



CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF PAKISTAN DEBATES

Thursday, the 10th April, 1952

OFFICIAL REPORT

CONTENTS

	Pages
Announcement <i>re</i> : Election of Members to the Finance Committee	19
Procedure for dealing with Motions	19—22
Motion <i>re</i> : Bengali being one of the State Languages— <i>Postponement adopted</i> ...	22—47
The Government of India (Third Amendment) Bill— <i>Discussion not concluded</i> ...	47—51

Printed by the Manager, Government of Pakistan Press, Karachi
Published by the Manager of Publications, Karachi : 1952

Price : Annas 5 or 8d. or 10 cents.

CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF PAKISTAN

Thursday, the 10th April, 1952

The Constituent Assembly of Pakistan met in the Assembly Chamber, Karachi, at Ten of the Clock, Mr. President (The Honourable Mr. Tamizuddin Khan) in the Chair.

ELECTION TO THE FINANCE COMMITTEE

Mr. President: I have to make an announcement. I have to inform the House that up to 4 p.m. on Monday, the 24th March, 1952, the time fixed for receiving nominations for the Finance Committee for the financial year 1952-53, nominations in respect of the following candidates were received, viz.,

1. Mr. B. C. Nandy
2. Mr. Ghayasuddin Pathan
3. Syed Khalilur Rahman
4. Makhdumzada Syed Hasan Mahmud.

As the number of candidates is equal to the number of vacancies I declare—

1. Mr. B. C. Nandy
2. Mr. Ghayasuddin Pathan
3. Syed Khalilur Rahman
4. Makhdumzada Syed Hasan Mahmud

duly elected to the Finance Committee.

PROCEDURE FOR DEALING WITH MOTIONS

Mr. President: First of all let us decide the procedure that we should follow in dealing with these motions. These motions fall into two groups and they are of a similar nature. Therefore unless the House disagrees I think it will be better that one resolution of the group which seeks Bengali to be made as one of the state languages, may be moved and another of the next group may be moved and then amendments tabled may be moved. There will be a general discussion and all members who have given notice of motions will be entitled to speak as well as others, if they like, and if they are able to catch my eye. If the House agrees I want to follow this procedure.

The Honourable Mr. Fazlur Rahman (East Bengal : Muslim) : When the amendments will be moved ?

Mr. President: After the motions are put.

The Honourable Mr. Fazlur Rahman: After all the motions are moved.

Mr. President: I propose only two motions to be moved. One from the Bengali group and another from the Arabic group.

The Honourable Pirzada Abdus Sattar Abdur Rahman (Sind : Muslim) : I think Sir, it would be proper that as soon as a motion is

[The Honourable Pirzada Abdus Sattar Abdur Rahman.]

allowed to be moved, the amendment to that is moved and as soon as the second motion is moved, amendment to that will be moved. Let us first take the first motion and its amendments.

Prof. Raj Kumar Chakraverty (East Bengal : General) : Sir, the resolutions are not the same. The language of the resolution is not the same and the contents are also different. For example, the resolution of Mr. Nur Ahmed and that of mine are different. Mr. Nur Ahmed mentions Urdu while I mention 'one of the State languages'. Therefore, I claim, Sir, that I should be allowed to move my resolution.

Mr. President : There are no doubt slight differences but they are more or less the same to my mind.

Prof. Raj Kumar Chakraverty : Mr. Nur Ahmed mentions Urdu and I want Bengali to be one of the State languages.

Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan (Punjab : Muslim) : The Member should be allowed to move his own motion, why should he speak on someone else's.

Mr. President : It is very different from the other resolutions ?

Prof. Raj Kumar Chakraverty : Because I do not say about any other languages which can claim to be the State language or languages of Pakistan. I only mention Bengali.

The Honourable Sardar Abdur Rab Khan Nishtar (Punjab : Muslim) : The principle is the same.

The Honourable Mr. Nurul Amin (East Bengal : Muslim) : Sir, may I submit one thing. Sir, it is very difficult to speak on procedure before a decision is arrived at on the first motion which is there and amendment to that motion is there. We do not know what will be the result or fate of that motion. After the result is known we can then express our views with regard to the suitability or admissibility or desirability of moving other motions because the House will give a verdict this way or that way on the first motion and after that verdict is given it will be open to the Chair to decide whether a verdict contrary to that is admissible or should be allowed in the House. Let us first of all decide the fate of the first motion along with its amendment.

Mr. President : I appreciate what you say but I do not like to stifle the other group altogether, I mean those resolutions which recommend Arabic to be the State language. Supposing the amendment with regard to Mr. Nur Ahmed's motion is carried, then that will make an end of the rest of the resolutions. Logically that will be so. But I do not want to bar out the Arabic resolutions.

The Honourable Mr. Nurul Amin : It is not a question of stifling anybody. But as I have already said, Sir, we do not know the fate of the first motion or of the amendment, on the decision of which will depend the next course. Well, if the House accepts the decision and gives a verdict that there is no immediate necessity of coming to a decision on any language and that no State language has been approved by this House and it will be decided by this House in due course of time, all other motions in my opinion, if I venture to suggest, will have no *locus standi* after that verdict of the House. So we do not know what is going to happen. Let us see what fate the first motion meets with and then we would discuss this matter. It is not a question of stifling but after the verdict on the first motion nobody would be justified to move any motion contrary to the decision of the House. It cannot be characterised as stifling anybody.

The Honourable Mr. Fazlur Rahman: What I wanted to say is that the question of stifling will not arise, for the simple reason that if anyone wants to advocate Arabic or any other view-point he will be able to do so in the course of the first motion and the amendment—when they are under discussion,—because there will be nothing to prevent any Member of the Constituent Assembly from putting forward his views.

Shri Dharendra Nath Dutta (East Bengal : General) : Sir, the procedure stated by the Honourable the Chief Minister of Bengal amounts to this that everybody should be allowed to move his motion first ; then the amendments will come. You know if the amendments come and amendments be carried.....(*Interruptions*).....Everybody should be allowed to move amendments. If they are carried the others will fall in the matter of course. The procedure will amount to stifling which he wants to avoid.....

The Honourable Sardar Abdur Bab Khan Nishtar : With your permission, Sir ? Let us be consistent about the point of view that we take. Either these resolutions are similar or they are dissimilar. If they are similar, and one resolution is put before the House, and decision taken thereon : then others become useless. If they are dissimilar, there will be no point in moving them together. No, dissimilar substantive motions should be before the House at one and the same time. I can understand dissimilar amendments being placed before the House at one and the same time. But dissimilar substantive motions are never allowed before the House. Amendments stand on a different footing. Here we are talking of substantive motions. So, the substantive motion of Mr. Nur Ahmed, which is first on the list, should be moved. If the result of that motion covers all other resolutions then in that case there would be no point in moving other resolutions. All the resolutions which relate to Bengali are similar in principle and, therefore, when one is moved then the object of all other motions is served, and whatever decision is taken by the House, it will be applicable to all. If the resolutions are dissimilar then there is all the more reason of not moving all the motions together because that would mean that the discussion will be confused and there would be more than one substantive resolutions before the House. I will, therefore, support, Mr. Nurul Amin.

Prof. Raj Kumar Chakraverty : Convention in this House is this : If there are motions of similar nature, you, Sir, allowed all the movers of the motions to move their resolutions, specially in the budget session in connection with the cut motions—cut motions on the same matter you did not prevent.....

Mr. President : They are amendments.

Prof. Raj Kumar Chakraverty : In other matters the convention has been to move their motions....

Mr. President : You cannot controvert the proposition that two dissimilar motions cannot be before the House for consideration at one and the same time.

Shri Kamini Kumar Dutta (East Bengal : General) : Of course, I agree that two dissimilar motions cannot be moved in the same sitting of the House as substantive motions. But if there is a motion and if there is another, not exactly the same, it can be moved as an amendment.

The Honourable Pirzada Abdus Sattar Abdur Rahman : These are two separate motions.

Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan (Punjab : Muslim) : Substantive motions may be moved one after the other.....

The Honourable Sardar Abdur Rab Khan Nishtar : That will be seen.

Mr. President : The procedure should be this that I shall call the first motion. If it is not moved, I shall go to the next and so on.

Mr. M. H. Gazder (Sind : Muslim) : I want to.....

Mr. President : Order, order.

After the first motion is moved, I shall call upon the Member who has given notice of amendment, to move the amendment. Then the whole matter will be under discussion. I want to warn other Members who are anxious to move their motions that if the amendment is carried, they will have no opportunity to move their motions. Therefore, if other Members who have given notice of motions, are anxious to speak—whether in favour of Arabic or Bengali—they should speak in connection with the first motion. Otherwise they may lose the opportunity altogether.

Shri Sris Chandra Chattopadhyaya (East Bengal : General) : There are several motions. Of course, they are all independent.

The Honourable Sardar Abdur Rab Khan Nishtar : The ruling has been given.

Shri Sris Chandra Chattopadhyaya : If the first resolution is allowed to be moved first and then those who have given notice of other resolutions, they may be treated as amendments. They can move these as amendments.....

Mr. President : That question does not arise. It will be dealt with when it arises.

Shri Sris Chandra Chattopadhyaya : It can be.

Mr. President : I cannot commit myself to any view at this stage.

MOTION RE: BENGALI BEING ONE OF THE STATE LANGUAGES

Mr. Nur Ahmed (East Bengal : Muslim) : Sir, I move :

"That this Assembly is of opinion that Bengali language along with Urdu language shall be made the State language of Pakistan."

Sir, my resolution is self-evident and clear to every Honourable Member of this House. I would not take the valuable time of the House by inflicting a speech in support of my motion.

Mr. President (to Mr. Nur Ahmed) : Do you want to speak ?

The Honourable Mr. Nurul Amin (East Bengal : Muslim) : He has spoken.

Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan (Punjab : Muslim) : An official is stopping him from speaking....

Mr. President : Motion moved :

"That this Assembly is of opinion that Bengali language along with Urdu language shall be made the State language of Pakistan."

The Honourable Pirzada Abdu Sattar Abdur Rahman (Sind : Muslim) : Sir, I move :

"That in view of the fact that no decision has yet been taken in the matter of the State language and there being no immediate necessity of taking a decision thereon, be it resolved that the question be decided by this Assembly when it comes up before it in due course."

Sir, the amendment is very clear and it does not need any further clarification.

M. President : Motion moved :

"That in view of the fact that no decision has yet been taken in the matter of the State language and there being no immediate necessity of taking a decision thereon, be it resolved that the question be decided by this Assembly when it comes up before it in due course."

Prof. Raj Kumar Chakraverty (East Bengal : General) : Sir, I have already tabled a motion on the subject stating that Bengali should be one of the State languages of Pakistan. Now I rise to support the motion of Mr. Nur Ahmed and oppose the amendment moved by the Honourable Pirzada Adus Sattar. Sir, Pakistan is a multi-lingual State. There is, therefore, scope for having more than one language as the State language or languages of Pakistan. If we look round and study the history of the progressive countries of the world today, we find there are countries where there is more than one State language. For example, there is Canada; there is Switzerland and there is Russia. Therefore, when I support the motion I do so because there is a good precedent in favour of the statement that Bengali should be one of the State languages of Pakistan.

Sir, in supporting this motion, I do so not in any spirit of rivalry against any other language. Certainly, I have no objection to Urdu being one of the State languages of Pakistan. As regards Arabic, the claim of that also may be considered later on. In supporting this motion I have no ill-will against any people of this great land of Pakistan, but I merely express a genuine and spontaneous urge of the four crores of the people who inhabit Eastern Pakistan. I believe, Sir, if the House adopts this motion, it will lead to a better understanding among all sections of the people of Pakistan, especially between its two wings. The stage has now come, Sir, when the matter brooks no delay and we should come to a decision.

