muslims should be given some opportunity to get their grievances redressed. They do not get sufficient opportunities in the so-called national unions and, therefore, they claim that they should be given representation in a particular union in which the voice of the Muslim employees will predominate. Two Departments have the largest number of employees and I find that they have a number of unions. I will first take up the Posts and Telegraphs Department where there are eleven unions. We will see

there the difficulties of the Muslim employees. There are several kinds of posts in this Department. The first is the gazetted rank, where the representation of Muslims in only 10·3 per cent.; then the non-gazetted second class service where the representation of Muslims is 4·2 per cent; and in the third class which is a little less vocal the percentage of Muslims is 4·1. Therefore, the percentage of Muslim employees is insignificant and having regard to their numbers they cannot be given more seats. Similarly, with regard to the railway unions. There in the gazetted service, in 1940 on Company-managed and State Railways out of a total of 1,737, the Muslims were 132; so their percentage in the gazetted posts is 7·6. And in the less vocal section, *i.e.*, employees getting salaries up to Rs. 250, the percentage of Muslims is 6·3. These are the two classes in the Railway Department where the officers or employees are more vocal, and there the percentage of Muslims is very insignificant. Thus the vocal section of Muslim employees here too has every chance of being debarred. As regards the permanent inferior classes the number of Muslims in Posts and Telegraphs offices is 18,689 out of a total of 80,578, permanent Staff, according to the report of 1939-40. In the railways the total number is 7,01,307 and the number of Muslims is 1,57,500, *i.e.*, 24·8 per cent. If you exclude the more vocal section the number of Muslims is even then comparatively fair. Does my Honourable friend, Mr. Joshi, want that the less vocal section of Muslim employees should not be given any opportunity to have their grievances redressed? This is the case with the so-called Indian National Congress where their quota is fixed. No Muslim howsoever great services he may have rendered to the country can get any greater representation.

Mr. M. S. Aney (Berar Non-Muhammadan): They may get as much as they like.

Maulvi Muhammad Abdul Ghani: I have been there for ten years and I know it well. I want the freedom of the country and so I was there but finding that there is no love there for the freedom of the country I left it. Mr. Gandhi expressed his view which was published in the *Statesman* of 26th October, 1939, Calcutta edition that if the Britishers will sever their connection what will happen? The Punjabis and the Gurkhas will overrun the whole country, as if the Punjabis are not men of this country. That is the view of the high command of the Congress. Therefore Muslims feel that if they remain there they will have no chance to work for the freedom of the country.

The claim for Muslim unions is opposed on the ground that communalism should not spread everywhere, Sir, there is representation given to universities, landlords, labour and commerce. They are equally communal but they are not called communal because it suits my friends' purposes. My friend, Mr. Joshi, said that the leaders of the Muslim community should take steps for the spread of education among Muslims. Sir, there is a University Amendment Bill before the House and Muslims want their education to spread unfettered: but if you look to the opinions you will find that under various pretexts that progress is sought to be retarded.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra (Presidency Division: Non-Muhammadan Rural): If it is communal education we must oppose it.

Maulvi Muhammad Abdul Ghani: No question of communal education. The Aligarh University is a national University and hundreds of Sikhs and other Hindus are being educated there.

[Maulvi Muhammad Abdul Ghani.]

I have urged this, not on communal grounds, but on the ground that the vocal section of Muslim employees are very few and their voice is not felt in the unions which are preponderatingly composed of Hindus. I find from the Postal and Telegraph Report that out of 1,80,020 employees, there are 38,435 members; that means 32·5 per cent. The rest of the employees, say 67·5 per cent., are not represented on the postal unions which number 11. What is the remedy to have their voice heard? The majority of them are not members of the unions. Why?

Mr. M. S. Aney : Because you ask them not to become members. (Interruption).

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

Maulvi Muhammad Abdul Ghani : I say that when 68 per cent. have got no voice and are not members of the unions, something should be done for the representation of such a percentage as 68. Lots of people are not represented; the vocal sections are there and they are commanding everything. The non-vocal section has got no voice. The Resolution only demands that the non-vocal section should be given a platform from where they can ventilate their grievances. I think the demand is a very simple one and it should not be opposed and it should not be said that we are demanding on communal lines. It is not demanding on communal lines. The Muslims are a nation : it is demanded on national lines. A nation demands it. It is not a group demand like landlords, like labour or commerce : it is demanded by a nation and I think this demand will have to be acceded to.

Mr. P. J. Griffiths (Assam European) : Mr. President, it is with considerable reluctance that I rise to take part in this debate on a subject which involves a communal issue, for we know from past experience that the outcome of such debates tends to be evil rather than good. But as one who represents a large industry which employs a vast labour force, I cannot remain indifferent to a Resolution, the principle underlying which is not only unsound in itself, but also by its logical extension to the industrial sphere, fraught with the greatest possible danger to the proper development of organised labour in this country. It is true that in its specific terms the Resolution deals only with unions of Government employees. But some of the speeches made on the last day made it abundantly clear that the principle underlying that Resolution was a wide principle, a principle not indeed intended to be confined to Government employees unions, but susceptible of application to unions of all classes; and indeed, whatever might be in the mind of the Honourable the Mover of this Resolution, once this principle of communal unions is accepted, it must of necessity spread from Government employees unions to the general industrial sphere; and it is with particular reference to that aspect of the matter that I want to make a few remarks today. As one who himself belongs to a minority community, I am bound to sympathise.....

Mr. Muhammad Nauman : The rulers' community, unfortunately.

Mr. P. J. Griffiths : I do not propose to be drawn into political disquisitions but to confine myself to the main theme of the present debate. As one who belongs to a minority community, I fully realise the need and the demand of other minority communities for protection in various spheres of life; and I fully recognise that in some spheres of life that protection must

take the form of separate representation. But when I address myself to the question as to whether separate representation in the industrial or in any other sphere is necessary for minorities or not, I begin by suggesting two criteria. I begin by asking myself, first, is there in fact any conflict of interests between the minority and the majority communities with regard to the particular matter under discussion? And then I go on to ask myself the question, even if there is no conflict of interests, is it in fact the case that there is serious danger of discrimination in practice against the minority community? And if I found either of those two conditions satisfied in any particular case, I should be quite willing to admit either in the political or in the industrial sphere the need for separate representation. But when I apply those two criteria to the case which we are now considering, the need for communal trade unions, I can find no facts whatsoever which will justify a claim for such separate unions.

Let me take the first criterion. Are there differences between the interests of Hindus and Muslims in regard to the matters with which trade unions deal? What after all are the matters with which a trade union is concerned? Primarily, wages, hours and amenities. Is there in fact any difference between the desire of the Muslims and the desire of the Hindus in the matter of wages, hours and the general conditions of labour? Is it a fact that the Muslim demands more pay than the Hindu or that the Hindu demands shorter hours of work than the Muslim? I challenge my Honourable friends to show me a single instance of any one thing within the proper scope and function of trade unionism in regard to which the interests of Hindus and Muslims are in any way fundamentally different.

Mr. Muhammad Nauman : In the matter of leave and *juma* prayers *Ramzan*, etc., etc.

Mr. P. J. Griffiths : If my Honourable friend wishes to suggest that one of the main functions of a trade union is to consider the exact intervals in the course of the day in which people should be allowed to go for refreshments or prayers and for any other purpose, I would suggest that my honourable friend has not yet begun to learn the very meaning and the objects of trade unionism. I suggest that in these days.....

Maulvi Muhammad Abdul Ghani : You are only the student.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim) : The Honourable Member ought not to go on interrupting like that.

Mr. P. J. Griffiths : In so far as the objects of trade unionism are accepted all over the world, there is not one single matter in regard to which there is any difference of interest between Hindu and Muslim employees. And so I pass on to my second criterion.

In the absence of communal unions, is there any serious danger of any intelligent employer, whether Government or industrialist or a private employer, discriminating deliberately against particular sections of his employees? In this House from time to time we are told a great deal about the vices and demerits of the employing classes; but one thing which is constantly rubbed into us is that they pay continual attention to their own selfish interests...

Syed Ghulam Bhik Nairang (East Punjab : Muhammadan) : May I rise to a point of order? It appears to me that the Honourable speaker is travelling beyond the scope of the Resolution. The Resolution is confined

[Syed Ghulam Bhik Nairang.]

to so-called common unions of Government employees and he is taking us into trade unions and labour unions and all that in industry. This is going beyond the scope of the Resolution.

Mr. P. J. Griffiths : I would submit, Sir, that in the first place the matter was already taken beyond the scope of the Resolution by my friend, Mr. Nauman, on the last occasion.....

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Honourable Member can refer to trade unions in industry which are not the concern of Government only by way of illustration, and no further.

Mr. P. J. Griffiths : Yes, Sir. Let me make my position quite clear.

12 NOON. What I was really trying to do was to illustrate by reference to the industrial sphere, the way in which this principle of communal trade unions—a principle which we dare not accept—is sought to be brought in: and in continuation of my illustration I say that no intelligent employer including the Government, and including the particular case which we are now discussing, can possibly embark upon a policy of discrimination against one section or other of his employees. Which way would he discriminate? Would he be inclined to give one section of his employees conditions better than those justified by ordinary economic considerations? Is it likely that he will do that and thereby run the risk of having the level of wages forced up for other sections of his employees also? On the other hand, would any intelligent employer—including the Government, strange as it may seem—would any intelligent employer run the risk of deliberately depressing conditions for one particular section of his employees and thereby set up within the sphere of his employees such friction as to make it impossible to carry on the work of industrial concerns? Would any such policy be compatible with any reasonable degree of intelligence on the part of any employer? And so I suggest that when you apply either of my two criteria, you are led inevitably to the conclusion that as long as trade unions are restricting themselves to their proper scope and functions and are not trying to usurp powers which belong to the Legislature, so long as they confine themselves to their own duties, there can be no case whatsoever for separate union representation of the different communities in industry.

What I suspect is that the object behind this Resolution is not to enable trade unions to deal with these matters which properly appertain to them, but rather to enable trade unions to press the claims of particular communities for particular proportions of employment,—in the present case in Government—and, subsequently, in industrial sphere, and I maintain with all the force at my command, that however right and proper it may be, and indeed is, that such claims should be made in the proper forum,—the place where such claims should be made is in this House and in the Provincial Assemblies, and not in the course of the carrying out of the day to day duties of Trade Unions. If you begin by introducing into Trade Unionism this practice, which in other countries has not been adopted, the only effect will be that you will wreck the trade union movement in its infancy upon the rock of communalism. Sir, my friend, Mr. Adbullah, in moving his Resolution tried to suggest that communal unions were the logical outcome of the separate treatment accorded to Muslims in every Department of Governmental life. He says that so far as the Government services are concerned, Muslims are registered separately for purposes of

recruitment ; in fact ever since the birth of a Muslim child, he is registered as a Muslim in the Muslim records, he is brought up in a Muslim home, he is educated in Muslim schools, and he is recruited as a Muslim candidate. Of course, Sir, Muslims are classed separately for purposes of recruitment, for no one in this House denies the just claims of minority communities in certain proportions, but there is no discrimination in favour of Muslims against Hindus or in favour of Hindus against Muslims with regard to wages, hours of work and so on.

Mr. Muhammad Nauman : What about Anglo-Indians ?

Mr. P. J. Griffiths : My friend is presenting me with an argument. He is pointing out the advantages which the Anglo-Indian community have gained, not as a result of the formation of separate unions, but for quite different historical reasons, which will tend to show that the community has been able to secure representation of their interests without the formation of separate communal trade unions. I suggest, Sir, that it is really quite irrelevant and almost unfair to import into the present discussion regarding trade unions, arguments relating to the rights of different communities with regard to recruitment. Mr. Abdullah says somewhere in his speech that Mr. Jamnadas Mehta cannot possibly represent Muslim interests. He did not bother to tell us why. I would like to know, of all the things with which a trade union is concerned, which is the one with regard to which my friend, Mr. Jamnadas Mehta, cannot represent the Muslims ?

An Honourable Member : He cannot represent the Muslims as far as. . .

Mr. P. J. Griffiths : Is it the suggestion that Mr. Jamnadas Mehta cannot represent their views with regard to wages, with regard to hours of work ? Looking at this question as an outsider, I should have said that Mr. Jamnadas Mehta was from an employer's point of view only too capable of representing both.

Now, Sir, I pass on to the positive side of the argument. So far, I have used the negative argument, but my positive argument is this, that the setting up of communal unions is going right against the whole principle of trade unionism. Read the history of trade unions in England. What was the object with which it was founded ? What are the conditions under which it achieved success ? It achieved success because it recognised the solidarity of the working classes, and realised that the only hope, the only chance, for the working classes of any country to obtain improvements in their standards of living was the avoidance of purely sectional action. . . .

Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad (United Provinces Southern Divisions : Muhammadan Rural) : Can the Honourable Member give me the example of any country outside England where communal unions do not exist ?

Mr. P. J. Griffiths : With the possible exception of Russia, can the Honourable gentleman give me the example of any country where the trade union movement has done so much for the working classes as it has in fact in Britain ? And because of its essential recognition of the consolidation of the working classes and because it has refused to recognise sectional interests, the Trade Union movement in Britain has in fact been a God-send to the working classes.

[Mr. P. J. Griffiths.]

My friend, Mr. Nauman, in one place in his speech said after all, what does it matter if we have rival unions : why should there not be two, three or ten unions ? I do not know if my friend has ever had any experience of the working of rival unions in practice ? But if he had time to spare in the recess, I would recommend him to pay a visit to Ceylon and go round the tea estates in that unfortunate land and discover for himself the intense harm which is being caused by the existence of two or three unions on every separate estate.....

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

Mr. P. J. Griffiths : He will see for himself that the existence of rival unions has led to irresponsible demands and has in fact weakened the cause of the workers. I appeal to my friends, in conclusion. By all means let them defend their reasonable rights as a minority, let them defend them in this Assembly and in the Provincial Assemblies, but in the interests of the healthy development of trade unionism, let them, for Heaven's sake, refrain from introducing this communal principle into what is meant to be a movement for the regeneration and the improvement of the working classes of this great country. Sir, I oppose the Resolution.

Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta : (Bombay Central Division : Non-Muhammadan Rural). Sir, I rise to oppose this Resolution, and I am sure that, when I state my reasons for doing so, my friend, the Mover, will withdraw it. I am sure that the case which I shall make out is so irresistible that my friend will not press his Resolution at all. Now, Sir, the Resolution as it stands is totally misconceived. It is self-contradictory and betrays an amazing amount of ignorance of the nature and functions of trade unionism.....

Syed Ghulam Bhik Nairang : May I again protest, Sir, that Trade Unions are not the subject matter of this Resolution ?

Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta : I am not giving place.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim) : The Honourable Member should confine himself to the union of employees under Government.

Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta : When certain Honourable gentlemen have gone into figures of employment on railways in the discussion, I may certainly be allowed to state that this Resolution is definitely against the interests of the Muslim masses, as I shall presently show.

What is my friend's grievance in his Resolution ? His grievance is that by not recognising communal unions the Government are discriminating. I think this is an absurd statement. The Government are not discriminating, but it is the Mover of the Resolution and his supporters who want that there should be discrimination, and, therefore, the Resolution is itself self-contradictory. The Government say—we shall not discriminate between an employee and an employee, whatever section he may belong to, — but my friends say—do discriminate between employees and employees. Therefore, fundamentally the Resolution is self-contradictory. Then, again, what is the grievance ? My friend, Mr. Griffiths, mentioned one grievance. The other grievance is that the Muslims are allowed to sit here in a separate body. What has that to do with his ? They have chosen to sit separately, or they are allowed to so sit, but that is no reason why that principle should be extended to trade unions. They are separately counted in the census—they must be so

counted, because we should know what are the numbers of the different communities in this country. But if it be said, as it is said, they must have separatism even in the trade union movement, because Muslims object and say, the Muslims are a nation, then I think that proposition cannot be granted. It will be a reflection on themselves, it will be a reflection on my Honourable friend, Sir Syed Raza Ali. When he went to Africa as the champion of the Indians as against the white settlers there, did he remember only the Muslims? Let him speak out. Is it contended that the Honourable the Leader of the House in discharging his duties is always discriminating between Hindus and Muslims, and is it—worse still—contended that this Honourable Chair...

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Honourable Member had better confine himself to the wording of the Resolution. If the Honourable Member brings in personalities here, there will be no end of discussion.

Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta: I blame those whose Resolution is an indirect reflection on this Honourable Chair. That is what I will say.

Members on the Muslim League Party: No, no.

Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta: It is a reflection, however indirect it may be, on this Honourable Chair.

Sir Syed Raza Ali: It is a perverse argument.

Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta: I repudiate it. (Interruptions).

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): Order, order. What does the Honourable Member mean by that?

Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta: If they say a Mussalman is a Mussalman wherever he is, I say, as judge, as Leader of this House, as the President of this House, a Mussalman is not a Mussalman as such, but an Indian....

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): That question does not arise here.

Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta: It arises from their statement.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Honourable Member must confine himself to the Resolution itself and must not make personal reference.

Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta: However, I shall not amplify that argument.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Honourable Member must confine himself to the Resolution. He must not illustrate his arguments by personal reference.

Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta: I shall not.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Honourable Member must not travel outside the Resolution.

Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta: I agree that I shall not.

[Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta.]

Then, I find that, during the last debate in this House, my Honourable friend, the Mover of this Resolution, and my Honourable friends, Sir Henry Gidney and Mr. Nauman, personally criticised me.

Mr. Muhammad Nauman : I did not criticise you.

Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta : I beg your pardon.

Sardar Sant Singh (West Punjab : Sikh) : They never knew you will come in time to defend yourself.

Lieut.-Colonel Sir Henry Gidney : I did not criticise the Honourable Member. I eulogised him on many points.

Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta : I must not be disturbed, my time is short.

Well, the Mover said that I am not fit to represent the Mussalmans in the trade unions, because I am a member of the Hindu Mahasabha. Let me state for a thousand and oneth time that I have not the privilege of being a member of the Hindu Mahasabha.

Sir Syed Raza Ali : There is then hope for you ?

Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta : Not that I have any difference with the nationalist policy of the Hindu Mahasabha, because the Hindu Mahasabha is the only nationalist body in this country, but I have not the privilege. . . .

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim) : The Honourable Member should not stray into a discussion of that subject.

Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta : In this very debate I was criticised on that score.

Mr. Umar Aly Shah (North Madras : Muhammadan) : What is your conception of the fundamentals of the Hindu Mahasabha ?

Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta : I am not going to be drawn into that discussion.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim) : If the Honourable Member is replying to some remarks that have been made about him here, during this debate, he is quite in order.

Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta : As the President of the All-India Railwaymen's Federation for the last eleven years, it has been my privilege to represent the Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Anglo-Indians and Europeans, and it does not matter one brass farthing to me what the percentage of any community is. It makes no difference to me whether there is one Muslim or ten Muslims, I represent them all. I have represented them, Hindus and Mussalmans and all Railway workers, I have brought them a railway war allowance of Rs. 175 lakhs a year. I represent the Muslim workers, not this gallant Major, or Lieut. Colonel, not the learned doctor here, not the Nawabs and Khan Bahadurs here. I represent the Muslim *workers* on railways and I am not going to surrender that position in favour of communal champions of the kind whom we notice here. Sir Henry Gidney mentioned one incident against me. He said that as President of the All India Railwaymen's Federation I once stopped him from speaking. He deserved nothing better on that occasion. I shall say what really happened ; we had an interview with the Railway Board, and the rule

is that the Chief Commissioner speaks, or I speak as President of the Federation. If any member of the Railway Board wants to speak, he gets the permission of the Chief Commissioner, and if any member of the Federation wants to speak he gets my permission. But, Sir Henry Gidney, fresh from the honours or dishonours of the Round Table Conference, came to that meeting and without my permission went into irrelevant considerations. Then I asked the Chairman—I did not stop him myself,—I asked the Chairman, Sir Guthrie Russell....

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim) : Did he make those remarks during this debate ?

Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta : Yes. I asked Sir Guthrie Russell, the Chairman of that meeting, to stop the gallant Lieut.-Colonel, and he stopped him,—not I. I have no right to stop him, but I appealed to the Chair that this gentleman was irrelevant.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim) : The Honourable Member had better not go into all that. The Honourable Member is not in order in going into episodes of that sort.

Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta : I can only leave him with an assurance that if he does that again, I shall stop him.

What is it that the Muslims do not get through the Federation. Their argument is that the Mussalmans are a separate nation. I do not believe a word of it. But supposing they are, I do not go into that question,—members belonging to different nations comprise the Worldwide Federation of Workers, and it would pay the Muslims not to raise any question of nationality in the matter of trade unions. A fitter is a fitter, a guard is a guard, it does not matter to what community he belongs, and we certainly make no difference in any way in the matter of patronage that exists. Out of the 20 occasions on which Indians have gone to the Geneva Labour Conference, do my Honourable friends know that on not less than ten, probably 15 occasions, the delegates or advisers chosen have been Mussalmans. (Interruption.) The Muslims say they are only 15 per cent, then they should have gone only twice. But we are making no distinction. The Vice-President of the All-India Railwaymen's Federation is a Muhammadan gentleman, I have in one union as my Secretary a European gentleman. I have got my colleagues, Muhammadans, and we make no distinction on the ground of race.

I shall not detain the House for more than a minute or two. All the grounds given for recognising separate communal unions are for the Government to reply to, not for me. I agree that Government have done the wrong in encouraging separatism. In having separate electorates they have done a wrong. In fixing communal percentages without regard to merit they have done a wrong to this country. Mr. Griffiths would not have that percentage in his own industry. I am sure Government are worse than the industrialists. Industrialists never have their employees according to the proportion of a certain community. They are wise, Government are otherwise. Sir, I may say that we have got nearly one lakh members in the Federation. Previously the number was one lakh and 60 thousand. On account of retrenchment and depression and retirements, our numbers have decreased but our determination to fight for every class of worker, irrespective of community irrespective of class or religion has not wavered for a single minute. In the last Railway Employees' Committee in 1931, I conducted the cases of Muslims,

[Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta.]

of Hindus, of Christians, Anglo-Indians and even Europeans. For the last eleven years, every one of them has remembered that my services to them were impartial because as their President I myself do not believe that I am belonging to any particular community. I am a human being first and everything else afterwards and I regard the rights of any community as sacred as those of any other. If a real League of Peoples come into existence, where there is no distinction, I shall enrol myself as the first member and I shall forget that I was born in India. Therefore, it is that for the last eleven years I have had the honour of representing the railwaymen in the Federation as the Chairman and the last time it met which was only last week, my re-election as President was seconded by a Muhammadan gentleman. These communalists will not succeed in their attempt, I am sure, even if they tried. These Nawabs and Khan Bahadurs have no place in the unions.

An Honourable Member : Rai Bahadurs.

Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta : Yes, they also have no place.

There is only one thing that I should like to mention and that is that Government do not treat us fairly, as they ought to, when I was the President of the Postal Union.....

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

Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta : Then I shall wind up by making only one statement. My friend, Sir Henry Gidney, may remember that he has given us compliments for having done so much good in the Railwaymen's Federation and still he has asked for the recognition of communal unions, but his brother Mr. Gidney.....

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Honourable Member must really not go into personalities.

Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta : Well, Sir, if that is so, I will conclude by saying that no rational grounds have been given for the recognition of communal unions, and I am totally opposed to the Resolution.

Syed Ghulam Bhik Nairang : I thought, when I started listening to the speech of my Honourable friend, Mr. Joshi, that he will have something relevant and pertinent to the Resolution to put before us. I was surprised, however, to find very soon that from a cursory discussion of the purport of the Resolution which the House is considering, he lapsed into his favourite subject of labour and trade unions and started pointing out the great disadvantages which we shall suffer if we insist on and succeed in organising what are called communal unions, which we designedly call in this Resolution, the so-called communal unions. Mr. Joshi started by pointing out what serious disadvantages we shall suffer from. He said 'they will be weak, there will not be a large membership of these unions. They will not have the spirit requisite for the success of a union and they will suffer the greatest of all calamities in that they will not be in a position to organise strikes'.

Mr. N. M. Joshi : Yes.

Syed Ghulam Bhik Nairang : Strike is the thing which according to Mr. Joshi makes a union successful. I was wondering whether this aspect of the matter fell within the four corners of the Resolution. An interjection by a

lawyer friend of mine shows that even he does not understand what I mean when I say whether a certain thing falls within the four corners of a certain thing. But greater surprises were awaiting me and Mr. Joshi was very closely followed by our Honourable friend, Mr. Griffiths. He too took us into the philosophy of trade unionism and into all the hardships which the labour employed by industrialists will suffer if trade unions are formed on any basis other than that of community of economic interests. I have not much to say against the position taken up by our new Honourable friend, Mr. Jamnadas Mehta, whom I in common with others very heartily welcome to this House and whose speeches we expect to listen to with great benefit to ourselves and enlightenment to the House, because he had to explain a lot of things which had been said about him, but this objection applied to his speech as well that it was irrelevant from top to bottom as far as the Resolution is concerned. It may be perfectly relevant as a matter of personal explanation. It may be quite in order as giving him an opportunity of saying a few things in reply to what had been said about him in the course of the debate, but as far as the Resolution is concerned, his speech too suffered from the serious defect of being absolutely irrelevant.

The upshot of today's debate so far in this House as far as the speeches of Mr. Joshi, Mr. Griffiths and Mr. Jamnadas Mehta are concerned is that we have not really heard anything relevant except one or two things. For instance, Mr. Joshi as well as Mr. Griffiths were full of sympathy for the minorities. Mr. Joshi appealed to the majority to make sacrifices in order to accommodate the minorities. The same kind of sympathy was also shown by Mr. Griffiths but the crux of the matter was entirely missed when Mr. Joshi, giving the purport of the speech of Maulana Zafar Ali Khan said that if a Muslim was conscious every minute of his life that he was a Muslim he would be unsuited for any station in life. He could not make a good judge. He could not make a good booking clerk. Now, I submit that it is a pity in my opinion that a gentleman of the education and culture of Mr. Joshi should not understand what a Muslim is and that he should not realise that if a Muslim were to remember what a true Muslim should be he will be an ideal man for any station in life. My friend says : If a Muslim judge is conscious that he is a Muslim and does not forget that he is a Muslim, he will not be able to discharge his judicial duties. Well, I refer him to the commandment contained in the Qoran about this matter of doing justice. The Holy Qoran says :

La yajrimannakum shanaanu qaumin 'ala an la ta'dilu. I'dilu. Huwa aqramu lil taqwa.

It says : " The fact that certain people are hostile to you or are your enemies should not deter you from the duty of doing justice to them ".

Do justice. That is the best for a pious man to do. Now, if a Muslim were really to remember—and not only profess by way of lip profession that he is a Muslim—then there can be no better judge in the world than a Muslim,—and, yet Mr. Joshi says that if a Muslim remembers that he is a Muslim, he cannot be a judge ! And then by way of bathos, from a judge he abruptly came down to a booking clerk, from the sublime to the ridiculous ! He gave the instance of a booking clerk. I say, yes, a Muslim who really remembers that he is a Muslim, will be an ideal booking clerk. He will not in any way put anybody to inconvenience, he will attend equally to everybody coming to him for the issue of a ticket, he will charge the correct amount, he will not embezzle any amount due to the railway company or the Government, and he will be an ideal booking clerk in all respects. So even your instance of a Muslim booking clerk remembering that he is a Muslim does not apply in your favour ;

[Syed Ghulam Bhik Nairang.]

it applies against your contention. My Honourable friend, Mr. Jamnadas Mehta, went a step further and said, "I will try to show that a Muslim, if he remembers that he is a Muslim, will not be fit to be the President of this Honourable House". I say, Sir, that a Muslim is the best fitted person in the world to be the President of this House or any other House regarding impartiality, absolute detachment from all party interests, absolute detachment from all bias and prejudice; so, really, the whole thing has been misconstrued and misinterpreted and the debate has been side-tracked in order to cloud the issues and not allow this House to consider the things which are really the basis of the Resolution which has been moved by my Honourable friend, Hafiz Abdullah.

We say, Sir, that the wording of the Resolution is very clear. We want that the policy of Government as regards the recognition of so called common unions of Government employees and the non-recognition of so-called communal unions of Government employees should be abandoned forthwith. Whenever there are any grievances which are suffered by the members of any community on account of the paucity of their numbers in a service and they form an organization to see that their grievances are duly represented before the authorities, it is a favourite reply given by the Government that this is a communal union and "we do not recognize any such thing as a communal union". The fact is, Sir, that this is an age of catchwords and slogans. This word "communal" has been designed, intentionally designed to serve as an argument where no real argument exists. I am really unable to understand why certain things should be looked upon as national and certain other things as communal in contradistinction to national. As far as our friends, the members of the majority community in India, are concerned, it suits them to say that such and such a thing is national; and anything which is said to affect a particular section of the community in India—I am talking now of the community in India, I leave alone the words "nation" and "community" in the ordinary sense in which they are used,—I say the "community" in India—if anything affecting the members of a certain section of the community in India is not to their taste or to their interest, they want to get rid of it by damning it as communal. They act on the well-known adage, "give a dog a bad name and hang it". That is the policy. Instead of considering the merits or demerits of the claim put forward on behalf of even a section of the community, they say, "oh, it is all communal humbug". But that word "communal" has now long ceased to be a term of abuse as far as we are concerned. Many of us have proclaimed from the house-tops that, if it is to be a communalist to put forward the claims of Muslims and to argue matters affecting the Muslims and to make efforts to secure the rights of Muslims, if all this is communalism, then we confess that we are communalists and we refuse to regard it as a term of abuse. It is no use saying that such and such a thing is communal, if it is said in the hope of making us abandon it. The position is this that there are unions which are wrongly considered to be common unions of Government employees. Certainly, of course, in so far as matters of pay and pension and leave and retirement and all that are concerned, Muslims cannot have any interest as apart from that of non-Muslims. That is quite right. But what about recruitment, what about promotion, what about posting and so many other things? (Interruptions.) The so-called common unions can never represent the Muslims there. It is a matter of long, bitter experience that the so-called common unions cannot advocate, sincerely and impartially, the cause of Muslims, because it suits the members of the majority community by reason of their favouritism and nepotism and worse things, I mean considerations of religious prejudice, not to do anything. All these things are done by them under

cover of nationalism, because they happen to be larger in numbers, because they happen to have won the race to the Government offices, because, they happen to hold the key positions and because they happen to be in a position to influence, in various ways, the views and conduct of high and responsible Government officers, even European Government officials. So, while what are called the common unions claim to represent the entire service, as a matter of fact, they cannot represent the entire service, except of course in common matters. It is necessary to have Muslim unions which are wrongly condemned as communal unions, and we want to change the policy of Government in respect to such unions.

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

Syed Ghulam Bhik Nairang : I have not got much more to say, Sir : so I support the Resolution.

Mr. M. S. Aney : Sir, I have listened to the speech of my Honourable friend, Syed Ghulam Bhik Nairang, with the respect which it deserves. I had expected that my Honourable friend, after having heard the attacks made on this Resolution by some of the friends who are present in this House and who have had the benefit of running federations, unions and trade union movements, would try to meet the objections raised by them.

Syed Ghulam Bhik Nairang : They were irrelevant.

Mr. M. S. Aney : His whole reply was that this attack was irrelevant.

Now, with due deference to his opinion, I say that nothing could have been more relevant than the considerations which our Honourable friends, Mr. Joshi, Mr. Griffiths and Mr. Jamnadas Mehta, brought to bear on the consideration of this Resolution,—and none in the House was more competent to say something about the question before the House than these three gentlemen who are dealing with labour questions, who have been running unions and who have got the experience of what these unions and their working really mean. I was trying to find out leaving aside the question of relevancy and irrelevancy which was for you to rule.....

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): As regards the question of relevancy, the Chair may perhaps make the matter clear. It is quite possible for some speakers to take the view that this is a legitimate argument, the argument derived from the experience of a trade union. It is quite possible also for another set of Members to take the view that this is not in the nature of a trade union. It is impossible for the Chair to say that considerations regarding trade unions do not altogether apply.

