

16th September 1942

**THE
LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY DEBATES**

(Official Report)

Volume III, 1942

(14th September to 24th September, 1942)

**SIXTEENTH SESSION
OF THE
FIFTH LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY
1942**

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Legislative Assembly

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LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

Wednesday, 16th September, 1942

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. Noel Victor Housman Symons, C.I.E., M.C., M.L.A.. (Government of India: Nominated Official).

STARRED QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

(a) ORAL ANSWERS.

†40*.

RECENT MEMORANDUM OF GRIEVANCES BY THE PRESS ASSOCIATION OF NEW DELHI.

41. *Mr. K. C. Neogy: (a) Will the Honourable the Home Member be pleased to state whether he is aware of a memorandum, dated the 22nd August, 1942, drawn up by the Press Association of New Delhi for presentation to His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General in which certain serious complaints have been made about the restrictions placed on the work of Press correspondents by the censoring authorities?

(b) Is it a fact that the memorandum was drawn up unanimously by 25 Press correspondents, including Messrs. Standish (representing the *Morning Herald* and North American Newspaper Alliance), Berrigar (representing the United Press of America), Holburn (representing the *Times of London*), Waterfield (representing Reuters) and Emeny (representing the *News Chronicle of London*), besides representatives of the *Manchester Guardian*, the Press of New Zealand, the *Statesman*, the *Times of India*, *Civil and Military Gazette*, *Madras Mail*, Associated Press of India, the United Press of India and the Orient Press of India?

(c) Will the Honourable Member in charge briefly summarise the grievances referred to by the Press Association in this memorandum, giving at the same time the Government point of view in regard to each point?

(d) What are the different authorities exercising censorship over the functions of the Press correspondents at New Delhi in respect of publicity in India and in the overseas Press, respectively?

(e) What is the scope and nature of "press advising" apart from formal censorship to which the activities of these correspondents have been subject?

†This question has been postponed to be answered on the 21st September, 1942.

(f) Is it a fact that one of the complaints mentioned in the aforesaid memorandum is that in messages for publication in the Overseas Press, Press Advisers require undue preference to be given to the Government point of view and that restrictions imposed on the transmission of news relating to the political situation render the presentation of a balanced picture of the situation in the country difficult?

(g) Is it a fact that no message referring to Ordinance No. XLI of 1942 published in the Gazette of India Extraordinary, dated the 15th August, 1942 (which, *inter alia*, legalises the shooting of any person to death if he "appears to be about to attempt" to do any act that might endanger or damage any property which it is the duty of a Captain, or any soldier authorised by him, to protect) was allowed to be sent by accredited correspondents of overseas newspapers and news agencies?

(h) Is it a fact that the purport of the comments made by the Press in China on the policy of the Government in arresting Congress leaders and adopting repressive methods, was not allowed to be published in the Press in India?

The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell: (a), (b), (c) and (f). The memorandum in question was not addressed to the Government of India and I can give no information with regard to it.

(d) All press messages leaving or entering this country are subject to military censorship. There is no general censorship of messages intended for publication only in India, but recently, in accordance with the agreement reached with the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference, orders were issued by the Chief Commissioner, Delhi, requiring factual news relating to the present Congress disturbances to be submitted for scrutiny before publication in the Delhi newspapers, and as soon as the necessary arrangements can be made that scrutiny will be conducted in association with representatives of the Press.

(e) Press correspondents themselves frequently submit messages for advice to the press advising staff. Alterations in outgoing messages from correspondents are sometimes desirable in order that the messages may be safely transmitted out of India by "beam" wireless without giving information which would be of value to the enemy or which would unnecessarily provide material for enemy propaganda. Such alterations are made, so far as is possible, with the correspondents' consent, but are ultimately dictated by military considerations. For similar reasons, it is occasionally necessary to advise against the transmission of a whole message.

(g) and (h). I am not prepared to disclose details of the working of Military Censorship. Certain comments from Chinese newspapers were submitted for Press advice and the advice given was against publication.

Mr. K. O. Neogy: Did the Honourable Member say that the memorandum in question was addressed to the Governor General?

The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell: I said the memorandum was not addressed to the Government of India.

Mr. K. O. Neogy: My question was whether the Honourable the Home Member is aware of the fact that a memorandum of this kind was sent? If so, why should he not go into the memorandum straightaway and answer the question?

The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell: A copy of the memorandum was sent to me, but it was not addressed to me. I did not give official attention to it.

Mr. K. C. Neogy: In so far as the memorandum contains allegations relating to a Department for which he is responsible, did he not think it necessary to go into the facts alleged?

The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell: If it is a question of taking action on the memorandum, the memorandum must be addressed to the Home Department. If the Home Department are required to take notice of it, I cannot take up a memorandum which is addressed to somebody else and make independent enquiry about it.

Mr. K. C. Neogy: Now that attention has been drawn to this memorandum specifically in this House in relation to a matter which is the direct responsibility of the Honourable Member, is he prepared to give answer or not to the question that I have put?

The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell: I am not prepared to take up a memorandum sent to other people.

Mr. K. C. Neogy: The question is put on the basis of a memorandum which the Honourable Member admits he has himself seen and which relates to his Department and why does he not answer the question?

(No answer).

Sardar Sant Singh: Does the Honourable Member mean that if the Honourable Member in the capacity of Sir Reginald Maxwell comes to know of certain facts, it is not his duty to look into those facts and see that justice is being administered in the country?

(No answer).

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: I do not understand the silence on the part of the Honourable Member. He does not answer any question put to him.

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

†42.*

FILMS PRODUCED AND DISTRIBUTED BY THE FILM ADVISORY BOARD.

43. ***Sir F. E. James:** Will the Honourable Member for Information and Broadcasting be pleased to state :

- (a) the number of films produced and distributed by the Film Advisory Board since its inception;
- (b) the average cost per foot of the films so produced;
- (c) the steps that are being taken to ensure the effective and rapid production and distribution of Indian news-reels; and

†This question has been postponed to be answered on the 21st September, 1942.

- (d) whether any action has been taken to co-ordinate the requirements of the Department and the Defence Services with regard to film production and distribution, and if so, what?

The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell: (a) The number of films produced by the Film Advisory Board since its inception up to date is 40. The number of films distributed by the Board so far is 89.

(b) (1) The average cost per foot of films produced for the Board by commercial producers is Rs. 9.

(2) The average cost per foot of films produced by the Board's official units including salaries of staff and travelling expenses is Rs. 8.

(c) The Twentieth Century Fox Corporation have made arrangements for the production and distribution of Indian news reels under the name Indian Movietone news. They have engaged six cameramen to film events and functions in the various parts of India. They will be distributing this Indian film material, with a suitable portion of foreign news items and of items supplied officially relating to Indian troops in India and abroad added to it, as a weekly or fortnightly news reel in Hindustani, Bengali, Tamil and Telugu to theatres in India.

(d) The question of co-ordinating the production and distribution of films required by the Department and the Defence Services has been considered; but, as the kind of films required and the audience aimed at are different, it is not possible without prejudice to quality and efficiency to pool the activities of the two Departments in this field except at one or two stages. The staff and equipment of both the producing organisations are fully engaged on their own work and there would be no advantage in pooling them. At stages of production where pooling is possible, as for instance processing and the supply of raw film, arrangement is being made for the work of the two organisations to be carried on by the same agency or at the same place. And whenever any of the films produced by the Defence Services are found to be suitable for theatrical exhibition also, they are distributed by the Film Advisory Board.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: Will the Honourable Member kindly enlighten the House about this: what percentage of these 89 films were produced under the direction of the Honourable Member's Department or under the direction of the Defence Department?

The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell: These 89 films distributed consist of 40 films produced by the Film Advisory Board which I have already mentioned, 39 films received from the Ministry of Information, London, six films produced by the Director of Public Relations and four films of A. R. P. produced by the Bombay Government.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: Do I take it that no film has been exhibited which has been sent from America?

The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell: Not unless they are included in the 39 films received from the Ministry of Information, London.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: Do I take it, Sir, that the Honourable Member's Department has no objection to American films as such being exhibited here on this matter?

The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell: There is no restriction so far as I am aware of.

RECENT DISTURBANCES IN DELHI.

44. *Mr. K. C. Neogy: (a) Will the Honourable the Home Member be pleased to make a statement regarding the disturbances that took place in Delhi since the 9th August last and the steps taken to quell them, referring particularly to the resulting destruction of, or damage to, public property, loss of human life and other casualties, and the occasions on which fire had to be opened by the Police or the Military?

(b) Have allegations of any excesses committed by the Police or the Military in that connection reached Government or the local administrative authorities, and if so, to what effect generally and with what result?

(c) Is it a fact that stray firings were indulged in by troops in the Paharganj area as a result of certain acts of hooliganism there, in the course of which several persons, including *pardanashin* women were shot at, while actually inside their houses, and that one at least of these persons was sleeping in his bedroom while he was hit? When were the acts of hooliganism in that locality committed, and how long after that were the firings resorted to?

(d) Is it a fact that the registration of the *Hindustan Times* staff correspondents was cancelled by the Deputy Commissioner of Delhi because of their failure to get the account relating to Paharganj firing as published in that paper, "Press advised"? Was the accuracy of that account challenged by the Deputy Commissioner or any one else at any time?

The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell: (a) The official communiques, Associated Press of India messages and other reports which the Honourable Member will find reproduced in the issues of the *Statesman* of the 11th, 12th, 13th and 14th August give a sufficiently clear picture of the disorders in Delhi, and I do not think it necessary to make any further statement.

(b) Allegations of Police and Military excesses have come to the notice of Government. All the reports which have been received indicate however that on the contrary firing was strictly controlled and perfect discipline was maintained throughout among troops and police.

(c) If by "stray firing" the Honourable Member means the uncontrolled and indiscriminate use of fire-arms, I must answer with an emphatic negative. At the same time I must ask the Honourable Member to understand that when troops or police are constrained to use firearms to disperse a crowd or to defend life and property against rioters it is inevitable that other persons in the vicinity should sometimes be hit. It is one of the lamentable results which are liable to follow when crowds get out of hand and commit excesses that innocent persons may suffer as well as the guilty, but that there was any deliberate firing at innocent persons is a monstrous accusation for which there is no justification whatever.

(d) The registration of the correspondents of the newspaper mentioned was cancelled by the Deputy Commissioner with the full approval of the Government of India, because certain paragraphs in their messages contained allegations which were clearly designed to arouse prejudice against the troops and neither the correspondents nor the Editor made any attempt to verify them from official sources. Subsequent investigations have failed to substantiate the truth of the allegations made.

Mr. K. C. Neogy: Will the Honourable Member be pleased to state with reference to the press account in this connection which of the particular allegations are inaccurate, and how is it that no contradiction has ever appeared from the Government on this point?

The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell: Is the Honourable Member referring to the answer to part (d) of the question?

Mr. K. C. Neogy: Yes.

The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell: The items which led to the cancellation of the registration of the correspondents of the *Hindustan Times* were the paragraph entitled "Stray shots fired" in the report "Improvement in Delhi situation" on page 6 of the issue of the 14th August and the leading article entitled "Prevent it" in the issue of the 13th.

Mr. K. C. Neogy: I wanted to know which particular incident referred to in that account had been found to be inaccurate on enquiry. The account contains references to many incidents.

The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell: I said in my reply that subsequent investigations have failed to substantiate the truth of the allegations made.

Mr. K. C. Neogy: Do I take it then that the statement that three men, including Mr. Koshal, a clerk of General Headquarters, and the nephew of Mr. L. P. Varma, a Government contractor, were shot dead is not substantiated?

The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell: Which persons?

Mr. K. C. Neogy: Three men including Mr. Koshal, a clerk of the General Headquarters and the nephew of Mr. L. P. Varma, a Government Contractor, were shot dead. Was that found to be inaccurate, because that is under this head "Stray Shots Fired"?

The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell: I did not say so; it may or may not be. What I said was that the allegation that there was indiscriminate firing at innocent persons was entirely false.

Mr. K. C. Neogy: I shall have to put a few more points in that case. For instance, it is alleged that the soldiers chased a man right up to the staircase inside Mr. Varma's house and fired a shot in his staircase. The spent bullet is still intact with Mr. Varma and there is a mark on the wall of the staircase in his house. Has that been found to be inaccurate? Are the soldiers expected to run after men and shoot them inside the house?

The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell: The Honourable Member has admitted that it was a stray bullet and Mr. Varma's statement has been recorded by the City Magistrate on the subject and he admits it too.

Mr. K. C. Neogy: Who admits it?

The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell: I did not say that there were no stray shots in the firing. I said that there were.

Mr. K. C. Neogy: But the point is whether the soldiers chased a man right up to the staircase inside Mr. Varma's house and fired a shot in his staircase. It is a question of running into a private house.

The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell: As I said there is no substantiation of that allegation, and it was made in the *Hindustan Times* before any attempt was made to enquire into the incident.

Mr. K. C. Neogy: The next allegation is that the soldiers fired shots at people standing on their balconies or peeping through the windows in Hasan Street.

The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell: I deny that.

Mr. K. C. Neogy: Then there is another statement on which I should like to have the Honourable Member's testimony. Sardar Teja Singh of the X-ray Department of the Irwin Hospital made a statement that he was sleeping in his house when he received an injury, the bullet having come in through some window.

The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell: Mr. Teja Singh has himself stated before the Magistrate that he was hit by a bullet in the left arm and he added "A little later I came to know that a mob was fired at and I was hit accidentally". That is exactly what I said in my answer to that question.

Mr. K. C. Neogy: He could not be hit when he was sleeping inside his house. How does the Honourable Member account for this? How is it that a man actually sleeping inside his house could be shot at?

The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell: He was not sleeping. He himself says that he was entering the house.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: Is it a fact that these bullets had a special knack of entering into rooms through windows and following men to staircases inside the houses?

The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell: Bullets have a certain amount of penetration: the Honourable Member can find that by experiment if he likes.

Mr. K. C. Neogy: Referring to the answer to part (c) of my question, will the Honourable Member please say when and how long after that were the firings resorted to?

The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell: The firings took place in order to suppress the hooliganism while it was going on.

Mr. K. C. Neogy: Has the Honourable Member applied his mind to this particular point or is he giving an answer off-hand?

The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell: I have, I think, answered the Honourable Member's question thoughtfully in my reply already read.

Mr. K. C. Neogy: Is the Honourable Member perfectly sure that the firings referred to in this statement actually took place just when the hooliganism was being committed.

The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell: I think a detailed list of all the shooting showing the exact number of rounds fired

Mr. K. C. Neogy: It is a question of time and not the interval.

Mr. Govind V. Deshmukh: In respect of part (b) of the reply in which the Honourable Member has stated that the reports which have been received deny the allegations of excessive use of force, etc., may I know from whom were the reports received, and if any enquiry was made, who made it?

The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell: Does the Honourable Member want to know on what basis I made this reply?

Mr. Govind V. Deshmukh: Yes.

The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell: On the basis of information supplied by the officers concerned including detailed accounts of what took place and numbers of rounds fired and the persons injured and the circumstances in which the injuries took place.

Mr. Govind V. Deshmukh: Were any witnesses in the locality examined by the officers and were the reports made by policemen or any other officers in high positions?

The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell: It is their business to know all these details. They themselves go into every case.

Mr. Govind V. Deshmukh: I want to know whether the Honourable Member has satisfied himself that enquiries were made from persons in the locality and roundabout where these incidents took place by officers in high rank?

The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell: I am satisfied that the reports which I have received were made with full knowledge and after adequate enquiries.

Mr. Lalchand Navalrai: May I know from the Honourable Member if he is prepared to order a judicial enquiry? If not, why not?

The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell: I have already dealt with the question of enquiry in my speech yesterday, Sir.

Mr. Lalchand Navalrai: It is not a question of a departmental enquiry that I am asking about. I am asking if the Honourable Member in the face of these very serious allegations in a place like Delhi is prepared to satisfy the public by a public enquiry in a judicial manner? If not, why not?

The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell: I do not know whether the Honourable Member was in his place when I was speaking yesterday, but if he will give attention to that he will understand the attitude of Government.

Mr. Lalchand Navalrai: I would like to have the answer of the Honourable Member.

Sardar Sant Singh: May I ask the Honourable Member if he is aware of the provisions of the Criminal Procedure Code, which requires a magisterial enquiry to be held after each such incident, like firing, or death due to causes from firing?

The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell: I am fully aware of it. It appears that the Honourable Member isn't.

Sardar Sant Singh: If the Honourable Member is aware, it seems that he does not want to be aware. Has he held any magisterial enquiry into these deaths?

The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell: No, Sir. I am not a magistrate.

Sardar Sant Singh: Are you not expected to know that an inquest report is prepared by a magistrate on the death of a person killed in this fashion?

The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell: Yes, Sir. I have been quoting from magistrates' reports in the answers I have given to this.

Sardar Sant Singh: Has any magistrate held any inquest into these deaths?

The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell: Certainly, I imagine, Sir. As I say, these reports were signed by the City Magistrate.

Sardar Sant Singh: Were they the reports made at an inquest? There is a difference in a magistrate sitting at home and sending in a report and in making an inquest report. Does the Honourable Member understand the difference between the two? Will he please tell me whether an inquest report was made?

The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell: I do not doubt that the law was fully carried out.

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

†45.*

PROSECUTION OF THE EDITOR, ETC., OF THE *HINDUSTAN TIMES* AND OF THE *HINDUSTAN*.

46. ***Mr. K. C. Neogy:** (a) Has the Honourable the Home Member received a full report of the proceedings that took place before the Additional District Magistrate of Delhi in connection with the prosecution of

†Cancelled, the very question having been put down as starred question No. 109 for answer on a subsequent date.

the Managing Editor and the Printer and Publisher of the *Hindustan Times*, as well as the Editor and the Printer and Publisher of the *Hindustan*, under the Defence of India Rules for acting in defiance of an order of the Chief Commissioner of Delhi, dated the 17th August last, directing the editors of all the newspapers of the Province not to publish more than three columns of news relating to the mass movement sanctioned by the All-India Congress Committee and the measures adopted by Government to deal with the situation?

(b) Has the attention of the Honourable Member been particularly drawn to the observation of the Magistrate to the effect that one cannot compare a mass movement sanctioned by the Congress and the present disturbances when the details of the former are not known and never saw the light of the day?

(c) Having regard to the failure of Government to prove any connection between the undisclosed Congress programme and the wide-spread disturbances that took place in the country, will the Honourable Member be pleased to state whether this prosecution was undertaken by the local administrative authorities after taking any competent legal opinion on the most vital point at issue?