Sir, you must have noted and the Members of this House must have seen in the Press that all the political organisations in East Bengal worth the name have supported the cause of Bengali to be one of the State languages of Pakistan. The Muslim League there, the Muslim League Parliamentary Party, the East Bengal Legislature, the Pakistan National Congress, the Executive Committee of the Dacca University, the East Pakistan Jamiat-i-Ulema-i-Islam and many other organisations, whose number is legion, have supported the cause of Bengali. Then, Sir, last but not the least, the Press of East Bengal, with one or two exceptions, have supported the claim of Bengali; and still more significant is the fact that twelve editors of East Bengal, who are veterans in the field of journalism, have made a fervent appeal to their brothers in Western Pakistan and to the people of Western Pakistan generally to support the cause of Bengali as one of the State languages of Pakistan. There are many other organisations, leaders of thought and public opinion who have given their support unequivocally in respect of Bengali to be one of the State languages of Pakistan.

Sir, in supporting this motion I do nothing more, and nothing less than express the genuine and spontaneous urge of the numerous people

[Prof. Raj Kumar Chakraverty.]

of Eastern Pakistan. Sir, on behalf of East Bengal, I take this opportunity of conveying my sense of gratitude to those people in Western Pakistan and to the members of the Press, outside East Bengal, who have given support to our genuine and right cause. Particularly, I mention the name of Mr. Suleri, the Editor of the *Evening Times*, who had been to East Bengal, studied the situation himself and tried to give a picture of the situation to his fellow-countrymen in Western Pakistan. Sir, in supporting this motion, I hope nobody will find me guilty of narrow provincialism. It is no provincialism at all. It is the demand of democracy; it is the demand of self-determination. Here are more than four crores of people who want to determine for themselves what their State language should be; and I think, Sir, in the interest of the high principle of self-determination, for which we all and the nations of the world stand today, and for the sake of democracy, the claim of Bengali should not be overlooked for being one of the State languages of Pakistan.

Sir, I would ask the House in this connection to realise the changes in some of our modern political ideals. Formerly, the idea of a State was that there would be one people, there would be one State and there would be one State language. Today, with the progress of time, we find in many progressive countries of the world, there are different peoples inhabiting a State; there are different languages spoken by the people of the country and there are different State languages also, as I have already exemplified from the case of Canada, Switzerland and Russia. Sir, as a result of the introduction of more than one State languages in those countries, their unity has not been jeopardized in any way. The unity of a country, or of a nation does not depend on the languages the people speak, but upon a feeling of *esprit de corps*, a feeling of fellowship and oneness that the people possess among themselves in matters of the State and otherwise. Therefore, I say the unity of Pakistan will never be jeopardized if we adopt Bengali as one of the State languages of Pakistan. Sir, the former idea of one State language was the argument of imperialists when they wanted to foist their language on other people, and when they tried to have a cleavage between the rulers and the ruled. But today the situation has altered in Pakistan. We are a free, and independent and democratic people. I do not think there is any desire in any quarter in Pakistan to have imperialism. I do not think there is any desire on the part of anybody today to create a cleavage between the different sections of the people and I do not think there is also any desire on the part of anybody to foist a language upon the unwilling people of any part of this country. Therefore, Sir, I submit no harm will ensue if Bengali is made one of the State languages of Pakistan.

Sir, before I conclude I shall say a few words about the literary and the linguistic merits of the Bengali language. It is not only the language of the majority of Pakistanis, but is also the richest language not only of Pakistan, but of the whole of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent. It has a history of over a thousand years and has a wonderful vitality to develop and absorb foreign influences. In the last hundred years its development has been phenomenal, and it draws its nourishment from the sap of the soil. Not only that. It has its intricate roots of connection with Sanskrit, with Hindustani, with Urdu and with Persian. It is also the language which has most completely absorbed the spirit of western literature. Basically, Eastern in origin, it is of all the languages of the sub-continent, the most modern and most western in outlook.

Sir, one word more and I have done. I find there is an amendment which seeks to postpone the consideration of the matter. Sir, in the

opinion of us sitting on this side of the House, this proposal is not a sound and right one in the existing circumstances of the country. This matter of Bengali being one of the State languages of Pakistan has been hanging fire since the year 1948 when the Honourable Khwaja Nazimuddin was the Chief Minister of East Bengal. There was an agitation then and he assured the people that he would see that Bengali is made one of the State Languages in Pakistan. Since then there have been repeated agitations and demands over this issue. There have been very unfortunate and untoward happenings. There has been promulgation of Section 144. There have been arrests and detentions. There has been loss of precious lives also. We all deplore these happenings. Sir, by opposing the postponement of this motion, we want to put a stop to all such unhappy events which may happen again if this question is not tackled today. Therefore, Sir, I submit that the matter brooks no delay and we should settle the matter once for all, now and here, and we should not allow any more unfortunate incidents to occur in this connection. With these few words I support the motion and oppose the amendment.

Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan : *Sir, I am both pained and surprised to see that one of the Government Party's Members is first allowed to bring the resolution and then Government itself tries to postpone it. We have seen during the past two months that this language issue has taxed the minds of the people or our brethern in East Bengal.

This issue was then raised after the speech of no less a person than the Prime Minister of Pakistan and then after that there were trouble, there was agitation, there were shootings, there were killings and there was lot of agitation, seeing which no less a person than the Chief Minister of East Bengal got up in his Legislature where he holds a majority to pass a resolution in keeping with the feelings of the people of East Bengal. Unless he was then in harmony with the ideas of the people of East Pakistan, he could not have passed that resolution : or was it only a political way in which he wanted to get out of the difficult situation ? I would ask the Honourable the Chief Minister from East Bengal, what was the reason that he passed that resolution in the Legislature of East Bengal. If there was no need for it then, there was no need for bringing this resolution here. If there was a need for that resolution to be passed, if there was a public feeling which had led him to pass that resolution in East Bengal Assembly, then surely, Sir, that need has not been done away with and therefore this issue should not be put in cold storage.

I belong to a Province where we have nurtured and brought up Urdu in the last 30 years or 40 years or more and Punjab is really proud for nurturing that language which was not its own. Then, Sir, after all these years we have been speaking that language and improving that language, in spite of that fact, I am today with the fullest responsibility standing here to support the issue of Bengali and I say that let us have Bengali as one of the State languages because it is the language of 4 crore and 19 lakhs of our people living in East Bengal. If we, from West Pakistan, are going to oppose that urge of the people of East Pakistan, we will be responsible for starting trouble in East Pakistan, which may damage the very fabric of my country and my nation. Sir, I am one of those, therefore, who, though loving Urdu language, though speaking Urdu language, are today on their legs to support this issue with all sincerity and all seriousness because we do not want that by opposing the cause of the people of East Pakistan, we are going to do no good. Instead, by postponing the issue, by postponing the evil day once again, we will be

*Speech not corrected by the Honourable Member.

[Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan.]

starting trouble which may result in the complete disruption of Pakistan. Therefore, Sir, in the interests of Pakistan, in the interests of our people, in the interests of our solidarity, in the interests of our future ties, in the interests of our future children and in the interests of the posterity, I am going to support the issue of Bengali. Let us not waste any time; let us support the resolution of the Chief Minister of Bengal; let us have the Bengali language as one of our State languages. If we can have English, if English could be spoken here, if English could be treated as a language in which we can communicate with each other, why cannot the Bengali language, the spoken language of 4 crores of people, be the State language. I am sure, Sir, that Urdu is not so weak, nor Bengali language so weak, that by having them both as State languages, we are going to kill one or the other language. It is just trying to put oil on fire and this fire would spread, I assure you. Sir, if we do not take up this issue seriously and if we do not get over this petty provincialism, if we keep on going on provincial lines, or on lines of sentiments on which we have lived for the past so many years, we are going to destroy this country. Sir, sentimentalism should be apart. We have been sentimental too long. We have been emotional too long. Let us be rational, let us ask ourselves, ask searching questions to yourselves; I ask the Prime Minister here, let him ask a searching question to himself: Is it really the desire of the East Pakistan people that they should have Bengali language as one of the State languages? If it is not, then for God's sake get up and tell us that it is fraud, it is not the voice of the people, it is only the call of a few people and I will take back all my words which I have spoken in favour of Bengali. But if on the other hand, he is certain that this is the urge of the people, this is the desire of the majority of the people of Pakistan, then I do not see any reason why you are putting back this issue and why you are adding to the troubles of the Government and the people of Pakistan. Sir, we know and all of us know that there are countries in which there are three languages spoken. Take Switzerland, there is German, there is French and there is Italian spoken. Take the question of Canada. There is French and English both. Take the question of our country; why cannot we have two languages? Why should we oppose it? We, who have been speaking English for the last 100 years, are we going to oppose that language, the language of the majority of the people of this country? I have got no hesitation, Sir, in saying that we, in the Punjab, and we people who think sensibly about the future of Pakistan, we have got no desire to gloat the language issue and other aspirations of the people of East Pakistan.

Sir, I am sure, if we have Bengali as one of the State languages, it will lead to stronger ties and stronger friendship between the two wings of Pakistan. There will be people here in West Pakistan who will be learning Bengali and there will be people in Bengal who will be learning Urdu so that by this interchange of languages, by this compulsory learning of the languages of both wings of Pakistan, we are going to forge ties which it will be impossible to break by any artificial manner. Therefore, Sir, if we are going to have social intercourse between the two wings of Pakistan, if we are going to have stronger ties and friendship and brotherhood between the two wings of Pakistan, we should give up this motionalism and come forward with open hands and say that we are accepting your language, not that you are in a majority but because we want to make Pakistan stronger and our brotherhood stronger and a real and effective thing. We are coming forward to accept the language of your country as at par with Urdu which is the spoken language of certain people in West Pakistan. Sir, if we do not do that, if we do not come

to rationalism, if we keep on being emotional, if we keep on putting it away for political reasons, then, Sir, I assure my friends opposite that they are not today shelving the issue Bengali language, but they are shelving the very foundation of Pakistan being laid on a proper basis. By trying to put off this issue they are going to create trouble in the mind of the East Bengal people who might think—and think wrongly—that we, in West Pakistan, are trying to dominate them. We have got no desire whatever to dominate any one part or any Province or any people of this country. We want all the people and all the Province to get up together and with proper co-operation and friendship with each other, we should grow into a mighty nation which is our right to be.

Therefore, Sir, in the interest of Pakistan's solidarity, in the interest of our people, in the interest of Bengal, Punjab, Sind, Frontier and Baluchistan, I am going to ask my friends in the Government, do not keep on shelving these issues, do not keep on putting off the real issues of the country, do not keep on putting off the need of the day. Be brave, be the worthy followers of Quaid-i-Azam, the worthy successors of Quaid-i-Azam, behave like true successors of Quaid-i-Azam and get up and do as he would have done in a difficult situation like this and accept this language issue. Do not do a thing which is going to disrupt the very strength of our nation.