Mr. M. S. Aney : I appreciate the exposition which you have given just now. It is somewhat difficult at times to distinguish between what is relevant and what is irrelevant. Then, I tried to find out whether my Honourable friend would adduce any relevant arguments in support of the motion before the House, leaving aside his negative part of the thing that others have talked in an irrelevant manner. I was trying to find out what are the relevant arguments which my Honourable friend wanted to advance to convince the Members of this House that this was a rational thing for them to adopt and the only reasonable thing for them to do. I confess to have been completely disappointed in his speech from this point of view. I

[Mr. M. S. Aney.]

do not want to enter into that bigger question and the interpretation which he sought to put upon the observation made by my Honourable friend, Maulana Zafar Ali Khan, that a Muslim is always a Muslim. I know that a Muslim is always a Muslim in the best sense and certainly it does not mean any reflection upon the Muslim community. In the same way, if a Christian is always a Christian, he shall be the best man. If a Hindu is always a Hindu in the true sense of the term, he shall be the best man. So, if a Muslim is always a Muslim, he shall be the best man. I do not think that in that way any particular individual can claim that by belonging to a particular community he gets a kind of monopoly for doing what is just, proper and correct. That depends upon the respect he has cultivated for the fundamental principles of the religion, which are more or less the same. So, I do not want to enter into that matter at all. That is a matter which is common to the follower of all religions provided those followers are true to the fundamental and essential tenets of their particular religion. But I was trying to find out that my Honourable friend will be able to make out a case in some concrete way.

For the last so many years these unions have been run and there were certain broad points of view which affected the Muslim community in the working of that union and on account of their numerical minority or the paucity of their number they were unable to persuade the trade union officers to take up their cause and fight for them. And in view of that difficulty the case for the formation of a separate union which may be called the communal union of the Government employees has become necessary. I was trying to find out some justification of the kind, but over and above expressing their deep distrust or suspicion, nothing tangible has been said so far. That is what I find. In the second place, certain points were touched by him concerning the question of recruitment and other matters. Let me submit with due deference to him that he is confounding the functions of these unions with the functions of the Governmental bodies. So far as the Governmental bodies are concerned, they are entrusted with the duty of laying down the policy as regards the composition of services for good or for bad. Unfortunately, a separate case for the representation of the community on the legislature adequate to safeguard its interests has been made and a provision is there already. But so far as the working of these communal unions of the Government employees are concerned, the problems which they have to consider are nothing more than those which are common to members irrespective of caste, creed or colour.

Syed Ghulam Bhik Nairang : No.

Mr. M. S. Aney : My friends says "No". I was expecting him to tell me.....

Syed Ghulam Bhik Nairang : May I explain the position? I have plainly said that as far as questions of appointment and pension and those other things which were particularly mentioned by Mr. Joshi are concerned, the interests of the Mussalmans and non-Mussalmans will be the same. But there are other interests which these so-called communal unions alone can protect and not the so-called common unions.

Mr. M. S. Aney : I have heard that. It is only a repetition of what the Honourable Member stated before. But what are those other interests to which the Honourable Member refers?

Syed Ghulam Bhik Nairang : I never said that the union can appoint and recruit.

Mr. M. S. Aney : It is not within the province of these unions to consider the question of recruitment even for purposes of making a recommendation. That is a matter which is considered by other bodies. These unions have got nothing to do with it. I have referred to it because the Honourable Member made a reference to it. If he thinks it has got no relevance, there is no reason why I should reply to that argument. But I have been trying to find out whether any case has been made out. My submission is this that even these Government unions are a part of the big movement that is going on not only in this country, but in the whole world. A kind of attempt to consolidate the working classes of the whole world is being made and that movement is reflected in different countries in the formation of separate national unions. But the movement in its nature is international and that international ideal of the movement is to be kept in mind by those who are interested in the cause of labour and of working classes. If they fail to keep that ideal of international existence before their mind and have in its place another body in the interests of the Government employees or anybody else, they are undermining the very foundation on which this big working class movement is being run all over the world. They have failed to appreciate the principle which is at the bottom of this great world movement. Therefore, the criticism that was levelled against this Resolution was this, that it was not only detrimental to the interests of these employees who are mentioned in this Resolution, but from the wider interests of the world movement that is going on, it was a reactionary step, a step which the Government should not take the responsibility of giving its consent to or of accepting it. I, therefore, think that from every point of view the present Resolution is one which ought not to be commended to the acceptance of the House. I oppose it.

Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad : Sir, I just wish to say a few words about the arguments advanced by a few speakers. In the first place, I will refer to the remarks of Mr. Griffiths. Mr. Griffiths is living in an India of his own imagination. He is not living in that India which unfortunately exists. He is applying here the principle of the English trade unionism, but does he know that there are employers in this country who refuse to employ any Musalmans in their business? Does such a thing exist in his country? Does he ever imagine that any employer in England would refuse to employ a person because he is a Protestant, or a Roman Catholic? That being the case, it is idle for him to quote the example of the United Kingdom. Then I come to Mr. Joshi. He said that the Mussalmans do not really advance and advocate the cause of labour.

Mr. N. M. Joshi : I said the Muslim League Party.

Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad : I would like to tell him that we have got very little interest in capital. The only interest which the Muslims have in industries is in labour. Therefore, he may take it for granted that we advocate the cause of labour probably much more than the Honourable gentleman himself professes to do. As an example, I would quote the Resolution brought forward on behalf of the Muslim League Party by Mr. Essak Sait. If that Resolution is accepted by the Government, it would do much good to the labour than all the Resolutions which Mr. Joshi has advocated during the last ten years in this Assembly. If he is really in favour of the labour movement, he ought to advocate that particular Resolution which was sponsored by the Muslim League Party.

[Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad.]

As regards the point raised by my friend, Mr. Jamnadas Mehta, he took a great glory to himself by saying that he advocated the cause of the dearness allowance and he did so much for the employees. May I just remind him that he is not the only person who had done good to the railway employees. I had been the President of the all-India Muslim Railway Employees' Association for the past eleven years and I have done a great deal of which Mr. Jamnadas Mehta may be unfamiliar. May I ask him when the T. T's. and T. T. I's were in trouble, was it not I who took up the case with Sir Raghavendra Rau who was then Financial Commissioner for Railways? I fought not for Muslim employees only but for all T. T. E's and T. T. I's. Where was Mr. Jamnadas Mehta at that time? He never advocated their cause.

Then, as regards dearness allowance, I must tell him that he confined his attention only to the employees of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway. I pressed this question further and got it extended to all the employees under the Central Government and I did not restrict it to the employees of any one particular railway. Therefore to work for the employees as a whole is not the privilege of the President of the Federation of Railway Unions. The President of the Railway Associations and Railway Unions have been pressing the same point from time to time. Whenever a member of a particular union does something, it does not mean that the interests of other categories are overlooked.

The real point was raised by my Honourable friend, Mr. Aney. I should like to answer the question raised by him. What is the ideal of a trade union or of the employees of the trade union. Mr. Joshi would probably know it. I had occasion to study this subject very carefully when I wrote the last chapter of my book on *Indian Railways*. If you read carefully the history of the development of trade unions in various countries you will find that it has gone through various stages. The ideal stage is that every Member of the trade union must belong to that particular trade. The trade union must not be led by politicians. The moment trade unions are led by politicians, there is always the danger; and it is not permissible in ideal trade unions. In order to reach that particular ideal, every country had to pass through different stages of development. Unfortunately we have not reached the stage when labour, without any assistance from outsiders would be able to push forward and safeguard their own interests. If we have politicians leading trade unions, then the danger will be that those trade unions will become appendices to big political organizations. Now, this is a challenge which I throw to my Honourable friend, Mr. Jamnadas Mehta, that his Federation is really an appendix of the Congress, and this being so, we Muslims have every right to demand for the recognition of another union, because we do not believe in the great body of which the Federation has become an appendix. If the Government assert that they would not recognise any trade union in which you have got members restricted to a particular community, if the Government assert there should be no discrimination between trade unions, then, at the same time, the duty of the Government is to lay down the fundamental principle that every trade union must have among its members only those persons who belong to that trade and no President, no Vice-President, and no office bearer of these trade unions should be politicians and no outsider should have anything to do with the trade unions. So long as this principle is not recognised so long as politicians who belong to the Congress fold interfere in the affairs of trade unions.....

Bhai Parma Nand (West Punjab : Non-Muhammadan) : Does not my Honourable friend know that Mr. Jamnadas Mehta fought the Congress and defeated the Congress candidate at the recent election ? He was not returned on the Congress ticket.

Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad : I am not concerned with that. If the Government refuse to recognise communal unions, then I think it is in the fitness of things that they should lay down the rule that only those unions will be recognised whose Members belong to that particular profession or trade. No outsider should be admitted. That is the logical sequence of the Government's contention that communal trade unions should not be recognised. So long as this principle is not laid down, so long as that ideal has not been achieved in this country, then all these intermediate stages should be followed. My Honourable friend, Mr. Aney, asks me what are the specific points, what are the specific aims for which a Muslim Trade Union is necessary ? The Muslims do not say they are Muslims all the time. For example, when I am discussing mathematics, I am neither a Hindu nor a Muslim, I am simply a human being. At the same time there are occasions when I have to say my prayers, then the prayers must be according to my religion. Then I am a Muslim. At other times I am simply a human being. If the Muslims desire to say their prayers on the occasion of *Jumma*, may I ask whether the trade unions will support their demand ?

Some Honourable Members : Certainly.

Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad : I wish they had done ; you have not done it in the past. The other difficulty is this. Some Muslim employees have got complaints against the treatment meted out to them by certain superior officers who happen to be Hindus. May I ask whether Mr. Jamnadas Mehta's Federation will take up their case and redress their grievances ?

An Honourable Member : Certainly.

Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad : I do not think so. These are cases that have been brought to our notice time after time. This has been so. The very fact that we have been demanding and demanding very correctly that a certain proportion should be reserved for Muslims, this very fact has proved that things are not all right and it is very desirable that these things should be redressed. There is one point. If there is no discrimination, may I ask why 25 per cent. of the places are reserved for Muslims ?

Mr. M. S. Aney : Because you clamoured ?

Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad : Because we demanded. Now, we clamour that Muslim unions should also be recognised and our clamour should be satisfied.

Mr. M. S. Aney : One mistake does not mean that more mistakes should be committed.

Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad : It is consequential. There is a kind of discrimination in the employment and it is desirable that the grievances of these employees who have been conceded discrimination should also be redressed. This is not really an occasion when you can refuse recognition of a particular class because they happen to say their prayers in a particular manner. My

[Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad,]

Honourable friend says that he can recognise only unions which are open to all classes. It was also said that if Muslim Unions should take a Hindu, a Christian and some other Members belonging to other communities, then the Muslim Unions will be recognised. I call this hypocrisy. This is just the thing which the Federation has done and it has made the Government believe that by including a few Muslims, a few Christians they profess to represent the whole of India. They do not represent the whole of India.

Mr. M. S. Aney : They represent all. They include all.

Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad : They do not. They represent only one particular section. May I ask whether it is legitimate for you to refuse the grievances of another class of railway employees who happen to be not represented by the Federation? We have got two very important unions and they have got no representation whatsoever. Whenever you hear the views of only one union, you hear only one side of the case. Is it fair, is it reasonable and just for any employer to refuse to listen to the grievances of his employees? There is one other object which I may point out will be achieved if you recognise Muslim Trade Unions. Whenever there is a small matter, whenever a Muslim employee is aggrieved, he has got no method by means of which he can represent his case to the proper authorities and all these cases will have to come to the Members of the Assembly and the result is that the number of questions which we, the Muslim Members, are obliged to put in the Assembly, on the floor of the House, unnecessarily increases. I think if the Muslim Unions are recognised, then most of the small things will be settled on the running lines by the General Managers or the Divisional Superintendents and I am sure that the number of questions which we discuss here on the floor of the House will be minimised. I know, and I think the Honourable the President will bear me out, that the number of questions that are asked about individual cases are very large. And about half of them are disallowed by the President himself, and even the half which is left, clearly shows that there should be some machinery by means of which these things ought to be settled by the Agents and should not have been brought up here. They come up here because there is no other method of redress. The unions are not recognised and they cannot lay their grievances either before the Divisional Superintendent or before the General Managers.

About the recognition of unions we know that about seven years ago they passed a Resolution that these communal unions should not be recognised. My Honourable friend, the Finance Member, who is also a philosopher, knows that after seven years all the items in our body disappear and we are not the same persons as we were before. So whatever may have been done seven years ago, it is time to reconsider the problem now in the light of new facts that have now appeared. In this connection I had a little dream last night. This recognition is the subject of a Resolution in the Executive Council and after seven years when all the items in your body have changed, this question was allowed to be discussed again by the Executive Council in which, unfortunately, the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief were not present, and the Vice-President took the Chair, The Finance Member got up gracefully and asked what are the financial liabilities and implications of recognition? He was told there was none and he said he had then no interest in it. The Education Member said, "The question never comes up before me and will never come up in any of my Departments". Then the Home Member said he thought they should not be

recognised but, unfortunately, he had to recognise them. He recognised the Congress, the Muslim League, the Hindu Mahasabha and all these communal bodies. Then the Commerce Member got up and said, "I have got two views. As Commerce Member I have recognised the Muslim Chamber of Commerce, the Marwari Chamber of Commerce and every other blooming Chamber of Commerce, as far as capital is concerned. As far as labour is concerned, I do not know what it is". So half his opinion was on this side and half on the other. And the Communications Member opposed the motion. Then the President got up and said, we have $1\frac{1}{2}$ votes on each side and it is very difficult for me to give any casting vote on this occasion; I will probably give a casting vote on some other occasion! But from the mere fact that the claims of minorities are recognised by us, it is difficult to ignore them on this question. But I will reserve my judgment for another occasion".

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

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra : Sir, this Resolution has evoked a discussion which is very illuminating and informative, and I refer particularly to the three speeches delivered by my Honourable friends, Mr. Joshi, Mr. Griffiths and Mr. Jamnadas Mehta. They placed the views of the employers of labour and of the trade union movement in this country in relation to this Resolution. Sir, I have very little to add to the arguments advanced by my Honourable friends, but I think I owe it to myself and to the great service union which I have the honour and privilege to represent as its President, to place the views of my union with regard to this Resolution.

Sir, the service unions in this country have never accepted or acted on the principle of communalism. The House has heard the case of the Railway men's Federation, and I will state my view point as President of the All-India Postal and R. M. S. Union of this country. The very purpose of the union movement is to look to the question of hours, wages, amenities and also of the conditions of service. All these questions are considered by these service unions not with reference to the religion of particular components of the union but with a view to the general interests of the workers as a whole. I do not know if there has ever been a whisper of criticism against the policy of these unions even by those in whose benefit this Resolution is sought to be moved. Sir, I was somewhat puzzled to hear that the general service unions in this country are not sufficient for the purpose of meeting the special needs of their members. I am told that there are specific duties which can only be performed by special organisations aligned on communal or denominational lines. I fail to see the substance of this contention. As I was listening to my Honourable friend, Sir Ziauddin, I could get an inkling into the kind of object which a communal organisation might be expected to achieve. Now what are these special needs? He made mention specially of the question of prayer. Sir, I do not think that the question of prayer or the question of dietary or of meals or the question of matrimonial alliances are matters which properly form the subject-matter for consideration of service unions. Unionism would defeat its own end if it diverted itself into these channels which would in no way benefit the union or the members who compose it. The other point that he could plead in justification of his demand for recognition of a communal union was that in that case they would get a forum for championing individual cases which they found rather difficult to do in this House. I am surprised to hear all this.

[Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra.]

This morning we were discussing in this House an individual case with regard to the Archaeological Department. This forum is always open to them to fight out individual cases within reasonable limits. But I am afraid my Honourable friend and those who support this Resolution are not aware that according to the Government rules of recognition individual cases cannot be espoused in service unions. Government have laid down this Principle and they refuse to relax it on any ground.

Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad : What for does it exist then ?

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra : My Honourable friend may ask the Communications Member or for the matter of that, the Government about it. But the rules of recognition lay down imperatively that individual cases are never to be ventilated through service organisations....

Lieut.-Colonel Sir Henry Gidney : (Nominated Non-Official) : Quite right except when a policy is involved.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra : As the President of the All-India Postal and R. M. S. Union I had pronounced the verdict of the union against this rule, and however much we dislike it, it is still there ; and if my friends think that by getting recognition of communal unions they will be able to achieve this object, they are greatly mistaken. There may be occasions when individual cases involving questions of principle have to be fought out on the forum of unions; but if a service union were to go on inquiring into the details of administration with reference to a particular community only, into the particulars of appointments of a particular section professing a particular religion only, then of course, this great institution would degenerate into a sectional or factional body and cease to be a useful organisation for the well-being of the workers and servicemen. In the very nature of things a service union has to confine its activities to matters conducing to the well-being of its component members. But I fail to understand how the religion of a particular component unit of it will in any way influence his employer, whose only look out would be to get out of him as much work as he possibly can with as little wage as possible. The terms and conditions of service are the same for all. That point should not be ignored, and I have not known that religion ever made any difference in them. Now, Sir, it has been alleged that the executive Offices of these unions have been monopolised by Hindus and that Muhammadans have been deliberately showed out of these positions. That is an imaginary grievance. If my Honourable friend who has sponsored this Resolution and those who have spoken in support of it cared to look into the published records of the service organisations, they would have found that their allegations had absolutely no legs to stand upon. Take for instance the All-India Postal and R. M. S. Union. It has got 11 provincial branches and a number of divisional unions all over India. Before I was put at its helm, Mr. Asaf Ali was its president. He was a Muslim. Take again the branch unions—the Bengal and Assam provincial branch. Sir Abdul Halim Guhaznavi, who is not in his seat now, was elected, and still continues president of the union. I ask my friends of Pakistan to believe me when I say that religion never counts in the election of Presidents of that organisation. Unionists are never bothered by considerations of a different nation theory.