The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell: (a) Yes.

(b) I have read the Magistrate's order and can find in it no passage in the language quoted by the Honourable Member. The actual wording of the relevant portion of the order was as follows:

"The disgraceful acts of violence and sabotage to which the mob had recourse can be said to be indirectly the result of the general Congress programme of civil disobedience but it cannot be said that they were part of the original mass movement, for the simple reason that it has not been shown what that movement was."

(c) The case was put into court by the Police after the usual scrutiny by their prosecuting staff and was conducted in court by the Public Prosecutor.

Mr. K. O. Neogy: Is it not a fact that the local Public Prosecutor admitted that there was nothing on record to show what was the programme of the All-India Congress Committee or of the mass movement which they had sanctioned?

The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell: I do not think there is any profit in discussing in detail the proceedings which took place in Court.

Mr. K. O. Neogy: I wanted to know whether the Government Prosecutor himself made this admission in the course of his argument and whether it is not referred to in the order of the magistrate?

The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell: I should require notice of that as I have not the magistrate's order before me.

Mr. K. O. Neogy: Is the Honourable Member also aware of the magistrate's following observation: 'I am not satisfied that the demonstrations and disorders which followed the arrest of Gandhi and other Congress leaders, and the mass movement sanctioned by the All-India Congress Committee are one and the same'.

The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell: That is a document to which any Member can have access.

Mr. K. C. Neogy: The Honourable Member quoted a particular passage: so I wanted to quote another passage.

†47*—48*.

SEA-BORNE SUPPLIES OF SALT TO THE EASTERN INDIA AREAS.

49. *Mr. K. C. Neogy: (a) Will the Honourable the Finance Member please state what are the areas in Eastern India that depend mainly on sea-borne supplies of salt from Liverpool, Red Sea ports and Indian ports?

(b) What is the approximate normal average annual consumption of salt in such areas, and how much of it approximately is usually met by such sea-borne supplies?

(c) Are supplies of sea-borne salt being steadily maintained, or were there any uncertainties about them at any time during the last few months?

(d) Have Government considered the possibility of supplies of sea-borne salt being cut off or seriously reduced in certain eventualities? What are the practical possibilities of replacing sea-borne salt altogether by supplies from the Government's inland salt sources, from the points of view of workable capacities of these sources and facilities of regular conveyance to the principal centres of distribution?

(e) What progress has been made in the development of manufacture of salt from sea-water at suitable centres near the Bay of Bengal? Has any special step been taken in this direction, having regard to the difficulties of the supply of sea-borne salt which the Eastern Provinces have, or may have, to face?

The Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman: (a) Assam, Bengal, most of Bihar and the northern part of Orissa.

(b)

	Average annual consumption.	Source of supply.
Bengal	90 lakhs maunds	Entirely sea-borne.
Bihar	56 " "	About 40 lakhs are imported by sea.
Assam	12 " "	Entirely sea-borne.

(c) Owing to shipping difficulties caused by the war situation, supplies of sea-borne salt could not reach Calcutta in substantial quantities during the first seven months of this year and consequently stocks ran very low. The position gave rise to some public uneasiness. Since then the matter has been taken in hand by the Government of Bengal and the Government of India; ships have been provided and sea-borne supplies of salt are now reaching Calcutta in fair quantity.

†These questions have been postponed to be answered on the 21st September, 1942.

(d) Yes. Government's inland salt sources, Rajputana, Kharaghoda and Khewra between them produce annually about 140 lakhs of maunds, nearly the whole of which is required for Central, Upper and Northern India markets. It is not possible to expand production in these sources to any great extent and moreover they do not produce the kind of salt—fine white salt—which the people in the eastern provinces prefer. However, there are large stocks at Rajputana which, if necessity arises, can be used to supply Bengal and eastern markets. A large portion of the eastern demand can be met from Karachi and Western India sources. The difficulty is transport by rail. If at any time the sea route became impossible, rail transport would have to be provided.

(e) So far as the Central Government is aware, little progress has been made towards the development of the local salt industry in Bengal. There are at present only seven licensed factories and their output is about 25,000 maunds. In July the Member of the Central Board of Revenue discussed with Ministers of the Bengal Government, and agreed to a scheme for the encouragement of salt manufacture by villagers in suitable areas on the Bengal seaboard. The scheme cannot be put into force until the rains have ceased. Even, however, if the scheme produces the results promised, it can supply only a fraction of the total requirements of Bengal.

Mr. K. C. Neogy: Will the Honourable Member please indicate whether in the event of sea-borne salt being altogether cut off from the Eastern Provinces, the working of Government inland salt sources could be sufficiently expanded for the purpose of meeting the entire demand of the Eastern Provinces?

The Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman: I have indicated in my reply that that would hardly be possible. The inland salt sources could not be expanded in order to cover the whole of the Eastern Provinces' demand.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: May I know if we are carrying any salt from Aden, and if so, what quantity?

The Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman: Yes.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: What quantity?

The Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman: I have not got the figures with me.

Mr. K. C. Neogy: Will the Honourable Member indicate the proportion to which the present output of the inland salt sources could be increased so that we might know to what extent ultimately the supply of salt for the Eastern Provinces might be made if the supply of sea-borne salt falls short in the event of the sea route being stopped.

The Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman: I am afraid I could not give the actual figures of that. In my reply I have said, however, that there are large stocks of Rajputana salt which, if necessity arose, could be used to supply Bengal and the eastern markets.

Mr. K. C. Neogy: The Honourable Member refers to present stocks?

The Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman: Yes.

Mr. K. C. Neogy: When the present stocks are depleted, I am thinking of the normal possibility of expansion of Government-owned inland salt sources for the supply of the total demand of the Eastern Provinces if certain eventualities happen.

The Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman: If the Honourable Member wants precise figures I am afraid he will have to put down a question.

Mr. Lalchand Navalrai: Has the Honourable Member made any arrangements to see that the salt from Karachi is exported, if necessary by railway, to Calcutta and other places?

The Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman: My information is that certain amount of the salt from Karachi has been transported by rail.

INFORMATION ABOUT AND REPATRIATION OF INDIAN PRISONERS OF WAR.

50. *Mr. K. C. Neogy: (a) Will the Honourable the Defence Member please state whether any arrangement has been made for the transmission of information about Indian prisoners of war and Indian civil population from the enemy-occupied territories? If so, will the Honourable Member indicate the nature and scope of the arrangements?

(b) Have any Indians been repatriated from any theatre of war to India as a result of exchange of prisoners of war between the Allied and Axis powers? If so, what is their total number and what proportion does it bear to the total number of prisoners of war of British nationality released so far as a result of such exchange?

The Honourable Malik Sir Firoz Khan Noon: (a) Information regarding Indian Prisoners of War and Indian civil population in enemy occupied territories in Europe is received regularly under the "International Convention relative to the treatment of Prisoners of War" from the Protecting Power and the International Red Cross Committee.

With regard to territories occupied by the enemy in the Far East, although Japan has not ratified the Prisoners of War Convention, her Government has intimated an intention to abide by its covenants. In spite of repeated requests by His Majesty's Government both through the Protecting Power and the International Red Cross Committee for information regarding Prisoners of War and civil population, nothing has so far been forthcoming from the Japanese Government. The Japanese Government has, however, agreed to the appointment of Delegates of the International Red Cross Committee at Hong Kong, Shanghai and Bangkok who will report on conditions as soon as these have been investigated.

(b) The only exchange of Prisoners of War between the Allied and Axis Powers which has taken place was effected in the spring of this year between Middle East and Italy. This exchange was arranged under Part IV Section 1 of the "International Convention relative to the treatment of Prisoners of War" which provides for the repatriation of permanently sick and disabled Prisoners of War, and included three Indians. The question of proportion does not arise, as the recommendation for repatriation is entirely governed by the decision of the Mixed Medical Commission envisaged in the above mentioned Convention, which comprises three doctors of whom two are neutrals and one a subject of the Captor States.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: Did the Honourable Member say that three delegates have been appointed and have been allowed by the Japanese to report upon Indian prisoners and others and if so when they were appointed?

The Honourable Malik Sir Firoz Khan Noon: No; I am afraid you did not hear me properly.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The next question, No. 51, is in excess of the number allowed.

SUGGESTION FROM FRIENDLY FOREIGN NATION FOR LEGISLATION CONFERRING CERTAIN SPECIAL POWERS ON ITS MILITARY OFFICERS ON DUTY IN INDIA.

†51. ***Mr. K. O. Neogy:** (a) Will the War Secretary be pleased to state whether there was any request or suggestion from the Government of any friendly foreign nation, such as United States of America and China, or from any of its representatives present in India, for the enactment of legislation authorising the shooting of persons to death by or under the orders of its military officers on duty in India, under a degree of protection against legal action in circumstances specified in Ordinance No. XLI of 1942 published in the Gazette of India Extraordinary, dated the 15th August, 1942?

(b) Has the said Ordinance been specially brought to the notice of any of these foreign powers, or of their local official representatives in India? If so, has the Ordinance met with their full approval, or is it considered to fall short of their expectations?

Mr. C. M. Trivedi: (a) No Sir; no such request or suggestion was made.

(b) Copies of the Ordinance were sent to the representatives of foreign powers in India. I have no information as regards the latter part of the question.

EMPLOYMENT ON ACTIVE SERVICE OF MEMBERS OF THE UNIVERSITY TRAINING CORPS.

52. ***Mr. Govind V. Deshmukh:** (a) Will the War Secretary please state if the training, theoretical as well as practical, of the University Training Corps is of the same nature and degree as that of the Officers' Training Corps?

(b) Will he please state if any Members of the University Training Corps are now put on any active service? Are Government taking any work from them during these times of disturbances; if so, of what nature? Do members of the University Training Corps receive any remuneration or any concessions so far as their University education is concerned for rendering such services at present?

(c) Will he please state if the Urban Units of the army are used for quelling riots, firing on mobs and protecting Government property? Do these units contain members of the University Training Corps?

Mr. C. M. Trivedi: (a) As a result of the war the training of the Officers' Training Corps in England, which is now known as the Senior Training Corps has been considerably altered and at present there are

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

differences in nature and degree between the training of the Senior Training Corps and that of the University Training Corps in India. Government are however taking steps to improve the standards of training in the University Training Corps which will eventually, it is hoped, bring them up to the same level of training as the Senior Training Corps.

(b) No member of the University Training Corps is employed on active service, nor are their services being utilised in a military role in the present disturbances. The last part of the question does not arise.

(c) Members of Urban Units are liable under section 9 of the Indian Territorial Force Act to be called out to act in support of the Civil power or to provide guards and to support or supplement His Majesty's Regular Forces in India. They can be called out at the discretion of the Military Commander. These units do not contain members of the University Training Corps. As far as I am aware only one Urban Infantry Unit has been called out.

Mr. Govind V. Deshmukh: The Honourable Member referred to an infantry unit that was called out: was the reference to the University Training Corps or the urban infantry unit?

Mr. O. M. Trivedi: It refers to the urban infantry unit; it has nothing to do with the University Training Corps.

Mr. Govind V. Deshmukh: As regards the first part of the question, it was said that steps are being taken to bring the University Training Corps to the same level as the Officers Training Corps. Is the Honourable Member aware that these promises have been made times out of number in the other House as well as here and may I know what prevents Government from improving that training which would enable them to get many more recruits for the King's Emergency Commission officers?

Mr. O. M. Trivedi: The Honourable Member who is a member of the Defence Consultative Committee is no doubt aware that in December last certain proposals for improving facilities for training in the University Training Corps were placed before that committee, and certain proposals were approved and action is being taken on those proposals.

Mr. Govind V. Deshmukh: Will Government expedite these matters which they are contemplating since long?

Mr. O. M. Trivedi: Government are proceeding with the question of the improvement of facilities with the greatest possible expedition; at present some of the matters are under correspondence with the universities.

MEDICAL TREATMENT OF PERSONS WOUNDED BY FIRING DURING RIOTS IN NAGPUR AND DELHI.

53. *Mr. Govind V. Deshmukh: Will the War Secretary please state if persons wounded as a result of firing by the army during riots in Nagpur and Delhi were given medical treatment by the doctors in the service of the Government or allowed to be removed for medical treatment by private practitioners, Red Cross Societies and the Air-Raid Precaution organisations? Were the public or any of these organisations or volunteer organisations prevented from doing any medical relief work; if so what were the reasons?

Mr. C. M. Trivedi: In Delhi, two Government ambulances were called out within a few minutes of the first firing in the Chandni Chowk on the 11th August and during the next few days were kept at hand so that medical assistance could be given with the least possible delay to persons injured by the firing of troops or police. Altogether, during the disorders in Delhi, sixty-one persons were admitted to the Irwin Hospital and treated by the Government doctors there. Air-Raid Precaution staff rendered help on several occasions in bringing in casualties, and personnel of the Air-Raid Precaution Casualty Service rendered most valuable service in the Irwin Hospital. No obstacle of any kind was placed in the way of private practitioners or private medical societies who showed readiness to help in treating persons injured, and a certain number of cases are known to have been treated at private clinics.

The information asked for about Nagpur is not readily available.

Mr. Govind V. Deshmukh: May I know if any Red Cross Societies or Air-Raid Protection organisations were rendering any help to persons injured in the firing in Chandni Chowk recently?

Mr. C. M. Trivedi: I have already said that two ambulances were called out and that Air Raid Precaution staff rendered help on several occasions. I have got no further information.

Mr. Govind V. Deshmukh: May I take it that these organisations did their duty only

Mr. C. M. Trivedi: No such inference can be drawn.

Mr. Govind V. Deshmukh: Then what were these societies doing?

Mr. C. M. Trivedi: The question really was whether any obstacles were placed in the way of Red Cross Societies, etc. from rendering help, and the answer is that no obstacles were placed.

Mr. K. C. Neogy: Is it a fact that in Irwin Hospital blood transfusion was refused to such patients on the ground that they were rebels?

Mr. C. M. Trivedi: I have not heard of any such instances.

Mr. K. C. Neogy: Is this allegation known to some Honourable Members of the Executive Council who are present here?

Sardar Sant Singh: Will the Honourable Member make inquiry into this fact?

Mr. C. M. Trivedi: I should like to have notice.

Sardar Sant Singh: Will the Honourable Member take notice now and make inquiries into this matter? It is a serious charge of inhumanity that is being levelled.

The Honourable Mr. M. S. Aney: Will the Honourable Member enlighten the Government as to the Honourable Members who were present and know the thing personally?

Mr. K. O. Neogy: It is to the knowledge of certain Honourable Members.

The Honourable Mr. M. S. Aney: Who are those Members?

Mr. K. O. Neogy: If the Honourable Member wants to know I will mention.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): Next question. Maulana Zafar Ali Khan.

The Honourable Mr. M. S. Aney: The Members of the Executive Council here are anxious to know which of their colleagues was present and know this personally.

An Honourable Member: They are themselves anxious to know the names of their colleagues.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): Next question. Maulana Zafar Ali Khan.

SOLITARY CONFINEMENT IN THE LAHORE FORT OF SARDAR SARDUL SINGH CAVEESHAR.

54. *Maulana Zafar Ali Khan: (a) Will the Honourable the Home Member be pleased to state whether it is a fact that Sardar Sardul Singh Caveeshar has been kept in solitary confinement in the Lahore Fort since his arrest on the 9th March, 1942?

(b) Have Government done anything so far to transfer Mr. Caveeshar to some jail? If not, why not?

(c) Is it a fact that Mr. Wace, Deputy Inspector General, Criminal Investigation Department, Punjab, interviewed Sardar Sardul Singh Caveeshar in the Lahore Fort about five months after his arrest?

(d) Is it a fact that before Mr. Wace interviewed Sardar Sardul Singh Caveeshar, Sardar Sahib was allowed some facilities such as the use of electric fan, permission to take home-food, one hour's stroll daily and permission to read newspapers?

(e) Is it a fact that since Mr. Wace's interview, all the above facilities have been disallowed to Mr. Caveeshar?

(f) Will Government state why these facilities have been disallowed to Sardar Sardul Singh Caveeshar?

(g) Is it a fact that Sardar Sardul Singh Caveeshar is now kept in solitary confinement in a small cell without any arrangement for cross-ventilation all the twenty-four hours and is even made to sleep inside the cell during the night?

(h) Is it a fact that since home-food has been disallowed to Sardar Sardul Singh Caveeshar, he has refused to take jail-food?

(i) Is it a fact that his refusal to take jail-food has deteriorated Sardar Sardul Singh Caveeshar's health?

(j) How long do Government intend to keep him in solitary confinement and debar him from the facilities allowed to the prisoners of this class?

The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell: (a), (b) and (j). It is a fact that Sardar Sardul Singh Caveeshar has been detained in a separate room in the Lahore Fort since March 9th. This has been necessary for reasons

of State, which it would not be in the public interest to disclose, and I cannot say at present when it will be possible to transfer him to an ordinary jail.

(c) to (i). It is a fact that certain special amenities, over and above those allowed by the Security Prisoners Rules, were originally granted but had subsequently to be withdrawn owing to the prisoner's unsatisfactory demeanour. He is now being treated as an ordinary security prisoner. He is allowed to take regular exercise and is supplied with a daily newspaper. His room is well-ventilated with a window and a large door. He is given good food, is in good health and is not being maltreated in any way. When the extra amenities referred to above were withdrawn he refused food for 24 hours as a protest but has been eating regularly since.

Sardar Sant Singh: May I know if it is a fact that the unsatisfactory demeanour referred to by the Honourable Member is the denial of certain information which was required by Mr. Wace when he visited him?

The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell: I have not got full information on that point. I am giving the Honourable Member information which I possess and which had to be obtained from the Provincial Government.

Sardar Sant Singh: May I request the Honourable Member to tell us what is the position of this Lahore Fort and what is the difference between detaining a person in Lahore Fort as distinguished from detaining him in some jail?

The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell: I think the Lahore Fort is not classified as an ordinary jail for all and sundry but it is used for purposes of certain prisoners in regard to whom enquiries are proceeding.

Sardar Sant Singh: If the enquiries have not been completed between the months of March and September, is it not an unusual delay to keep him, in that fort?

The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell: Well, Sir, I shall go into that point.

ASSISTANT, ADDITIONAL, DEPUTY AND JOINT SECRETARIES IN GOVERNMENT OF INDIA DEPARTMENTS.

55. *Maulvi Muhammad Abdul Ghani: Will the Honourable the Home Member please state:

- (a) the number of Assistant, Additional, Deputy and Joint Secretaries in every Department of the Government of India (including Supply, Defence and Public) and the number of Muslims under each category; and
- (b) the number of such posts to be created in the current year?