Sir, it is very well saying that when the constitution is made, then we will take up this issue. Even, Sir, only yesterday a resolution was brought in about Islamic research. Many resolutions every day are brought in, some are about elections, some about amending the Government of India Act. When these small things can be discussed in this House and passed, why cannot these major issues, when they arise, be discussed and passed to that there is no trouble in the country, so that we can live happily, so that there is no inferiority complex anywhere that people here are conspiring against them or people there are trying to dominate the people in West Pakistan. Sir, with these few words, these inadequate words, I am going to once again appeal to the people to be sensible, do not try to be emotional and do not try to put off these issues. Let us go and help the Bengali culture to grow, and if necessary, if you think and I am sure the people in East Bengal and people in West Pakistan may agree that we may try to have a common script so that Urdu and Bengali languages can be understood and read easily by the people of West Pakistan and East Pakistan. Therefore, Sir, with this prayer that you should coolly and calmly consider this issue and settle it once for all and take up the issue of the script and let us see if we can have a common script. Let us have this Quranic script which is understood by both the people, people in East Bengal and people in West Pakistan. This may be the common script of the two languages. Therefore, Sir, with these words and with these suggestions, I appeal to the House for God's sake give up your ideas of provincialism of which you are accusing your Opposition and rise above the present level and see that you are the real statesmen of Pakistan and that you are not going to preside over its funeral.

Shri Kamini Kumar Dutta (East Bengal : General) : Sir, I rise in support of the main resolution. The resolution, I must say, Sir, is a very modest one. It says that Bengali language along with Urdu should be made the State language of Pakistan. It does not aim at making Bengali the only official language of the State. Now, Sir, in the modern age with the growth of federalistic States, this problem has come to exist and be allowed in federated administration and where the State is

[Shri Kamini Kumar Dutta.]

a federated one, more than one official language for the State has to be made. That is the real position, Sir. Our State is not a unitary one, it is a federated State with two main wings, Eastern Pakistan and the Western Pakistan, and the Bengali language is admittedly the regional language of more than half the population of Pakistan. So, this demand that this language with which the future cultural growth and indeed the growth of the nation of the Pakistanis of East Pakistan is bound up should be one of the official languages, is a very legitimate demand and, I must state, an irresistible demand. But at the same time, I think, it is my duty to remove some of the misconceptions which were whispered during this movement for Bengali being acknowledged as an official language of the State. We have heard whispering that perhaps this may lead to some sort of estrangement between East and West Pakistan. On the other hand, I think, Sir, it will unify the East and West Pakistan, if Bengali be admitted and accepted as one of the official languages of the State of Pakistan. The brethren of West Pakistan will also have to learn it and this will lead to mutual exchange of thoughts and ideas and to a cordial understanding of East and West Pakistan. So on that score any apprehension of any sort of estrangement between East and West Pakistan should be altogether thrown out. On the other hand I think it will be the cementing tie between East and West Pakistan as both want to understand each other. East Pakistan would also learn to appreciate West Pakistan and as this resolution wants to make Urdu also one of the languages that regional mode of expression would help East Pakistan to understand West Pakistan.

But at the same time coming from East Pakistan can we not claim that Bengali, the mode of expression of more than half the population of Pakistan, must also be understood by our brethren of West Pakistan? It is a claim, Sir, which we are entitled to make and it is the claim which I hope certainly West Pakistan would also accept with a happy heart. There should not be any misgiving in this matter. Sir, in this connection, I may say, as my friend, Mr. Chakraverty, has already said, that Bengali is a language, one of the rich languages of the modern world. It is a vehicle of culture and sometimes it is said, of Hindu culture. I repudiate it. I am not one, Sir, who is not conversant with one culture of East Pakistan. I am fully conversant with the culture of East Pakistan more than any Muslim. I am acquainted more thoroughly with the Bengali language. Bengali language is really, the vehicle of the composite culture of Muslims and Hindus of East Bengal and if you will look to the history of the development of Bengali language, one would be glad to see that Bengali language was really enriched and developed during the Muslim rule. It was the Muslim Princes and the rulers and the big landlords who encouraged really the development of the Bengali language. I would invite, my friend, any of my friends, to read the history of the development of the Bengali language and he will see that really the present richness of the Bengali language owes immense debt to the Muslim administration and the Muslim rulers. So, Sir, it is not a vehicle of Hindu culture or may I say it is a vehicle only of the Muslim culture. It is a vehicle of the composite culture of the Hindus and Muslims which has grown up in East Bengal for the past one century. During this movement I came to hear one new expression that in East Bengal, there is such a thing as the Muslim Bengali. At first I could not understand it because I live amongst the Muslims in the town itself and I live in the majority of Muslims in the village also in the rural area where I have got one house and where I live for a portion of the year. There my Muslim neighbours are just 10 yards from my house.

I am surrounded by my Muslim brethren there ; I talk with them and I know, that the language of the people is exactly the same. No doubt, Sir, the Bengali language in the course of its growth and development has been enriched by adopting expressions of Persian basic origin, of Urdu basic origin and even expressions of Arabic origin. It must be so, because there has been a commingling of the Hindus and Muslims there, in East Bengal and, where there is a commingling of both the communities, there is a contribution from each side to the richness of the language. If one looks to the Court language of East Bengal, he will find that most of the technical expressions are not of Sanskrit origin : they are of Persian or Arabic origin. They are not, Sir, Sanskrit words at all and indeed, Sir, when I did begin my practice at first some of the expressions, talking as a lawyer, I could not understand but subsequently I came to know that we have got also expressions equivalent of them in English but the words actually used in the Courts are not, of Sanskrit origin at all. Really, in regard to the Bengali language if one were to say that it has Sanskrit as its basis, it could not be correct. Of course, perhaps it owes some gratitude to Sanskrit but at the same time it has a rich contribution from the Muslim languages too. There are many of the expressions like *tajbij*, *ujire ajam* and others which are very appropriate expressions which have been adopted in the Bengali language. Even English words have been adopted in the Bengali language, like "chairs", "tables", etc., which are used in the Bengali language because of our contact with those expressions in the English language. So, there is no misapprehension, Sir, either in the minds of my Hindu brethren or of my Muslim brethren that this language will be according to any particular basic origin. Language of a country, grows from the language used by the people, that is to say, it cannot be grown out of grammar, and the future Bengal language would be the language of the composite nation of the Hindus and the Muslims of East Bengal, and there is no apprehension—there will be no apprehension in the minds of any one—that either it will be Sanskritized or that it will be Persianized or Urduized ; it will be the combination of both. And in this connection, I must admit—I happened to be in East Bengal : of course, not in Dacca but in my own rural area in the district of Tippera and Comilla during this last movement—during the last upsurge for adopting Bengali as one of the State languages of Pakistan—that we have heard, Sir, whispering canards and propaganda, which I must say, Sir, being one acquainted with the real state of things, is altogether feint and a deceit, that this movement was engineered from outside. Here, Sir, in Karachi, not in East Bengal, I was astounded to hear that there is a whispering canard that Dr. Shyama Prosad Mookherjee of the Hindu Mahasabha had also some hand in engineering this movement for Bengali language in East Bengal. I must first say that politically I have always been hostile to Dr. Shyama Prosad Mookherjee ; during the whole of my career as a political worker I have never looked eye to eye with him and have always opposed him. I can say with all the emphasis I can command that this is an absolutely false canard. Dr. Shyama Prosad Mookherjee now does not care for East Bengal ; his love for East Bengal has evaporated. He has no hand in this movement. It is apparently, Sir, a canard intended to rouse the communal passions of my Muslim brethren that a movement in which a communalist like Dr. Shyama Prosad Mookherjee has a hand ought not to be countenanced by Muslims. If Dr. Shyama Prosad Mookherjee would start a movement in East Bengal, we, the Hindus, also will look askance at him and we shall not place any faith in the movement. We know how to safeguard our interests and we know that we should not look to patronage from those quarters for any of our actions or movements. I repudiate this canard and I say that this canard

[Shri Kamini Kumar Dutta.]

is absolutely false and I may say that those who engineered this canard defeated their own purpose. We can well understand that purpose—it need not be dilated upon further—but I must enlighten my friends from other Provinces that they must disabuse their minds from the effect of this false canard. The language movement was a movement of the Muslims and not that we had no sympathy with it—they had our full sympathy—but I can say that the Hindus did not take part in the movement. The movement was nurtured by the Muslims and it was taken up by the Muslim public and it was carried on by the Muslims alone, unaided by anyone from outside. There is one fact which stands to the eye and that is that the East Bengal Assembly, of which the leader, the Chief Minister, is here, did adopt an official Resolution that Bengali should be one of the official languages of Pakistan. Can one conceive for a moment that the East Bengal Assembly, headed by my Honourable friend, Mr. Nurul Amin, who is sitting here, would adopt an official Resolution in support of the movement if it was not a genuine movement of the Muslims? If it was not a genuine movement of the people of East Bengal—but it was a movement engineered from outside—this one fact alone would speak for itself: that canard ought to be dispensed with from our minds altogether. It was a genuine movement of the people of East Bengal. It was nurtured by the Muslims, carried on by them and my fear is that if anybody entertains any other hope or prospect, the Muslims of East Bengal will carry it on till the end of their lives because this is bound up with the prospect of their future culture and economic growth as a nation. As Pakistanis they cannot surrender that right to the demand of anybody. It is a genuine movement and I would appeal, through you, Sir, to my friends of the other parts of Pakistan that this genuine claim of East Pakistanis must be acknowledged and accepted. Personally I think that their claim is genuine when more than 50 per cent. of the population of a State claims that the language in which they have been nurtured. The language which they have learnt from the time when they were in the laps of their mothers should be made one of the State languages. As I have already said, if this claim is accepted, it will cement our tie between East and West Pakistan and I would appeal again to my friends that so far as we in East Bengal are concerned—especially the Muslims—there is no doubt that they are not really kept up by any outside influence. As to the Hindus also I say as one of the Hindus, that we, the genuinely Pakistani Hindus, are not in the least influenced by any outside influence. We think Pakistan to be our own land, our country as our mother-land, and we know where our interests lie.

We are not to be misled by any movement from outside on the question of language. I again wish to say and I finish with the appeal that Bengali must be admitted, must be acknowledged, by all and everyone, as one of the State languages of Pakistan.

Mr. Bhabesh Chandra Nandy (East Bengal : General) : Mr. President, Sir, I rise to support this motion and to oppose the amendment by Honourable Mr. Pirzada Abdus Sattar. Sir, I do not want to take much time of the House by repeating the arguments stated in favour of Bengali language, here again. But one point I should repeat here is that, as my friend Mr. K. K. Dutta has said Bengali language is not only very rich as a language but it has got in it an admixture of words from various other languages and my Urdu-speaking friends will be glad to learn that I can myself, knowing very little of Urdu, cite hundreds if not thousands of words which are common to both Urdu and Bengali.

So, the idea that Bengali is a language which is limited entirely to one Province, or one territory of Pakistan and therefore difficult for other people to pick up, is not correct. My friends have already said, particularly Honourable Mr. Shaukat Hyat Khan that taking up Bangali as one of the State languages, with Urdu, in Pakistan, will not only be helpful in getting better relations between the two main units of the State, cementing better relations between the two wings of Pakistan. But will also help in doing away with all Provincialism, narrow outlook, and parochial idea and narrow territorial patriotism that is growing everywhere, unfortunately, today. But, Sir, what I want to emphasize here more is that if this amendment is accepted it will be most dangerous and it will be suicidal for the State. Sir, the amendment says that let the decision be postponed for future dates when the Assembly, I mean the Constituent Assembly, may take up this question in due course. That means when the reports from the various sub-committees have come and when the Constituent Assembly finds time to take them up. It may be tomorrow or it may be two years afterwards. But, Sir, I should point out to the House that if a patient can be cured by an ordinary dose of cough mixture today, it may be very difficult to treat and cure that patient after proper time is over, even with the help of the best and costliest of medicines. Sir, this argument of postponing the discussion of this language issue could have appeared to the Bengalis or to those who want Bengali to be one of the State languages along with Urdu at an earlier stage or even six months back but the situation has been made complicated today. Sir, we must realize that this language issue with the Muslim youth of Bengal is as much an economic problem as it is a sentimental and political issue. They think and they rightly believe that if Bengali is not taken as one of the State languages with Urdu they will be pushed out half a century back in matters of Government service and in matters of other facilities for development and progress in relation to the friends of other Provinces. It is for this that they have been trying to insist on the top leaders of the Government whenever they visited East Bengal, the urgency, the genuineness of the feelings, the earnestness with which they look upon this subject. These young boys of East Bengal, these youth and students of East Bengal kept full faith in their leaders in Karachi and waited patiently for several years believing that these leaders would be able to steer Bengali clear out of all oppositions to make it a State language with Urdu. They hoped that Bengali language would certainly be given a status similar to that of Urdu as one of the State languages. But the situation suddenly changed. They waited and waited patiently. They did not carry on any agitation. They never tried to paralyse the Government since 1948. If we follow the movement we find that they were simply urging upon the Government, simply requesting the Government, simply appealing to the authorities to take up their demand sympathetically.