My friend, Mr. Azhar Ali, is the president of a service union of the Postal and R. M. S. Did anybody make any grievance that a Muslim was elected president of the United Provinces provincial union ? If the Hindus have a

majority of members in these organisations they are never swayed by communal bias in the election of executives otherwise why did they elect my friend, Mr. Azhar Ali? It is a reflection on my friend, Mr. Azhar Ali, to allege that he can be made a tool in our hands. Do they think that Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi is a tool in the hands of the Hindus? If that is so, I do not know whom the Muslims will look upon as their proper protectors. I assert that if these two gentlemen cannot represent Muslim interests properly, the Honourable gentlemen who have spoken in support of this Resolution represent nobody but themselves: they do not represent anybody else. My Sikh friend, Sardar Sant Singh, has had occasions to preside over certain branch conferences of my union. So, we have got Hindus, Sikhs, Muslims presiding over the different conferences, and not only presiding over the conferences but acting as the heads of these service unions....

Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan (Agra Division Muhammadan Rural) : Has there ever been an Anglo-Indian president of your unions?

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra : Yes; there used to be. So the complaint that these unions are the close preserve of Hindus or of particular sections of people is absolutely without foundation. They are trumped up charges deliberately made to create a sinister impression in this House. I do not approve the policy of the Government in giving communalism the kind of long rope they have given. It has already worked incalculable havoc; it has already vitiated the body politic of this country. The time has now come when Government should cry halt to this policy and should hear and now declare once and for all that labour organisations are spheres where communalism should never be allowed to invade. For I am one of those who believe that labour is the one solvent of communalism in this country and if you want to infect this field with the virus of communalism, I do not know where you will end. On behalf of the All-India Postal and R. M. S. Union, I emphatically protest against the insinuation that these unions are for Hindus and non-Muslims only or that they have been unfair to the Muslims. I never heard a complaint like that before.....

Maulvi Muhammad Abdul Ghani : Innumerable instances!

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra : There has not been one instance so far as I am aware. This organisation which is recognised by the Government is one of the most powerful and well organised service organisations in the land.

An Honourable Member : Question.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra : You may question it and go on questioning it. You will never have the chance of getting control over it with the kind of views you have in this matter; but if you have sane and sensible views, if you can ingratiate yourself with the servicemen and do not in your own self-interest hanker for their leadership then you will find that these people will gladly take you in and acclaim you as their leaders and put you at the head of these service organisations. Now, in order to win the confidence of the servicemen you have to work in their midst in a spirit of service with understanding and sympathy. You have to study their conditions of service with intelligence and honesty. You have to devote a considerable portion of your time and energy to the solution of their problems, and above all, you have to make sacrifices for them. If you are not prepared to do all these, then by simply sitting here and making reckless charges or allegations against responsible and

[Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra.]

respected public men who have been honestly serving these organisations, you may at best earn unenviable notoriety, an evanescent name which is too often mistaken for fame. Sir, I oppose the Resolution.

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. Govind V. Deshmukh (Nagpur Division : Non-Muhammadan) : Sir, I move for closure. This Resolution has been discussed on the floor of the House at sufficient length, and the Honourable Member in charge of the portfolio who has yet to reply will take at least half an hour. The Honourable the Mover of the Resolution, the Muslim League Members and others who support the Resolution have sufficiently debated on it, and Members of other Groups also have spoken on the Resolution. I, therefore, submit that closure should now be applied.

Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi (Dacca *cum* Mymensingh : Muhammadan Rural) : Sir, I have not yet spoken, and I wish to speak on this Resolution. I am not a Member of the Muslim League.

Mr. Govind V. Deshmukh : I think the principle to be borne in mind in accepting or rejecting a closure motion is whether a Resolution has been sufficiently debated or not, and not whether every individual has spoken on it ; the main thing is to see whether the various Parties have spoken on the Resolution or not.

Mr. Deputy President (Mr. Akhil Chandra Datta) : Sir Raza Ali.

Sir Syed Raza Ali : Sir, I am afraid this debate has produced more heat than light. I purposely rise at this stage so that the Honourable the Home Member should know what is the real scope of the Resolution and what the Muslim League Party have in their mind in tabling this Resolution. Before I offer any general remarks, Sir, I may say that, by the speeches delivered by some Honourable Members this morning, I am forcibly reminded of the story of a beautiful Rani, whose husband the Raja, was greatly in love with her,—rather the Raja loved his Rani so much that he refused to have any other wife. One day the Rani went to take her bath, and according to ancient custom in those good old days ladies of rank and position used to bathe in open spaces properly walled or screened. She collected her jewellery before she had her bath and kept it in one place. Suddenly a cry went round : “ a crow has flown away with the nose of the Rani, let us capture the crow ”. So everybody went in pursuit of the crow. There was a great hue and cry raised, and somebody informed the Raja of it. The Raja called his *Wazir* or *Mantri* and took counsel with him. The wise old man shook his head and said : ‘ Yes, I realise the seriousness of the situation, but may I humbly suggest that your Majesty be pleased to visit the Rani and find out what injuries have been caused to her nose and what are the circumstances in which the impudent crow flew away with her nose ’. The Raja accepted the advice and went to see the Rani. He saw that the Rani was quite hail and hearty and her nose was quite all right as before. That is exactly what has happened to this Resolution. Cries of the crow having flown away with the nose of the Rani have been raised by no less than three distinguished speakers—first, by my friend, Mr. Joshi....

Mr. Lalchand Navalrai (Sind : Non-Muhammadan Rural) : I thought the Muslim League has lost the nose.

Sir Syed Raza Ali : The second speaker was Mr. Griffiths, and both these gentlemen very vehemently introduced the question of trade unions and referred to the pernicious effect which would be produced by accepting a Resolution of this kind on the trade movement in India. Mr. Jamnadas Mehta whom I welcome so heartily back to this House after an absence of many years went even one better. He seems to have claimed that all this cry of Muslims seeking to set up their own unions was a useless and mischievous cry, and he claimed, I believe, that it was more or less a national calamity that a question of this character should be seriously debated in this House when no less a person than himself was the President of the Federation of Railway Unions. These are the smoke screens that have been raised to cloud the real issue.

Sir, let us look at the Resolution itself. There is no question of trade unions ; there is no question of Muslims setting up parallel trade unions ; there is no question of Muslims asking the Government at this stage to recognise parallel trade unions. As a matter of fact, the question of trade unions does not come in at all. May I beg of the House to turn its attention to the wording of the Resolution itself ? The Resolution deplores that at present the Government recognise the so-called common unions of Government employees. The Resolution has nothing to do with trade unions ; it has nothing to do with employers or employees. It only confines itself to unions set up by Government servants in order to protect their own interests. . . .

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow (Member for Railways and Communications) : Is it the Honourable Member's contention that a Union of Railway servants, because it happens to be a State Railway, is not a Trade Union ?

Sir Syed Raza Ali : I do not know whether or not it is registered under Act XVI of 1926, but since this timely interjection has been made by the Honourable the Communications Member, may I invite his attention to section 2, clause (g) of Act XVI of 1926 ? This is the Act under which all trade unions must be registered. That deals with trade unions and trade disputes. In order that there should be a trade union and a trade dispute. . . .

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow : It is quite distinct from the Trade Disputes Act ; the two are not connected. There is a separate Trade Unions Act.

Sir Syed Raza Ali : That Act is in my hands.

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow : I understood the Honourable Member to say that in order to have a trade union, there should be a trade dispute. The two things are quite different.

Sir Syed Raza Ali : That is a good quibble. What is the object of the trade unions ? Now, Sir, our position is this. I have specifically referred my friends to the Resolution, and all that we ask for at this stage is this. At present the Government recognise common unions, namely, a union, the membership of which is open to any Government servant who cares to join it. What we ask is simply this. Along with this, please recognise communal unions also, namely, unions set up by a very large section of the population such as the Muslim community, and I will give you the reason at once.

[Sir Syed Raza Ali.]

I am afraid the time at my disposal will not allow me to pursue the arguments that were advanced by my Honourable friends, Mr. Griffiths, Mr. Joshi and Mr. Jamnadas Mehta. But the point is this. Why do the Muslims set up communal unions? Their object is self-evident. The very first thing they want is that such Muslim unions should be in a position to see that due effect is given to the terms of the Home Department Resolution dated the 6th July, 1934. That is their first object. May I turn for a moment to my friend, Mr. Griffiths, who is not here, or Mr. Jamnadas Mehta....(Interruption).... and ask them, if Muslim employees, say, in Posts, in Telegraphs, in Railways, in any Government service, if they join the common unions, will the common unions help them to have the terms of the Resolution of 1934 enforced? That is the very first question.

Mr. N. M. Joshi : No.

Sir Syed Raza Ali : I am very glad that Mr. Joshi has the candour to say "No".

Mr. N. M. Joshi : It is not their business.

Sir Syed Raza Ali : May I just say, what is the point in Muslims joining the common unions, because their very first object is to ensure their position as outlined in the Resolution of 1934.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra : That is not the function of any union.

Sir Syed Raza Ali : In spite of shaking of heads, the first is the question of appointment, namely, 25 per cent. should go to the Muslims and the remaining 8 1/3 per cent. should go to other minority communities. Then there is the question of these posts being filled by promotion. Another Muslim complaint is that at the time of promotion they are treated in a step-motherly fashion. I need not go into the history of the complaint, but that is the fact, that is the complaint. It is for my Honourable friends on the Treasury Benches to enquire whether these complaints are well founded or not, but the complaint is there. First, it refers to appointments, secondly, to promotions, thirdly, Muslims are being dismissed on very flimsy grounds, on which non-Muslims would not be dismissed, in order to create vacancies. These are the things to consider. Let us deal with the position in a spirit of reality. There is no use lecturing us—the unfortunate members of the Muslim League Party. Let us see if what we are asking is reasonable and just or not. May I invite my Honourable friends' attention to two letters? I happen to be the President of a union which is not a trade union, let me make it perfectly clear. It is a union which has a very large membership.

An Honourable Member : What is that union?

Sir Syed Raza Ali : It is the Subordinate Accounts Service Union established in Delhi, and it has a very large membership. It wrote a letter to the Finance Department asking that the Finance Department be good enough to recognise this union. The reply dated the 4th July, 1940, is:

"I am directed to say that one of the conditions with which an association of Government employees should comply before it can be recognised by the Government of India is that every Government employee of the same class, irrespective of religion or community, must be eligible for membership of the association".

The second letter dated the 6th November, 1940 says :

" I am directed to say that, in view of the existence of recognised associations of the employees of the Audit and Accounts Offices, membership to which is open to persons of all communities, the Government of India do not consider it desirable to accord recognition to any more institutions constituted on identical lines ".

That is the policy of the Government of India. I am asking the Treasury Benches to carefully consider whether our grievances are not just, are not reasonable, and are not of a character that early steps should be taken by the Government, if they want to act fairly, to remove those grievances. As I have pointed out, most of these Muslim unions that have been set up, concentrate themselves on the Government of India resolution dated the 6th July, 1934, and they urge that enquiries should be made to see whether the terms of the resolution are being complied with in the letter and in the spirit. May I repeat that I for one am quite prepared to advise the union of which I am the President, to wind up its affairs and join the common union, provided an assurance is given by the responsible authorities of that union that they would help us to see that the terms of the resolution of 1934 are carried out.

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

Sir Syed Raza Ali : Please let me have a minute and a half more and I shall finish. Surely, Mr. Griffiths put down the test whether there is a conflict of interest—that was his test No. 1—between members of the two unions. I say, Yes, there is a conflict of interest, and it is this conflict of interest which has induced us to table this Resolution. The conflict of interest is this. If we want the Government, as I said, to give effect to the terms of that resolution, will the non-Muslim members of the union help us? I wait for a reply. If they are not prepared to do that, then a conflict of interest does as assuredly arise as my Honourable friend, Sir Andrew Clow, is sitting opposite me, and no amount of denial can possibly cloud the issue. Therefore, the conflict of of interest being there

An Honourable Member : Discrimination.

Sir Syed Raza Ali : Discrimination is there, I need hardly argue that when there is a conflict of interest there must be discrimination. No doubt, Government find themselves in a rather difficult situation, but it is time that the Government of India acted courageously. It was a different Government of India that passed the Resolution of 1934 and the present Government are not required to do anything except to ensure that justice is done to us by seeing that the terms of the Resolution are enforced not only in the matter of appointments, but in the matter of promotions and dismissals.

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

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra : The function of the unions is not to see that the terms of the Resolutin of 1934 are carried out.

(Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi rose in his seat).

Mr. Deputy President (Mr. Akhil Chandra Datta): Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi.

Some Honourable Members : Let the question be now put.

An Honourable Member : You have already called Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi.

Mr. Deputy President (Mr. Akhil Chandra Datta) : Yes, the Chair has called him, but as closure has been moved, the Chair wants to give its ruling on it. The Chair cannot accept the closure, because none of the new Party has spoken up till now, and the Deputy Leader of that Party wants to speak. The Chair will consider the question of accepting the closure motion after that gentleman has spoken. Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi.

Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi : Mr. Deputy President, I was not in the House in the morning before twelve minutes to twelve, and I have not heard the speeches that were made before I was here. But I have listened to the last part of the speech of my Honourable friend, Mr. Griffiths, and since then I have heard all the speeches that were made in this House.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra : Including mine ?

Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi : Yes. Speaking for myself, I detest communal unions.

An Honourable Member : Hear hear.

Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi : But facts cannot be ignored. You cannot shut your eyes to the facts of the situation. The facts are so apparent that without communal unions Muslim grievances cannot be ventilated. That is my experience. I am not a labour leader like my friend, Mr. Joshi, nor even . . .

An Honourable Member : You are president.

Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi : President of what ?

Mr. N. M. Joshi : He does not know.

Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi : I am not a labour leader like my friend, Sir Ziauddin Ahmad, who has done much for the railway employees. We have heard about it and I know it personally because he has been working hard ever since he has been elected the President of the Railway Association.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra : Ticketless !

Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi : I will take the speech of my friend, Mr. Griffiths. He said : Just see what happens in England and for Heaven's sake don't introduce communalism in these unions. He begged of us. I wish he had been an Indian like myself to appreciate what he was saying. He compares India with England. He forgets that India cannot be compared with England.

Mr. M. S. Aney : Then compare England with India.

Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi : Industries in England are over a century old and they are well-established. Labour is well organised. 99 per cent. of them are literate. You compare that with us and then has my Honourable friend forgotten what happens in Germany ? I will give you an extract from my friend, Dr. Sir Ziauddin's book on Indian Railways.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra : It is all disharmony in Germany.

Mr. M. S. Aney : You want to imitate Germany.

Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi : They have communal unions there. Why should we not have them here ?

An Honourable Member : Do you want Nazism in India ?

Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi : The experience there entitles me to ask for communal unions here. This is what I find :

“The experience of other countries has also shown that, during the intermediary stages, the Unions are formed on various principles, political opinion, religious beliefs, social help, grade of work—but ultimately they all fuse themselves into one common Union”.

(Laughter from European Group Benches.) You may laugh to your heart's content, but after you hear the next sentence. . . .

An Honourable Member : What is the authority on which Dr. Ziauddin relied ?

Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi : Have a little patience. Even in an advanced country like Germany there have been three main trade organisations. We want only two. One is known as A. D. G. B. Union which has about eight million members. Secondly, Christian Unions whose members are Roman Catholics and it has over one million members.

Mr. N. M. Joshi : 100,000.

Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi : I am reading from the book. Then, there is a National Trade Union called by some name which is terrible to pronounce. It has got about one quarter million members.

Mr. J. D. Boyle : (Bombay : Europeans) : All these have been abolished.

Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi : Now, the point of this Resolution is this. In any Union, the number of Muslims must be very very small. Do my friends who are in the majority really expect that their majority brothers will look after the interests of Muslims.