The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell: (a) The information asked for by the Honourable Member is not readily available and its collection would involve an amount of time and labour that would not be justifiable in war time. The Honourable Member may however refer to "The Government of India Directory, May, 1942, edition", a copy of which will be found in the Library.

(b) The Honourable Member will appreciate that this cannot be calculated in anticipation.

Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad: The Honourable Member can get the information but he wants that the Home Member also should know about it.

Mr. Muhammad Nauman: Are we to understand that the Home Department does not even know the actual names of the people and the number of the different communities who are there?

The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell: The Directory of May 1942 is not quite up to date, and in order to give precise information it would be necessary to call for information from all departments and have tabulated it and that is the reason why the Honourable Member has been referred to the most recent Directory which gives him the information he wants.

DEFINITION OF "ANGLO-INDIANS".

56. *Maulvi Muhammad Abdul Ghani: Will the Honourable the Home Member please state the definition of the term "Anglo-Indians"?

The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell: I would refer the Honourable Member to the definition of this term given in clause 26 of Part I of the First Schedule to the Government of India Act, 1935.

Dr. P. N. Banerjee: Does the Oxford Directory give this information?

The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell: I do not know.

COLLECTIVE FINES IMPOSED.

57. *Maulvi Muhammad Abdul Ghani: Will the Honourable the Home Member please state:

- (a) the total collective fines imposed in various Provinces with names of the localities and amount of fine imposed under the new Ordinance of the 13th May, 1942, for sabotage, etc.;
- (b) the total population of every such area and the population of Muslims; and
- (c) whether Muslims have been exempted from payment of such fines?

The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell: (a) The Government of India have not got complete information. They understand, however, that Provincial Governments have issued communiqués on the subject.

(b) The Government of India have no information.

(c) The Government of India have called for information from Provincial Governments on this point. Their replies are not yet complete but reports so far received indicate that the general practice adopted by Provinces has been to treat each case on its merits but not to realise collective fines from Muslims unless the latter were definitely implicated in the acts on account of which the fine was levied.

Maulvi Muhammad Abdul Ghani: Arising out of part (c) of the question may I know whether any instructions have been issued by the Government of India?

The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell: No instructions have so far been issued on the subject.

Sardar Sant Singh: Are the Government aware of the consequences which will end in greater bitterness in the people against the Government if the collective fines are really realised? Did the Government consider this question?

The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell: I should think that is a matter of opinion.

Sardar Sant Singh: I am asking whether Government realised it.

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

CASUALTIES AND DAMAGE DURING RECENT DISTURBANCES.

58. *Maulvi Muhammad Abdul Ghani: Will the Honourable the Home Member please state:

- (a) the places in British India where *lathi* charges or firing by Police or Military have been resorted to from the 9th August onward as far as available and the number injured or killed as a result thereof;
- (b) the number of persons or Government servants or officers injured and killed during the recent disturbance by the rioters or mobs in every Province and locality;
- (c) the number of properties burnt or damaged (i) by rioters and (ii) by Police or Military, and the extent of damage done; and
- (d) the number of cases of sabotage on the various Railways and the extent of damage done to individual Railway Administrations?

The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell: The Honourable Member will understand that it would be quite impossible for me to give him all the detailed information he asks for:

- (1) because to do so might disclose information of value to the enemy;
- (2) because the number of occasions on which violent mobs came into conflict with the authorities probably runs into several hundreds;
- (3) because much of the information he asks for is primarily the concern of Provincial Governments; and
- (4) because our information, and probably even that of some of the Provinces, is still incomplete and there would certainly be no time to secure complete information before the end of the Session.

I will however give him such information as is available in answer to each part of the question.

(a) The casualties caused by Police firing according to most recent reports are 340 killed and 850 wounded. The figures are however incomplete, especially as regards parts of Bihar. The casualties caused by the military according to most recent reports are 318 killed and 153 wounded.

(b) The number of casualties suffered by the Government forces are :

Police—31 killed and a very large number injured, though in most cases not seriously.

Military—11 killed and 7 wounded.

Civil officials excluding P. and T. Department and Railways—7 killed and 16 injured.

(c) (i) and (d). As regards the property burnt or damaged or otherwise sabotaged by rioters, I would refer the Hon'ble Member to the replies given on the 14th September to Mr. K. C. Neogy's question No. 5 and Mr. A. N. Chattopadhyaya's question No. 11, in respect of Post and Telegraph and Railway property. In addition, some 70 Police stations and posts were attacked of which 45 were destroyed, and some 85 other buildings were attacked of which the great majority were destroyed. The latter included a number of important buildings such as courts, treasuries, etc., while there has also been considerable damage to Municipal and private property, details of which are not available.

(c) (ii). So far as I am aware no properties have been damaged or burnt by the Police or Military.

Sardar Sant Singh: May I know if the number of injured given in reply to part (a) of the question—850—includes persons injured at Lyallpur by lathi charge, which number was over 200?

The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell: I was giving the figures of casualties caused by firing.

Sardar Sant Singh: Does it include injuries caused by lathi charge?

The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell: Obviously not. I have said, caused by firing.

AIR RAIDS ON INDIA.

59. ***Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra:** (a) Will the Honourable Member for Civil Defence be pleased to make a comprehensive statement about the air-raids that have so far taken place in this country with special reference to:

- (i) their number, date and time and places of occurrence;
- (ii) the nature and extent of damage caused;
- (iii) the number of casualties; and
- (iv) the nature of air-raid precautionary measures provided in places where such raids took place?

(b) Will he be pleased to state if the A. R. P. Organisations were in existence in the places where the air-raids took place, and, if so, did they render effective service during and after the raids?

Mr. N. V. H. Symons: There have been seven air raids on places in British India up-to-date, but no town has been bombed. In addition there were two raids on Imphal, the capital of Manipur State.

All the raids occurred in April and May 1942 and took place in full daylight at various times between 6-45 A.M. and 5 P.M.

As regards the raids on British India, with one exception they were directed purely on targets of military importance or imagined military importance. One was on the Port of Vizagapatam, one was near Cocanada, three were on military targets near Chittagong, one was in a rural area of Eastern Assam and one, which is the exception I have already mentioned, was delivered by a reconnaissance plane which came down low and fired some bursts of machinegun fire at workers on a tea-garden in Eastern Bengal. The only casualty resulting from this attack was one goat killed.

It is not desirable in the public interest to give more exact details of the places raided as in some cases the Japanese missed what we believe to have been their targets and we do not want to tell them exactly where their bombs did fall.

The casualty figures for Vizagapatam and Cocanada were published on the 8th April in a Press Communiqué which read as follows:

"Detailed figures of casualties in the air raids on Vizagapatam and Cocanada on April 6 show that five persons were killed and 40 wounded in Vizagapatam and one killed and five wounded in Cocanada.

It is not intended, as a normal practice, to give detailed figures of casualties sustained in air raids. Experience in the United Kingdom has shown that information of value to the enemy may be conveyed by this means. The United Kingdom has, therefore, abandoned the practice of giving detailed figures. Detailed figures are given in the present instance because these raids represent the first Japanese air attacks on India and because rumour has placed these very slight casualties at a much higher figure."

In pursuance of that policy it is not proposed to publish the total figures of civilians killed yet as they could be related by the enemy to this particular series of raids. The number, however, is not high and this may be judged when I say that the sum total of ascertained casualties, both killed and wounded, is 285.

Material damage in the raids was negligible.

The Air Raid Precautionary measures adopted in towns classified as possible targets consist of Lighting Restrictions, Air Raid Warning Arrangements, Air Raid Shelters and Slit Trenches, Structural Precautions to buildings, Wardens Service with Report and Control Centres, Rescue Service, Fire Service, Casualty and Hospital Services, Corpse Disposal Organisation, Provision of Mobile Parties for the repair of Roads, Water, Electricity, Sewage, Telephone and Telegraph Services and Arrangements for Salvage and the Demolition of unsafe buildings.

There are also arrangements for the care of the homeless, for dispersal of the population outside the congested target area and for the food supplies necessary for these purposes and also for the consumption of industrial labour and essential workers should the normal supply organization be affected.

These organisations were in existence in the towns adjacent to the places which were bombed and they were able to render help. The service they rendered was, in some cases, distinctly effective.

This reply is purposely not made more definite and exact for reasons which Honourable Members will readily appreciate, that is the necessity of giving as little useful information as may be to the enemy.

ARRESTS OF THE MEMBERS OF THE CONGRESS WORKING COMMITTEE, ETC.

60. *Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: (a) Will the Honourable the Home Member be pleased to state:

- (i) the names of the members of the Congress Working Committee who have been arrested and the jails where they have been kept;
- (ii) the class under which they have been placed;
- (iii) the amenities, if any, provided to them; and
- (iv) the facilities, if any, granted to them for reading books and newspapers, for writing letters and for having interviews with friends and relations?

(b) Is there any foundation for the rumour that they are going to be kept outside India? Is it in the contemplation of the Government to deport them from India?

(c) What is the total number of congressmen arrested in the month of August 1942, under the Defence of India Act? Of these how many are women?

(d) Is it a fact that all the members of the All-India Congress Committee have been arrested?

(e) Have all those arrests been made by the Government of India in consultation with the Provincial Governments or without any reference to them?

The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell: (a) and (b). The Government of India are not prepared to give any further information than that contained in the communiqué recently issued by the Bombay Government, a copy of which is laid on the table.

(c) The Government of India have no information.

(d) No.

(e) The Government of India have made no arrests. The arrests of Mr. Gandhi and the Members of the Working Committee were made by the Provincial Governments concerned in consultation with the Government of India. The Provincial Governments have, at their discretion, made a number of other arrests of persons whom they considered competent, and likely to attempt, to organise and lead a mass movement.

COMMUNIQUE.

Bombay, August 30.

The Government of Bombay has issued the following communiqué regarding Mahatma Gandhi and Members of the Congress Working Committee who are being detained under the Defence of India Rules: "Mahatma Gandhi is in a private house where he is supplied with everything necessary to secure his comfort and the kind of food he requires. His wife is with him, as also certain companions, including his own medical adviser.

"The Members of the Congress Working Committee have also been accommodated in suitable quarters and are supplied with all necessary conveniences. They are in charge of an officer of the Indian Medical Service. All these persons are permitted to correspond with the members of their families on personal matters and are provided with newspapers. The health of all is good."—*United Press*.

Sardar Sant Singh: Is the Honourable Member aware that in the Punjab a member of the All-India Congress Committee, Virender Kumar, was arrested, after the Committee was declared unlawful. His brother went to give him his bedding. He was not a member of the Congress. He was arrested. Then his father was arrested, because the Unionist Government was against the paper *Pratap* in the Punjab and they are still being detained in the Shahpur jail?

The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell: I am not aware of that.

Sardar Sant Singh: Will the Honourable Member make inquiries as to why the father and the son, who are not members of the Congress, were arrested? Is it on account of the enmity of the Provincial Government against these two persons?

The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell: I am afraid I cannot undertake to make detailed inquiries into all the action taken by Provincial Governments under their own powers.

Sardar Sant Singh: Does the Honourable Member know that this question has been agitated in this House for a long time?

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): This question relates only to Congress members.

Sardar Sant Singh: He was arrested in connection with the Congress movement, while the father and one son were not members of the Congress.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): That is not the question.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: Will the Honourable Member tell the House if he is not in a position to contradict the rumour that some of the leaders are going to be deported from India? Has he got anything further to add to the communiqué issued by the Government of Bombay?

The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell: I am not aware of any such rumour. I would refer the Honourable Member to my answer to part (b) of the question. The communiqué issued by the Bombay Government gives all present information about these prisoners.

Sardar Sant Singh: Is it not in the interests of Government to contradict this rumour publicly that none of the Members of the Working Committee have been deported outside India?

The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell: That is a matter of opinion.

†61*.

(b) WRITTEN ANSWERS.**SILVER SOLD BY GOVERNMENT OF INDIA IN LONDON MARKET SINCE THE COMMENCEMENT OF WAR.**

62. *Mr. K. O. Neogy: (a) Will the Honourable the Finance Member be pleased to state the amount of silver sold by the Government of India in the London Market since the commencement of the War, year by year, and the rate at which it was sold from time to time?

(b) Is it a fact that silver from the reserves of the Government of India is sold by Government to His Majesty's Government at a price lower than the one ruling in the Indian Market?

(c) Is it a fact that the Government of the United States of America have, since December 1941, raised the price fixed by them for the purchase of foreign silver to 35 1/8 cents per ounce?

(d) Is it a fact that Government's sales of silver to His Majesty's Government are made at a loss compared to the price at which silver is being sold in Indian Markets? If the answer is in the affirmative, will the Honourable Member state the amount of loss thus sustained by the Indian Treasury?

The Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman: (a) As the sales in question are made for essential war purposes the Government do not consider it to be in the public interest to furnish the information required. The sales were made at the London prices at the time which are quoted in the daily press.

(b) and (d). It has been the policy of the Government of India for some years past to impose an element of luxury taxation on silver, and this was enhanced shortly after the outbreak of war by empowering the Reserve Bank to charge a special licence fee for imported silver with a view to the discouragement of hoarding and speculation, both of which are anti-social activities in war-time. The Government since then have adjusted the price at which they sell in India from their stocks with these objects in view. There is, therefore, no relationship between the price at which the Government of India sell to hoarders in India and that at which it sells in London for essential war purposes.

(c) The Honourable Member is presumably referring to the small rise in the New York open Market price from 34½ to 35 1/8 cents which occurred at the beginning of December 1941. The Government of India have no information as to whether this was due to any specific action on the part of the United States of America Government.

POSITION OF THE PERSONNEL OF THE BURMA ARMY EVACUATED TO INDIA.

63. *Mr. K. O. Neogy: (a) With reference to the personnel of the Burma Army who were evacuated to India after the fall of Burma, will the Honourable the Finance Member be pleased to state whether they are being maintained in India as a distinct Army charged to revenues of the Burma Government?

†This question has been postponed to be answered on the 21st September, 1942.

(b) Are they treated in India on the same terms as the personnel of the Indian Army or of the British Army, in point of pay, allowances and other emoluments, and is any part thereof chargeable to Indian revenues?

The Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman: (a) and (b). The Army in Burma, when Burma fell, consisted of the Burma Army proper *plus* reinforcements which had been sent from India. The latter have been reabsorbed in the Army of India on Indian rates of pay, etc., and the former are, broadly speaking, still being paid by the Burma Government at rates sanctioned by them.

PAYMENT OF ALLOWANCES TO NON-INDIAN BURMA EVACUEES.

64. *Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: (a) Will the Honourable the Home Member be pleased to state whether his Department is responsible for the payment of allowances to the following categories of evacuees from Burma:

- (i) European;
- (ii) Anglo-Indian;
- (iii) Anglo-Burman;
- (iv) Burman; and
- (v) Chinese?

(b) If the answer to the above be in the affirmative, will he be pleased to state the scale or scales, conditions and duration of such allowances?

(c) Will he be pleased to state the number, class by class, of the above evacuees that have been paid such allowances?

(d) What is the total amount paid to each class?

(e) Is his Department also responsible for payment to the Indian evacuees?

The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell: (a) The Home Department are responsible for assisting on behalf of their own Governments evacuees who are European British subjects or subjects of Allied or neutral Foreign States. The Honourable Member in charge of the Indians (Overseas) Department is responsible for Indian and other British evacuees of Asiatic origin.

(b) I lay on the table a statement giving the particulars.

(c) and (d). Information regarding the number of evacuees who are receiving assistance is not readily available.

(e) No.

Assistance is at present given in the form of advances in cash or kind in accordance with the following scale which is applicable to all evacuees, whether European, Indian or foreign :

Estimated normal income of evacuee and his family or of evacuee's supporter.	Maximum advance admissible to evacuees.		
	Single adult earner or person normally in receipt of a remittance.	Earner or receiver of remittance and wife (or adult dependant).	Child.
1	2	3	4
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Up to and including—			
Rs. 50 p. m.	15	25	5
Rs. 51 to Rs. 150 p. m.	30	50	8
Rs. 151 to Rs. 400 p. m.	60	100	12
Rs. 401 to Rs. 750 p. m.	100	170	16
Over Rs. 750 p. m.	150	250	20

All advances made under the foregoing scale are given against undertakings to repay and are subject to an over-riding limit of Rs. 350 a month for any family or group dependent upon a single earner. The scale will remain in force until the end of 1942 when it will be reviewed.

PAYMENT OF ALLOWANCES TO NON-INDIAN BURMA EVACUEES.

65. *Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: Will the Honourable the Home Member be pleased to state if the Government of India is paying allowances to all non-Indian evacuees on behalf of His Majesty's Government and on the scales fixed by them? Since when are these allowances being paid and with what conditions?

The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell: The Honourable Member is referred to the answer which I have given to his question No. 64 of today. All assistance is recoverable and pending recovery is debited to His Majesty's Government or, in the case of the few evacuees from the Netherlands East Indies, to the Royal Netherlands Government.

EMPLOYMENT OF NON-INDIAN BURMA EVACUEES IN GOVERNMENT OF INDIA SERVICES.

66. *Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: (a) Will the Honourable the Home Member be pleased to make a comprehensive statement about the employment in the services under the Government of India, of the European, Anglo-Indian and Anglo-Burman Officers who had been in the higher services under the Government of Burma? What are their scales of pay and conditions of service?

(b) Is it a fact that the European and Anglo-Indian evacuees from Burma who had been in private business or in the service of private companies there or had been professional men, or business men or men with technical skill, have all been absorbed in the services under the Government of India?

(c) If the answer to the above be in the negative, will the Honourable Member please state the number that have been so employed and their scales of pay and conditions of service?

The Honourable Malik Sir Firoz Khan Noon: The information asked for is being collected and will be laid on the table of the House in due course.

DIRECTION UNDER DEFENCE OF INDIA RULES FOR RUNNING A HOTEL IN THE BUILDING OCCUPIED BY THE ALLIANCE HOTEL AT ALLAHABAD.

67. *Qazi Muhammad Ahmad Kazmi: (a) Will the Honourable the Defence Member be pleased to state if it is or it is not a fact that in cases where the Government requisitions immovable property under rule 75A, Defence of India Rules or gives notice with a view to requisitioning any property under sub-rule (5) (b), they propose to pay compensation to the owner for any loss occasioned by such requisition or prohibition?

(b) Is it or is it not a fact that one Mr. Torpey, who was running a hotel known as Alliance Hotel at Allahabad, became an insolvent and indebted to the proprietor of the building to the extent of Rs. 20,000 for arrears of rent, and against whom and his wife all the courts including the High Court at Allahabad ordered delivery of possession to the owner, has continued to run the hotel and retain possession of the building under the above mentioned provisions of the Defence of India Rules?