What they occasionally did was to take out some processions, most peaceful processions. But what they find now? They are now in a deep sea of despair! They have become exasperated. But, why, Sir? Who set the ball rolling and for the worse? Sir, everybody knows that only when leaders came out with such statements on the language issue that Urdu and Urdu alone will be the State language of Pakistan. The entire Muslim youth of East Bengal were filled with despair and they became hopeless of any chance of success in their mission. They began to think that probably every thing was being stage-managed behind their back, keeping before them a smoke-screen of assurance they suspected that some day an official announcement would be made to the effect that Urdu only would be the State language and their it would be too late for them to

[Mr. Bhabesh Chandra Nandy.]

propose any amendment for change or to place their demand for further consideration. So, Sir, this is the situation that has developed today. We must not minimise the genuine feelings of these people, who are crying hoarse over their demand, I mean the young boys, and the youth of East Bengal, who are really the backbone of the State, who are really the supporters of the State and on whom depend the future development, progress and prosperity of the State. We must consider very sympathetically the reasons why they are so much exasperated today. Now, Sir, the situation as it has developed there today it is very difficult to persuade the students and people in Bengal to believe that if this question is put off and not considered now, it will ever be considered favourably and not being shelved for good. Now why they have lost faith in those who are their leaders? The reasons are evident. They relied on their leaders, they depended on the assurances given to them by the leaders. But all of a sudden when such statements burst out in public meetings that there was no chance for Bengali to be recognized as one of the State languages, all their hopes vanished. Now, Sir, the situation as it stands today these boys, the Muslim youth of East Bengal, have lost faith entirely in their leaders and that is not a very happy sign. The recent movement in East Bengal has indicated the intensity and has proved the genuineness of their demand and their feeling, though of course, somebody tried to minimise the case by putting the blame on some foreign agency and some even did snare communist hands; but I am not here going into those details. If there are any foreign or communist agent, I believe, our Government has sufficient strength and means to check it and to crush it. But to screen away the real problem from before us and to shirk the real issues from discussion will not help the solution of the problem in the long run.

Sir, I would request this House to consider this matter seriously and to see whether the postponement of the question would be helpful for the State or for the peaceful progress of our nation. Let them consider whether it will be good if we overlook and shelve the issue by simply trying to bluff them off by saying that it is kept for further consideration. If everybody knows that any issue such as this can be decided in due course by the Constituent Assembly than why such categorical statements are given by the leaders and why such actions are taken by the topmost authorities in Government which definitely indicate as if Urdu has been taken as the only State language. Sir, you may know that immediately after the statement of Honourable the Prime Minister in a public meeting at Dacca, the Governor of the State Bank announced that State Bank cheques would be issued in Urdu. I quite understand that for the facility of the common man, Urdu cheques may be issued, but why do they not, at the same time, take into consideration a population of four crores and 19 lakhs of Eastern Bengal. So this is definitely one-sided and partial treatment. Such decisions are taken at high level. Naturally the Bengali youth thinks that there is no chance for their cause unless they can carry conviction to the leaders' mind that they are very serious, and earnest in their demand.

Sir, in the present state of our country what we urgently require is the total regimentation of the entire youthful resources of the country to ensure rapid progress and development of the country. Now it is a very unhappy sign when these youths have begun to lose faith in their leaders and have begun to challenge their leadership. If we permit this state of affairs to continue it will widen the wound and increase the differences. This will not be in the interests of the State. So, Sir, what

is required in the circumstances is not to shelve the issue and bluff the people. If the House really believes that Bengali cannot be one of the State languages, then they should decide it in that way but still should not shelve the issue. It is now urgently necessary that there should be harmony in thought and action of the leaders and the people. If such a cleavage comes with all differences and distrust, it will be absolutely suicidal and dangerous for the State. So, Sir, I request the House to consider the issue seriously; it is no good putting a smoke-screen and raise false hopes. Let them decide straightaway, and say what is possible and what is not possible.

Those who want to minimise the genuineness and intensity of their demand by putting the blame to communist agents or foreign agents are most unrealistic people. If you put sugar in a corner, flies must come. Communist may try to get foothold wherever they get soft ground. The sentimental mind of the Muslim youth requires bold leadership. If there is a difference between the leaders and the boys, the Communists may try to take advantage. What is the way out? It is not by sitting tight, in the chairs and hurling abuses on them. We must mobilise the resources of the country for the good and progress of the State.

Sir, one more point I shall put before the House. If this language problem is shelved today, the sore in the mind of the youth of East Bengal will continue and that may be dangerous. With the elections of East Bengal coming nearer and nearer, and with many interested parties trying to play from behind the screen, this problem will assume a greater proportion and it will be more difficult to solve this tangle. I think the League leader will find very great difficulty in facing the electorates. One may ask: What does it matter to you? Really I do not mind whether they are returned or not. But I fear that in such a situation they may like to postpone elections till favourable circumstances are created for their favourites. I apprehend very much that such a move may come to spell further mischief. Sir, I cannot in the least support the idea of agitational politics to paralyse the Government but at the same time I cannot support that a bitter sore be knowingly kept unattended and not treated immediately. So, I appeal again that this House should take up the matter seriously and should not postpone the issue to an indefinite period. It must take seriously and sympathetically the feelings of the youth of Eastern Bengal. The House should try to realise the feelings and find out means to satisfy them by recommending that Bengali should be one of the State languages and adopting the motion moved by Mr. Nur Ahmed.

With these few words, I resume my seat.

Sardar Asadullah Jan Khan (N.-W. F. P.: Muslim): In the Greek myth when iron-men threatened Cadmus he threw a stone in their midst and they began to fight. But in this House there are no iron-men. We are men of flesh and blood and we think no sacrifice great to keep intact the solidarity of Pakistan.

Sir, problems are meant for solution. Hesitancy and procrastination are no solution of the problems. I call it the state of sterility. I submit that instead of hesitancy and procrastination, with all serenity we must tackle the question according to the best of our abilities and capacities and decide one way or the other.

When we play a game we always observe the rules of the game. Here in Pakistan, and specially in this Honourable House we are playing the game of democracy which is the result of the principle of equality and liberty, which when put to the acid test of practice, means "Govern-

[Sardar Asadullah Jan Khan.]

ment by the majority". Sir, it is their due and when they are in a majority, they must have it. We will have to make sacrifices and we welcome it. I support the motion and strongly oppose the amendment. With these words, I resume my seat.

Mr. A. K. Faz'ul Haq (East Bengal : Muslim) : *Sir, I have been a Member of this House ever since it came into existence, but hitherto I have not taken any part in its proceedings, for I did not think it necessary to do so. As I have been sitting here my feelings have been very much like that of a traveller or a highway, who has turned many a corner in the highway of life and has preferred to see young people on the road-side and take pleasure in their performances, rather than take part in the performances of others.

Sir, while I had been listening to this debate, I felt it my duty to put forward my views before the House. I do not claim to be an orator. Nor can I claim to possess the vehemence of language with which my friend, Mr. Shaukat Hyat Khan, can carry a motion before the House, but, Sir, I claim, through God's grace, to have had something of parliamentary experience. I have outlived three Parliamentary generations in the whole of India and I know, Sir, what it is when a question of the utmost importance to the State is being discussed, how people can play to the gallery and not look to the essential importance of the question itself. I do not for a moment impute to any of my friends here the charge that they do not realise the importance of the motion, but I do say that they are not in possession of all the facts. Not only have I derived experience, Sir, of my thirty years either as a politician or as a member of the Bar, I am in close touch with the people from the *mofussil* who come to me on professional work. After my work is done, I just indulge in conversation with them to find out the real feelings of the people in connection with my burning question of the day. Now, Sir, I say it without any fear of contradiction that whatever the reasons may be, the feelings of the people of Eastern Pakistan at the present moment are that Bengali should at least be given a place in the recognised State languages of Pakistan. Sir, I do not think there is any inhabitant of Eastern Pakistan at present who can be expected to vote for Urdu only as the State language of Pakistan. It is not for me to say whether that feeling is well-founded or not. I am not saying that. Now, Sir, at present the question that has come up before the House has not been the unseating of Government. Government did nothing, but some of our Members have tabled resolutions to the effect that Bengali should be recognised as one of the State languages of Pakistan. My friend, Mr. Nur Ahmed, who will pardon me if I say that he is a machine for turning out resolutions at the rate of 100 per hour and amendments at a similar rate. He could not have left this occasion to go without tabling a resolution. Moreover, being an inhabitant of Chittagong, for the feelings of the most violent character he has only done his duty in bringing this motion before the House. So let us now understand the position. What is that the Government have decided? Government have fully realised that there is behind this demand of Bengali being one of the State languages, the voice of 40 million of the people of Pakistan. At the same time, the question can be looked at from various points of view. It takes time to consider and come to a definite decision. All that the Government proposes is that the question should not be decided here and now by the mere majority of votes, but that

* Speech not corrected by the Honourable Member.

time should be taken into consideration to see that question is gone into in all its aspects and decided finally as to what should be the language or the languages of Pakistan. I do not very much like the phrase 'in due course'. As things at present stand, I feel that 'due course' may not come in the near future. It may be that the English language may continue to be the State language for five or eight years. We do know what will happen, but whatever the reasons, if the Government motion is held today, we will not allow Government to sleep over this question. We will force an issue the next time when the Assembly meets. All this time we will have ample opportunities of mobilizing the public opinion in East Pakistan and if we succeed in showing to the world that the people of East Pakistan have not only got a very good case, but also they have got public opinion behind their demand, I am sure the Government will have to look into it, whatever may be any personal views in this matter.

Mr. President: I may remove a misconception. Here the Government is not represented. All Members represent themselves.

Mr. A. K. Fazul Huq: *Sir, that is in theory. So whatever it may be. The remarks I make here apply to Honourable Pirzada. Whatever may be the case, I am placing certain facts. I am saying that after coming to Karachi I looked at this question from various points of view. At present my estimate is that Government has got a majority in the House. If we force a decision we are likely to lose, and if we lose we lose this cause for ever, because it is not only the Members of the Constituent Assembly, but a Member of that section of the Constituent Assembly who dealt with the situation. But if we allow this question to remain open, get an opportunity of considering this question along with Members of Government and have not a decision to the question we desire, I submit, Sir, then we will have great apprehensions. I do not wish to get a definite decision today, but I wish to have an opportunity of mobilizing public opinion there and inducing Government to accept our point of view. There is a beautiful couplet that says: 'He who fights and runs away lives to fight another day'. If that may be the position, then that is to our advantage. Instead of taking a defeat just now, whatever may be the reasons, it is much better that the question should remain open and Government may have an opportunity of considering the question from all its aspects and then coming to a decision.