An Honourable Member : Certainly.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra : What are their special interests ?

Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi : I will give you an instance from the Postal Union of which I am the President. I deplored why the Muslim employees did not join that union in their hundreds and thousands.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra : Many joined in Calcutta. You know it.

Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi : That is not the point. There is a feeling among the Muslim employees that by their joining that common union their grievances will not be ventilated. I asked them to show me reasons why they should not join. Many of them came to see me in my house in Calcutta. They say this. Take for instance supersession. A Hindu has superseded a Muslim. Will the Hindu members who are in a majority take up the case of the Muslim ?

An Honourable Member : Of course, if it is a just case.

Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi : We are after all human beings. Then take the case of promotion.

Mr. N. M. Joshi : Those are individual cases.

Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi : Take the case of general supersessions and promotions, not individual cases. Do you think that his Hindu colleagues will take up the case of a Muslim if it affects them.

Mr. M. S. Aney : Yes, as it affects some member of the Unions.

Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi : The facts are that the majority of the members of any Union are Hindus. You cannot shut your eyes to facts. It is far better to have two unions and to set at rest all these difficulties.

Now, let me ask my friend, Mr. Griffiths, how many Muslims the European community employs. Excepting a daftari, can they say that they have any other Muslims there.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra : They are business men. They want to get the best work.

Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi : They want a Muslim daftari and nothing more. I ask the Clive Street merchants who sit here how many Muslims they have got in their employ, when they talk of Muslim interests on the floor of the House? Sir, in 1928 Sir Edward Benthall, when he came to Simla—he was the senior partner of Messrs. Bird & Co., and he has now retired—asked me—they had come to see the Viceroy, I believe Lord Irwin, about the terrorist movement that was going on in Calcutta. The terrorist movement which was then going on in Calcutta frightened them and they came to Simla to place before the Viceroy certain suggestions to protect them there. Now, he asked me to join with them in this matter and to see the Viceroy with them. I said “What for? What have you done for us? Why should we join you?” Now, Sir Edward Benthall’s forefathers employed Bengalis in their offices. The Bengalis then were all god-fearing and they used to treat their firm as ‘*anna-data*’, the giver of bread, and they used to pray for their ‘*anna-data*’, which meant their employers. Now, what has since been done? All the Bengalis have been removed—my friend, Babu Baijnath Bajoria, will immediately attack me I know, but I mean no offence to his community—what happened was that these companies in Calcutta wanted *baniyas* and the *baniyas* were Bengalis; the job of *baniyas* was their hereditary job. Now they were all turned out, and these new Marwari *baniyas* were employed. Now, what had happened? The first son of the original *baniyas* was a 25 per cent. terrorist, his second son was a 50 per cent. terrorist, and his fourth son was a hundred per cent. terrorist.

Babu Baijnath Bajoria : (Marwari Association -: Indian Commerce) : Question. Absolutely wrong.

Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi : What happened was this. The fourth son, who was a hundred per cent. terrorist, was prepared to shoot Sir Edward Benthall, and they started shooting—of course they did not succeed in killing, except possibly in the case of one head of a firm. Now, that resulted in the heads of firms being detained in a small room with closed doors. Sir, if you go now, you will be able to see that; no one can see a head of a firm in Calcutta.

An Honourable Member from the European Benches : Rubbish!

Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi : I say you cannot easily see the head of a firm in Calcutta until. . . .

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

Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi : until you can satisfy the three junior assistants that you are Mr. so and so and no other person. With these words I resume my seat.

Some Honourable Members : I move :

“ That the question be now put ”.

The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell (Home Member) : I take it, Sir, that if the closure is accepted, I shall have my opportunity of speaking ?

Mr. Deputy President (Mr. Akhil Chandra Datta) : That point is always understood, subject to the right of the Honourable Member to speak. The question is :

“ That the question be now put ”.

The motion was negatived.

The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell : Sir, after listening to this long debate, I fear that I shall be found to have little to say that has not been said before on behalf of Government on this subject or that has not been said already by Honourable Members in the course of this debate. But I can assure the Mover of the Resolution that in considering their attitude, Government have approached the question with an open mind and have endeavoured to give due weight to all the feelings of those who are in favour of the recognition of communal unions ; and if I have to oppose this motion, it is only because, after full consideration, Government remain of the opinion which they have previously held that it is not either in the best interests of the employees themselves or in the interests of the general public that communal unions should be given official recognition.

I might remind the House, briefly, how the recognition of associations of Government employees originally arose. It will perhaps be within the recollection of Honourable Members of this House that before 1920 every Government servant had to submit any petition which he wished to make, as an individual, and even if there was a question of common interest to all the members of a service, they all were obliged to submit *individual* memorials on that subject. In 1920, Government, not without considerable doubt, agreed to give recognition to Associations of Government Servants, some of which had already come into existence, but only for the purpose of representations of that kind, that is, representations on matters of common interest to a whole class of Government employees. On other matters Government servants were still able, and are still able, to submit their individual memorials. In accordance with the principle of recognition then adopted it was laid down in the recognition rules that, in order to be eligible for recognition, an Association must ordinarily consist of a distinct class of Government employees, and, secondly, that every Government employee of the same class must be eligible for membership of the Association. These conditions have remained unchanged ever since 1920 ; and when the matter of recognition of communal unions came up again in 1932, the whole question was again considered and the same principle was re-affirmed. But, as I said before, Government servants still have the right to memorialize individually, and the effect of recognition in matters of interest to a whole class of Government servants is simply that Government officers are authorised to receive representations, whether orally or in writing, from recognized Associations, notwithstanding anything else in the rules regarding the submission of petitions and memorials. This situation is, in my view, sufficient to protect the interests of whole classes of Government servants as such, because where major issues are at stake even the majority community will recognise the advantages of solidarity in a service association or a union of Government industrial employees. In the second

[Sir Reginald Maxwell.]

place, a union cannot afford to neglect the interests of any sections included in it without risking loss of membership and, therefore, risking loss of influence in prosecuting the objects for which it was formed. Generally, in their capacity as members of a service, the interests of members of one community are not essentially different from the interests of others. For common purposes communal unions are unnecessary and are even a source of weakness.

Sir Syed Raza Ali : Why ?

The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell : Here I must refer to the Honourable the Mover's remarks about the All-India Railwaymen's Federation. He said that over 90 per cent. of the members and office-bearers were non-Muslims and still, he remarked, this union is supposed to be representative of Muslim labour as well as non-Muslim labour. But my answer to that would be, why not ? If it is a question of labour or if it is a question of any common interest of that class of employees, there is no reason why a union of which the office-bearers are 90 per cent. Hindus or non-Muslims and ten per cent. Muslims should not represent that matter of common interest as well as a union of which the office-bearers are ten per cent. non-Muslims and 90 per cent. Muslims. I cannot see how that argument of the Honourable the Mover strengthens his demand for recognition of communal unions for purposes which affect whole classes of Government servants, that is, what I might call service matters proper. Indeed, as I said, it may be a source of weakness to have a service divided by different unions. For instance, if different unions exist within a service, pulling in different ways, it will be too easy for Government as for any other employer to play off one against another and to exploit any differences in their demands. If, for instance, a certain union wanted to strike for a certain increase of pay and the other union wanted to stay in and get their jobs, could Government or any other employer be blamed for taking advantage of the position in which they themselves had put themselves ?

Sir Syed Raza Ali : I am afraid the Honourable Member is dealing with the case of a trade union and not with the case of a union of Government employees. The Honourable Member has not said a word whether the Act of 1926 comes into play at all.

The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell : I might read to the Honourable Member the definition of a trade union.

"A trade union means any combination, whether temporary or permanent, formed primarily for the purpose of regulating the relations between workmen and employers or between workmen and workmen or between employers and employers."

That is the definition of a trade union and it would cover any association of industrial Government employees. In fact, most of the unions to which this Resolution refers are either registered already under the Trade Unions Act or are eligible for registration under that Act. It is only the Associations of non-industrial Government employees which do not come under the Trade Unions Act.

Sir Syed Raza Ali : That is the point.

The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell : But the Resolution refers to unions generally. And, in fact, much of the debate refers to such unions as the Union of Railwaymen, who are clearly industrial employees and are governed by the Trade Unions Act.

There is nothing in the rules relating to the recognition of unions which would prevent the recognition of a separate union formed by any minority within the service provided that it is open to all members of the service and is not avowedly communal. That is to say, if any minority is dissatisfied with the conduct of affairs by its union, it can always form another union provided that the union is open to all that class of employees. There is nothing to prevent the Musalmans from forming a union of their own and obtaining recognition for it.

Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad : May I ask a question ? Can a person who is not a member of that service be a member of that union ?

The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell : No, Sir, I do not think so.

Now, let us consider what the object of these communal unions or associations could be. As apart from what I call general service matters, for which a non-communal union, as I have said, would be equally serviceable and probably more effective, the object of a communal union can only be or must mainly be to make representations on one of two subjects, either recruitment or promotion. Now, take these separately.

Sir Syed Raza Ali : Or punishment or dismissal.

The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell : That like promotion, will come under the general head of discipline, but it is a matter which affects individuals only.

In recruitment questions, I must affirm again, Government do not recognise the right of any section of their employees to be consulted as regards the principles to be followed in selecting and admitting outsiders into Government service. A union can have a voice only in matters affecting those already in the service. Recruitment is a matter on which Government have to deal with the public at large and the politicians. Therefore, when my Honourable friend, Sir Syed Raza Ali, argues that communal unions are necessary in order to help in having the 1934 Resolution enforced, his argument is entirely irrelevant to the Resolution before the House. The 1934 Resolution is a matter of recruitment. I am well aware that is a service matter which greatly agitates communities in this country and which gives rise to most questions in this House and so forth. It may have to be taken up by organisations representing particular communities. It may be a matter for a Muslim organisation to take up, but it is not a matter on which a communal union can be recognised as having a right to approach Government, that is to say, a union of Government servants. That point, therefore, is irrelevant.

Again, the other point on which representations might be made by communal unions would be matters of promotion, and in promotion I include discipline. Promotion and discipline are two aspects of Government service. Here, again, either promotion or discipline is essentially a matter affecting individuals, and in accordance with the objects for which recognition was allowed by Government, no representations will be received unless they relate to matters of common interest to the class of servants concerned. That principle is embodied in Rule 5 of the recognition rules. It is clearly impossible to reconcile representations for the promotion of individuals with the discipline of a service, nor would it be in the interests of a service itself. It would divide the service into warring camps, each supporting the claims of its own nominees, and, ultimately, the only logical development would be a system of promotion not by selection but by election. Well, Sir, the present position is, as I have already explained, that unions can be formed by any

[Sir Reginald Maxwell.]

sections of a service and would be entitled to claim recognition provided they are open to all and provided they are not communal. Moreover, Government do not prohibit the formation of communal unions or associations of its employees except in services under the control of the Secretary of State. Their discouragement of communal unions or associations extends only to non-recognition. That is, it is not a contravention of the Government Servants' Conduct Rules to join an un-recognised Union in services under the control of the Central Government and not under the control of the Secretary of State. One may well doubt whether indeed too much licence is not allowed to Government servants in that respect and whether, if it is necessary to lay this prohibition on Members of the Secretary of State's services, the same argument would not apply *a fortiori* to less responsible services under the control of the Central Government. But at any rate this non-prohibition of joining communal Unions is as far as the Government could go.

Now, Sir, it may be asked what is the use of joining unions which are not recognised, if they cannot make representations on our behalf. Well, Sir, associations formed on communal lines, but unrecognised, can, I think, fulfil certain legitimate functions. For instance, they can organize themselves to help members of their associations through their difficulties, whether service difficulties or other difficulties, and can raise funds for such purposes. They can give advice to their members about the application of the rules and regulations, they can help them to draft their individual memorials if they wish to memorialise and in fact the only effect of non-recognition is that the union itself or the association itself cannot make representations direct to the Government officers who are over the services. Thus, I would contend that members of minority communities are not really prejudiced by non-recognition, and I think it is not really seriously contended by the Honourable the Mover of the Resolution that they are so prejudiced. The main object of the Resolution as it appears from the speech of the Mover is to assert it as a matter of principle that Muslims cannot accept representation by others, even where their interest are the same.

Sir Syed Raza Ali : Their interests are not the same. That is the trouble.

The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell : I would quote what the Honourable Member, Mr. Muhammad Nauman, said : " They cannot combine with any other nationals or with the people of any other community in this country, in any sphere of activities ". I would also quote what the Honourable the Mover of the Resolution said :

" But as soon as he enters Government service, the Government of India expect that he should submerge his identity as a Musalman. This is far from being correct. Mussalman are not only a distinct class, they are definitely a separate nation ".

Now, Sir, I want to contest that point of view. Such a principle, I would submit to this House, is wholly out of place in Government service. I think that some of the arguments used in this debate have shown a wrong conception on that subject. It was argued by the Honourable the Mover, for instance, that a parallel could be found in the fact that Muslims are represented separately in this Assembly. But the representatives of Muslim constituencies are here for that express purpose. They are here as politicians representing a special interest. But Government servants are not recruited whether under communal percentages or otherwise in order that they may do for one community what they would not do for another community. That is my point. They come in as servants of a non-partisan Government, in carrying on services.

for the benefit of all taxpayers and all citizens alike. If the argument used by the Honourable the Mover about separate representation were carried to its logical conclusion and if his analogy held good, it would mean in fact, let us say, that Muslims can buy their railway tickets only from Muslim booking clerks and Hindus can buy their railway tickets only from Hindu booking clerks.

Sir Syed Raza Ali : If I may interrupt, would the Honourable Member look at it from the other point of view. If his argument is carried to its logical conclusion it means that if either the whole of the Muslim or the Hindu community is ignored in the matter of appointment and the remaining community fills all posts, the community not so appointed can have no legitimate grievance because the other community is there to represent it.

The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell : My Honourable friend is again returning to the question of recruitment which, as I tried to explain, apparently in vain, is not relevant to this Resolution.

I would, however, if I may continue, allude to Sir Henry Gidney's question : why should there be one policy in recognising communal percentages in services and another policy in refusing to recognise communal unions ? Now, apart from the fact that " recognised " is used in two quite different senses, the answer is that the first is a question of recruitment and the second is a question of conduct after recruitment. The two are entirely different things. There is no analogy at all. I wish to submit, therefore, that this House should, in considering a Resolution like this, give a lead in doing everything in its power to discourage organized communalism in public services. It will be within the recollection of this House that during this present Session, I had a number of questions raised about the conduct of census enumerators. Actually, as a matter of curiosity, I called for a list of the various petitions which the Government or the Census Commissioner had received containing complaints or representations from organisations representing different communities about matters of communal interest arising in regard to the census enumeration. There is a list of 62 such representations which I have in my hand. Some of them come from Muslim bodies and some of them come from bodies representing the Hindus or the Sikhs or various other classes. Where I get representations from both sides alike complaining, we will say, that a communal attitude has been taken up by a census enumerator or some communal sympathy shown, surely I may take it that the whole House is agreed that any manifestation of communal sympathy by a Government servant in carrying on his duties is entirely deplorable. Nobody in the House can contest that statement and in fact I do not think that there is any Honourable Member of this House who, as a private individual, would welcome a communal attitude among Government servants of another community with whom he had to deal. I am aware that there has been a feeling in some provinces, and it has done a great deal of harm, that the Muslims cannot obtain impartial treatment from Government servants under the influence of a non-Muslim Ministry. I want to ask the House how can a feeling of suspicion—I do not admit that it is correct in any way, but I say, that suspicion has arisen in some provinces—I ask how that feeling of suspicion could possibly be removed if Government servants were encouraged to unite for purely communal purposes. Surely, it is the duty of Government servants to inspire all members of the public whom they serve with confidence in their own impartiality. Instead of pursuing communal objects themselves they should rather be an example to others of the principle that all citizens have equal rights and are equally entitled to the benefits of good Government. And it is only so that the minority problem which so deeply vexes this country can ultimately be solved. Sir, I oppose the Resolution.

Lieut.-Colonel Sir Henry Gidney : Sir, on a point of personal explanation, the Honourable Member mentioned me and said that I favoured communal unions and quoted as a reason that if Government gave a percentage of employment to Anglo-Indians and Muslims and if the latter demanded communal representation and communal unions, Government should grant this. Sir, I did not support communal unions at all and never have done so. I simply offered this percentage employment as an example of give on the one hand and refuse on the other. If you give communal percentages in employment I said why do you refuse the recognition of communal unions. It sounds illogical. And I again suggest to the Honourable the Communications Member that he should ask representatives of all communal employees to attend the bi-annual conferences when he meets the Federation of Railway-unions.