(c) Is it or is it not a fact that the Reserve Bank of India, Allahabad Branch, had contracted to take the said building on a rental of Rs. 450 per month, and the proprietor has been refused permission by the authorities to let the premises to the said Bank and has been ordered to run a hotel in the said premises?

(d) If the answer to (c) be in the affirmative, will Government be pleased to state whether such a direction, viz., to run a hotel, can be given under rule 75A, sub-rule (5) (b)? If not, under what authority was it given?

(e) Do Government in such cases pay compensation to the persons who suffer loss due to such direction if no requisition is ultimately made? If not, why not?

The Honourable Malik Sir Firoz Khan Noon: (a) Government have paid and propose to pay compensation in respect of immoveable property requisitioned under rule 75A or in respect of which a prohibitory order has been passed under that rule.

(b), (c), (d) and (e). The facts are being ascertained and a reply will be laid on the table of the House in due course.

ADVERTISING AGENCIES SELECTED BY THE INFORMATION AND BROADCASTING DEPARTMENT.

68. *Mr. Amarendra Nath Chattopadhyaya: (a) Will the Honourable Member for Information and Broadcasting please say if it is a fact that all advertisements are distributed by his Department through European and Non-Indian advertising agencies and that not a single reputed Indian advertising agency has been appointed or selected to distribute advertisement on behalf of his Department?

(b) If the answer be in the affirmative, will the Honourable Member explain the policy behind this plan?

(c) If the answer be in the negative, will the Honourable Member be pleased to state the names of advertising agencies at present working on behalf of the Department and since when they have been engaged?

The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell: (a) No.

(b) Does not arise in view of reply to (a) above.

(c) The advertising work of the Department of Information is placed through the following Agencies:

- | | |
|---|------------|
| (i) Messrs. J. Walter Thompson Company (Eastern) Ltd. | (American) |
| (ii) Messrs. Adarts Ltd. | (Indian) |
| (iii) Messrs. L. A. Stronach and Company (India) Ltd. | (British) |
| (iv) Messrs. D. J. Keymer & Co. Ltd. | (British) |
| (v) Messrs. Press Syndicate Ltd. | (Indian) |
| (vi) Messrs. General Advertising Agency (India) Ltd. | (British) |
| (vii) The National Advertising Service (India) Ltd. | (Indian). |

The dates at which the above Advertising Agencies commenced working with Government of India are given below :

Messrs. J. Walter Thompson Company (Eastern) Ltd.	}	July 1940
Messrs. L. A. Stronach & Co. (India) Ltd.		
Messrs. D. J. Keymer & Co. Ltd.		
Messrs. Adarts Ltd.		February 1941
The General Advertising Agency (India) Ltd.		September 1941
Messrs. Press Syndicate Ltd.		September 1940
The National Advertising Service (India) Ltd.		August 1942.

The dates given above will reveal a gradual Indianisation.

DESIRABILITY OF POLITICAL PROPAGANDA TALKS FROM THE DELHI RADIO STATION.

69. *Mr. Amarendra Nath Chatteropadhyaya: (a) Will the Honourable Member for Information and Broadcasting be pleased to state if the Controller of the Broadcasting Department does not encourage political speeches and propaganda to be made through the Radio Station in Delhi? If so, would the Honourable Member be pleased to state if that is according to policy of the Government?

(b) If the answer to part (a) be in the affirmative, will he consider the advisability of changing the policy and utilising the Radio for political propaganda talks as the German and Japanese have from Berlin and Tokyo?

(c) Is there any Indian Officer to guide the Controller in this matter or does the Controller act on his own responsibility? Is it not possible to curtail music to a considerable extent at this crisis?

The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell: (a) and (b). It has been the policy of the Government of India not to permit the use of All-India Radio for party politics of a controversial nature. I would refer the

Honourable Member to the proceedings of the debate in the Assembly on 25th September, 1935. All-India Radio is, however, constantly used for the dissemination of correct information about the war situation, for guidance on matters relating to the war, for countering mendacious enemy propaganda and mischievous rumours and for stimulating the war effort, and Government do not consider themselves in any way bound to abstain from using All-India Radio to counter any movement likely to endanger the peace and safety of the country.

(c) The general policy of All-India Radio is laid down by the Department of Information and Broadcasting which, till recently, was in charge of an Indian Member of the Executive Council. As regards the latter part of this part of the question, since the outbreak of the war there has been considerable expansion in the news service of All-India Radio and an increase in the number of programmes relating to the war, which has reduced the proportion of music and other entertainment items. It is doubtful whether a drastic curtailment of music programmes would either be appreciated by the listeners or be in the interests of the progress of broadcasting in India.

**SERVICE RENDERED BY THE NATIONAL WAR FRONT DURING RECENT
DISTURBANCES.**

70. *Mr. Amarendra Nath Chatterpadhyaya: (a) Will the Honourable Member for Civil Defence be pleased to state if the organisation known as the National War Front is meant for helping in the Civil Defence matters? Did this organisation in the different Provinces render any help to Government during the demonstration carried on between the 9th August and 31st August in all the Provinces? If so, what sort of service did they render? Are they equipped with any pistols, rifles or revolvers?

(b) Is it a fact that some of the members of the National Front in some Provinces have resigned on account of the arrests of national leaders and adoption of repressive measures? If so, where and how many have resigned? Who are in charge of the "National Front" force in different Provinces and how are the members recruited?

The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell: (a) The National War Front is concerned with fostering a spirit of determination to protect India and beat the enemy and it is therefore part of its duty to assist the Civil Defence authorities where so required and to stimulate citizens to perform their Civil Defence duties. As regards A. R. P. in most Provinces the A. R. P. organisations do their own publicity and the National War Front merely supplements the work of those organisations.

As regards village defence parties, Home Guards, etc., in the Surma Valley and in Bombay the National War Front is expected to assist in recruiting, etc., while in other Provinces it is not directly connected with these activities—though its speakers and other forms of publicity aim at stimulating recruiting. The National War Front was not, as far as is known, asked to assist in any Civil Defence demonstrations in August. Members of the National War Front are not equipped with pistols, rifles or other weapons.

(b) A few members of the National War Front are reported to have resigned on account of the arrests of the Congress leaders; lists of names are not available, but the cases reported are few.

(c) In six Provinces there are non-official leaders, in two Provinces there are official leaders and in three Provinces there are no Provincial leaders, but only District leaders. Generally speaking there is no formal recruitment, but in some places there has been public enrolment.

HEALTH OF MR. SARAT CHANDRA BOSE.

71. *Mr. Amarendra Nath Chattopadhyaya: (a) Will the Honourable the Home Member be pleased to make a statement regarding the present state of health of Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose? Is it not a fact that he has lost good deal in weight and is still running a temperature?

(b) Will the Honourable Member state if he is getting all the amenities to which he is accustomed?

(c) Will the Honourable Member state if he requires a change of domicile for his health?

(d) Is it a fact that his family desired to live with him? If so, what decision have Government made in this respect?

(e) Could he be permitted to live with family in his house at Kurseong in case the Bengal Ministry agree to take him under its charge?

(f) In case he is still getting a temperature, will the Honourable Member arrange for efficient treatment by physicians from Calcutta?

The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell: (a), (c) and (f). Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose had been a diabetic patient for some time before his arrest and the health of such persons can never be entirely satisfactory. In addition to the regular medical officer in Mercara, he was examined last July by an expert from Madras. His weight at that time was 160 lbs. which this doctor considered "quite a good weight for a man of his build." His weight has since increased somewhat, although it is still below what it was when he was arrested. His temperature has shown a tendency to rise slightly in the evenings but the doctor who came from Madras reported that this was no more than was common with about half the adult population of India, and he considered that his condition in that respect was satisfactory. On the other hand, he reported that the heavy rainfall in Mercara was having a depressing effect on Mr. Bose and it is, of course, a fact that anyone suffering from a chronic disease such as Diabetes tends to become depressed during the monsoon and therefore not to be so well during this season. The Government have carefully been considering the possibility of a change of domicile. With the approach of the end of the monsoon this may not be necessary and Mr. Bose now has a companion with him which may help to improve his condition.

(b) Mr. Bose is receiving all reasonable amenities.

(d) and (e). It is a fact that Mr. Bose's family expressed a desire to live with him in his house at Kurseong. Government are not prepared to grant this request.

ARRESTS AND CASUALTIES DURING RECENT DISTURBANCES.

72. *Mr. Amarendra Nath Chattopadhyaya: (a) Will the Honourable the Home Member be pleased to state and lay on the table a detailed list of arrests made Province by Province in connection with the mob and students demonstrations in Delhi, Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Lahore,

Lucknow, Cawnpore, Dacca, Cuttack and Madura? How many men were killed by police and military gunshots on different dates? How many were wounded by gunshots and lathi charges in the aforesaid places who had to be sent to hospitals and how many got healed and how many died in hospitals? Of the dead and wounded how many were women and minor boys and girls? How many Government officers and employees were killed and wounded in the fracas all over the country?

(b) Will the Honourable Member be pleased to state if all measures for dispersing the crowds were resorted to by Government in all the aforesaid places and those having failed police and military had to open fire? Is the allegation that 20,000 men, women and children have been killed in the fracas all over India approximately true? Who gave the orders for opening fire on the spots?

(c) What measures have been taken to stop the repetition of such mob-demonstrations and also the adoption of aforementioned measures?

(d) What means has the Honourable Member in contemplation for restoring normal condition in the country?

The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell: (a) The Honourable Member is referred to the reply to Maulvi Muhammad Abdul Ghani's question No. 58.

(b) The Government of India are satisfied, speaking generally, that neither the Police nor the Military opened fire until it was necessary to do so. The allegation that 20,000 men, women and children have been killed is a fantastic exaggeration.

(c) and (d). All necessary measures including the employment of large forces of Police and Military have been taken to stop a repetition of such disorders. In addition special measures have been taken to secure the prompt trial of offenders and to enforce joint responsibility for the protection of communications by the imposition of collective fines on the inhabitants of those areas in which sabotage took place. The Government are also glad to notice that in many areas the law abiding population and village defence parties have co-operated with the authorities in restoring order.

SHORT NOTICE QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

STEPS FOR ELIMINATION OF NON-ESSENTIAL WORK IN GOVERNMENT OFFICES AND POLICY CONCERNING OFFICIAL BUSINESS IN THE CENTRAL LEGISLATURE DURING WAR PERIOD.

Sir F. E. James: (a) Will the Honourable the Home Member be pleased to state what steps Government have taken to eliminate, as far as possible, unnecessary correspondence and the avoidable circulation of files, in other words, red-tape, so as to concentrate official energies on activities directly relevant to the war effort?

(b) What is the policy of Government with regard to official business to be placed before the Central Legislature during the remainder of the war period, and in particular, with regard to the furnishing of information in reply to questions tabled by Members?

The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell: (a) Departments have been asked to give complete priority to "essential" work and to eliminate "non-essential" work, as far as possible, even at the cost of some efficiency.

Essential work is work which is directly related to the war effort or is concerned with the maintenance of the administration at the minimum safe level of efficiency or the preservation of conditions necessary for the stability and war resistance of the country or is enjoined by statute or is such that it cannot be postponed for the period of the war. Departments have also been enjoined to adopt quick and summary methods in the disposal of work and to avoid all unnecessary routine.

(b) Government have decided not to proceed with any new proposal for legislation unless its purpose is essential or unless it is likely to yield substantially beneficial results at the cost of a relatively small expenditure of labour. As regards questions, the policy of Government has always been to do their best to furnish all available information in their replies. In accordance, however, with the policy described in answer to part (a) of the question Government must consider carefully in each case whether the time and labour involved in collecting information, which is not readily available, would be justified in war time by the importance of the matter. While, therefore, questions in the Legislature relating to "essential" matters will as far as possible be dealt with as usual, questions relating to "non-essential" matters will be carefully examined and, generally speaking, information in reply to them will be furnished only if they are of reasonable importance and/or information is available or can be made available without much correspondence and research.

CASUALTIES, ARRESTS, ETC., DURING THE RECENT POLITICAL DISTURBANCES.

Dr. P. N. Banerjee: Will the Honourable the Home Member please state :

(a) the number of persons :

- (i) killed,
- (ii) injured,
- (iii) arrested,
- (iv) detained, and
- (v) imprisoned; and

(b) the number of places in which firing was resorted to; since the commencement of the political disturbances on the 7th August, 1942?

The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell: I would refer the Honourable Member to the reply given by me earlier today to the question put by Maulvi Muhammad Abdul Ghani.

Dr. P. N. Banerjee: Does that reply refer to all the points on which information is asked in this question?

The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell: No, Sir, it does not cover all the points the Honourable Member has asked. But as I explained in answer to Maulvi Abdul Ghani's question, we have not got all this information complete and tabulated ready to answer in more detail than I gave in my reply to him.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: Is the Honourable Member in a position to give us an idea of the number of persons who have been subjected to whipping?

The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell: I have not got that information.

ELECTION OF A MEMBER TO THE DEFENCE CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): I have to inform the Assembly that up to 12 Noon on Tuesday the 15th September, 1942, the time fixed for receiving nominations for the election of a Member to the Defence Consultative Committee only one nomination was received. As there is only one vacancy I declare Mr. Naoroji M. Dumasia to be duly elected.

ELECTION OF MEMBERS TO THE STANDING COMMITTEE FOR THE POSTS AND AIR DEPARTMENT.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): I have also to inform the Assembly that up to 12 Noon on Tuesday the 15th September, 1942, the time fixed for receiving nominations for the Standing Committee for the Department of Posts and Air only three nominations were received. As the number of candidates is equal to the number of vacancies I declare Maulvi Muhammad Abdul Ghani, Mr. J. Ramsay Scott and Mr. Anange Mohan Dam to be duly elected.

HOME DEPARTMENT DECLARATIONS OF EXEMPTION UNDER THE REGISTRATION OF FOREIGNERS ACT.

The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell (Home Member): Sir, I lay on the table a copy each of Home Department Declaration of Exemption No. 1/3/42-Political (E), dated the 18th May, 1942, and Home Department Declaration of Exemption No. 1/3/42-Political (E), dated the 12th June, 1942.

No. 1/3/42-POLITICAL (E).

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

HOME DEPARTMENT.

New Delhi, the 15th May, 1942.

Declaration of Exemption.

In exercise of the powers conferred by section 6 of the Registration of Foreigners Act, 1939 (NVI of 1939), the Central Government is pleased to declare that the provisions of the Registration of Foreigners Rules, 1939, except Rule 8, shall not apply to, or in relation to, the services personnel of the American and Chinese naval, military and air force arriving in India in the discharge of their official duties.

V. SHANKAR.

Deputy Secretary to the Government of India.

No. 1/3/42-POLITICAL (E).

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

HOME DEPARTMENT.

New Delhi, the 12th/16th June, 1942.

Declaration of Exemption.

In exercise of the powers conferred by section 6 of the Registration of Foreigners Act, 1939 (XVI of 1939), and in pursuance of the Home Department notification No. 1/3/42 Political (E), dated the 13th May, 1942, the Central Government is pleased to declare that the provisions of the Registration of Foreigners Rules, 1939, except Rule 8, shall not apply to, or in relation to, the service personnel of the American, Chinese, Dutch, Free French or other allied naval, military and air force arriving in India in the discharge of their official duties.

V. SHANKAR,

Deputy Secretary to the Government of India.

AMENDMENTS TO THE INSURANCE RULES.

The Honourable Mr. N. R. Sarker (Commerce Member): Sir, I lay on the table a copy of the Notification of the Department of Commerce No. 597-I (3)/41, dated the 14th March, 1942, regarding further amendments of the Insurance Rules, 1939.

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE.

NOTIFICATION.

INSURANCE.

New Delhi, the 14th March, 1942.

No. 597-I (3)/41.—In exercise of the powers conferred by sub-sections (1) and (2) of section 114 of the Insurance Act, 1938 (IV of 1938), the Central Government is pleased to direct that the following further amendments shall be made in the Insurance Rules, 1939, the same having been previously published as required by sub-section (i) of the said section, namely:—

I. In the said Rules—

1. In rule 6, after the words "of the Act", the words, brackets, figure and letter "or a sale or investment under sub-section (9-A) of the said section," shall be inserted.

2. In sub-rule (3) of rule 9, after the word "purchase" in both places where it occurs, the words "or sale" shall be inserted.

3. In rule 11, to clause (c) of sub-rule (1), the following shall be added, namely:—
"but not including the proviso to sub-section (1) thereof".

4. For rule 13, the following rules shall be substituted, namely:—

"13. (1) A person shall be eligible for election as a director of an insurance company under section 48 of the Act, if he holds one or more policies of life insurance issued by the company and satisfying the provisions of the said section

Qualifications of elected directors of insurance companies.

and both the following requirements, namely:—

(a) the policies shall insure either a total sum, including any bonuses that may have attached to them before the date of election, of not less than Rs. 3,000, where the company has at that date been carrying on life

insurance business for not less than five years, or of not less than Rs. 1,000 in other cases, or annuities on human life of a total amount of not less than Rs. 250 *per annum* without regard to the age of the company; and

- (b) where the company has been carrying on life insurance business for more than two years, all the policies held in compliance with clause (a) shall have been in force for not less than one, two or three years, according as the company has at the date of election been carrying on life insurance business for not more than five years, for more than five but not more than eight years, or for more than eight years.

(8) If at any date after election as a director, a person ceases to be a person holding one or more policies of life insurance satisfying the provisions of section 48 and both the requirements specified in sub-rule (1), he shall forthwith cease to be an elected director of the company."

5. In rule 14,—

- (a) for sub-rule (1) the following sub-rule shall be substituted, namely :—

"(1) The election of directors under section 48 of the Act shall take place at a meeting (to be held at the place where the principal office of the company is situated) of the holders of policies of life insurance issued by the company, who are eligible to vote at such election and the first such election shall be held as soon as possible after the said section becomes applicable to the company";

- (b) in sub-rule (2)—

(i) for the figures and word "28 days" the words "three months" shall be substituted;

(ii) for the words "in a newspaper published in a principal language of, and circulating in, that Province", the words "in a newspaper published in the English language and, if the company so desires, in a newspaper published in a principal language of that Province, both being papers circulating in that Province" shall be substituted;

(iii) in the first proviso, for the word "three" the word "six" and for the words "for attachment to their policies a slip setting forth those qualifications" the words "as modified upto date, a notice setting forth such modified qualifications", shall be substituted;

- (c) in sub-rule (3),—

(i) for the figures and word "10 days" the words "two months" shall be substituted;

(ii) after the words "individually by post" the words, brackets and figure "to those policyholders who are eligible to vote and who apply for a certificate of admission under sub-rule (4)" shall be inserted.