Now, Sir, I will be very frank. The discussions that have taken place and the discussion that will take place will show that the Members of this Assembly from Eastern Pakistan—and if we will have the Members who come from Eastern Pakistan—will be put in a very awkward position, because their own feelings are that Bengali should be declared straightaway here and now as one of the State languages of Pakistan.

Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan: Why do not you say so?

Mr. A. K. Fazul Huq: *Well, I want it. But I want to have proper initiative. Sir, I want to be frank. As I have said, I do not want to break it. I feel that if a division is taken in the present circumstances, we will lose, whatever reasons may be. I do not want to lose but I want to get an opportunity and as a matter of fact I do not want to shelve the question but I want to put off the defeat and see if I can get successfully out of unfortunate circumstances.

Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan: Who can defeat you?

Mr. A. K. Fazlul Haq : *I cannot for a moment answer my friend's questions in the way he desires because it is not for me to change facts. I am not saying these things from the point of view of any particular section of the House. I am not holding any brief for anybody but I am only putting before the House the question from a practical point of view. Does the amendment of Honourable Abdus Sattar go to this length that this question can never come before this House for consideration? It may be postponed for six months or eight months. These are all matters of procedure. So, Sir, I submit that it is not fair politics because some of the Members here have been placed in a very awkward position because there is a conflict between their duty towards their constituencies and the circumstances with which we are faced in this House today. I am only appealing to the House not to make provocative speeches but allow the Government to consider this question coolly and calmly and I feel sure that the time will come when we will be able to convince that the importance of Bengali language must be properly weighed. Sir, I do not think that any useful purpose will be served by pushing the question to the extreme. There is an English proverb which says: 'Let the sleeping dogs lie'. So, I say 'do not push the matter to the extreme, do not provoke' and you will see ultimately that by patience you will find an opportunity when circumstances may be favourable to you. So, Sir, I do not see any reason for despair. If anybody says so, I would say that he is mistaken. The manner in which we are dealing with this question reminds me of the Persian saying :

Qabl az marg wawaila

Lament over imaginary fears.

Nothing has happened yet and as a matter of fact defeat is facing us and it may be that today the position may not be favourable to us but afterwards favourable situation may come. So, let us wait for the opportunity.

Before I sit down I convey my grateful thanks to my friend Sardar Shaukat Hyat for the manner in which he has espoused the cause of Bengali. I wish I had delivered that speech and not he. (Applause.)

Shri Dharendra Nath Dutta (East Bengal : General) : Sir.....

Mr. M. H. Gazder (Sind : Muslim) : Sir, I rise to a point of order.

Mr. President : A point of order has been raised.

Mr. M. H. Gazder : Sir, Rule No. 24 says that the Members shall sit in such order as the President may direct. It does not say whether they will also speak from their seats. Mr. Dutta is not in his seat, Sir.

Mr. President : I think Mr. Dutta should come to his seat.

Shri Dharendra Nath Dutta : Sir, I will come to my seat and then speak.

(Shri Dharendra Nath Dutta then moved to his seat.)

Shri Dharendra Nath Dutta : Mr. President, Sir, I want to say that I always prefer to sit on the back benches. That is my habit and you probably are aware of it. I have been a back-bencher all through my life. Today, Sir, it is rather difficult for me to speak as it has been enhanced by the fact that I am to speak after our Honourable and most learned friend, Mr. A. K. Fazlul Haq. I have the honour of being his

colleague for a long period and I know the difficulty of speaking after him. He can place any bad case with abounding arguments. He has got that capacity. I shall confine myself to one fort only and that is this: whether there is a necessity for postponing the consideration of this issue. It is now agreed, Sir, and it has been agreed by my Honourable and most esteemed friend, Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, that the claim of the Bengali language is genuine and it has got the opinion and the backing of all the population of East Bengal. If we look, Sir, to the resolutions that have been tabled in this House, we shall find it. Not only Mr. Nur Ahmed, who has got a knack of moving resolution, and who comes from Chittagong, has moved this resolution but the resolutions have been moved by Mr. Shahoodul Huq, coming from my place in the District of Tipperah and if you look to the resolution itself, it says that 'in view of the general opinion prevailing in East Bengal over the question of State language and also in view of the unanimous resolution of the East Bengal Assembly passed at its last session recommending adoption of Bengali as one of the State languages of Pakistan, the Constituent Assembly resolves to adopt Bengali as one of the State languages of Pakistan'.

So, it has been said in the resolution itself that there is the general opinion prevailing on the question of State language and there is unanimous resolution of the East Bengal Assembly. Sir, I happen to be a Member of the East Bengal Assembly. I know, Sir, the leader of the East Bengal Assembly, I mean the Honourable the Chief Minister of East Bengal, himself moved that resolution. He himself got up and got it passed that the East Bengal Assembly recommends that the Bengali language shall be one of the State languages of Pakistan. Then, Sir, we get the resolution of Mr. Abdulla-al Mahmood who comes from Pubna who also says that Bengali be declared as one of the State languages. Then Mr. Abul Kasem Khan who also comes from Chittagong also says that. Then Moulavi Ebrahim Khan who is the President of the Secondary Education Board of East Bengal, and who was the principal of a college in the District of Memensingh also says in his resolution that Bengali should be one of the State languages. So, Sir, it is agreed and it cannot be denied that there is the backing of the whole population of Eastern Bengal that Bengali shall be one of the State languages. I have got the opportunity of mixing with children in the Districts. The children who can barely speak, they utter the slogan: "Bengali shall be a State language".

So, Sir, it is agreed and cannot be denied that Bengali shall be one of the State languages of Pakistan which has got the backing of the whole population of Eastern Bengal.

Sir, it is most regrettable that silence has been imposed upon my friends who come from East Bengal. Mr. Nur Ahmed has only moved the resolution and has not spoken a few words in favour of the resolution. Other members, Sir, are also keeping mum. So, Sir, it is clear that the silence has been imposed upon them by the persons in authority and by the present ruling group. Then, Sir, Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq says that it should be postponed and a better day shall come. In these matters, Sir, which have been agitating for the last 4 years and in which they have been silenced, no further mobilisation is necessary. It is well known, Sir, and I do not understand how the present ruling group do not attach any importance to it. Let us decide it once for all. It is useless to ignore facts. I have paid due attention to the arguments that have been advanced by Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq that the matter shall improve if the consideration is postponed. He has declared that he

[Shri Dharendra Nath Dutta.]

wants that Bengali shall be one of the State languages of Pakistan. But he has given any argument in favour of the postponement of the consideration. But, I know, Sir, the reason for postponement. The reason is to shelve the matter today. It is clear, Sir, that a silence has been imposed upon members of East Bengal Legislative Assembly who rule East Bengal, I mean my Muslim brethren. Silence has been imposed upon them and silence will be imposed upon the people and, therefore, it is not prudent today to postpone the consideration. The matter is of such an importance that it cannot be shelved. Is it not a fact that the feelings of the Bengalis are not known to our Prime Minister who happen to be a Bengali? My Chief Minister is present today, sitting up quite silent and mum. He knows the real situation. But he does not venture and the members of the Eastern Bengal, my Muslim brethren, do not venture today to utter an expression in favour of the Bengali language. I know their feelings and I know the feelings of the people of Eastern Bengal. Whatever may be said, but they have been compelled to be silent today. Face the question bravely and courageously. The demand that Bengali should be one of the State languages of Pakistan is in the interest of Pakistan. For the interest of Pakistan and for the integrity of Pakistan, the Eastern wing and the Western wing should be connected and they can be connected if my friends from Western Pakistan start to learn Bengali and we learn Urdu. I am quite sure if it is recognized that Bengali shall be one of the State languages along with Urdu, then, Sir, the people of Eastern Bengal will begin to learn Urdu seriously from today and they will learn it seriously if the people of Western Pakistan begin to learn Bengali. I am quite sure this will unify the two sections. For the interest of Pakistan, Bengali should be one of the State languages. Do not shelve it. Be courageous and come to a decision. It is not a matter which has sprung upon you in the language of the law, but it is a matter which is being agitated upon for the last 4 or 5 years. You know the feelings of the people and, therefore, I appeal—of course, I know that there is no Government in the country, but I know the ruling group and I appeal to them, Sir, to take courage in their hands and declare and come to a decision today. If you shelve the issue, and if you postpone the consideration today, the people will take it that an attempt is made to shelve the matters. I do not repeat the argument that has been advanced by my friend, Mr. R. K. Chakraverty, and my friend, Mr. K. K. Dutta and others in favour of the Bengali language. Those arguments are well-known to you and well-known to the House and therefore I am just speaking with regard to the postponement of the consideration advocated by Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq. I feel that there was no reason for postponing the consideration for that will not improve the situation. I, therefore, Sir, am compelled to oppose the amendment and support the resolution that has been moved by my friend. With these few words I take my seat.

Seth Sukhdev (Sind : General) : Sir, after hearing the learned speeches of my predecessors, it is not necessary for a learned man to give any speech. Sir, I generally mix with the people who travel in the buses, people who live in the huts ; and I have been asking them several questions and discussing this matter of State language. I met several Punjabi people, the majority of whom are illiterate or semi-illiterate I asked them what is your native language. They said : 'Of course, Punjabi. Don't you understand Punjabi' (*Punjab di gal*) "Assi tussi kitthai janda". (It is Punjabi, how can you and I understand it.) This is our language. This language we speak in our Houses".

I asked them: "What is the language of the upper class of Punjabis". They said: "That is also Punjabi and not Urdu because when the children of the upper class are under our care they know more of Punjabi than of Urdu language. Urdu is only the *Adalat* language and it is the language of the '*ghazals*'. When there is a '*Mushaira*' we enjoy it. Otherwise our language is Punjabi. And then, Sir, if you go to Sind, go in the interior of Sind, nobody understands Urdu excepting a few who are educated in Urdu. Go to Baluchistan and there is the Baluchi language. They do not at all understand Urdu with the exception of a few who have had their education in the Urdu schools. Then go to North-West Frontier Province where the language is Pushto. Hardly anybody in the interior understands the literary Urdu. Sir, I am not against Urdu language to be the State language. That has been already decided. But if you will take the real plebiscite without doing any propaganda, official or semi-official, you will find that the language of Pakistan with huge majority of votes will be Bengali.

Bengali is spoken by a very huge majority in Pakistan. It is 42,000,000 and Urdu, I think, it is hardly 3,000,000 who know how to read and write. Therefore, my submission is that you should not shelve this matter. It may be that some of them are thinking about the elections: that this may not come as a slogan in the elections and the Muslim Leaguers in Eastern Pakistan may lose in the election if the question of Bengali as one of the State languages of Pakistan comes there. I shall therefore request that in this Assembly today we must decide once for all, what should be the language of the State. Let there be, as our Bengali friends want, Bengali as one of the State languages. Let Urdu and Bengali be the State languages of Pakistan.

With these few words, I take my seat.

Shri Sris Chandra Chattopadhyaya (East Bengal: General): Mr. President, I rise to support the Resolution moved by Mr. Nur Ahmed and oppose the amendment which has been moved by Mr. Pirzada with tropidation.

The first cause of my trepidation in this debate is that when Mr. Nur Ahmad brought his Resolution before this House the words uttered by him looked to me like some *mantras* on a *shradh* ceremony. I know that Mr. Nur Ahmed, even when he gets up without moving any Resolution, talks much and it is always difficult for the President to stop him within time, but what did he do today? He got up and read the resolution like *mantras* on a *shradh* ceremony without a word in support. I think really, he was gagged.