Several Honourable Members : The question may now be put.

Mr. Deputy President (Mr. Akhil Chandra Datta) : The question is :

“ That the question may now be put.”

The motion was negatived.

Nawabzada Muhammad Liaquat Ali Khan (Rohilkund and Kumaon Divisions: Muhammadan Rural) : Sir, one Honourable Member after another has been getting up in his place to put forward the claim of the union of which he happens to be the President. I, Sir, am not the President of any union ; not only that but I have on many occasions declined to be the President of these unions of Government employees and I shall in a little while tell you why I have done that. My honourable friend, Mr. Joshi, thought it was a good opportunity of doing his propaganda stuff against the Muslim League. He said, “ You Muslim Leaguers are not well-wishers of the poor ; you do not represent anybody, and it is I, Mr. Joshi, alone who can speak on behalf of the down-trodden poor and the depressed.” Sir, may I tell Mr. Joshi, “ Don't you think you should leave the Muslim masses to decide for themselves whether the Muslim League represents them or Mr. Joshi represents them, and whether the Muslim Leaguers are their well-wisher or Mr. Joshi is their well-wisher ?”

Mr. N. M. Joshi : Yes.

Nawabzada Muhammad Liaquat Ali Khan : Coming to the speech of Mr. Griffiths, as usual in a very eloquent speech he opposed this Resolution. I hope he will pardon me if I were to say that most of his speech was devoted to something that might come hereafter. As a matter of fact, if I remember him aright, he said that at this moment it only refers to unions regarding Government servants but this principle might be introduced in connection with other unions regarding employees in industry, in tea plantations and other places. Sir, Mr. Griffiths' speech was,—if I may use the term,—a post-dated speech, and like a post-dated cheque it has no value for the present. When we come to discuss that question I have no doubt the Honourable Members will read Mr. Griffiths' speech with great interest. But at this moment we are really concerned with the subject-matter of the Resolution. Sir, my Honourable friend Mr. Jamnadas Mehta, arrogated to himself the right to represent everybody who was connected with labour. When one of my Honourable friends asked him what the percentage of Muslim employees was in his union he said, “ That makes no difference. I do represent and shall represent them irrespective of whether there is any Muslim or not.” In other words the Honourable Member seems to think that he had been ordained by God to represent all the labourers,

whether he has any one in his union or not. After having defeated the Congress candidate in the election to the Assembly, Mr. Mehta thinks that he has qualified himself to vie with the leader of the Congress organisation. I remember Mr. Gandhi once stated that even if there was not a single person left in the Congress organisation the Congress shall continue to represent the people of India. In the same way my Honourable friend, irrespective of whether there are any appreciable numbers of Muslims in his organisation or not, would represent the Muslim employees in this country. Then he gave us some names of Muslims who are his Secretaries, Joint Secretaries, and so on. But I may tell my Honourable friend that "one swallow does not make a summer."

Mr. Jamnadas Mehta : There are many swallows.

Nawabzada Muhammad Liaqat Ali Khan : My Honourable friend says, there are many swallows ; I think he has swallowed them up ! It is exactly the same thing as the Congress claim to represent all the Muslims because they happen to have a Muslim as President. This sort of argument will not convince anybody of the non-communal nature of these common unions as they are today. Nothing would be really better than if we did not have this virus of communalism. But it does exist. As a matter of fact, anyone sitting in the gallery and listening to the debate today would come to the irresistible conclusion that there are no Indians in this country but they are either Hindus or Mussalmans. So what is the use of talking like that ?

It would have been much better if my Honourable friends had really confined themselves to the subject-matter of this Resolution and not gone into the question whether India has two nationalities or four nationalities or one nation and so on. My Honourable friend, Mr. Jamnadas Mehta had to go as far back as 1931 to establish his claim that he had really worked for the employees belonging to various communities. He referred to the dearness allowance. Of course, Mr. Joshi was not going to be left out of that ; he came forward and said that he had done more than Mr. Jamnadas Mehta ever, did.

Mr. Jamnadas Mehta : I was not competing with Mr. Joshi.

Nawabzada Muhammad Liaqat Ali Khan : Then, my friend Mr. Aney, referred to the international aspect of this problem. I would only say this :

*" To Kare Zamin ra nsko sakhti,
Ki ba asman niz pardakhti."*

" Have you really settled the affairs of this earth so well that you should meddle with the affairs of the heavens ? "

Have, you really settled your national problem that you should go on talking about internationalism ? What is the use of talking like that ?

Mr. M. S. Aney : If I may just interrupt for a second—I only want to say that unless you look up to the heavens, you will never be able to settle the affairs on earth.

Nawabzada Muhammad Liaqat Ali Khan : I agree with my Honourable friend ; but those who are looking up all the time are sure to have a fall. You must look down also sometimes.

I now come to the speech of the Honourable the Home Member. He has told us that the Government's position is exactly the same as it was in 1920. He told us that they had reconsidered it in 1932 and they had come to the conclusion that it would be a wrong policy to recognise these so-called communal unions of government servants. My Honourable friend, Sir Raza Ali, had

[Nawabzada Muhammad Liaqat Ali Khan.]

really made out a very good case when he stated that the interests of the Muslim servants of Government were opposed to the interests of the Hindu servants of Government, and he asked a question from those Honourable Members who claimed to be the only well-wishers of the employees,—whether they be Government or other employees,—“Will you here and now give an undertaking as honourable men to fight for that privilege, for that right which the Muslims have acquired under the Government Resolution of 1934?” Mr. Joshi said “No.” If I remember aright, Mr. Jamnadas Mehta while speaking on this Resolution stated that he was opposed to this communal representation in the service. In view of these assertions, can anybody really blame the Muslims if they have the fear that in a joint movement of this kind, they being in a hopeless minority, their interest is bound to suffer? The Honourable the Home Member said that the Government had really done a great favour to their employees by allowing them to form themselves into associations and then he said that the only thing that we have not done is that we have not given them a right to approach us directly. May I tell him, do you not think it would be better if your employees approached you directly regarding their grievances rather than that they should approach us and we should raise all those questions on the floor of this House? Did they not see what happened the other day when all the Muslim Members of this House walked out as a protest against the attitude of the Government regarding their Railway employees? Do you want that your employees should be disloyal to you and loyal to us,—the so-called politicians? I think every government should create a sense of confidence amongst its employees and should give them all possible opportunities of placing their case before them, so that they may be satisfied by approaching Government and not go to others who are outside the Government.

We are told that as regards recruitment it is a Muslim political organization that can put forward the claim. I agree. As far as representation in the services on communal basis is concerned, I agree with the Honourable the Home Member that it is not the function of Government employees to say as to how that recruitment should be made and from what quarters that recruitment should be made. I entirely agree with him; but your policy is really not restricted to this one particular act. Your policy is such that you are forcing those whom you call politicians to enter into all these matters, because you do not allow one section of your employees to approach you. The Honourable the Home Member said that if they had these communal unions, then, of course, the feeling would exist that justice will not be done to others. For what purpose are these communal unions formed? We want only that they should be allowed to present their case direct regarding matters where only the interests of Muslims or, may be, other minority communities are affected. I do not see any difficulty about that. A great deal of confusion has been created by stating that the rate of wages, hours of work, etc. are the same. I do not deny it, but it is not a question of rates of wages and hours of work. Why should you fight shy of allowing the employees belonging to these minority communities to approach you? As a matter of fact, if I were the Government I would welcome it, because then all this trouble that is being created on the floor of this House and hundreds and hundreds of questions that are being put to you, they will all stop because your employees will have confidence—

An Honourable Member : On the contrary they will increase all the more.

Nawabzada Muhammad Liaquat Ali Khan : that they have approached the Government and would feel satisfied that their case has reached the highest authority. They really come to us because they have a feeling that their case never reaches those Honourable Members sitting over there. That is the feeling that exists amongst them. To my mind it seems that from the arguments that have been advanced in opposition to this Resolution the danger of any evils coming out of it is less than the chances of some good coming out. It is not a matter where common interests only are concerned. Where there is any question of common interest, these communal unions are not going to approach the Honourable Members over there—

Bhai Parma Nand : Will you allow the Hindus to have any such unions or not ?

Nawabzada Muhammad Liaquat Ali Khan : Certainly, yes. As a matter of fact I would much rather that the two large communities in this country gave up this camouflage of all-India and nationalism. . . .

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

Nawabzada Muhammad Liaquat Ali Khan : . . . and, therefore, I strongly support the Resolution and I would appeal to the Government to reconsider their position. It will strengthen their position as Government much more if they allow their employees to approach them directly than to allow them to approach us.

Maulvi Abdur Rasheed Chandhury (Assam : Muhammadan): Sir, I have listened to the debate and I wish that like my friend, Mr. Jamnadas Mehta, and some other Members of this House, we were all human beings first and Hindus or Muslims afterwards : if that had been so, all these communal bickerings would have ended long ago. It is a fact that that period of which my friend, Mr. Jamnadas Mehta, dreamed has not yet come to this country. I wish that my friend, Mr. Griffiths, as also my friend, Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi, who supported the propaganda scheme the other day, will include this propaganda in their scheme and approach people in this country that everybody should be a human being first and a Muslim or Hindu or Christian afterwards. When that millennium comes and everybody holds this universal opinion, then there would not arise any question of communal interest or communal bickerings or a demand for a certain proportion of appointments for a particular community. But, today, what do we find ? The lessons which we are getting through the English language teach us how to speak one thing while we mean quite the reverse. The English language is so elastic that whatever we may have at heart, we can express it in quite a different way so as not to give even the remotest idea of what really we have at heart.

Now, Sir, what are these trade unions, common unions or other associations ? They seem to mean one thing, while they act in quite a different way. They are just like the League of Nations. The League of Nations which was established with a view to bring peace to the whole world failed to achieve its object, because it was found that it was nothing but a League for the preservation and exploitation of British interests in the world. The League of Nations failed, and it miserably failed, and we are now paying the penalty for it. We are now faced with a war, the like of which the world has never seen before. Now, Sir, so far as the trade unions are concerned, they claim to represent the interests of everybody, but not the interests of Muslims. If you go and have a look at Clive Street in Calcutta, you will find that there are about fifty thousand people working in different parts ; with the exception of daftries

[Maulvi Abdur Rasheed Chaudhury.]

and men of that class,—you will not find anybody above that rank in any of these agency houses. The fact remains that the time for entertaining that high hope that all are human beings and are not communalists is yet far off.

Now, Sir, so far as the trade unions are concerned, all right thinking people belonging to all communities are simply tired of listening to communal questions in this House.

Now, Sir, in the course of the last two months, what useful questions have we put except those relating to appointments to certain members of different communities, posts given to some members in one branch or department of the Government or another? That shows, Sir, that there is something radically wrong somewhere. That shows that the way in which things are carried on under this administration is all wrong. Sir, I feel ashamed myself to say that I had to repeat a question on the same subject twice. Since 1934 the proportion of Muslim appointments has been fixed in the Railway Department. So far as I remember, it is 25 per cent. The question has been discussed in this House so often, yet even after a period of seven years, what do we find? The Muslim community have not got even 6 or 7 per cent. My friend the Honourable the Communications Member,....

Dr. P. N. Banerjea (Calcutta Suburbs: Non-Muhammadian Urban): Is that correct?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: It is not correct, but I didn't bother to correct it.

Maulvi Abdur Rasheed Chaudhury: I should be glad to be corrected.

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: The 25 per cent. is for recruitment, and it has been maintained.

Maulvi Abdur Rasheed Chaudhury: I stand corrected, Sir, but the fact remains that Muslims are not getting and have not got the proportions which they claim. Why is it so, Sir? Why should these delicate questions be brought before this House so often? I think that if everybody had felt the same amount of responsibility, then these matters would have been settled once for all. I would accuse even the Communications Member, because he has allowed these things to come up to this House so often. If once he settles that a certain proportion should go to a particular community, and if he adheres to it, then the question would not come up here at all. But, Sir, the difficulty is, there is some loophole even in the methods of the authorities who control the destinies of this country. My friends on the Treasury Benches themselves show partiality even in the case of Europeans, and so they cannot keep control over their subordinates so far as maintaining a proportion in regard to other communities. At present it is a misfortune that the Muslim community entered the field somewhat late in the day, and, therefore, the other communities have monopolised all the services, all the loaves and fishes of office. Now, the authorities feel quite helpless, they are not able to enforce their ideas and orders through their subordinates, simply because they themselves show partiality even in their own case, and so when the question of partiality is raised by their subordinates, they cannot boldly face the facts, because their subordinates turn round and tell the authorities—Oh you show partiality and so why should we not show partiality to our community? They say—you have got commercial

discrimination, and so why should we not show discrimination for Muslim interests and so on.

Then, Sir, the Honourable the Home Member said that these communal unions are not to the good of this country. Well, if by the country he means people of all communities and not merely Muslims, it is all right; but the fact remains that the grievances of Muslims have remained unredressed, and until and unless their grievances are removed, communal bickerings and communal bitterness can never be expected to disappear. Sir, it is high time that both the Government and the majority community rose to the occasion and felt their responsibility and removed the grievances of the minority communities. Till that is done, I think the communal questions that have been raised should be supported, and I provisionally support this Resolution, that is, till the time that is aimed at by my friend, Mr. Jamnadas Mehta, comes.

Some Honourable Members : The question may now be put.

Mr. Deputy President (Mr. Akhil Chandra Datta): The question is :

“That this Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that the present discriminatory policy of Government as regards the recognition of so-called common unions of Government employees and non-recognition of the so-called communal unions of Government employees should be abandoned forthwith and unions of employees belonging to any one particular section or community should be officially recognised.”

The Assembly divided :

AYES—17.

Abdoola Haroon, Seth Haji Sir.
Abdul Ghani, Maulvi Muhammad.
Abdullah, Mr. H. M.
Abdur Rasheed Chaudhury, Maulvi.
Azhar Ali, Mr. Muhammad.
Fazl-i-Haq Piracha, Khan Bahadur
Shaikh.
Ghiasuddin, Mr. M.
Ghulam Bhik Nairang, Syed.
Ghuznavi, Sir Abdul Halim.

Ismail Khan, Haji Chaudhury Muham-
mad.
Liaqat Ali Khan, Nawabzada. Muham-
mad.
Murtuza Sahib Bahadur, Maulvi Syed.
Raza Ali, Sir Syed.
Siddique Ali Khan, Nawab.
Yamin Khan, Sir Muhammad.
Zafar Ali Khan, Maulana.
Ziauddin Ahmad, Dr. Sir.

NOES—48.

Abdul Hamid, Khan Bahadur Sir.
Abdul Hamid, Khan Sahib Shaikh.
Aney, Mr. M. S.
Bajoria, Babu Baijnath.
Banerjee, Dr. P. N.
Bewoor, Sir Gurunath.
Boyle, Mr. J. D.
Buss, Mr. L. C.
Caroe, Mr. O. K.
Chattopadhyaya, Mr. Amarendra Nath.
Chettiar, Dr. Rajah Sir S. R. M. Anna-
malai.
Clow, The Honourable Sir Andrew.
Dalal, Dr. R. D.
Dalpat Singh, Sardar Bahadur Captain.
Das, Pandit Nilakantha.
Dehejia, Mr. V. T.
Deshmukh, Mr. Govind V.
Gidney, Lieut.-Colonel Sir Henry.
Gopalaswami, Mr. R. A.
Griffiths, Mr. P. J.
Gwilt, Mr. E. L. C.
Ikramullah, Mr. Muhammad.
Imam, Mr. Saiyid Haider.
James, Sir. F. E.

Jawahar Singh, Sardar Bahadur Sardar Sir.
Joshi, Mr. N. M.
Kamaluddin Ahmed, Shams-ul-Ulema.
Kushalpal Singh, Raja Bahadur.
Lalchand Navalrai, Mr.
Lawson, Mr. C. P.
Maitra, Pandit Lakshmi Kanta.
Manavedan, Raja T.
Maxwell, The Honourable Sir Reginald.
Mazharul Islam, Maulvi.
Mehta, Mr. Jamnadas M.
Miller, Mr. C. C.
Mudaliar, The Honourable Diwan Baha-
dur Sir A. Ramaswami.
Mukharji, Mr. Basanta Kumar.
Oulsmam, Mr. S. H. Y.
Parma Nand, Bhai.
Pillay, Mr. T. S. S.
Raisman, The Honourable Sir Jeremy.
Sant Singh, Sardar.
Scott, Mr. J. Ramsay.
Spence, Sir George.
Thakur Singh, Captain.
Thomas, Mr. J. H.
Tyson, Mr. J. D.