- (d) after sub-rule (3), the following sub-rule shall be inserted, namely :—

"(3A) An application sent under sub-rule (3) shall give the applicant's name and address and the numbers of and amounts of the sums insured by the policies by virtue of which he claims to be eligible for election."

- (e) in sub-rule (4),—

(i) for the figures and word "15 days" the words "two months" shall be substituted;

(ii) after the words "issued by the company" the words "not less than six months before the date of election" shall be inserted;

(iii) for the figure and word "6 days" the words "one month" shall be substituted;

(iv) after the words "the relevant policy" the words, figures and brackets "and shall, in any case, be accompanied by a statement of the names and addresses of the eligible persons prepared to accept office whose applications have been received by the company under sub-rule (3)" shall be inserted.

(f) in sub-rule (5), after the words "whose presence is", the words "in the opinion of the Chairman," shall be inserted.

(g) in sub-rule (7),—

(i) after the words "appointing a proxy shall be in writing" the words, figures and letters "in Form IV-A" shall be inserted;

(ii) for the figure and word "5 days" the words "one month" shall be inserted;

(iii) after the words "the date of the meeting" the following sentence shall be inserted, namely:—

"No policyholder shall appoint more than one proxy irrespective of the number of policies he holds."

(h) in sub-rule (8),—

(i) after the words "on his own behalf" the words "irrespective of the number of policies he holds" shall be inserted;

(ii) after the words "any one candidate" the following proviso shall be inserted, namely:—

"Provided that a policyholder may, if he prefers, vote on one voting paper in respect of all the proxies he holds. In that event, the number of votes to be given on the voting paper shall not exceed the number of directors to be elected multiplied by the number of proxies held and the number of votes given to any one candidate on that paper shall not exceed the number of proxies held."

(i) after sub-rule (8), the following sub-rules shall be inserted:—

"(8A) If any policyholder is a lunatic or an idiot, he may vote by his legal representative; and if any policyholder is a minor he may vote by his legally appointed guardian, or any one of such guardians, if more than one.

(8B) If a policy has been proposed for, and taken out jointly by, more than one person having insurable interest between them, each such person shall be entitled to vote as a holder of that policy."

(j) to sub-rule (9) the following proviso shall be added, namely:—

"Provided that if the counting of votes is not likely to be completed by 7 P.M. on the date of the meeting, the Chairman may lock, seal and take charge of the ballot box in the presence of the meeting and postpone the counting of votes by not more than 48 hours. The opening of the ballot box shall be done by the Chairman and the counting shall be carried out by the same persons as are specified in this sub-rule for this purpose within the said 48 hours after reasonable notice of the time and place where the counting is to take place has been given to the candidates but no others except those whose presence is necessary for the purpose of making the counting and the declaration. Each candidate or in his absence his authorised representative shall be allowed to be present to witness the opening and the counting. The result of the ballot shall then be communicated by notice published in newspapers as in sub-rule (2) or individually by post to all policyholders who were present in person at the election or by both methods."

(k) for sub-rule (10) the following sub-rules shall be substituted, namely:—

"(10) For the purposes of sub-rule (3) of rule 15, a list shall be prepared of those of the unsuccessful candidates in whose favour any valid votes are cast in descending order of the number of such votes cast for each. If two or more such candidates have an equal number of such votes cast for them, they shall be placed in the list in the alphabetical order of their signatures in their applications under sub-rule (3). For the purposes of this sub-rule, no valid vote shall be deemed to be cast for a candidate if his own vote is the only vote cast for him.

(10A) No election shall be held at any meeting convened under these rules unless a quorum of policyholders, holding certificates issued under sub-rule (4) is personally present at the time when the meeting proceeds to

business. The number of such certificate holders who must personally be present to constitute a quorum shall be five times the number of directors to be elected at that meeting.

- (10B) If within half an hour from the time appointed for the meeting a quorum is not present, the meeting shall stand adjourned to the same day in the next week at the same time and place, and if at the adjourned meeting a quorum is not present within half an hour from the time appointed for the meeting, the policyholders present and holding certificates issued under sub-rule (4) shall be a quorum."

6. For rule 15, the following rule shall be substituted, namely:—

"15. (1) An election of directors under these rules (other than the first such election) shall be held not later than three years from the date of the last such election.

Period of office of directors,
and filling of vacancies.

(2) At every meeting of policyholders held in pursuance of sub-rule (1), all the directors elected or appointed under these rules shall retire, but any director so retiring shall, if he remains eligible under rule 13, be eligible for re-election.

(3) In the event of a casual vacancy arising among the directors elected or appointed under these rules, the vacancy shall be filled by appointing the person highest in the list prepared under sub-rule (10) of rule 14, who remains eligible under rule 13 and is willing to act as a director.

(4) Any person in the said list who is not appointed in his turn under sub-rule (3) either because he has ceased to be eligible under rule 13 or because of his unwillingness to act shall be removed from the list.

(5) In the event of there being no person available for appointment under sub-rule (3), the casual vacancy shall be filled by the remaining directors (if not less than two in number) elected or appointed under these rules by appointing a person eligible under rule 13, or if such directors (or a majority of them) are unable to agree upon a person to be appointed, the appointment shall be decided by lot from amongst the persons eligible under rule 13 who have been considered for the appointment by the said remaining directors.

(6) In the event of there being only one or no such remaining director, the casual vacancy shall be filled by an election in accordance with these rules to be held not later than 6 months from the date on which the vacancy occurred, unless the company secures from the Central Government within two months from the said date an exemption for that purpose from the provisions of section 48 of the Act under clause (b) of sub-section (5) thereof.

(7) Save as provided in sub-rule (8), any person appointed or elected to fill a casual vacancy shall be subject to retirement at the same time as would have been the director in whose place he is appointed or elected.

(8) An election held in pursuance of sub-rule (6) to fill a casual vacancy shall not be reckoned as an election for the purpose of sub-rule (1), except when the total number of directors to be elected by policyholders under section 48 of the Act is only one.

(9) Nothing in this rule shall be deemed to affect the application of Regulations 78 and 79 in Table A, of the First Schedule to the Indian Companies Act, 1913 (VII of 1913), to directors elected or appointed otherwise than under these rules."

7. After rule 16, the following rule shall be inserted, namely:—

"16A. An individual to whom a licence has been issued shall, if such licence has been lost, destroyed or mutilated, pay a fee of one rupee in the manner provided in clause (a) of rule 16 and send the receipt therefor to the authority who issued the licence with the request that a duplicate licence may be issued. He shall furnish a declaration giving full details regarding the issue and loss, destruction or mutilation of the licence and the mutilated pieces, if any, shall be returned to the aforesaid authority who may, after taking all reasonable steps to satisfy himself that the original licence issued has been lost, destroyed or mutilated, issue a duplicate licence in Form VI with an endorsement thereon that it is a duplicate."

8. After rule 17, the following rule shall be inserted, namely:—

"17A. The conditions to be satisfied by an insurance agent to establish that he is a bona fide insurance agent employed by the insurer for the purposes of the proviso to sub-section (1) of section 41 of the Act shall be the following, namely:—

- (a) He must have secured policies on six different lives excluding his own.

- (b) He must have been an insurance agent continuously from the time of his soliciting or procuring the first policy on each of such six lives or proposing for the policy on his own life whichever is earlier till the time when the policies on those six lives and the policy on his own life have all been issued."

9. After rule 19, the following rule shall be inserted, namely :—

"19A. Every provident society shall, commencing from a date not later than the 1st January 1943, maintain at its principal office in British India the following registers in the forms specified below or as near thereto as possible provided the information to be shown is not reduced thereby in respect of all its transactions subsisting on or after that date, namely :—

- (i) A register of members (but not including membership merely by virtue of being a policyholder), proprietors and shareholders.....in Form VI-A.
- (ii) A register of directors, manager, secretary and other officers.....in Form VI.
- (iii) A proposal register.....in Form VI-C.
- (iv) A register of policies.....in Form VI-D, in respect of all policies issued from a date not later than 1st January 1943. (Separate registers shall be maintained for each contingency specified in or prescribed under sub-section (2) of section 65 of the Act in respect of which the society carries on business.)
- (v) A premium register.....in Form VI-E.
- (vi) A lapse register showing the details in respect of each policy which is treated by the society as having lapsed.....in Form VI-F.
- (vii) A register of claims not including annuities.....in Form VI-G.
- (viii) A register of annuity payments.....in Form VI-H.
- (ix) A register of agents.....in Form VI-I.

Provided that—

- (a) any register printed after this rule is made and purporting to contain the information specified in any of the registers prescribed by this rule shall be in the Form prescribed therefor;
- (b) if any of the registers required to be kept in accordance with section 79 of the Act, as it stood before the commencement of the Insurance (Amendment) Act, 1941, is not kept, or if any of the registers so kept is exhausted, the society shall maintain forthwith the corresponding register or registers prescribed by this rule;
- (c) if no registers are maintained corresponding to the registers prescribed by clauses (iii), (v) and (vi) of this rule, the society shall, commencing from a date not later than 1st April 1942, maintain the registers prescribed by these clauses.
- (d) it shall not be necessary to show the name of the life insured in addition to the policy-number in the register in Form VI-D, VI-E, VI-F, VI-G or VI-H, if the register concerned is prepared by mechanical means."

10. For rule 22, the following rule shall be substituted, namely :—

"22. Every return furnished to the Superintendent of Insurance under sub-section (3) of section 82 of the Act shall be signed in accordance with the provisions of sub-section (2) of section 15 of the Act."

11. In rule 25, after the word and figures "section 13", the words, figures, letter and brackets "or clause (c) of sub-section (2) of section 16" shall be inserted.

12. After rule 27, the following rules shall be inserted, namely :—

"28. The sub-clauses of miscellaneous insurance business in respect of each of which a separate account of receipts and payments is to be kept as required under sub-section (1) of section 10 of the Act on and after the 1st January 1943, shall be—

- (1) Capital Redemption insurance business.
- (2) Continuous Disability insurance business.
- (3) Employers Liability insurance business.

- (4) The business of insuring the payment on the happening of each of the contingencies (a) birth, (b) marriage, and (c) failure of issue, each contingency to constitute a separate business unless the contingencies are combined in a single contract, but not being business comprising insurance contracts which are terminable by the insurer at intervals not exceeding twelve months and under which if a claim arises, the insurer's liability to pay benefit ceases within one year from the date on which the claim arose.

29. For the purposes of the Act, the business of an insurer shall be deemed to be transacted in India or British India according as the premiums in respect of those transactions are ordinarily paid in India or British India as the case may be.

Provided that if any question arises whether any premiums are ordinarily paid inside or outside British India or India, the Superintendent of Insurance shall decide the question and his decision shall be final."

II. In the Forms set forth in the Schedule annexed to the said Rules—

(a) for Form III, the following Form shall be substituted, namely:—

FORM III.
(See Rule 5.)

No. Sec.

RESERVE BANK OF INDIA.
SECURITIES DEPARTMENT.
CALCUTTA.

.....19

Statement showing the particulars of deposits held on behalf of the.....

.....
under section.....of the Insurance Act, 1939:

Loan.	Existing Deposits (excluding deposits withdrawn).		New Deposits. Received on.....		Total.	
	Face Value.	Book Value.	Face Value.	Book Value.	Face Value.	Book Value.
Total Securities.						
Cash						
GRAND TOTAL .						

(Sterling Deposits have been converted at 1s. 6d.)

Certified that the above agrees with the entries in the books maintained by the Bank.

Manager.

To

The Superintendent of Insurance,
Department of Commerce, Government of India, New Delhi.

(b) in Form IV—

(i) for the sub-heading,

“Name of the depositor”, the sub-heading “Name of the insurer” shall be substituted :

(ii) after the column headed “Nature of deposits” a column headed “Total amount held to be in deposit being the total amount of cash and the book-value of the securities deposited” shall be inserted.

(c) after Form IV, the following Form shall be inserted, namely :—

“ FORM IV-A.

[See Rule 14 (7).]

Instrument of Proxy.

.....Insurance Company, Limited.

I.....of.....in the District ofbeing a holder of policy/policies bearing the number/numbers.....issued by the.....Insurance Company Limited hereby appoint.....of.....who is also a holder of policy/policies bearing the number/numbers.....issued by the abovementioned company or in case the said policyholder fails to attend such meeting I appoint.....of.....who is also a holder of policy/policies bearing the number/numbers.....issued by the abovementioned company* as my proxy to vote for me and on my behalf at the meeting of the company to be held for the election of policyholders' directors on the..... day of.....and at any adjournment thereof.

Signed this.....day of

Signature

*Similarly for one further proxy if both the first mentioned proxies fail to attend.”

(d) after Form VI, the following Forms shall be inserted, namely :—

“ FORM VI-A.

[See Rule 19A (i).]

Register of members (excluding membership merely by virtue of holding policies issued by the Society), proprietors and shareholders.

Serial No.	Date of becoming member, proprietor, or shareholder, as defined in heading.	Full name.	Address.	Occupation.	Date on which ceased to be a member, etc.	Remarks.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

FORM VI-B.

[See Rule 19A (ii).]

Register of Directors, Manager, Secretary and other officers.

Serial No.	Full Name.	Address.	Occupation other than in the service of the society.	Date when he commenced to hold the office in question.	Date of ceasing to hold the office in question.	Remarks.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

NOTES :—

1. A separate page must be used for each title of office, viz., Secretary.
2. The 'Remarks' column should show the mode of vacating office, whether by death, resignation, retirement, etc.

FORM VI-C.

[See Rule 19A (iii).]

Proposal Register.

Serial No.	Date and Number of proposal.	Name and address of proposer.	How disposed of.*	Date of acceptance, if accepted.*	Number and date of policy.*	Date of despatch of policy.*	Remarks.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

* NOTE.—In case a proposal is rejected or does not result in a policy, against columns 4 to 7 the amount of advance or deposit received, if any, and the date of its adjustment with reasons or the date of its refund should be stated.

FORM VI-D.

[See Rule 19A (iv).]

Register of Policies issued.

Serial No.	Number and date of proposal.	Policy number and date of commencement of insurance.*	Name, occupation and address of life insured. †	Name and address of person paying premiums if other than life insured. †	Name and address of nominee and his relationship to the policy-holder and the dates on which the respective notices were received.	Term of policy and full particulars of the conditions under which the policy is issued.	Sum insured. ‡	Premium: Amount of each instalment and due date of final instalment.	Due dates of all instalments in each calendar year.	If assigned name and address of each assignee and dates on which the respective notices were received.
		Date and mode of exit with cross reference to the register concerned. †								
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11

NOTES:—

- * Cross reference should be given to other policies, if any, if the contingencies on the happening of which the sums insured are payable under those policies relate to the same person as under this policy.
- † The entries regarding exit should be shown in pencil, when the exit is capable of revival and erased on subsequent revival. When revival is no longer possible the pencil entries should be replaced by ink.
- ‡ In case of contingencies other than death, in columns 4 and 5, substitute for the words "the life insured", the words "the person to whom the contingencies on the happening of which sums are payable relate".
- § If the sum insured excluding bonus varies during the term of the policy, both the maximum and minimum of the sum insured should be stated.

FORM VI-E.

[See Rule 19A (v).]

Premium Register in respect of all premiums falling due during the month of.....19 .

Policy Number.	Name of the person to whom the policy was issued.	Due date of premium.	Date of payment of premium.	Particulars of any other payment as fees, fines, etc., realised on the policy during the month.
1	2	3	4	5

Norms :—

1. The register should be closed at the end of each month and the closing should be completed within a month.
2. Separate registers should be maintained in respect of each of the contingencies specified in or prescribed under section 65 (2) of the Insurance Act, 1938.
3. A society may, if it considers necessary and desirable, maintain a separate register of the particulars specified in column (5), provided that the separate register gives also the information in columns (1) and (2) with full cross references with this register.

FORM VI-F.

[See Rule 19A (vi).]

Lapses Register.

Date of entry in this register.	Policy Number.	Name of the insured.	Date of commencement of insurance.	Due date of first unpaid premium.	Amount of any loan granted on the security of the policy and date when the loan is written off.	Date of revival (if any).
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

NOTE.—The register should be closed at the end of each month and the closing shall be completed within a month.

FORM VI-G.

[See Rule 19A (vi).]

Register of Claims not including annuities.

Serial Number.	Policy Number.	Name of life insured.	Date of intimation of the happening of the contingency.	Name, Address and title of claimant.	Date of receipt of claim papers.	Date of payment.	Total sum insured with bonus additions up-to-date.	Net sum paid in cash.	Cause of difference if any between (8) and (9)	Date of and grounds for rejection, if any.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11

NOTES:—

1. Where there is a series of policies on the same life, each policy must be entered separately.

2. A separate register should be maintained for each class of contingency specified in or prescribed under section 65(2) of the Insurance Act, 1938, against which policies have been issued.

FORM VI-H.

[See Rule 19A (viii).]

Register of Claims for annuities or other periodical payments.

Serial No. Policy No.
 Name of life insured.
 Date of intimation of the happening of the contingency. Date of receipt of Claim papers.
 Name } of claimant
 Address }
 Title }
 Date of first payment. Date and ground of rejection.
 Date and Cause of cessation of payments.

Due dates.	Amounts due.	Amounts paid in cash and date.	Cause of difference if any.
1	2	3	4

NOTE.—A separate register should be maintained for each class of contingency specified in or prescribed under section 65(2) of the Insurance Act, 1938, in respect of which a periodical sum is insured to be paid.

FORM VI-I.

[See Rule 19A (ix).]

Register of Agents.

Serial Number.	Name, address and all other occupations.	Date of appointment	Terms of remuneration.	Date when ceased to be agent.	Remarks.
1	2	3	4	5	6

(e) in Form VII, in the first column after the entry "7. Actuarial fees", the entry "8. Medical fees" shall be inserted and the existing entries numbered 8 to 13 shall be renumbered 9 to 14 respectively.

(f) in note 7 of the "Notes relating to the Revenue Account—(Form VII)" after the words "revenue account", the words, figures and letter " and a statement in Form VII-A of the particulars specified therein" shall be inserted.

(g) after the "Notes relating to the Revenue Account—(Form VII)", the following Form shall be inserted, namely :—

" FORM VII-A.