The Honourable Dr. Ishtiaq Hussain Qureshi (East Bengal: Muslim): On a point of order. Sir, is it permissible for any Honourable Member of this House to mimic another Honourable Member of the House and put senseless words into his mouth? (*Laughter.*)

Mr. President: Please go on! (*Laughter.*)

Shri Sris Chandra Chattopadhyaya: You are really mimicking him, not I. Enquire of my friend, Mr. Nur Ahmed, and he will say: "Save me from my friend." My second point is this that when there was an agitation in East Bengal—personally I do not know anything about that because I was absent from East Bengal at that time—the Chief Minister of East Bengal hurriedly went to the East Bengal Assembly and himself moved a Resolution supporting the Bengali language and promising that he would see that it is accepted as one of the State languages or something like that.

The Honourable Mr. Nurul Amin (East Bengal: Muslim): Where did you get it from?

Shri Sris Chandra Chattopadhyaya: Did you not support it?

The Honourable Mr. Nurul Amin: Why do you put in a sentence which was not uttered by me?

Shri Sris Chandra Chattopadhyaya: Did you move the Resolution or not?

The Honourable Mr. Nurul Amin: I said something else.

Shri Sris Chandra Chattopadhyaya: What is the Resolution which you moved?

The Honourable Mr. Nurul Amin: You can read it yourself.

Shri Sris Chandra Chattopadhyaya: I was not there; I was not a Member of your Assembly. I did not get a copy but I saw it in newspaper.

The Honourable Mr. Nurul Amin: Then why do you quote me; why do you tread on the subject if you have not read the Resolution?

Shri Sris Chandra Chattopadhyaya: You moved that Resolution and it is reported that you said that you would come here and have that Resolution supported by this Assembly.

Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan: You are treading on his pet corn!

Shri Sris Chandra Chattopadhyaya: I know that. However, I had accepted that being the Leader of the House in the East Bengal Assembly and having moved that Resolution, it would have been proper on his part himself to bring that Resolution before the House. I find, as he did not move the Resolution, nor has he said anything in support of the Resolution, that he may be against the Bengali language being made a State language. That is the second reason for my trepidation; so that it may not be said here after that there was a talk over the language question in the Assembly but it came more from the Hindu side and therefore it was only a Hindu agitation—and it may be circulated thereafter that it was merely a Hindu agitation—as, I find, there is already the allegation that the language agitation in East Bengal was engineered by the Hindus—the *dhotiwalas* and others—and not by the Muslims and handy Safety Act was used against some of them. That is my difficulty.

Then, Sir, my old friend, who was my colleague once—Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq—in his old age is a very different man.....

Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq: You are senior to me.

Shri Sris Chandra Chattopadhyaya: Mr. Fazlul Huq has asked for time. Sir, he, who once wanted the Britishers to leave the shores of India, not giving the ~~even~~ 24 hours to do that, today comes forward to say that, though he knows this is an urgent matter, still be silent now and some time may come—it may be after the doomsday—when Bengali will become a State language.

Now, who has nurtured this agitation; who was responsible for this agitation? There was an agitation in 1948. There was no agitation afterwards in Bengal, until there was a speech—somebody may say you are misquoting—but there was a speech by some big man in which he said that Urdu was to be the State language and no other language. I was not there, but that set the ball rolling and that brought together all Muslim students—students of Fazlul Huq Hall and Salimullah Hall—who came forward and started that agitation. It is stated that they were going on with this agitation months before the 21st February. If it was in their

knowledge that they were agitating about the language issue, why did Mr. Nurul Amin rush to the House on the 22nd at nightfall to move his Resolution? If he had moved that Resolution on the 20th, the whole agitation would have fizzled out. There would have been no provocation for that agitation.

They are only boys. Who agitated our own boys, students of colleges! I know how to stop them. I stopped many agitations by standing before the agitators or demonstrators. I say our bold Khwaja Sahib had done the same in 1948. He himself told me—I was absent at that time and was not at the place of occurrence—when the students surrounded his house, students of Salimullah Hall and others, and the Secretariat. He gave me a vivid description about that afterwards. He rushed to the place of occurrence and faced the students and said: “I am your leader, what do you want?” That was the bold attitude of Khwaja Nazimuddin. That stopped the agitation at that time. He signed an eight point agreement with them. He said: Yes Bengali will be the language of the Province and thus the agitation ended. That was due to Khwaja Nazimuddin's bold attitude. But when the students were coming out on the 21st, it would have been proper to go there and face them.

Mr. President: Mr. Chattopadhyaya, that is not the issue before us. You can speak in respect of the resolution and the amendment.

Shri Sris Chandra Chattopadhyaya: I am on the amendment. I do not agree with these words of the amendment, these words, “that there being no immediate necessity of taking a decision here and now.” I do not agree with that. I say it is a very urgent matter. Already people are in temper in East Bengal. Therefore the sooner it is decided, one way or the other, it is better at least for the people of East Bengal. Because in that case they will not be back into the agitation and they will not give opportunity to the Government of East Bengal to use their Safety Act and other laws for terrorising the people and it will not be necessary for them to use firing squads against the youth and boys. That would be very wrong for them to do. But if it is postponed in this way without a final decision that will give cause for fresh agitation and will not stop the people of East Bengal from pressing their claims for recognition of Bengali as a State language. I am afraid of this. Again they will say it is being engineered by Hindus. I think, in that case our only course would be to leave the town of Dacca for some time so that nobody can say Hindus are doing all this. Hindus had not taken part in agitation and will also remain aloof from any future movement on language question. We do not want to take any part in this agitation. We do not agitate for Bengali language outside this House. This House is our only forum. We have tabled motions and we support the issue here and we had agitated for Bengali in this House before; and there it ended. We do not go outside to agitate. Many things have been stated and said in support of Bengali language. In this connection 12 Muslim Editors of East Bengal issued a statement, one of them is the Editor of the *Azad* of which my friend, Maulana Akram Khan, is the proprietor, strongly supporting the demand for Bengali as a State language.

Maulana Mohammad Akram Khan (East Bengal : Muslim) : No. I am not.

Shri Sris Chandra Chattopadhyaya : I am sorry, then I correct myself. Up to this time I thought that he was the proprietor but now I accept what he says. May be his son or somebody else is the owner, I do not know. I knew that he was the proprietor but now he says he is not; that is all

[Shri Sris Chandra Chattopadhyaya]

right. Now this Editor of the *Azad*, with others, stated in a statement that the Muslim culture of East Bengal depended on Bengali language. That is in that statement published in a paper. I myself saw it in a paper with his signature; of course his printed signatures—they may or may not be his signatures. It is absolutely necessary for the citizens of East Bengal to have Bengali as State language. What is the position? It is contended that it is a Hindu language and it had grown under Hindu influence. I do not admit this. Bengali was not a Hindu language at all. I come from a family of Brahmins and the language of Hindus was Sanskrit, Pali or Prakrit and not Bengali before Muslim rule in East Bengal. All our books, as you know we were the custodians of our books as Brahmins, were written in Sanskrit—not one word in Bengali. It was, I think, and my friend Maulana Akram Khan will also agree with me, the Pathan Sultans and not the Moghul Sultans, who encouraged and developed Bengali language and Bengali culture. I say this for the information of my Pathan friends. They brought and engaged Muslims and Hindu Pandits to translate Arabic, Persian and other books in Bengali. At present there are 20,000 Muslim *Pothis* in Bengali written by Muslims. Who will not be proud of the name of Paragal Khan, Chuti Khan and other Bengali writers of East Bengal? Who will not be proud of Husain Shah, Sultan of East Bengal, who spent enormous moneys for developing Bengali language? Hindus were not the custodians of the Bengali language there but it was the Muslim from the 13th century till the middle of 19th century that developed this language. Bengali had flourished for several centuries under Muslim rule and its growth and development were possible solely due to Muslim patronage. After the advent of the British, of course, by about the middle of 19th century you will find the Bengali Hindus in the ascent, and Bengali writers like Bankim Chandar and others had their influence on Bengali literature. They also developed this language and they practically became the leaders of Bengali language. Before that all were Muslim writers and there were many sects like Murshidi, Jari, Bhatiali, Awalji who composed beautiful songs in Bengali. They are all Muslim writers; beautiful writings in Bengali. About Murshidi I think our President has also heard it. Anybody who hears the song would be enchanted by the Bengali Muslim Murshidi writings and I can say many other songs, Jaris and Awal and other songs, beautiful songs, written by the Muslim writers. Now they say that it is a Hindu language. I say Bengali is not a Brahmanical language. The Hindu language is Sanskrit. Bengali was adopted by the Muslim rulers and not by Hindu rulers. Before that there was no Bengali language. Then they say its script is Devnagri. But I want to point out that what is "Ka" in Bengali is not "Ka" in Devnagri. They have quite different shape. "Kha" written in Bengali will be different from Devnagri "Kha". I can write Devnagri as well as Bengali and I know this. This thing is described in this manner to mislead and dupe the people of Western Pakistan. I say this only to disabuse the mind of Western Pakistanis and remove misunderstanding.

Then about the words in the Bengali language; Maulana Akram Khan is a Bengali scholar. He will admit that out of 6,000 Bengali words, 3,000 words are not derived from Sanskrit and are of foreign origin. They are Persian, Arabic and some are from Urdu. I have heard this from the Editor of *Azad*. It is, therefore, wrong to say that Bengali was a product of Sanskrit. My submission is that this issue should be decided in this session—either "For" or "Against", so that Bengal people may stop making any agitation. I am sure, if the issue is finally decided Bengal

would not agitate even if there is a decision against the claim of recognition because it will then be the decision of the Pakistan Assembly which must be respected. And as it will be in the interest of Pakistan, we must not agitate. I shall be the last man to agitate. But, please do not keep us in suspense. I say : do not keep us in suspense and do not create difficulties. We are in an absolute minority there and we do not join any agitation. It is our decision that when the Muslims will agitate about Bengali language, we will not go near that place. Let them fight because, otherwise, our enemies will say that bad society is doing all this thing and Government will come upon us with their beautiful and handy weapons of Safety Acts and other weapons of like nature to confine us for indefinite period.

I support the motion. I expected the mover to have spoken some words in support of his resolutions. I expected some of our Muslim members of this House from East Bengal would have spoken either way—either supporting or rejecting it. By keeping mum people there will understand they are not supporting the Bengali language. The people of East Bengal will be misled thereby.

The Honourable Mr. Nurul Amin : I rise to speak a few words more for giving a personal explanation on account of certain mis-statements made by no less a person than Mr. Chattopadhyaya who is the leader of the Opposition in the Legislature.....

(Interruptions.)

The Honourable Mr. Nurul Amin : I understand he is leader in the Constituent Assembly, as well ; that puts him to a position of much higher responsibility than being a leader in the Legislature. When I heard certain provocative statements coming down from his lips—mis-statements, incorrect facts—I thought that it was not the Bengali language which has created a loss of balance in him but it was something else which was in his mind and which was coming up before the House. This is a Bill which is going to be moved with regard to the arrangements that will be made in East Bengal for the coming general elections on the basis of separate electorates. As for myself, I did not speak because I thought the amendment which has been made by the Honourable Mr. Abdus Sattar was not inconsistent with the resolution moved by me in the Bengal Provincial Legislative Assembly or with any of the motions tabled by my esteemed friends from East Bengal. But there was another reason for which I did not speak. I wanted to see how far the Honourable members sitting on my right can go to create a cleavage between us ; what are the arguments, what are the provocations, what are the appeals to our sentiments, in which they are past-masters, by which they want to create a cleavage. In that I hope I have been successful in exposing them to the best. This was not such a motion on which such lengthy, and emphatic speeches would have been made. It was not the denial of the desire of the people of East Bengal ; it was not the shelving of the question, but it was a very simple proposition by which it is expected that better results may emerge. There has been a demand from East Bengal for Bengali language, no doubt. The people of Bengal also want that people on this side—their brethren on this side—should be educated and acquainted with their feelings, logic and justification. So, Sir, this postponement, to my mind, seems for the better and not for the worse as has been interpreted by my Honourable friends on the Opposition. Each one of them has spoken in the strain that they are the only advocates, fathers and forefathers of Bengali language ; and the Muslims coming from East Bengal have no claim on Bengali language and have no love for that language.