The motion was negatived.

RESOLUTION *RE* LOW PRICES OF INDIAN COTTON.

Mr. Govind V. Deshmukh (Nagpur Division : Non-Muhammadan) :
Sir, I beg to move :

"That this Assembly views with great concern the low prices of Indian cotton, especially short staple, in the current year due to loss of foreign markets on account of war and their result on the general economic condition of the cotton growers in India, and recommends to the Governor General in Council to give effect, as early as possible, to the recommendations made by the Indian Central Cotton Committee in its resolution passed on this subject in its meetings held on the 17th and 18th January, 1941, at Bombay."

The recommendations made by the Indian Central Cotton Committee in its resolution passed on this subject in its meetings held on the 17th and 18th January, 1941, at Bombay are as follows :

"The Indian Central Cotton Committee views with increased concern the low prices of Indian cotton, especially the short staple cotton mainly as a result of the loss of foreign markets in Europe and unsettled conditions in the far East and finds that the economic condition of the Indian cotton grower is in a large part precarious and there are strong reasons for believing that it will further deteriorate unless prompt steps are taken to deal with the situation. The committee accordingly recommends that the Government of India should take such steps in the interests of the cotton grower as may be necessary to relieve the situation. The Committee in this connection desires to make the following recommendations :

1. The Government of India in co-operation with manufacturing and trading interests should take effective measures to expand the consumption of the cotton goods and cotton and woollen mixtures in this country and their export overseas. This should include *inter alia*—

(a) Directions to the Department of Supply and the Indian Stores Department that except in such cases where it is absolutely essential to ask for cloth requiring the use of long staple imported cotton, specifications for their requirements should be so framed or altered as to encourage the use of Indian cotton.

(b) Representations to all Colonial and Empire Governments to ensure that India's cotton goods are admitted to those countries on the same terms and conditions as are accorded to the British cotton goods.

(c) The adoption of suitable measures for restricting the import of cotton goods and artificial silk yarn and piece-goods into this country.

(d) The establishment by the Government of a Central Export Organisation with suitable arrangement for the inspection of goods before export and a deputation of the trade delegation to other countries for the purpose of carrying out propaganda and exploring the possibility of introducing the Indian Cotton manufactures.

2. Subject to the exigencies of war demands on shipping more adequate facilities should be provided for the export of Indian cotton, special preference being given to the short staple cotton.

3. Foreign cotton should not be purchased by the Government for sale in India.

4. Financial assistance should be afforded to mills and the trade by the Government for the warehousing of stocking of more than their normal holdings of short staple cotton."

Now, Sir, I will be very brief in putting my case before the House.

An Honourable Member : What was the price in January ?

Mr. Govind V. Deshmukh : If you do not interrupt me, I will give you lot of information. My idea is to put my case as briefly as I can so that I may have a statement from the Commerce Member. As I said, I will be very brief in my remarks. You will find from this Resolution that the Cotton Committee views with increasing concern the low prices of Indian cotton. Let me give you some instances which must have made this Central Cotton Committee view with concern the situation created by the economic condition. At least in

Central Provinces and Berar, there was a continuous depression for about 10 years and the position of the agriculturists became so intolerable to them that the *kisans* marched to the Government revenue officers and the Central Assembly and a Resolution was moved on the floor of the Provincial Assembly asking for the reduction of revenue by 50 per cent. and a proposal was made by Mr. Khaparde, an *ex-Minister* of the province that a crisis should be created on this question of the granting of relief to the *Kisans*. This was at a time when there was a Congress Ministry in existence in the province. Unfortunately matters drifted. The Congress vacated office and the Ministers went into wilderness. I have given you this instance because similar things may have happened in other provinces. Now, I ascribe the situation, and there can be no disagreement on this point, that it was the result of low prices of Indian cotton and the short staple cotton shared a worse fate. Now, why did the prices become so low? The general explanation given is that the prices are low, the article which goes into the market fetches less price, because the production of the article has grown more and more. In other words, production has increased more than the demand.

Now, I will show you by reference to the figures that the production has in fact gone down and down. First of all there has been a reduction in the acreage of cotton cultivation. I shall give you the figures. So far as the year 1928-29 is concerned, the area under cotton was 16,507,146 acres. In 1937-38, it was 15,358,719. The acreage has, therefore, gone down. There was a decrease of more than 1,148,427. In the whole of India, the area has been reduced and the cotton crop outturn was still further reduced on account of bad seasons. They were so unfavourable to the agriculturist that during this period of ten years, the cotton crop was never more than six annas. It never reached 16 annas. You can realise that as a result of both the things the cotton production was less and yet, it fetched the lowest price, because the exports were less.

Now, I shall give you the figures of the exports of Indian cotton in thousand bales of 400 pounds net. I am giving you the exports to the markets which we have lost, namely, Germany, Belgium, France, Spain and Italy. In the year 1928-29, position was as follows :

	1928-29.	1938-39.
Germany	315	168
Belgium	356	136
France	223	162
Spain	81	15
Italy	403	86

The total of the European markets excluding the United Kingdom was 1378 in 1928-29 and 567 in 1938-39.

Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi (Dacca *cum* Mymensingh : Muhammadan Rural) : What are the exports to Japan ?

Mr. Govind V. Deshmukh : The figures for Japan are 1928-29—1722 and in 1938-39 it was 1529.

Then let me also make it plain that in the exports which were curtailed short staple cotton, staple less than 7/8th of an inch, shared a very bad fate. Exports were like this of *Oomras* : These are in thousand bales of 400 pounds each.

1929-30.	1937-38.	1938-39.
1,241	681	738

[Mr. Govind V. Deshmukh.]

So, so far as this question of export is concerned, we have seen that it is getting reduced and reduced. The war broke out and the prices went up a bit. As soon as the prices of food crops and money crops such as cotton went up, there was a cry for the control of prices. I think it was the worst possible method and the worst possible war measure that could have been adopted by this Government, because it has killed the agriculturist. He had expected to survive with the boom season, brought about by war. I would have been in favour of exercising control over the prices of manufactured goods, but when, for so many years, from 1929-1939 the agriculturists every year suffered a loss and so heavily that they could not take out of the soil half or even one third of whatever they had invested in it every year and even when they lost so much, nobody came to their help, and the persons who were drawing profits handsomely and those who were controlling from Simla or elsewhere never said, "oh, the agriculturists are in a bad condition, they must build up their reserves and we must help them a bit". As a matter of fact what happened was this, that everybody, the Government servants, the Government pensioners, the manufacturers, everybody, started shouting, "oh, the prices of agricultural foodstuffs are going up and other things are going up", and that induced the Government to put down their foot and control prices. I decidedly say that this was the worst possible measure that could have been adopted by this Government. I would have had no grievance if the prices of manufactured articles were controlled. I would have had no objection if a dearness allowance was allowed out of the excess profits which the manufacturers were making out of these raw products, but to deny this particular advantage which the agriculturists were deriving on account of the war was, I am quite sure, a crime, from every point of view.

Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad (United Provinces Southern Division: Muhammadans Rural): Why was it a crime?

Mr. Govind V. Deshmukh: Well, people started shouting in the newspapers, "the prices are going up", some saying that the prices of sugar were going up, and some saying that the prices of some other things were going up—as I have said, the middle class, the upper class and the higher class and members of all communities who were in this particular class, from the middle to the highest, started shouting against the prices of agricultural products going up.

Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan (Agra Division: Muhammadan Rural): In the Congress papers?

Mr. Govind V. Deshmukh: Everywhere, in the *Statesman*, the *Times of India*, everybody started shouting, with this result. (Interruptions.) I have got very little time. Sir, there was, therefore, a recession in prices; and when we said that the prices have receded too far, it was said that that was an exaggeration; and I read from the copy of the Honourable the Finance Member's Budget Statement this sentence. He says as follows. There was:

"a marked fall of prices in the summer of 1940. This recession has, however, been magnified in some quarters to undue proportions, and it is well to view the facts in proper perspective."

—And I also want to view the facts in proper perspective. He says:

"In the first nine months of the fiscal year 1938-39, our exports to all destinations amounted to 122 crores; in the first nine months of the present fiscal year they amounted to 144 crores."

Now, was this on account of any expansion of the exports of agricultural products and their fetching good prices? The going up of the exports and the rise in the value of these was due to the Government articles or material which were necessary for carrying on the war in Egypt and other places and supplying the Colonies with war munitions. There is no mention at all that there was to any slight extent any advantage which we agriculturists derived from any increase in our exports. Then as regards other matters, there is no mention of the volume of new exports and there is no mention, so far as agricultural products are concerned, that they derived any benefit in this period. Then he says :

"In the second place, prices as a whole are still some fifteen per cent. higher than they were at the beginning of September 1939 and those of certain commodities, *e.g.*, raw materials, are considerably higher."

I say this is an incorrect statement. What I say is this. When the price of cotton started going down, I in my own Province started an agitation that certain other money crops should be introduced, and having about two years ago heard the debate on the Indo-British Trade Agreement I came to know that linseed enjoyed a certain preferential advantage because there was no competition. Argentine was the only country competing. But on account of the special quality of Indian linseed and preference given, India enjoyed a monopoly. Then I started the agitation that this crop should be introduced side by side with cotton and I also said that groundnuts should be introduced. What is the result? The result is here. That statement of the Honourable the Finance Member had better be scrutinised in the light of this. Linseed, it may be remembered, in September, 1939, was Rs. 7-2-6 and in February, 1941, when the speech was made, it was, Rs. 6-5-0. Does that indicate any 15 per cent. higher than the prices prevailing in September, 1939? Take groundnuts. In September, 1939, it was Rs. 30-6-0. In February, 1941, the price of groundnuts was Rs. 19-4-10. Does this indicate a 15 per cent. increase in prices of groundnuts over the prices prevailing before? I may as well mention the *Oomras* cotton, which is Rs. 56 or 57—hardly sufficient even to maintain the ordinary expenses of agricultural labour tied to the soil. That being so, my grievance is that we have lost the foreign markets, we have had very low prices, and what have Government done to give us a stimulus, to put us on an economic level of prices? Nothing of the sort. His Majesty's Government were very generous when they purchased the Egyptian crop of cotton during the period of the war and for one year more. They have done the same thing towards the Colonies where the question of purchases of wools and other articles were concerned. They made similar contracts with other nations which are either their Colonies or non-Empire nations. Not only that but the British Government's agents were purchasing groundnuts here and they got more prices than what they paid for. The British Government paid their agents £10 per ton for the purchase of Indian groundnuts but the Indian sellers scarcely received £7 10s. 8d. per ton and the whole of the margin was pocketed by the purchasing agents of the British Government. So the agents of the British Government made a mess of the whole thing; they never cared for the interests of the Indian agriculturists. Sir, I have got no hesitation in saying that the agriculturists will not be captivated by the song of the siren, the Honourable the Finance Member, "oh, the prices have gone up by 15 per cent., and India has benefited, and so on and so forth". What they will inquire is—has agriculture been benefited? If so, how? Has the cotton crop or have the recently introduced money crops gained anything? No, Sir. The position has worsened. How has it worsened? We have lost markets in Europe, we have lost markets in a part of Asia, our export markets are getting reduced and reduced.

[Mr. Govind V. Deshmukh.]

I have shown how the position has worsened after the passing of this Resolution. Then, there was the Lease and Lend Bill of the United States. That Bill created hopes amongst the Americans that their cotton will now be released for sale to the United Kingdom. There was the export subsidy and all other facilities. First of all, it was given out in the newspapers that there is a possibility of this being done. Then I read in the newspapers the news that 100 million dollars worth of cotton was to be sent to the United Kingdom by America. In other words, we are losing everywhere and His Majesty's Government does not care two pence whether we lose our cotton market in America, in Europe or in Asia or anywhere else. It is principally concerned with its own affairs and is trying to save its own life. If they are trying to save their lives, the agriculturists of India also want to save their lives. Please remember "a bold peasantry, a country's pride, once destroyed can never be supplied". These agriculturists have always fought their nation's battles. If they are convinced that the Government is not going to help them, there would be a very poor response from these men to join the Army and I should not be surprised if there is no response from them at all to join the Army. Moreover people starving unto death could hardly be expected to be physically fit to fight.

Now, Sir, I come to certain improvements made in the matter of price so far as this country is concerned. I want to show that the Provinces where cotton is grown the Government of India and the Provincial Governments have neglected. Now, I had referred to this Resolution on 26th February in my questions and I had also brought to the notice of the Commerce Member that so far as jute was concerned, the matter was settled. The Provincial Government in consultation with the Government of India had purchased the whole of the jute crop and they had incurred certain contingent obligations. The same was the case with regard to groundnuts. In a communique the Government generally agreed to contribute on equal basis with His Majesty's Government towards the fund and it was also agreed that a small Committee should be set up upon which the Government of India as well as the principal groundnut growers would be represented. But nowhere has cotton grower been consulted. There have been reliefs given to persons who were suffering on account of groundnuts, jute and sugar-cane. With regard to sugar, they said that the crisis in the sugar industry has made it necessary for the Government to prepare a scheme for giving some compensation to those cultivators in the eastern districts of the province who will be unable to dispose of their cane. But what about cotton? Not a word has been said anywhere.

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

Sir, I have very briefly shown how the situation has worsened. I have also shown that the situation is getting from bad to worse. As regards the recommendations that have been made, I submit that they should be put into effect. I very much desire that something should be done for cotton on the lines followed in the case of jute, groundnut and sugar-cane. Now, there are some recommendations which were brought to the notice of the Honourable the Commerce Member by me on the 26th February, 1941. I want a statement on the floor of the House by the Honourable the Commerce Member with regard to these recommendations so that the agriculturists may see that there is some sort of hope still left for them. It was with that idea that I put my arguments as briefly as I could and I hope before any other speaker gets up to speak the Honourable the Commerce Member will get up and give the cotton grower some sort of relief.

With these few words, I commend my Resolution to the acceptance of the House.

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

“ That this Assembly views with great concern the low prices of Indian cotton, especially short staple, in the current year due to loss of foreign markets on account of war and their result on the general economic condition of the cotton growers in India, and recommends to the Governor General in Council to give effect, as early as possible, to the recommendations made by the Indian Central Cotton Committee in its resolution passed on this subject in its meetings held on the 17th and 18th January, 1941, at Bombay.”

The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir. A. Ramaswami Mudaliar (Member for Commerce and Labour): Mr. President, normally I should not have arisen quite so soon and intervened in this debate but I understand that many of the Members of this House, particularly those who are concerned over this question, would like to have the views of the Government on this problem and that is my sole reason for intervening at this very early stage in the debate. Sir, the position of the cotton growers in this country has with that of other producers of raw products been engaging the attention of the Government for many months past. I do not think my Honourable friend, Mr. Deshmukh, even making allowance for all the anxiety that he naturally feels towards a particular set of agriculturists with whom he is most concerned in his own province, has done justice to the manner in which the Government have been treating this problem and have dealt with it in the past. The main complaint was that, while other products may have been looked after, cotton has been very much neglected not only during the period after the war but for many years and decades. I must very respectfully enter a caveat against this position. My Honourable friend—I should like to refresh his memory—must realise that during the last ten years if the textile industry has been looked after, it is as much in the interests of the cotton grower as anyone else, but more directly the cotton grower has been helped. Let me remind my Honourable friend of some of the agreements which the Government of India have entered into with foreign countries, agreements directly connected with benefit to the cotton grower. Let me take the Indo-Japanese Agreement where the import of cotton goods to this country was allowed up to a certain maximum the *quid pro quo* being that the Japanese should take a certain quantity of the raw cotton produced in this country. That agreement at least is one which the Government of India have entered into for the direct benefit of the cotton grower. In fact, the only justification for that Agreement was that certain benefits accrued to the cotton grower. May I add in this case that the benefit was primarily to the growers of what may be called short staple varieties, the *Oomras* and *Bengals*. Similarly, with reference to the United Kingdom also. The Indo-British Agreement, about which so much has been said and heard in this House, had at least one provision that the level of import duties of British goods was directly co-related to the offtake of Indian raw cotton by the United Kingdom. But that is only one side of the story.