Submitted by the

society
19 .

for the year ending

	Policies insuring money to be paid on death.		Policies insuring money to be paid only on survivance.		Annuities.		Marriage policies.		And so on for each contingency specified in or prescribed under section 65 (2) of the Insurance Act, 1938, for which separate account is required to be prepared.
	No.	Sum Insured.	No.	Sum Insured.	No.	Sum Insured.	No.	Sum Insured.	
		Rs.		Rs.		Rs.		Rs.	
(1) Policies at end of previous years.									
(2) New policies issued as per Statement Form IX.									
3) Old policies revived.									
(4) Old policies changed and increased.									
(5) Bonus additions allotted.									
Total									
Discontinued during year.									
(6) By death									
(7) By maturity or the happening of the contingencies insured against (Each contingency being shown separately.)									
(8) By expiry of term									
(9) By surrender of (i) Policy and (ii) of bonuses.									
(10) By forfeiture or lapse.									
(11) By change and decrease.									
(12) By being not taken up.									
Total									
Total existing at the end of the year.									

(h) in Form VIII,

(i) after the sub-heading "Investments", the brackets and letter "(f)" shall be inserted ;

(ii) after clause (e) of the clauses in the "Footnotes to Balance Sheet—(Form VIII)", the following clause shall be inserted, namely :—

"(f) Where any part of the assets of a provident society is deposited in any place outside British India as security for the owners of policies issued in that place the balance sheet shall state that part of the assets has been so deposited and, if any such part forms part of the insurance fund in respect of any contingency specified in, or prescribed under, sub-section (2) of section 65 of the Insurance Act, 1938, shall show the amount thereof and the place where it is deposited."

N. R. PILLAI,

Add. Secy. to the Govt. of India.

MOTION RE THE SITUATION IN INDIA—*contd.*

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): Further consideration of the motion moved:

“ That the situation in India be taken into consideration .”

Mr. N. M. Joshi (Nominated Non-Official): Sir, when the House rose yesterday, I was dealing with the Cripps proposals. If I were on the Working Committee of the Congress I would have accepted the Cripps proposals. I would have assumed all the powers which those proposals intended to give and would have used the vantage ground of that power to wrest further power from the unwilling British people. That was the way the Irish people secured their independence and I feel that by following that method we could have secured our national government. But it will be wrong to blame only the Congress for rejecting those proposals. The Muslim League rejected those proposals; the Hindu Mahasabha rejected those proposals; even Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Mr. Jayakar disapproved of those proposals. Sir, I feel that in the interests of this country and in the interests of winning the war, the British people should have acceded to give further powers as asked by the Indian National Congress; but the British people are not thinking seriously about establishing a National Government in this country. In the first place, they are self-satisfied with their own efforts. They say proudly that they have recruited an army of one million knowing fully well that for defending a small country like Great Britain they have to keep ready an army of five million people. They vain-gloriously talk of the production of equipment and munitions in India, but they know very well that the production of munitions and equipment in this country is not enough for even a quarter of a million of soldiers. I feel that the British people do not yet appreciate the advantage of establishing a National Government in this country. I have no doubt in my mind and I am quite sure there is no doubt in the mind of any Indian present here that a National Government, instead of raising an army of one million, could have raised an army of five or even ten millions. I have no doubt in my mind as I am sure there is no doubt in the mind of any Indian Member here that a National Government could have intensified the production of equipment and munitions and increased that production even ten-fold. But, Sir, the British people do not yet realise the advantage of having a National Government in this country.

The other day, His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief made a statement that if this country is to be saved, it will be saved by the fighting army. Sir, His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief and the British Government have forgotten the lesson of Malaya, they have forgotten the lesson of Burma and they have also forgotten the experience of China. A well equipped army was made to retreat within a few months in Malaya and Burma on account of want of co-operation from people, while an ill equipped army of Chinese has been successfully defending China for over five years on account of full moral support of the people. This neglect of the problem of establishment of a National Government in this country has exasperated not only the Congress but it has exasperated the whole people of the country. People want to help in this war, they want to win the war, they

want to defeat the Japanese, but, Sir, the people are not permitted to do so through their National Government. We are reduced to the position of mere onlookers in this war. That has created an intolerable position, and in order to end this intolerable position, the Congress in sheer desperation tried to seek a sanction to enforce their demand for National Government. Sir, I do not approve of the Congress forging the sanction of civil disobedience at this critical time. This is a dangerous proposal, risky from the point of view of safety of this country. But, Sir, I can understand how people in sheer desperation resort to methods which they do not approve of. If the Congress made a mistake in resorting to civil disobedience, the Government of India made a blunder. The Congress had left the door open for negotiations, while the Government of India banged it in an irresponsible spirit. I feel, Sir, it was wrong on the part of the Government of India not to take advantage of the slightest opening for negotiations. Unfortunately, the Government of India think that the demand for National Government is only a Congress demand. It was not only a Congress demand, but it was a demand of the whole country, and, therefore, it was very wrong not to have yielded to the Congress demand for a National Government. It was a great mistake of the Government to have arrested the Congress leaders instead of taking advantage of the room for negotiations. The results of the Government's mistake have been disastrous. I do not wish to deal with the blood curdling events of the last few days, I shall have another opportunity to speak about them before the end of the Session. But, Sir, I have no doubt in my mind that as the Government took upon themselves the responsibility of arresting the Congressmen, they have fired the first shot and so they must retrieve the country from this difficult situation by taking the first step towards reconciliation. If this war is to be won, it can be won only by the co-operation of the people, and not by keeping the country bitter, as it is bitter today. Therefore, the Government must not think of their prestige. There is no loss of prestige in yielding to your own people, there is humiliation in yielding to your enemy. I, therefore, feel, that the Government of India should retrace the steps they have taken. They have made a mistake and they must take the initiative in rectifying that mistake. They must release the Congressmen immediately. It is wrong to expect of people who are in jails to reverse their policy. There are people who say, let the Congress first call off the civil disobedience movement. I think it is wrong to expect the Congressmen; while they are in jail to call off the civil disobedience. It cannot be done. It is not even fair, and practicable to expect Congressmen to do so. I, therefore, suggest, to the Government that they must take the initiative in releasing the Congressmen in an effort to reconcile the people of this country.

Sir, the next step which the Government ought to take is to establish a National Government immediately. It is wrong for the Government to think that there are large communities against the Congress. They say that the Muslim community is against the Congress. But are the Muslims with the Government? In any case, it is not only the Congress which is boycotting the Government war effort, but the Muslim League also is boycotting the war effort.

Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan (Agra Division: Muhammadan Rural): No, the Muslim League is not boycotting the war effort.

Mr. F. M. Joshi: Then they say that the depressed classes are against the Congress as regards the civil disobedience movement. But, Sir, neither the Muslim League nor the depressed classes are against the Congress in demanding a National Government. Therefore it is wrong to say that the Congress represents only a very small body of people in this country. In any case, if a large bulk of people in this country are against the Congress, they are not with the Government. It was, therefore, wrong for the Government of India to try to suppress the Congress instead of trying the method of reconciliation.

I suggest that the Government of India should reverse their policy immediately. Let them take up this question of establishment of a National Government in this country immediately in hand. If a National Government can be established by agreement, it is the best thing to do, but if a National Government cannot be established by agreement, let the question be referred to arbitration. If arbitration too is not accepted, I suggest that it is the duty of the Government to establish a National Government whether there is communal unity or not. When the British people conquered India, they did not insist upon national unity or the assent of the people of this country. On the other hand they conquered India by dividing us and now when we are asking that freedom should be restored to us, they insist that the whole country must unite, that there must be unity and so on. Sir, it is wrong for the Government to say so. Let them decide to transfer the power to the Indian people and then take upon themselves the responsibility of distributing that power among the main elements of the population in the fairest way that the Government can. Some years ago the Government gave the communal award, but that communal award was not liked by anybody, at the same time that communal award was accepted and in practice followed by all people. Similarly, if the British people give the communal award as regards the distribution of power now, I have no doubt in my mind that the whole country will, in practice, follow it and accept it. Therefore it is the duty of Government to establish a National Government in the best way they can.

Sir, the Government are already late. I hope they will not be too late in establishing a National Government in this country. Whatever the Government may do, I have to make an appeal to the Assembly and through the Assembly to my countrymen. I have no doubt that the Government will fight the Japanese, but they will fight the Japanese to save a part of their Empire. If the Government are defeated, they can retreat to Iraq or Iran or even to Timbuctoo, but I would like to ask my countrymen that if they are defeated by the Japanese where will they retreat? Therefore it is the duty of the people of this country to do their very best, to do their utmost to defend this country against the Japanese and the only way of defending this country against Japan is to forge unity among themselves. Every community will have to make a sacrifice in order to secure that unity. I would suggest that the majority community, that is, the Hindu community should grant the demand of the Muslim community for self-determination. After all self-determination is not such an unreasonable demand. I would therefore request my countrymen to accept the Muslim demand, and let us unite and form a National Government so that through that National Government we can fight the Japanese successfully. I have also no doubt in my mind that through that unity we shall

make ourselves free from British domination. Sir, that is the way out of the present situation and let me hope that the British people and my own countrymen will follow that way; therein lies our salvation. Sir, I have done.

Mr. N. M. Dumas (Nominated Non-Official): Mr. President, I must at once confess that there is general sympathy with and support for the demand of independence for India. That demand has been virtually granted in the offer brought to India by Sir Stafford Cripps. It is most unfortunate that that offer of complete independence to India after the cessation of hostilities was not accepted by the Congress and the Muslim League. If it had been accepted the situation would have been normal in India today and we would have been able to present a united front to a most powerful enemy who has avowed his determination to conquer and rule the whole of Asia. I am sure that a little display of statesmanship and wisdom on the part of Mr. Gandhi, who is the absolute dictator of the Congress, could have prevented the extremely grave situation which exists in India today from developing. Recrimination, however, can serve no useful purpose, nevertheless the unparalleled gravity of the situation and the imminence of the menace looming over us is such that it is the duty of everyone to speak out and to act in order to preserve the best interests of the country.

It is impossible to pass over in silence the fiendish excesses and atrocities which have been perpetrated and are still being perpetrated by unbridled mob violence in different parts of India. They prove that Mr. Gandhi's teaching of non-violence has not been taken kindly by the masses and they show that no mass movement which is based on defiance of the law can remain non-violent. Mr. Gandhi's thoughtless campaign has produced saboteurs, not *satyagrahis*. The Honourable the Home Member has gone exhaustively into the tragic occurrences that have disfigured the country's face. I will not therefore, go into the long catalogue of events which seem to be the result of a well organized movement which has brought nothing but disaster to the country. It is most unfortunate that attempts have been made to paralyse the country's war effort by industrial strikes. Such a movement would be looked upon with horror at any time, but at this critical juncture with a powerful enemy knocking at the gates of India the movement becomes positively satanic and those who sympathise with or support that movement cannot be well-wishers or friends of India. Any man with a spark of patriotism must set his face against such a movement. This orgy of lawlessness, disorders, murders and arson have produced disastrous results, and the action taken by Government to suppress the disturbances and restore order in the land did not come a moment too early but on the contrary was belated. The Honourable the Home Member said that he was not prepared to say whence the organisers of the disturbance drew their inspiration. I am sure it is time that Government placed before us all the particulars which would distribute the blame upon parties that have been responsible for this disturbance. A long catalogue of grave charges can be cited against Mr. Gandhi and the Congress who demand independence while they themselves are the sole obstacles to the grant of independence to India. Mr. Gandhi has always asserted that there can be no independence without unity in India, but this very man has disunited India and plunged the country into a state of indescribable chaos and mob fury which is rapidly attaining the horrid shape of

[Mr. N. M. Dumasia.]

civil war. No Government worth the name would allow to Mr. Gandhi and his colleagues the latitude which the British Government has allowed them.

The Congress Civil Disobedience Movement is fraught with incalculable menace to the country and the position brought about by Mr. Gandhi's "Quit India" demand is at the present juncture as dangerous as it is utterly impracticable. It is an invitation to the Axis power to undertake an invasion of India with all its attendant horrors. It has served only to incite mob passions and brought about the present impasse in India. At such a time it is gratifying to India that Muslims have shown in Mr. Jinnah's words "remarkable discipline, solidarity and unity" in keeping aloof from the Congress movement of wholesale destruction. But I say that it is not enough. Mr. Jinnah must co-operate with the Government in prosecuting war activities. In this connection I am glad that the Home Member has paid a tribute to the Scheduled Classes whose distinguished leader today graces the Treasury Bench, and I welcome him on behalf of my Group.

It is obvious to everyone and even Mr. Gandhi has said again and again that no Government is possible in India unless the differences between the Congress and the Muslim League are healed and the gulf that divides them is breached and they work together in the common service of the country.

The necessity is most pressing for unity in India—unity among all communities in order to concentrate all energy, attention and resources upon the supreme task of winning the war. The words "Independence" and "National Government" are dinned into our ears by the Congress and by political leaders of every camp and complexion in the country without anybody ever bothering to show capacity to attain that aim—a state of affairs which reminds one powerfully of Tennyson's words: "An infant crying in the night; an infant crying for the light and with no language but a cry." The recent happenings in India have proved that the innocence of Tennyson's infant is lacking in the cry of our political leaders. We are all desirous and anxious to secure independence for India but at present the conditions essential for its success are absent and there are practical difficulties in our way. Both wisdom and statesmanship require that they should be carefully considered and tackled before attempting the experiment. Otherwise it will add fuel to the fire of communal antagonism that is now burning so fiercely in the country. A National Government cannot be imposed; it is the living expression of a people's will, and it must be evolved with careful consideration and thought and by the achievement of unity, understanding and co-operation on fundamental principles between the elements of the nation. In India, as things are today, a National Government can only be possible by understanding, agreement and co-operation between the four elements of the realm, namely, the British Government, the Indian States, the Congress and the Muslim League. So far as the British Government is concerned, we have the genuine and generous offer made by Great Britain through Sir Stafford Cripps and that offer still stands for the Congress and the Muslim League to avail themselves of it. By rejecting the offer India lost a grand opportunity of securing the rights for which Indian politicians are so persistently clamouring. The present Executive Council today consists of eleven Indians, who are in every sense of the word true nationalists devoted to

the interests of the country. Their appointment and their performance have met with general approval.

Unless wisdom prevails and the Congress withdraws the Civil Disobedience Movement and the "Quit India" demand and displays a new spirit of compromise, the result will be unprecedented catastrophe and grave disaster and even communal strife leading to civil war. It is a matter of great satisfaction that at the present juncture the Indian Princes, without exception, are making an all-out effort for the successful prosecution of the war and it is also gratifying to find that an overwhelming section of the public which is not imbued with the communal taint is making widespread effort to win the war. Only the Congress hampers the war effort by trying to embarrass the Government and at the same time claiming to domineer over all those elements which are now striving to defend the country.

The great Indian leaders of the past preached tolerance, internal harmony, unity and devotion to the cause of the country. We find no such counsel today either from the Congress or the Muslim League when India badly needs it most. In this welter of turmoil we forget the great services which Englishmen have rendered to this country. In spite of their many sins of omission and commission we owe a great debt to them for the long reign of internal peace and security against external aggression, both of which the Congress is now trying to destroy. We have suffered from exploitation, we have suffered from high-handedness of autocratic officials, but the courts of justice which the British have established and the education they have given us, the great social reforms they have effected, such as abolition of the cruel customs as *satee* and infanticide, prevention of child marriages, leading to the removal of the ban on widow remarriages and caste restrictions on sea voyages, the substitution of law and order and security in place of chaos, confusion and anarchy which prevailed in the country immediately before the advent of the British rule in India and the suppression of Thags and Dacoits who terrorised the country—these are all benefits which far outweigh the faults that can be charged against the British administration of India. Our political rights have been conceded. India's independence is solemnly promised by the British Government, and now to stab it and to embarrass the Allies in the prosecution of the war against a ruthless enemy is an unpardonable sin which even God himself will not forgive.

As a staunch nationalist, who was Mr. Gandhi's right hand man during the first non-co-operation movement—I mean Mr. K. F. Nariman, in an article in a Bombay paper said:

"Like a forward child, the Congress cannot get all that it wants, it will fling away, in a sullen mood, even whatever it possesses. So either complete Independence and till then, nothing at all, not even the existing local or any other particle of self-government. If the British won't quit India, as demanded, we quit our own households (i.e., *cutting the nose to spite the face, as he has put it*). It may be good political propaganda, but it certainly is bad logic, bad tactics, bad statesmanship and worse strategy, resulting in losing what we have gained after years of struggle without any hope or chance, for the time being of getting anything more in the political arena."

Will Mr. Gandhi retrace his steps and stand by India in the hour of her trial or will he continue to heap disaster after disaster on the helpless country? The answer to this query will show whether Indians are fit for self-rule or doomed to slavery to which the Congress extremists desire to drive independent elements in the nation.

Maulana Zafar Ali Khan (East Central Punjab: Muhammadan): With the commencement of the fourth year of the war we find ourselves confronted with a situation which is very grave indeed. On the Eastern shores of India the enemy, Japan, is hammering at our very gates, and I would not be surprised if, after the rainy season is over, Calcutta and various parts of Assam are bombed. On the Western side, a tremendous conflict is raging on the Stalingrad front. God knows what the result of this terrible conflict will be. It is just within the range of possibility that the Germans might occupy Stalingrad, advance towards Baku, get hold of it, go right up to Batum, and then with the Black Sea and the Caucasus in their hands they might go on to Persia, and Persia may become the centre of a grave conflict, which might decide the destiny of India. It is also just within the range of possibility that the German Army, now stationed across Egypt, might not be rolled back and may advance instead and occupy the Suez, and then the Middle East position would become very complicated indeed. So far as the Muslim countries are concerned—from Afghanistan right up to the borders of Turkey and Egypt—their position is a queer one. In spite of their friendly relations with Britain they say that they are neutral. Turkey has declared from time to time that armed to the teeth she stands, and that she won't allow anybody to enter her dominions: and so that is Turkish neutrality. Afghanistan has followed her example and repeatedly declared from the housetops that in this conflict Afghanistan is strictly neutral. Even the weak Cabinet of Persia, which is literally occupied by the British Government, has still the courage to declare that if the Axis Powers attack her she will fight only to maintain internal peace and order in the country.