[The Hon'ble Mr. Nurul Amin.]

This is not their monopoly. They arrogate to themselves in certain matters to show to the world that they are the monopolists in those matters—in the matter of preservation of right in a democratic country; in giving rights to the people; in giving rights to the people for the freedom of speech and all that. But they should understand that we who are sitting here, who have got the responsibility to run the administration of the country, have got to be more responsible than those.....

(Interruptions.)

Mr. President: Order, order.....

Shri Dharendra Nath Dutta: On a point of order. Sir, he is ascribing statements which have not been made. Nobody said that the Muslims of East Bengal have no claim. As a matter of fact it has been said otherwise. He ascribes a statement which has not been made.

The Honourable Dr. Mahmud Husain (East Bengal: Muslim): That is not a point of order.

The Honourable Mr. Nurul Amin: He wanted to create disorder in the House. I hope the Chair will not give him such an opportunity to disturb me.

Sir, what was the resolution that I moved in the East Bengal Assembly to which several Honourable members on this side, including the Leader of the Opposition, have referred. This is a simple resolution:

"This Assembly (Bengal Assembly) recommend to the Constituent Assembly that one of the State languages be Bengali."

It was not a motion tabled for this Assembly. It was passed in that Assembly. I gave reasons why this resolution was moved. I can do no better than read a few lines from my speech in that Assembly:

"The reason for moving this resolution is that there has been a good deal of confusion among a section of the members of the public that the action that was taken by the Government yesterday was on account of the demand by the students for Bengali to be one of the State languages. The issues have been confused because so far as that demand is concerned, the students brought out two peaceful processions on two occasions and the Government did not interfere."

That was the occasion on which this resolution was moved. Then, there was an amendment by a member of that Assembly—Begum Anwara Khatoon—to the effect:

"That it should be finally decided in the next session of the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan."

That was the amendment and my reply was:

"Coming to the amendment of Begum Anwara Khatoon there also I find that it is not acceptable because we are not the persons, we are not the authority to decide whether this matter will be taken up in the next session of the Constituent Assembly or not."

So this amendment was also voted down. It was not accepted. So what I meant by this resolution—and I still stand by that—was that this resolution should be forwarded to the proper authority, the President of the Constituent Assembly, who will deal with this matter according to the rules governing such matters in the Constituent Assembly, and this has been sent to the President. I do not know what will happen

to that, but when this matter comes up before this House in due time, certainly I will mention the resolution passed by the Legislative Assembly of East Bengal. This is not the proper time. This matter has come up before this House because certain motions have been moved by some Members of this House and there has been an amendment to that motion, and I do not see how the amendment is contradictory to any of the resolutions which has asked Bengali to be one of the State languages in Pakistan. So long as the question of Bengali language remains pending, so long as the demand of East Bengal is not decided adversely, I do not see any fear in that. Rather I am hopeful that better results may come out of it. But there are Members in this House who want to fish in troubled waters when they get a certain opportunity, and this is one of them. I have already said that these Honourable gentlemen have got an eye on the next Bill and in order to create a confusion amongst the people, they are bringing in all sorts of arguments here. I shall not dilate upon the merits and demerits of Bengali. It will be done. Sir, in proper course. There is no doubt that it is a rich language and it has got a vast vocabulary and all that, but I must point out, though it has been denied by some Members here, that there is Muslim Bengali and Hindu Bengali; there is that difference in the language, both in the spoken language and written language. How these differ I shall show. We call water, 'pani' in Bengali, but my friends living next door call it 'Jal'. They will never say 'pani'. This is the difference between Hindu Bengali and Muslim Bengali. This difference continues; although we have been living there for centuries, still my friends could not persuade themselves to call water 'pani' instead of 'jal', because that is spoken by Muslims. That is the feeling that has been created by them. Well, 'pani' is understood by them, but they will never, even by mistake, utter that word. I am not going to go over this question now. There are hundreds and thousands of other examples which will show that they are going on one way keeping their cultural association with Sanskrit, Prakrit and other things, whereas the Muslim Bengali is going on the other side, keeping affinity with Persian, Arabic and other languages like that. So, Sir, two distinct languages have evolved in East Bengal, both in spoken language and in written language. Any independent judge will be able to find the difference. So, I am not going to speak more on that point now. They say that their position as a minority in East Bengal will be very much jeopardized if this decision is not taken.

Shri Sris Chandra Chattopadhyaya: Nobody has said. I said if agitation is continued there will be difficulty for the minorities.

The Honourable Mr. Nurul Amin: He said: "we shall have to leave Dacca for some time". Why the agitation is not led against you. You are quite safe, I know. I know how you are safe. I am not going to divulge everything here, but you are quite safe. If there is any agitation, it is against Muslim Members, Muslim leaders; our boys, our young man, always looked upon the Muslim leaders for any remedy and however much you may try to advocate their cause, you cannot succeed. I am sure they will not divert their attention towards you. Further, what sympathy you can have on matters which concern them. They will always have regard and confidence in their own leaders. Speeches have been made that there is no confidence in the leadership in East Bengal or in Pakistan; well, this is how you give thought to our people, you want to seduce our people, our young men to a certain ideology, to certain things which are far from their minds. Mind you, we know the insidious activities of this nature and we also know how to deal with them.

Shri Dharendra Nath Dutta : Mr. President, Sir. I rise on a point of order. Is the Honourable Member entitled to ascribe motives to other Members of the House? Sir, it has been held by the Chairman in your absence that nobody is entitled to ascribe motives and it is a parliamentary convention, Sir, not to ascribe motives. I know that when the Honourable Chief Minister of East Bengal speaks, he always ascribes motives. It is his habit. So I seek your protection.

Mr. President : Nobody should impute motives.

The Honourable Mr. Nurul Amin : I have not imputed any motives. Sir, when the Leader of the Opposition was speaking, he said: "Why this silence: why this amongst the Members on this side." What did he mean? Did he not say that muzzles have been imposed on their mouths; that they have been compelled by the ruling class not to speak? These are the words. Is it not imputing motives? If it is not, then I think it cannot be said that I am imputing motives to anybody. So it is not the question of imputing motives when my friend says it. My friend has said that the agitation will not be stopped; agitation will go on. You can keep it pending for some time, but mind you, the agitation is not going to die down. It will be kept on. This is how the provocation is supplied through my friends here that if our young men, our people take a sensible view and turn their minds, they would not allow them to take to that path. They will provoke them and tell them to go on creating chaos in the country because that suits their purpose. Peace and tranquility, absolute unanimity among our people, young and old, males or females, will not suit them. They want to provoke people, to supply certain motives so that they may go on trading on them and create cleavage amongst them. I thought it was high time that some of my octogenarian friends had taken lessons after the achievement of Pakistan and had behaved in a way which would warrant respect for them from us.

Mr. President : Please confine yourself to the issue.

The Honourable Mr. Nurul Amin : Sir, I have confined myself to the issue. Sir, the resolution is of the East Bengal Assembly there. I have read out the wording of the resolution of the East Bengal Legislative Assembly, as also its intention. So it is not the question why I do not move that resolution here. A motive has been imputed by the Honourable the Leader of the Opposition. So there should not be a confusion which has been sought to be created amongst our people by the gentleman speaking from that side. I do not touch the points raised by Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan who has spoken from the Bench over there, because I know that his party being so small, he has got to be in the lap of my friend, Mr. Chattopadhyaya.

Mr. President : I am first putting the amendment to vote.

The question is :

That for the original motion the following be substituted :—

"That in view of the fact that no decision has yet been taken in the matter of the State language and there being no immediate necessity of taking a decision thereon be it resolved that the question be decided by this Assembly when it comes up before it in due course."

(The House then divided.)

AYES—41

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1. Mr. Abdulla-al Mahmood. | 23. Mr. Abdul Monem Khan. |
| 2. Maulana Md. Abdullah-el Baqui. | 24. Mr. Choudhury Zahiruddin |
| 3. Maulana Md. Akram Khan. | Moazzam Hossain (Lalmian). |
| 4. The Hon'ble Mr. Azizuddin Ahmad. | 25. H. E. Malik Md. Firoz Khan Noon. |
| 5. Moulavi Ebrahim Khan. | 26. The Hon'ble Mr. Mohamad Ali. |
| 6. The Hon'ble Mr. Fazlur Rahman. | 27. The Hon'ble Sir Muhammad |
| 7. Mr. Ghayasuddin Pathan. | Zafulla Khan. |
| 8. Mr. Shahoodul Huque. | 28. The Hon'ble Sardar Abdur Rab |
| 9. The Hon'ble Dr. Ishtiaq Husain | Khan Nishtar. |
| Qureshi. | 29. Khan Iftikhar Husain Khan of |
| 10. The Hon'ble Mr. Mafizuddin | Madmot. |
| Ahmad. | 30. Syed Khalilur Rahman. |
| 11. The Hon'ble Dr. Mahmud Husain. | 31. Sardar Amir Azam Khan. |
| 12. The Hon'ble Dr. A. M. Malik. | 32. Shaikh Sadiq Hasan. |
| 13. The Hon'ble Mr. Md. Habibullah | 33. Syed Ghulam Bhik Nairang. |
| Bahar. | 34. Malik Shaukat Ali. |
| 14. Mr. Nur Ahmed. | 35. The Hon'ble Pirzada Abdus Sattar |
| 15. The Hon'ble Mr. Nurul Amin. | Abdur Rahman. |
| 16. The Hon'ble Khwaja Nazimuddin. | 36. Mr. M. H. Gazder. |
| 17. Mr. Asadullah. | 37. Mr. M. A. Khuhro. |
| 18. H. E. Khwaja Shahabuddin. | 38. Mr. M. H. Kizilbash. |
| 19. The Hon'ble Mr. Abdul Hamid. | 39. The Hon'ble Mr. Mushtaq Ahmad |
| 20. Syed A. B. M. Husain. | Gurmani. |
| 21. Sri Dhananjoy Roy. | 40. Mr. P. D. Bhandara. |
| 22. Mr. Akshay Kumar Das. | 41. Mr. Ahmad E. H. Jaffer. |

NOES—12

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1. Mr. Prem Hari Barma. | 7. Mr. Jnanendra Chandra Majumdar. |
| 2. Shri Dharendra Nath Dutta. | 8. Mr. Birat Chandra Mandal. |
| 3. Shri Kamini Kumar Dutta. | 9. Mr. Bhabesh Chandra Nandy. |
| 4. Prof. Raj Kumar Chakraverty. | 10. Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan. |
| 5. Shri Sris Chandra Chattopadhyaya. | 11. Sardar Asadullah Jan Khan. |
| 6. Mr. Bhupendra Kumar Datta. | 12. Seth Sukhdev. |

The motion was adopted.

Mr. President: So all the other motions on the language issue fall through.

THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA (THIRD AMENDMENT) BILL

The Honourable Pirzada Abdus Sattar Abdur Rahman (Sind: Muslim): Sir, I beg to introduce the Bill* further to amend the Government of India Act, 1935 (Amendment of Fifth and Sixth Schedules).

(After a pause.)

The Honourable Pirzada Abdus Sattar Abdur Rahman: Sir, I beg to move:

"That the Bill further to amend the Government of India Act, 1935, (Amendment of Fifth and Sixth Schedules) be taken into consideration."