My Honourable friend spoke very indignantly about the policy of price control. Let me remind him that it was the responsible and responsive Governments in the Provinces that moved, adjured and entreated the Government of India to come to their assistance by delegating to them the control over prices of certain raw commodities. That being the position, I could not understand whether the Provincial Governments were responsible or guilty in this matter or whether the guilt can be directly attributed to the Central Government. What complaint he had with reference to the particular commodity with which

[Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar.]

he was dealing I could not understand. No question of price control entered into the price of raw cotton because it was not one of those articles which were included in the price control scheme either of the Central Government or of any Provincial Government. The price control scheme related solely and exclusively to certain foodstuffs and necessities and raw cotton was not one of those which were included in the Notification issued by the Government of India. Nor was raw cotton one of those articles with reference to which delegated powers were given to the Provincial Governments. What the price control scheme had to do with this question is more than what I can understand.

Mr. Govind V. Deshmukh : The thing really is if a rise in prices of food-stuffs had been permitted, it would have helped all agriculturists, including cotton growers who particularly needed help this time as I have shown.

The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar : I do not want to be diverted to a discussion of the price control policy of the Government, but the Honourable Member will realise that this price control really affected only certain types of goods where middlemen were making extra profits, and that the price control scheme was, to be fair to the Local Governments, only with reference to those contingencies and conditions and it was not intended to depress the price which normally the cultivator or the agriculturist or the prime producer could get. On the other hand I had emphasized in more than one speech of mine that it was not fair that the agriculturist should not have the chance of getting a little better price than he got before the war when the prices were at a slump and, therefore, nobody could complain if the agriculturist got a slightly higher or better price under the war conditions than he got during the period of depression and particularly during the period just before the war. That was why the Government of India said in its very first Notification that at least ten per cent more could be charged on those products than on 31st August, 1939.

But, as I say, it is not my intention to advert to questions of price control policy which is far outside the scope of this debate. My Honourable friend also complained that the exports had fallen in raw cotton and that, therefore, a serious position had arisen. I did not quite catch what my Honourable friend said, but I think he said at one stage of his speech that there was a restriction in the area of cultivation and that the produce was much less than before. I have not got the figures for 1941-42, but I have got the figures of 1939-40 and for 1940-41 :

Bengals :

1939-40	.	.	.	.	.	.	943,000 bales
1940-41	.	.	.	.	.	.	1,127,000 bales
an increase of nearly 184,000 bales.							

Oomrahs :

1939-40	.	.	.	.	.	.	1,304,000 bales
1940-41	.	.	.	.	.	.	1,410,000 bales
an increase of 106,000 bales.							

Perhaps that will give some explanation for the fact that greater stocks are lying uncleared and that the prices have fallen to some extent.

Pandit Nilakantha Das (Orissa Division : Non-Muhammadan) : What are the figures for the whole of India ?

The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar : In those varieties the figures I have given are for the whole of India. They are the production figures.

Now, Sir, let me come to export figures in these varieties because my Honourable friend complained that France was not importing, that Italy was not and that Germany was not importing. My Honourable friend must remember that we are now dealing with *Oomrahs* and *Bengals* short staple varieties and there is no question of the price of Broach cotton. As my Honourable friend knows Broach cotton has kept fairly steady and during the last weeks, it has advanced and is trying to reach the level of the corresponding period of last year. Broach cotton is being sold, as I said in my speech on the Finance Bill, as sharply as it is being produced and that there is likely to be a shortage of that variety of cotton. The larger expansion of the textile industry owing to war needs has forced up the consumption of staple and above staple varieties and so far as those varieties are concerned, there need be no concern either about the disposal of the crop or about the price which the crop was fetching. As regards lower staples, I am aware that the parity between Broach and these lower staples has widened and is widening. I am not quite happy over that position, but to say that the foreign markets, especially the continental markets are being closed and to cite figures of total exports of raw cotton to those markets is not to be fair to the line of argument which my Honourable friend is pursuing, for the simple reason that it was not the short staple varieties that were being exported to those foreign markets. Germany, Italy and France were taking the long staple varieties and not the short staple varieties.

Mr. M. S. Aney (Berar : Non-Muhammadan) : May I just interrupt ? Even in Great Britain at least not less than three lakhs of bales of short staple used to be imported even before the outbreak of this war. This fact was admitted.

The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar : I shall give the figures of export of these particular varieties to European markets, excluding the United Kingdom, to the United Kingdom markets and to the Japanese markets. That will give a fair view of the whole position.

Exports to Europe, excluding United Kingdom were as follows :

Bengals :

1937-38	. . . . .	323,000 bales.
1938-39	. . . . .	318,000 bales.
1939-40	. . . . .	243,000 bales.

This is the cotton year which begins in September and ends in August so that I have given the figures up to August, 1940. Now, take the United Kingdom about which there was a special complaint made by my Honourable friend that whereas the United Kingdom was purchasing the whole of the Egyptian crop it was not moving its little finger to help the Indian cotton crop. The export to United Kingdom was as follows :

Bengals :—

1937-38	. . . . .	112,000 bales.
1938-39	. . . . .	110,000 bales.
1939-40	. . . . .	149,000 bales.

This is an increase of 39,000 bales over the pre-war year. Now, take the *Oomrahs* exported to Europe, excluding the United Kingdom :

[Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar.]

Oomrahs :

1937-38	124,000 bales.
1938-39	96,000 bales.
1939-40	43,000 bales.

This is the only drop from 96,000 to 43,000 bales. But take the United Kingdom :

1937-38	43,000 bales.
1938-39	35,000 bales.
1939-40	71,000 bales.

I am now confining myself to the two varieties in which my Honourable friend is interested. It does not seem to be fair to suggest that the United Kingdom has not done its duty by the two special varieties of cotton which my Honourable friend is interested in, notwithstanding all the difficulties of shipping of which my Honourable friend must be specially conscious. Now, take Japan again :

Bengals :

1937-38	176,000 bales.
1938-39	173,000 bales.
1939-40	202,000 bales.

Oomrahs :

1938-39	472,000 bales.
1939-40	401,000 bales.

If you take, therefore, the export position at least till August, 1940, it has not been worse in these two varieties than it was in the pre-war year. The fact is that in 1940-41, there has been an increase in cultivation, there has been a ten per cent. increase in the crop. Take again the question of user by the Indian mills of these varieties. I am not quite happy about the use of the *Bengals* cotton because that has not been in proportion to what was expected. In 1937-38, the cotton mills in India consumed 314,000 bales of *Bengals*, in 1938-39, they consumed 341,000 bales and in 1939-40, they consumed 298,000 bales. Take the *Oomrahs*. In 1937-38, it was 293,000 bales ; in 1938-39, it was 284,000 bales and in 1939-40, it was 345,000 bales.

Now, Sir, I have wearied the House with some statistical information because I believe it will be just as well if they have the background of this information before making statements that the whole of the export position has been ruined by the war and that these raw cotton varieties have been damaged by an irresponsible Government not having to the slightest extent the cares and anxieties of the cultivators in their minds. That is not the correct state of affairs. What then is the remedy ? I have admitted that the price of *Oomrah* and *Bengal* is still not such as would completely relieve me of any anxiety in this matter. I have suggested that up to the last few weeks these prices were low. But let me not be misunderstood. They are not much lower, they were not much lower, even in January and February than the prices in August, 1939. But, of course, when other prices have gone up to a certain extent, to compare the prices in January and February this year with the prices in August, 1939, may not be a very fair thing to do. Therefore, I do realise that the gap between the Broach and these two qualities has widened and that has caused some little anxiety to Government. Fortunately, during

the last two or three weeks while Broach has jumped up and the disparity is still great, the prices of *Oomrahs* and *Bengals* have moved up, and I believe yesterday the quotation was about 178 to 180 of *Oomrahs* and about 140 or 138 of *Bengals*. That is a more satisfactory position than has prevailed during the last few months.

Now, what is it that can be done to improve this position? My Honourable friend's concrete suggestions were a reiteration of the recommendations that were made by the Indian Central Cotton Committee at its last meeting, recommendations which I said in answer to my Honourable friend were having the earnest consideration of the Government of India. They were received only a few weeks back; that consideration has not been completed. What with the Sessions of the Assembly,—and I do not complain about it at all; I find my time refreshingly spent even in the atmosphere of this House,—but what with the Sessions of this Assembly and various other committee meetings which one has to attend, it is not possible to do justice to the very weighty recommendations of the Indian Central Cotton Committee, backed up as it has been by names which are of the first rank in the cotton world of India. And I, therefore, would not have done justice if I had said after a cursory perusal of these recommendations that the Government of India's attitude on those recommendations would be such on this recommendation and such else on that recommendation. Therefore, I am still in the unhappy position of having to state that these recommendations are having the careful consideration of the Government of India. But lest my Honourable friends may go away with the impression that this is one of those hackneyed replies of the Government of India to conceal the vacuity of thought behind, I should like just to give my preliminary reactions at any rate to some of the recommendations of the Indian Central Cotton Committee. The first recommendation is:

“A direction to the Department of Supply and the Indian Stores Department that except in such cases where it was absolutely essential to ask for cloth requiring the use of long-staple imported cotton, specifications for their requirements should be so framed as to encourage the use of Indian cotton.”

With reference to this recommendation we have had consultations with the Supply Department and I am glad to assure the cotton interests concerned that the Supply Department has taken steps to see that some of these specifications are so diluted as on the one hand not to in any way endanger the war supplies and the requirements of the army and on the other hand to allow of a greater use of those short-staple cotton varieties which could not have been used before. I have had the assurance of the Supply Secretariat and in particular of the Director General of Civil Supplies, Brigadier Wood, who has devoted very keen attention to this subject,—I have had assurances from these gentlemen that the specifications are being revised; and the Director General of Civil Supplies and the Controller General of Purchase are now engaged in the task of so revising the specifications that I trust mills and even hand-looms who will be requisitioned for the purpose of getting supplies for the Supply Department of textiles will be able to use more admixture of these short-staple cottons in the near future.

The next recommendation is:

“A representation to all Colonial and Empire Governments to ensure the admission of India's cotton goods to those countries on the same terms and conditions as were accorded to British cotton goods.”

So far as this is concerned, I am afraid the Indian Central Cotton Committee is not properly seized of the position. We are in the position that with

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respect to all the colonies of the British Empire we are getting the same preference as we get in the United Kingdom regarding cotton goods. It is the same tariff all over the Colonial Empire of the British Commonwealth as we have in the United Kingdom. So that without any special trade agreements with those countries we do enjoy the benefit of the same preference which the United Kingdom gives to us with respect to this matter. As regards the Dominions,—Canada and New Zealand,—we are so far, as a matter of grace, being given the same preference by these Dominions as the United Kingdom gives us. That is to say, without any trade agreements we still are at present enjoying the same amount of preference in those Dominions as is being given to us in the United Kingdom. So that it seems to me that there is hardly any necessity at the present time for moving in this matter. But I do believe that if we want to be absolutely assured of this amount of preference, the time will surely arise when trade agreements with Australia, Canada and New Zealand may have to be entered into, so that we may not be in the precarious position of having by grace this preferential treatment given to our textile goods but may have as of right that preferential claim. And on that occasion my friends here who cheer me today will have to remember that nothing can be had for nothing and that a policy of *quid pro quo* is essential; that, therefore, if this grace were to be converted into a certainty we must also be certain that we may have to give up something on our side and that some imports will have to come from those Dominions. And I trust if such an occasion arises and I have the opportunity or privilege of placing a trade agreement with Canada, for instance, before this House, my Honourable friend, Mr. Deshmukh, and those who are now so concerned about cotton, will be the first to support my endeavours to bring about such a trade agreement.

The third recommendation is :

“ The adoption of suitable measures for restricting the import of cotton goods and artificial silk yarn and piece-goods into India.”

So far as artificial silk yarn is concerned, my Honourable friend, the Finance Member, has stolen the thunder of the Indian Central Cotton Committee, and I think after the Duty that has been raised now the Indian Central Cotton Committee should be the first,— and I hope it will be the first; I hope it has already done so,—to congratulate the Finance Member on having so expeditiously adopted one of its main recommendations. So far as the imports of cotton goods are concerned, we really are importing goods only from two countries, the United Kingdom and Japan. With reference to Japan we are under a trade agreement and we can allow only a certain amount of goods to be imported and no more and no less if Japan is in a position to import it. As regards the United Kingdom though we are under a similar trade agreement, I do not think I need weary the House with statistics to show that it has not been possible for the United Kingdom to import such quantity of goods as it contemplated importing under the Indo-British Trade Agreement. So that on that point also my friends of the Indian Central Cotton Committee may feel assured that the Government of India have done and are doing all that is best to see that only a limited quantity of cotton goods enter this country.

Then there is the recommendation :

“ The establishment by Government of a central export organisation with suitable arrangements for the inspection of goods before export.”

This is a fairly radical recommendation, and unless I have more light thrown on this recommendation by the Indian Central Cotton Committee beyond that which is contained in the covering letter I am not in a position to come to any conclusion, and I, therefore, do not propose to say anything on this particular recommendation at present :

“ The deputation of trade delegations to other countries for carrying on propaganda and exploring possibilities of introducing Indian cotton manufactures ”.

This particular recommendation is a reiteration of the recommendation which has been made by the Export Advisory Council, a recommendation which the Government of India are considering ; and, as I have told my Honourable friends, in considering this recommendation and in coming to a conclusion about it there must necessarily be some delay on the part of the Government of India because other Governments concerned to whose countries these deputations have to go have to be consulted before these trade delegations are appointed. But I am myself personally in favour of such trade delegations and I believe New Zealand, Australia and the Dutch East Indies on the way form a very good ground for a trade delegation of this kind to produce useful results. And if there are such other countries to which such trade delegations could go and if we have any hope at all of these trade delegations being profitable to this country from this point of view, I am certain the Government of India will not hesitate to consider what trade delegations should be sent and to what countries they should be sent.

The next recommendation is :

“ More adequate facilities, subject to the exigencies of the war times, of shipping for the export of Indian cotton, special preference being given to short-staple cotton.”

That involves two facts. The shipping position is not all that one wishes it to be. Honourable Members are aware that the shipping position is a difficult one, has been a difficult one during the war, and at the present time is of particular difficulty. With that appreciation and with what is implied in that appreciation, I am certain that Honourable Members would not insist on my taking any more steps than the Government of India are taking at present to improve that position.

“ That foreign cotton should not be purchased by Government for sale in India ”—So far as this is concerned, it is not the policy of the Government to purchase foreign cotton and sell it in India ; but foreign cotton has to be used for the production of certain types of goods and foreign cotton is imported mostly by private manufacturers for that purpose, and I am sure there is another side of the story, and that side may have to be heard before any one comes to a decision on this subject. There are mills, as I said, in my speech on another occasion, which can only use foreign imported cotton, which are meant to use long staple cotton, Egyptian, Uganda and other varieties, and therefore it is not possible to oust foreign cotton.

The last recommendation deals with financial assistance to be afforded to mills and the trade by Government for the warehousing or stocking of more than their normal holdings of short-staple cotton. That is a Resolution which is of a very serious character and I am certain that on that recommendation Honourable Members would not ask me to give any opinion at the present stage. But I may say this : that if at any time the problem of the disposal of surplus raw cotton becomes serious the fact that the textile industry is a protected industry, that that industry has a certain obligation to the country, that the period of protection so long enjoyed by it devolves on it this obligation, will certainly have to be borne in mind by the industry and the Government of India are not likely to lose sight of that fact. If such a situation arises

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where the disposal of that surplus becomes a serious problem, it may be necessary for the Government of India to consider the question of convening a conference of the interests concerned in which a large share of the responsibility will still have to be that of the textile mills ; and in consultation with them and with the interests of the agriculturists in our mind we shall try to find a solution even as—and reference has been made to this fact—Government have tried to find a solution, successfully or unsuccessfully I shall not say at present—to the problem of the surplus of the jute crop. That is all that I have to say.

Babu Baijnath Bajoria (Marwari Association : Indian Commerce) : Will the Honourable the Commerce Member appeal to the Honourable the Finance Member for funds for purchasing cotton ?

The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar : There is no question of an appeal from one Member to another Honourable Colleague : we have all the same interest.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim) : The Assembly.....

Mr. M. S. Aney : I believe, Sir, that Mr. Deshmukh wants to withdraw his Resolution.

Mr. Govind V. Deshmukh : Sir, I am very much pleased with the speech that has been made. But the assurances given by the Honourable the Commerce Member—(Interruption)—I see his anxiety.....

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim) : If the Honourable Member wishes to withdraw, he cannot make another speech.

Mr. Govind V. Deshmukh : I beg leave of the House, Sir, to withdraw the Resolution.

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

The Assembly then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Thursday, the 27th March, 1941.