Under these terrible circumstances, India can only be saved by her own efforts. Four hundred millions of Indians cannot be defeated by any power on the face of the earth: and supported by the Britishers she would be invincible. So obviously it ought to be the duty of the British Government to see that India is placated and that the political aspirations of India are given due consideration. But what has the British Government done? Instead of placating Indians, instead of meeting their political requirements, they suddenly one fine morning arrest Gandhiji and members of the Working Committee of the Congress and ban the Congress, although this was a bit precipitate. I think the amiable gentlemen who grace the Treasury Benches, and who speak in our names, must have advised the Governor General to issue orders for their arrest. I remember Sir Firoz Khan Noon in one of his speeches reminded us that during the last eleven months there has not been a single instance in which any proposal put forward by him has been rejected by the Governor General. Similar assertions will presumably be made by the other gentlemen from Mr. Aney downwards. So I ask them: "Did you advise the Governor General not to arrest the Congress Working Committee and leave loopholes for further negotiation?" Because negotiation between the two might have ended in an amicable settlement. If Gandhiji and his colleagues had been out, certainly the condition in which we find India today would have been different. This burning of Post Offices and attacks on the military and the police, tampering with communications—all this would not have occurred: otherwise Gandhiji would have stultified himself. He believes in non-violence; he has believed in non-violence and has acted non-violently all these years; and he would not have allowed this state of

things to go on. That section of the Hindus who are carrying on these things would have been stopped by him.

That is one thing. Then negotiations might have been made with the other sections of the country, with the Muslim League. The Muslim League, some people say, stands in the way of the independence of India, that it is an obstacle in the way of the right solution of this great problem. Nothing of the sort. The Muslim League stands as much for the independence of India as the Congress or the Mahasabha. The Muslim League has not banged its doors against any negotiations with any party. The Muslim League has declared in so many words that it is prepared to negotiate with all parties on a footing of equality, in order to mobilise the resources of the entire country to fight Nazism and Fascism. It cannot therefore be said that the Muslim League is averse to any proposal to unite with the other parties. In my opinion the right thing for the Government at the present moment would be to cry halt to its policy of absolute repression. Repression will not solve the problem. You may kill a few here and a few there; you may shoot down a few individuals here and there; but this is not a sporadic disturbance; it is a revolution; it is revolution throughout the length and breadth of India. The Muslim League has not hitherto joined the civil disobedience movement, which was most unfortunate on the part of the Congress, because the Congress very well knew that at the present moment India was threatened by the Japanese on the Eastern side and they would hail any disorder within the country—as disorder and disobedience mean one and the same thing. The civil disobedience movement under the present circumstances must, therefore, be condemned. Yet the time may come when the Muslim League, which resents the policy of the British Government as much as any other party in this country resents it, who have always been let down by the British Government in spite of their repeated offers to co-operate with them and not to embarrass them, in spite of all these facts the Government has never listened to what we say and has always let us down—I say the time may come when the Muslim may have to fight for his rights and that fight would be very terrible indeed . . .

Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta (Bombay Central Division: Non-Muham-
madan Rural): Five hundred times!

Maulana Zafar Ali Khan: Mr. Jamnadas Mehta reminds me of the fact that the Muslims have five hundred times more guts than these amiable gentlemen who have been removing fishplates. So the Muslims will fight, but not before taking every measure to come to terms with the Congress, with the Mahasabha and with the Britisher, whoever he may be. Our Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill, is a very funny fellow. He tells us that these Congresswalas—are nothing but a small group of politicians, mischief makers, with certain financial interests behind them. That is the Congress, he says; and he thinks we will believe it, that the world will believe it. I tell him—although I do not hold a brief for the Congress—that to ignore the Congress is a folly of the first magnitude. When Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan from the Punjab goes to watch the situation in the Middle East. Mr. Churchill meets him and Mr. Churchill assures Sir Sikandar that this time India will get a square deal. What does he mean by India? And what is the meaning of this square deal? If India means majority rule, the Muslims will not agree. The Muslims stand for

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Pakistan. I declare on the floor of the House that the Hindus as well as Mr. Winston Churchill should take note that we have Pakistan as our goal and if this is denied to us we will fight with our back to the wall and we will fight against all, whether British or Hindu.

When my Honourable friend, Sir Reginald Maxwell, made his statement—which took him nearly an hour—I thought he would place before us some statesmanlike and constructive proposal; but he simply told us that five hundred Post Offices were burnt and so many hundreds were killed and so many hundreds were shot and that a systematic and organised effort was made by these mischief makers to carry on this revolutionary movement. But we have got the picture from another source, which is a bit more interesting and I should like the House to join with me in enjoying it. The organ of the Communists of India says:

"Despair stalks the land. Revenge against repression is the cry of the hour. The police smash up in one place but there is outburst in another. 'Order' is being restored in the towns with the police lathi, tear gas and if they are not enough, bullets. This does not restore peace; enraged patriots overwhelmed by superior force in the towns are branching out into the villages where the police are few and far between, where the military cannot easily reach. Railway tracks are being torn up, trains derailed, telegraph wires cut. The Government set out to suppress the Congress, the embodiment of the Indian national movement; it has only set in motion forces that are disrupting Indian defence. The Government has called into being people's fury against itself; it has only heartened the Fascist invaders. Instead of handing over India to the Indian, it has done its worst to see that India goes to the Japs."

The constructive side of this problem, the statesmanlike side of this problem is for the Government to try and reconcile those who are now shut up behind the bars, and create an atmosphere favourable for the great parties of this country to come together. The Muslim League has left its door open to negotiate with the Congress, but Gandhiji, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and others

Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan : Have banged it.

Maulana Zafar Ali Khan are behind the bars. With whom then to negotiate? So let them out, bring them out of jail, and in the meantime, let men like Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Mr. Aney, Sir Sultan Ahmed and others try to induce the Government to create facilities for negotiation, and these negotiations may be carried on between Government and Gandhiji also. The direct result of Gandhiji's release from the jail and of his colleagues would be that the disturbances in India would stop. Hitherto we were told that a crore of rupees has been lost over the Railways, 500 Post Offices burnt, and lakhs and lakhs of rupees of loss in property sustained. Many people, innocent people were killed for it must be remembered that the revolutionary, when he becomes mad, does not distinguish between an innocent person and a guilty person. He kills. So many policemen in the discharge of their duty were burnt to death, others were burnt alive. These things won't happen. Otherwise Gandhiji would stultify himself by presenting to the world a spectacle of this sort of thing going on while he was out. So, statesmanship demands, reason demands, equity demands, justice demands that something should be done to improve the situation, and that

can be done by bringing the Muslim League and the Congress together. The Mahasabha would follow suit. Lately the Mahasabha has only become the mouthpiece of the Congress so far as the demand for the independence of India is concerned, and although the question of Pakistan may be taboo so far as the Hindu Mahasabha is concerned, I think when we heard our friend, Mr. Joshi, expressing the hope that the Hindus would accept the demand of the Mussalmans, there is a chance of the Hindu Mahasabha also coming round to the Muslim point of view.

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

Sardar Sant Singh (West Punjab: Sikh): You reminded me yesterday that I was responsible for the Session being called earlier. I would like to explain to the Honourable Members of this House what was in the background of my mind when I wrote the letter to the Viceroy asking for an emergency Session.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Honourable Member need not go into that.

Sardar Sant Singh: Incidentally I was at Bombay on the 9th August on business when I saw the first outbreak of hostilities against the Government. Amongst other things what impressed me most was a spectacle which was a new one. I was driving along the Marine Lines of Bombay when I saw an Indian policeman, an Indian soldier and a British soldier standing together. I wondered why three were standing together. I went ahead and found the same thing. I went ahead further and found the same, till in the whole of the Marine Lines I saw sets of three persons standing together representing law and order. This created an impression upon my mind that we were passing through a time when an Indian policeman was not trusted, when an Indian soldier was not trusted and that was why the presence of a British soldier was necessary along with them. I saw things happening there. When I travelled from Bombay back to Delhi I found Delhi in turmoil also. Immediately it occurred to me that the situation was pregnant with serious and grave consequences, if not a disaster of the first magnitude, unless something was done to improve the situation. So I wrote that letter. I expected and I made it clear in my letter that I wanted this Session to be helpful in solving the present political deadlock. I stick to that opinion still. But to my greatest disappointment I find that the present motion has been moved by the Honourable the Home Member. Well, we expected the Leader of the House to move this motion, but it has entered into the head of the Honourable the Home Member to move it. The second thing that struck me most was that instead of any constructive proposal or any solution or any formula being placed before the House for discussion, a simple motion that the political situation be taken into consideration was brought before this House. The 45 minutes long speech of the Honourable the Home Member contained nothing but a narrative of half truths, falsehoods and in most cases lies, I will presently show.

The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell (Home Member): I could not hear exactly what the Honourable Member said. The Honourable Member said, lies.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Chair did not catch what words the Honourable Member used. He must withdraw that expression.

Sardar Sant Singh: I withdraw these words. I will say, incorrect facts, that have been produced before this House. I was most amazed and shocked when I read this passage. I noted it yesterday but now I have got an authoritative publication in the *Statesman* and the passage reads thus:

"One thing quite plain is that with an enemy at our gates and another enemy within, then the prime duty of this Government is to undo the harm that has been done as soon as possible and to put this country in a state of defence against both."

An Honourable Member: What is wrong? ●

Sardar Sant Singh: What is wrong about it? Malaya and Burma are the clearest illustrations of fighting against two fronts. This shows a lamentable lack of understanding of the situation.

What is the present position? I accept the position as stated by the Honourable the Home Member that the enemy is at the gates of India. If the enemy is at the gates of India, statesmanship required that the enemy within the door of India should be appeased, should be contented, should be satisfied.

And, after all, what is the appeasement demanded by the people?

1 P.M. They want only what the Allied Nations have been saying day after day for the last three years and that is that they are fighting for the freedom and democracy of India. We want freedom. India needs freedom. If India wants freedom and if it is in your power to grant freedom, why delay it? There is no logic behind the thing. (**An Honourable Member**: "Freedom for whom? For the majority?") I refuse to deal with that question in the twenty minutes that I have at my disposal. My amendment is a clear indication of my views. I refuse to be drawn into any domestic quarrels here. I shall only refer to the broad principles in the short time that is at my disposal.

The Indian National Congress, which has so far been described as the one organised great political organisation in India in the House of Commons and outside, so many times has been demanding that freedom. From the beginning of the war, nay, I will go a bit earlier, for the last 20 years, this constitutional question has been before this country. England refused to concede that freedom. At the beginning of this war, an unconditional offer of co-operation was made by the Congress, simply to be rejected. Next year, another offer came and it was rejected. If Sir Stafford Cripps' proposals had come in September, 1939, they would have had a chance of being accepted; but in 1942, it was too late. The pity is that the present Government of India, nay, I will go further and say, His Majesty's Government, have always underestimated the strength of their opponents. I need not go into the history of the last three years of war. They underestimated the Japanese power. They underestimated the strength of the Axis powers and today they are underestimating the power of the people of this country. The present position is this. There is not a man in India who does not crave for the complete independence of this country. Even in England, you have conceded the principle that India shall be granted complete independence but the difference is, you

say—after the war; we say—here and now. That is the difference. You put forward certain conditions precedent which you know you are not going to allow the people to fulfil. It has been made clear that so long as the British people are in this country an agreement between the two communities is impossible to reach. (*An Honourable Member: Why?*) It is clear. There is no need to go into that. I do not want to be side-tracked. If Mr. Churchill wants to know whether it is the entire people of India that demand freedom or only a portion of it, why not have a Gallup poll of a section chosen by yourself. I make a proposal that you should have a Gallup poll of the students of all the colleges throughout India, including all communities and let us abide by the result. If you think that the youth is too enthusiastic, you can have a Gallup poll of the Government servants that are employed by you but it should be a secret poll. Have a secret poll of the Government servants who are of your own making and abide by the result. I challenge you. You will not get more than ten votes from the Government servants even. What do you mean by saying that the will of the people is not there? The will of the people is there. The people want independence and the people mean to have it.

The Government say that atrocities have been committed by the mob. I am not here holding any brief for the Congress. I am not here to defend their programme or even their policy. I have not been a follower of the full programme of the Congress, but I say that there is truth in one thing and that is that the responsibility for the present state of affairs is entirely on the Government. Did they think that the arrest of Mahatma Gandhi and his co-workers would be taken quietly by the country? If they were of that opinion, they have been disillusioned but with a tremendous loss of life in the country. The fault has not been on one side alone. The fault has been on both sides. My friend, Mr. Dumasia, has moved an amendment saying that he approves of the steps taken by Government. I shall read a portion of the report which has been made by an independent body, unconnected with the Congress, the merchants of Karachi. What happened there. That report states three or four facts which will be interesting to know and I will ask Mr. Dumasia whether he approves of them. (*An Honourable Member: "Who are the members?"*) There are 12 names. I will give you the names of some of them. They are Pardaman Singh, Soonderdas Dharmsey, Sukhdev Udhavdas, Jethanand Hiranand, B. T. Thakur and so on. I will give you the full list later on, if necessary. The point I want to make is this. What defence has the Administration got against these charges. This is what the account says:

"Some of the youthful victims, mostly students, and sons of respectable citizens have stated before the Committee that at the police station after severe beatings by slaps, fisticuffs, kicks, etc., they were taken into a room and made to lie down on their backs, with a plain clothes man sitting on their chest, their feet were lifted up by another man and they were beaten on the soles of their bare feet with canes, most of them having received 10 to 20 stripes."

Then the second thing is this:

"They were compelled to touch the boots of the Police Officer with their noses and shuffle on the ground on their buttocks or do, what is known in Sindhi, as 'Gisi'."

Then a most terrible thing happened, which will send a thrill of horror through all men who have any sense of humanity left. What is contained in the next passage shows that a boy was taken hold of by a policeman

[Sardar Sant Singh.]

for the purpose of committing sodomy on him. (Voices: "Shame") I shall read that passage:

"One case has been brought to the notice of the Committee in which a Police Officer is alleged to have asked one of the recruits to select any of the arrested boys brought to the police station and who had been severely beaten. The Makrani, it has been stated, actually dragged a boy into a room, forcibly removed his pyjama and underwear, but on the latter's raising a hue cry, he was let off."

May I ask you whether a series of atrocities that have been mentioned here today can beat this atrocity? I ask the Honourable Member of the European Group whether they will quietly condone it in the name of law and order. This is one Committee of independent men who have gone into the matter and they have published this report. Well, Sir, if these things have happened at one place in the country, do you think they will leave a soft feeling for the Britishers or the Police in the bosoms of the people? Reflect, consider and judge coolly. The time is not when we in our desire to condemn each other forget the real psychology of the people, forget the real facts and say that we will fight both the internal as well as the external enemy. Through you, Sir, I want to appeal to the Government; pause and think over before it is too late. That is why I placed a constructive proposal in my amendment before the House. I am afraid my friends are correct when they say that my amendment has no chance of being passed in this House. I know that is the case. If I were to be guided by the verdict of this House, I would sooner be in a mad house than in this place because here reason does not reign and the verdict is not given on the merits of the proposition. It is all for propaganda. But the Government forget at this stage that war is not won by propaganda alone. In making that supreme effort to win the war, they will have to win the supreme co-operation, unstinted co-operation of the people of this country. So long as the morale of the country is down or is converted into active hostility, they cannot win this war. They will not only ruin themselves but they will ruin the Americans and the Chinese who are here. They will ruin the Allied Nations whose number is 56 or 57.

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

Sardar Sant Singh: I will only say that even if we look at the brightest side of the picture that they have succeeded in suppressing this movement, they would certainly leave a trail of bitterness behind with no love for the Britishers in this country. Do they want that state now?

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

Sardar Sant Singh: I will only say this in the end that before it is too late, let saner counsels prevail and that Government would take stock of the situation. I have yet lot to say which I am leaving unsaid, but let it not be said of the present Government Members that they were the coffin bearers of the British Imperialism in this country.

Mr. C. P. LAWSON (Bengal: European): Mr. President, Sir I would like to amplify the words which fell from my Leader, Sir Henry Richardson, yesterday. I have listened to this debate with particular interest and find on all sides one attitude of mind which I too share towards the present political situation. There is clearly no one who does not want to end the present impasse and to produce a situation which will enable all India's millions to put aside political controversy and to apply their minds to the one great essential which is before us. I refer to the essential need of winning the war and winning it as quickly as possible. Of the ultimate result, I have not the slightest doubt, but I believe that it is within the power of this country to shorten the period during which mankind is subjected to the overriding tyranny of war and the resulting suffering.

The argument is frequently put to me by my Indian friends that if the offer of self-government as soon as the war is over is sincere, what reason can there be for not making some advance in this direction immediately? Surely, say my friends, there must be in India 15 or 16 representatives of popular parties who would be prepared to take over the government of the country provided they are given full powers to govern the country as they think fit. Why delay if such a government could function and command the confidence of all popular parties? This attitude of mind is not confined to my Indian friends, and indeed I have seen from the press that certain members of my own community have indicated a similar wish although their identity is not made public. I do not, however, quarrel with their intention; the wish behind the sentiment is that to which I referred at the outset, namely, to end the impasse and to secure full support for the war effort. If I complain about this utterance, I do so because it is impracticable and because it makes no attempt to produce specific remedies for the more practical ills which attend the situation. A solution in theory is valueless if a solution cannot be found also in practice.

The frequently reiterated promise of self-government as soon as the war is over is a promise regarding which my community has not the slightest doubt. We are certain that self-government will come to this country as soon as the war is over if this country will take it and the community which I represent not only actively supports this policy but hopes to play its part in India's future progress and in making India great. We ask for no privileged position in the India of the future and we hope to carry equally with the citizens of this country the burdens of the future. There is, however, no future before India until the totalitarian menace has been removed and it is with the intention of removing that menace that more than fifty per cent. of my countrymen in this country, between the ages of 18 and 50, have now joined the defence services and are serving this country side by side with their Indian comrades-in-arms. Of the balance there are few, if any, who are not, in addition to their normal occupations, carrying out other work of national importance such as auxiliary forces, civil defence, and so on. Our womenfolk also are playing a large part in nursing and other voluntary services with the same end in view. Indeed, some 800 of our womenfolk are serving as a definite part of the armed forces. I make this statement in no spirit of complacency; there is much to do and possibly still a long road to travel before final victory is won. But there is one great intention behind

[Mr. C. P. Lawson.]

everything that we have in mind and that intention is that that India shall be free to exploit and enjoy the full freedom which the end of the war will most certainly offer to her.

As my Leader has already said, a National Government should be a Government which eliminates all political strife and party warfare. The demands of the main political parties for the interim period have been made clear. Can these demands be combined in such a manner as to produce conditions which will eliminate all future party strife? There are no advantages to be gained and indeed there is grave danger in producing a Cabinet which will satisfy one faction and at the same time produce bitter opposition from another. Even the most sincere prosecution of the war effort cannot produce real efficiency if a Government is pre-occupied with political strife and political disturbances. We are often told that this or that faction should not be permitted to impede political progress and that such progress should continue, albeit such a faction dissented. The factor that vitiates this argument is the factor of war. Conditions in this country at present may not be ideal but in trying to improve them we must be careful to ensure that worse does not befall.