Sir, this Bill is the final instalment towards the process of introducing adult franchise in the country and re-adjusting the number of seats in the remaining province of East Bengal. Such legislation, Sir, was undertaken in this House first in the case of Punjab and then in case of N.-W. F. P. and finally in case of Sind and East Bengal was the only Province where this measure of reform was to be introduced and since the period of the legislature would be expiring sometime early next year, it was necessary to make necessary amendments of the Government of India Act and other laws relevant thereto so that new elections in East Bengal could be undertaken on the same basis on which elections have

* Published in the *Gazette of Pakistan Extraordinary*, dated the 3rd April, 1952, as provided under Rule 43 of the Constituent Assembly Rules.—*Ed. of Debs.*

[The Honourable Pirzada Abdus Sattar Abdur Rahman.]

taken place in other provinces. The principle of raising the number of seats has been followed in case of East Bengal also and a larger House has been provided than exists at present. I might explain, Sir, how these number of seats have been distributed. The population of East Bengal according to the new census is as follows :—

Total population	...	...	...	...	...	4,19,32,329
Muslims	...	...	...	...	...	3,22,26,639
General including Caste Hindus	...	...	...	...	...	42,27,982
Scheduled castes	...	...	...	...	...	50,52,250
Buddhists	...	...	...	...	...	3,18,951
Christians	...	...	...	...	...	1,06,507

and there are some others which are included in the figure that I have given for 'General including Caste Hindus' and they are about 30 thousand. Now the number of seats proposed, Sir, works out as follows. In case of Muslims, a population of 1,41,345 has been entitled to one seat and in case of General including Caste Hindus 1,40,933, in case of Scheduled castes 1,40,340, in case of Buddhists 1,59,475 and in case of Christians 1,06,507.

Sir, the number of seats allotted to the various classes and communities is given by me in the table of seats which is attached to the Bill and that is based on the figures that are just mentioned.

Certain seats, Sir, have been reserved for women, which are in addition to their normal right of exercising the vote in the general seats. That means that for the Muslim seats in general and the general seats, including the Caste Hindus, the Scheduled Castes and every other seat they have got the right to vote and stand as candidates and be elected if they want to do so, but additional seats—extra weightages you may call them—have been given to women and that is mentioned in the table of seats which is attached to the Bill.

You will find, Sir, that in the case of Muslim women nine seats have been given to them and in the case of General, including the Caste Hindus, one seat has been given to them and that in the case of the Scheduled Castes two seats have been given to them. I have also provided, Sir, that for these Hindu seats only women will be entitled to vote and the males will not be entitled to vote because it is a representation specially given to them under one of the provisions of the Bill.

The Special Seats, which originally belonged to land-holders, Mining, Industry, Commerce, Labour and Universities have been done away with, as was done in the case of other Provinces, so that you have got only a straight election for the seats—for the Muslim seats, for the Scheduled Caste seats, Buddhist seats, Christian seats and the General seats, including the Caste Hindus. It is only for women that special seats have been given.

Now coming to the question of Buddhists and Scheduled Castes, I have, Sir, carried the principle of separate electorates further—this principle, as I submitted, has been accepted by this House in the case of three other Provinces; that is to say the present system of election, as envisaged under the Government of India Act, which is applicable to us now, has been accepted in the case of three other Provinces and I have followed the same pattern in this case also, with this exception that I have gone a bit further—proposed separate seats for Buddhists and separate seats for Scheduled Castes. Now this was necessary in view, in the case of Buddhists, of a demand from them that they were a distinct minority

and separate representation should be given to them, and, in the case of Scheduled Castes also, similar demands were made. I know my friends in the Opposition have challenged this fact on another occasion in the legislature and they will be raising this point here also, but, while moving the motion for consideration, I do not want to go into all the details of that. There will be ample time to do that and I will be doing so at the right time when the question of reply comes. I feel, Sir, that I am quite justified under the circumstances in proposing separate electorates for the Scheduled Castes and Buddhists and therefore I have brought in this Bill, which I commend for the consideration of the House.

Mr. President : Motion moved :

"That the Bill further to amend the Government of India Act, 1935, (Amendment of Fifth and Sixth Schedules), be taken into consideration."

Mr. Bhupendra Kumar Dutta (East Bengal : General): Sir, I oppose consideration of the Bill.

Shri Dharendra Nath Dutta (East Bengal : General): I do not know what will be the procedure, but my friend has stood up to oppose the consideration of the Bill and I want to know whether the Bill will be taken up first, or whether my amendment that the Bill be circulated for the purpose of eliciting opinion thereon by the 30th July, 1952, will be taken up first?

Mr. President : Amendments will be taken up first.

Shri Dharendra Nath Dutta : Not the consideration?

Mr. Bhupendra Kumar Dutta : Sir, I oppose the consideration of the Bill.

Mr. President : Amendment will be taken first and then the Bill, If the amendment is carried, you will, of course, lose your opportunity but that will show the decision of the House. That cannot be helped.

Shri Kamini Kumar Dutta (East Bengal : General): But if the amendment is not carried, then we shall certainly be entitled to voice our opposition to the Bill.

Mr. President : Of course, you will always be able to oppose the original motion. Mr. Dutta, are you going to move your amendment?

Shri Dharendra Nath Dutta : My friend wants to oppose the consideration of the Bill and therefore I do not wish to move my amendment.

Mr. President : Amendment by Mr. Dutta not moved. Mr. Prem Hari Barma, you move your motion.

Mr. Prem Hari Barma (East Bengal : General) : Sir, I beg to move :

"That the Bill be circulated for the purpose of eliciting opinion thereon by the 30th June, 1952."

Sir, I want that the Bill be circulated for eliciting public opinion because various matters of vital principles and importance have been brought in the Bill. This is not a Bill merely to amend the Government of India Act, 1935, to have election in the province of East Bengal on the basis of Adult Franchise. The original and main purpose of the amendment of the Government of India Act was this—viz., election on Adult Franchise. But the Bill now contains new matter of vital principles like joint electorate or separate electorate, abolition of various special constituencies. This Bill proposes separate electorate for the Hindu community, where there is provision for joint electorate in the Act. It further proposes to abolish the special constituencies of Commerce, Industries, Mining and Planting, Landholders and Labour.

[Mr. Prem Hari Barma.]

Again, Sir, there is joint electorate for the Hindus with reservation of seats for the backward Scheduled Castes of that community. Is it just and fair to thrust separate electorate upon the Hindu community without ascertaining the views of the leaders of that community whether they want separate electorates or not?

The Honourab'e Pirzada Abdus Sattar Abdur Rahman: Will the Honourable Member please read a bit loudly? I cannot hear him.

Mr. Prem Hari Barma: Sir, joint electorate with reservation of seats for the Scheduled Castes of the Hindu community was based upon the famous Poona Pact which was a Pact between the Caste Hindus and the Scheduled Caste Hindus. This Poona Pact is still there; it has not been abrogated by the parties to the Pact.

Sir, when the Pact still exists there and upon the terms of this Pact joint electorate is provided in the Government of India Act, 1935, can you abolish joint electorate and thrust separate electorate upon the Hindus without first getting the Poona Pact abrogated by the parties concerned? Now, Sir, who is competent to abrogate the Poona Pact? It is certainly the parties to the Pact who alone can annul it. Uptill now the Poona Pact has not been annulled by the parties concerned, that is the Scheduled Castes and the Caste Hindus of the Hindu community. If you pass this Bill by the majority votes of the Muslim members, then you will certainly be guilty of abrogating the Poona Pact and thereby you will also be guilty of interfering with the internal and domestic affairs of the Hindu community. The representatives of the Muslim community here have no right to annul the Poona Pact either directly or indirectly through legislation. If they do so, that will not be fair and just. Sir, it is the Parties to the Pact alone, that is the Scheduled Castes and the Caste Hindus, who can decide whether they will adhere to this Pact or not.

Sir, to abrogate any pact or contract, consent of both the parties to the pact is essentially necessary. My friends on the opposition will say that leaders of Scheduled Caste Federation, like the Honourable Mr. D. N. Barori and Haran Chandra Barman want separate electorate. But, Sir, they do not represent the opinion of the Scheduled Caste Federation inasmuch as the Working Committee of the Scheduled Caste Federation in their resolution passed in 1949 demanded joint electorate with reservation of seats for the Scheduled Castes. You will be surprised to hear that Mr. D. N. Barori himself was present in that meeting of the Working Committee of the Scheduled Caste Federation. He was also a signatory to that resolution. Moreover Mr. D. N. Barori and Mr. H. C. Barman were also signatories to the memorandum submitted by all the Hindu members of the East Bengal Legislative Assembly to the Honourable the President of the Constituent Assembly and to the then Prime Minister, the late lamented Honourable Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan. In that memorandum joint electorate has been demanded. It is really a matter of regret and surprise that the opinion of gentlemen of Mr. D. N. Barori and Mr. H. C. Barman's position would change so soon. Scheduled Caste Federation or its working committee have not passed any resolution repealing their resolution passed in 1949. The opinion of Mr. Barori and of Mr. H. C. Barman is their personal opinion and not the opinion of the Scheduled Castes Federation. Sir, apart from the resolution of the Scheduled Castes Federation there is also the resolution for joint electorate of the Minorities Conference, recently held at Comilla on the 11th and 12th March, 1952, in which more than 300 delegates of the Scheduled Castes from different districts of East Bengal were present and unanimously demanded joint electorates. Sir, if you want to do away with

the Poona Pact and want to introduce separate electorates then let there be first a referendum of the Scheduled Castes.

Mr. M. H. Gazder (Sind : Muslim): Point of Order, Sir.

Mr. Prem Hari Barma: There are only a few lines more. Let there be first a referendum of the Scheduled Castes as well as of the Caste Hindus on this issue, i.e., the issue whether they want joint electorate or separate electorate. Sir, the representatives of the Muslim Community in the House by the strength of their majority vote in the House should not pass a legislation which will be most harmful, not only to the Scheduled Castes and Caste Hindus but to Pakistan as well and create dissensions among them. Sir, we want joint electorates not only with the Scheduled Castes and Caste Hindus but we want joint electorates with the Muslims also because we are of the opinion that if there be joint electorates of the Hindus and Muslims, then there will be created a situation in which the minorities will be safe and free in Pakistan and we want that both the Hindu Community and the Muslim Community live peacefully in Pakistan. But if there is introduction of separate electorates in the Hindu Community there will be discussions amongst them and both the Caste Hindus and Scheduled Castes and Buddhists will have separate electoral rolls and they will not all work together with the majority community, i.e., the Muslims. Sir, if you want to make Pakistan strong and prosperous you must make all the sections of all the religions of Pakistan work together wholeheartedly and in co-operation with each other. But if there is going to be separate electorate then the various sections of the citizens of Pakistan will work separately and they will think in their own way and there will be no collaboration amongst them. We want that there should be only one electoral roll of all the citizens of Pakistan but as the Scheduled Castes, Buddhists and other sections of the citizens of Pakistan who are backward, in their case, they should be given some reservation of seats so that they may be able to safeguard their rights and interests. With these few words, I hope that the House will accept my motion for circulation and will not hastily pass this measure which is really very harmful and detrimental not only to the Hindu Community but I think to Pakistan as a whole. With these observations, I commend my motion for circulation of the Bill.

Mr. President: Amendment moved :

"That the Bill be circulated for the purpose of eliciting opinion thereon up to the 30th June, 1952."

The House stands adjourned till 10 A.M., on the 15th April, 1952.

The Constituent Assembly then adjourned till Ten of the Clock, on Tuesday, the 15th April, 1952.