And, indeed it is not strictly fair to demand that any political party shall abandon sincerely held views in order to effect a hasty settlement. There is no power above a sovereign power and when full sovereign powers are transferred to this country, it must be carefully considered where those powers are to rest. If they are to rest with the people, a large constitutional field must be opened and carefully examined. If they are to rest with the Cabinet itself, it must not be forgotten that no internal limitation remains upon their powers. They might be able to alter their own Cabinet constitution or the constitution of the country and who is to say that such a transfer of power would throw no shadow on future development? Could this House deny that a responsible Cabinet with full sovereign powers must develop the picture of India's future and direct to a large extent the paths to India's future constitution? When one comes to examine the matter, the implications of a transfer of power cannot be avoided and the number of matters which require careful examination are legion. For instance, we in this House are concerned greatly with what is now British India. But we are inclined to forget that two-fifths of this peninsula is without British India's jurisdiction. We are inclined to forget that 600,000 out of India's million and a half square miles exist under separate governments. If any community or political party is reluctant to commit itself to a form of autonomous government which may prejudice its ability to press its claims for representation in or its right to fashion the legislatures of the future, could we condemn it? Can we not exercise the patience that the times demand? War conditions are not peace conditions and amongst the Allied Nations there is not one that has not sacrificed some personal liberty in order to attain the end which means no less to us than it means to them.

We have lately seen the paradox of an attempt to gain immediate power by producing conditions which lengthen the road to freedom. Sabotage and destruction of communications, the upsetting of law and order and of the ability of men and women to go about their lawful occasions, all if unchecked will put the day of victory further into the

future. Let us be certain that in our anxiety for the present, we do not, by producing chaos, sacrifice the great future. When we start to build, we should build solidly and with careful regard to all considerations. The edifice of the India of the future must not rise upon jerry-built foundations.

Sir, it may be said, "In all this, where are your constructive proposals?" May I draw attention to the fact, which seems to have been forgotten, that we have already a Government of India consisting of 14 Members, out of whom 11 are Indians. Well deserved tributes have been paid to officials, and I add mine also but I find it in my heart to pay tribute also to the Government for the way in which they have undertaken these duties in a time of great anxiety and for having borne their burdens with success. The Congress Party have ruled themselves out of court in the matter of co-operation. I urge and I sincerely hope that other Parties will not deny us that co-operation so that strength may be given to the Government of this country to carry on this war and to finish it so that this country may get soon the freedom which we all know is coming.

Mr. F. R. Anthony (Nominated Non-Official). Sir, the problem we are considering today is admittedly a most complex one. In the medley of an almost bewildering variety of sentiments, of national pride, of a sense of frustration, and a spirit of negation, it is difficult to dogmatise or to apportion blame unequivocally.

Since the beginning of the war there has been a confusion of outlook, of sentiment and of policy in India. I believe I am right in saying that no right thinking Indian has any sympathy with Nazi or Fascist ideals. But we are here to face and not to shirk issues. I also believe that I am right in saying that the bulk of India does not feel that we are fighting for alleged democracy which has any application to this country.

Government cannot escape their share of blame. The God Almighty Bureaucratic complex of the Governmental machine is unfortunately all too prevalent in India. A detached and unresponsive Bureaucracy still rules from Olympian heights. Few, if any, persons in responsible positions are really in touch with the true sentiments of the people of this country. Indian officials are drawn into the vortex of officialdom. If anything, they out-Herod Herod and become more godlike and Olympian than their European counterpart. An Honourable Member on the other side asked why it was that, when Government alleged that the present sabotage and violence was the result of a preconceived and organised policy, Government had to be jolted out of its godlike stupor before they realised that anything was wrong. The answer is that Government has not got its pulse on real Indian national feelings. The detached and indifferent attitude of the Bureaucracy are identified in the minds of thinking Indians with emotional and mental insentience. This insentience is the cause of the issuing of statements which are almost ridiculous in their unreality. Delivered from what I may call the ethereal heights of officialdom they are usually monuments of inaccuracy and unrealism. Thus, it has been iterated and reiterated that the bulk of India is behind the war effort. This is a travesty of facts. As an Anglo-Indian and a lawyer I have a large circle not only of European but Indian friends. I

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have the greatest respect for Englishmen in their own country, but I also know the real sentiments of my fellow-countrymen. And I know that the spirit of India is not harnessed to the war effort. The supercilious palate of officialdom may be tickled or even satisfied by the ostentatious publication of statistics as to munitions production and recruitment. But, Sir, these do not represent the true feelings of India. Some communities are definitely obstructive, most of the other communities are at best indifferent. Is it not possible when allegedly responsible Empire statesmen make statements, is it not possible for them to refrain from irrelevancy—statements which are distinguished by fatuity and complete ignorance of the real feeling in this country, statements which have provoked even Englishmen themselves in this country, recently, to protest against such effusions which are nauseating to honest Englishmen and galling to the pride of every self-respecting Indian. India today will not tolerate the pointing of a patronising or a minatory finger and being told in so many words, "You must behave like a good little boy or else—". I realise, Sir, that the price of tin has appreciated considerably in these days but India cannot be expected to be responsive to a rule of little tin gods with feet of clay.

I would draw the attention of Government to the very definite sense of frustration and spirit of negation that are present in India. I believe that every right-thinking Indian has no sympathy with Japanese ideals. We who know Japanese ideology also know that the whole Japanese military machine has been built up on false theories of racial superiority. We know that the Japanese are not anxious to deliver India to the Indians. We know that from any Axis invader India can only expect contempt and abject slavery. But still there is the spirit of negation in a large section of the people. These people do not actively desire an Axis victory but they are not unwilling to see England lose because they feel they would thus get some kind of vicarious pleasure in witnessing removal of the British power from this country. Government must approach this problem in a spirit of sympathy and reality. These persons represent a huge army of material from which a potential invader could and would enlist fifth columnists.

But I would also make an earnest appeal to my fellow-Indians. We may have our resentments. No Government over a period of several scores of years is blameless or can be blameless. But I appeal to you not to allow these resentments not to cloud our judgment or to warp our action in the present or the future. No one can deny that India has travelled a long way on the road to self-government. It has been a long and hard road, but will India in a spirit of perversity deliberately throw overboard all the efforts achievements and aspirations that have gone into the travelling of that road? It would be poor comfort indeed deliberately to sell ourselves into slavery under the Axis powers in order to pay off old scores against Britain.

Are we entirely blameless in respect of this present position of stalemate? Have we presented England with any common measure of agreement? Have we presented her with a demand backed up by the majority of the people of this country? It is very easy, Sir, for people in opposition to criticise and condemn. Destructive criticism and uninformed

condemnation are the stock-in-trade of the opposition. British political dishonesty has furnished a convenient shiboleth behind which to combine negative elements. But, Sir, Government is a very positive and practical affair and cannot be run by shiboleths and opposition methods. Who is there in India today who is able or willing to take over power from the present Government? It is all very well to indulge in slogans of "Get out and let us rule". "It is better to reign in Hell than serve in Heaven". These may be very good political propaganda pap, but no Government can be run by such slogans. "Divide and rule" is another charge which is levelled against the Government. But if this is true then is it not a reflection on the intelligence and patriotism of communal leaders that they should submit to being made puppets of? Rather, is not the blame to be found among ourselves? So long as we hear cries of Hindustan for the Hindus and that the future constitution of this country must be evolved by the major elements, so long will the minorities who represent a very large section of India not be able to regard future developments with equanimity. We defer, Sir, to no one in our love for this our Motherland. We defer to no one in our desire to see India ruled by a real National Government. But we do not accept political propaganda which may purport to invest a bid for hegemony or dictatorship as bearing the complexion of nationalism. These efforts are a negation of nationalism. Let the major elements in this country attract the support of the smaller elements not by threatening them with penalisation or extinction but by magnanimity and a policy of breadth and vision.

Finally, Sir, the very definition of Government is to maintain law and order. Any Government worthy of the name, whether it is the present administration or a truly national government, must maintain law and order. Anarchy, sabotage and violence, in spite of the allegedly high motives that may be said to inspire them, cannot be tolerated. When Government officials, who are only implementing their duty and not any political creed, are murdered, when civilians are attacked and ruined by insensate hooliganism and mob violence, it becomes the clear duty of any Government to suppress such lawlessness with the greatest expedition and firmness.

And we also have a clear duty if we see political values in their true perspective, unclouded by prejudice or resentment. It is to enable India to play her proper part in the war effort. This will not help, as some persons wrongly imagine, to perpetuate India's tutelage but it will keep her feet on the road to self-government, which she has travelled so long and so far and bring her within immediate reach of the fruition of the efforts of India's great nationalist sons.

Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta: There is an ancient Sanskrit aphorism which says, "*Raja Kalasya Karanam*" i.e., that the Ruler, the King and the Sovereign is the supreme cause of the condition of the people in any country. This aphorism embodies a profound truth and penetrating wisdom, and is as true today as it was when first written. I would, therefore, request the Government to accept their full responsibility for the situation in the country which we are discussing today. That situation is extremely perilous and critical, and requires the stoutest of hearts and the coolest of heads to handle it with success. This is no time for recrimination. I will not indulge, so far as I can help it, in any taunts and reproaches, but will submit my request to all sections of the House

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as to what we should do in the present critical situation. I shall first address the Government and my Honourable friends on the European Benches, because they, in my opinion, do not radically differ from each other.

I know what a responsibility the British section in this country bears. Most of them must be carrying a heavy load of grief and sorrow at the loss of some near and dear ones—a brother, a father, a son. And yet, they are carrying on with a dignity and solemnity which I admire and would like to emulate. And their own countrymen beyond the seas, the Britishers in England, have shown how one could be patriotic even in the darkest hour and be imbued with heroism which will live in history. You have written an immortal chapter, after Dunkirk, when the crack of doom seemed to have sounded, you stood alone and isolated but hurled defiance at the enemy and withstood an attack which remains unparalleled for all time. I, therefore, have the greatest admiration for the Englishman and the Britisher: and if I say anything now it must be understood in the clearest manner that I do it in the common benefit of all of us.

The causes of the present discontents are deeply rooted in the history of the last 200 years. My Honourable friends cannot be unaware that the East India Company made us grind dividends at the rate of 100, 150 and 200 per cent for the holders of the East India stock. They cannot forget that besides the grinding of these dividends, at which Shylock would have blushed, the agents factors and the clerks of the Company looted and plundered, smuggled and practised every atrocity and outrage that could be conceived. Adventurers of all types left India with colossal fortunes and settled as Nawabs in Great Britain, regardless whether this country was swallowed by an earthquake after they had left. These are not my words. These are the words of Adam Smith. In one memorable passage Lord Macaulay in words of moving pathos describes the corruption, the tyranny which you practised and which left devastation in its trail. Macaulay says: "India was made to witness the most frightful of all spectacles, the strength of civilization without its mercy". This is the beginning of our connection. Since 1792 onwards the same policy was continued either through trade taxation, transport or tariff. Huge crores flowed into British pockets through currency and exchange manœuvres, from monopoly of trade, and in every other conceivable manner. With what results, Sir? The result is that today three-fourths of my countrymen do not get two square meals a day. Half of them are in every condition of illness and disease. Every fourth man in the street is suffering from malaria. The expectation of life is 26 years in this country against 56 elsewhere. The death rate in this country is rarely below 80 against 12 which is the normal rate in progressive countries.

From 1892 you became conscious of the cruel wrongs which you had done us. But did that change your policy, Sir? You have tried to conceal what you could no longer deny. You started inventing excuses for not doing the right thing. Against a nominal transfer of power and crumbs of authority, the same policy of exploitation continues with even greater force: you have started creating defences against the on-rush of democratic forces in this country—through various Empire preferences,

racial, political and communal discriminations, special electorates, communal franchise, minority protection. All these are the protective paraphernalia of a guilty conscience against the tide of the democratic movement in this country. You are building barricades against freedom, and the Indian nationalist movement finds itself today confronted with a powerful Maginot line of vested interests and privilege; but I promise you that we shall by-pass this Maginot line even as Hitler did. We the Hindus and Muslims and other communities of this country, the workers and the peasants, will by-pass this Maginot line of privilege and reaction, and enter the Paris of freedom and there might be a Dunkirk at Bombay or Karachi, after which no Dieppe raid even will be possible. I, therefore, request you to awaken in time. I make this request in all humility. . . .

Sir F. E. James (Madras: European): The Honourable the President is not asleep!

Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta: I am speaking in inverted commas. .

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Honourable Member had better address the Chair.

Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta: I am addressing them through you, Sir; that is quite permissible. . . .

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): I am sure that the Honourable Member can be equally eloquent if he addresses the Chair.

Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta: Thank you, Sir; that is the position which I ask them to realise. The only reason why the other parties in this country do not join the Congress in its present 'Quit India' policy is not that that policy is not right. It is true that we are offered Dominion Status with the right to secede, full independence; but on what condition? Only if we will produce an agreement, an agreement which they, yes, they and they alone make it impossible by this paraphernalia of communal and discriminating administration and legislation. They are like incendiaries who set fire to a house and then go into the streets loudly shouting for the fire brigade. But the fire is their work; and I ask you that this will not do any more. The only reason why the other parties in the country are not with the Congress is because the war is on us. I say the Indian National Congress is not the only body which strives for freedom. We are all—each and every one of us—for independence. The Congress was nowhere even to be seen when Savarkar struggled for independence 32 years ago. . . .

An Honourable Member: The Congress is older than 32 years.

Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta: But not for independence; it was then petitioning and memorialising; it was praying when Savarkar struck the first blow, when Mr. M. N. Roy sacrificed his own home and remained in exile for the independence of this country, when a humble worker like myself in 1927, at the Madras Session in face of the opposition of the present members of the working committee of the Congress, got a resolution for independence passed. Therefore, the Congress Party are not isolated in the stand for independence. They must not consider that

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everybody who is not with them in this campaign is, therefore, a traitor. That is the greatest mistake that the Congress party is doing; as I said before if we are not today with the Congress, it is because the war is on us. In the war I forget all differences. I have told you in what light I consider the danger. I am, therefore, prepared to blot out the evil memories of the last two hundred years, and I desire that the whole of India should stand shoulder to shoulder with the Britisher and with the American to fight the Axis out. At such a time, this 'Quit India' policy has absolutely no meaning. Not only it has no meaning, but it has a sinister meaning. It is a direct invitation to the Japanese to invade India and nothing less. Whether the Mahatma does it or the Maulana does it, whether it is the Patel or the Pundit who does it makes not the slightest difference.

Sardar Sant Singh: Or whether it is Sir Reginald Maxwell or. . .

Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta: Yes, or whether it is you or I—what I say is, at such a time when the foreigner is at the door, trying to make us slaves, everybody who is prepared to save me from that catastrophe, is my comrade and countryman. In that spirit I willingly join the Britisher and all those who want to fight the Axis forces. I am not going into details. This "Quit India" policy is supported by whom? By the patriotic but bankrupt middle class, by giggling girls and love-lorn lads, by brainy boys who take patriotic holidays, by portly matrons and weighty women and by big finance which wants to take the place of Sir Henry Richardson's class. They are too previous; the quarry is not yet killed. The vultures are gathering too soon because the carcass is not yet available. That is the class which is keeping the Ahmedabad workers idle and starving for a policy of their own. The workers of this country are definitely for this war. They detest the Axis powers and they will fight them out. In that resolution of the Congress there is a frequent reference to the glow of freedom. I like that phrase—the glow of freedom—when 50 crores of our brethren-in-faith, the Chinese, Buddhists and Muhammadans, are struggling for decent existence against a ruthless foe, when 16 crores of Russian workers are crying to the workers of the world "Unite in defence of the only Workers Republic", when 23 crores of European humanity is lying under the heels of a conqueror and when 45 millions Britishers are standing like a rock against the hordes of Fascism, when my country is threatened with devastation—that glow of freedom must, if at all it is real, impel me to make every effort, strain every nerve in order that victory may be won and Fascism may be laid low. It is in that spirit that I view the present situation;—the world of 1939 is dead; the new world that is coming will be—if the Axis wins—the footstool and the doormat of the Axis powers, or—if we win—the brotherhood of free nations. It is easy to make our choice between the two.

Sardar Sant Singh: Will it be?

Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta: Yes; it will be; it shall be; faint hearts never won anywhere. . . .

Sardar Sant Singh: The faint heart is represented by you.

Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta: No. I did not interfere when you were speaking, and I ask you not to interfere now: I do not like the smudgy stories with which you begaled the House; I assure you, even if what you say is true, our path is clear; the liberty of this world is today at stake and I ask this House and this country to make the choice, on which side we shall be. That choice should not be difficult. To my countrymen, the Muslim Leaguers, may I say, let them not
2 P.M. deflect from the current of national life?

Some Members of the Muslim League Party: We are not.

Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta: I am glad to hear that. I am requesting you. You do not realise, my friends, what the Muslim League is. The Muslim League is the biggest organisation coercing Government into doing nothing. You are a League for vetoing Indian freedom and unity. That is the lot to which you are reduced unhappily, to my regret. But as Mr. Jinnah has rightly said to the American Press, you can give 500 times more trouble than the Hindus. Why not stay in India, give us 500 times more trouble? I am willing to have that trouble rather than lose you.

Sir, Syed Raza Ali (Cities of the United Provinces: Muhammadan Urban): There is no likelihood of your losing us.

Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta: You are trying to cut yourselves away from us. I ask you not to leave from this mother India. From this magnificent mansion of mother India;—not one brick shall be moved. There shall be no Pakistan. I ask you, let there be no Axistan, because that is the only danger today. To my Congress friends I say, to my Muslim friends I say, to my Hindu Mahasabha friends I say, to Government I say the same. The Mahasabha has put forward a scheme which offers the possibilities of a settlement for all, at least for the time being, although I am sorry to say that neither the Congress nor the Muslim League nor the Hindu Mahasabha ever call the workers and peasants to their confabulations. I ask you, first of all, to enlist the sympathy and the support of the workers and the peasants, because they, after all, are 90 per cent. of the people of this country. To Government I say, so long as you give them sufficient food, so long as you give them protection, so long as you look after their human needs, the workers and peasants of India will be true to you in the present war because it is their war and you have nothing to be afraid of from the Axis powers so long as you remain true to the workers.

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

Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta: In this spirit I appeal to you all and I wish that everybody will do the best in the circumstances.

The Assembly then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Thursday, the 17th September, 1942.