

THE
Punjab Legislative Assembly
Debates

From 25th February to 11th March, 1941

Vol. XVI

OFFICIAL REPORT



Lahore :

Printed by the Superintendent, Government Printing, Punjab.

1942.

**PRINCIPAL OFFICERS OF THE PUNJAB LEGISLATIVE
ASSEMBLY.**

Speaker.

The Hon'ble Chaudhri Sir Shahab-ud-Din, Kt., K.B., B.A., LL.B.,

Deputy Speaker.

Sardar Dasaundha Singh, B.A., LL.B.

Secretary.

Sardar Bahadur Sardar Abnasha Singh, Barrister-at-Law.

Deputy Secretary.

Khan Bahadur Hakeem Ahmad Shujaa, B.A.



PUNJAB LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

LIST OF MEMBERS.

PREMIER.

The Hon'ble Major Sir Sikander Hyat-Khan, K.B.E. (West Punjab, Land-holders).

MINISTERS.

The Hon'ble Dr. Sir Sundar Singh Majithia, Kt., C.I.E., D.O.L., Minister of Revenue (Batala, Sikh, Rural).

The Hon'ble Chaudhri Sir Chhotu Ram, Kt., B.A., LL.B., Minister of Development (Jhajjar, General, Rural).

The Hon'ble Sir Manohar Lal, Kt., M.A., Finance Minister (University).

The Hon'ble Malik Khizar Hayat Tiwana, Minister of Public Works, (Khushab-Muhammadian, Rural).

The Hon'ble Mian Abdul Haye, B.A., LL.B., Minister of Education (South Eastern Towns, Muhammadian, Urban).

PARLIAMENTARY SECRETARIES.

Mir Maqbool Mahmood, General (Amritsar, Muhammadian, Rural).

Sardar Bahadur Sardar Ujjal Singh, M.A., Home (Western Towns, Sikh, Urban).

Mrs. J. A. Shah Nawaz, M.B.E., Education, Medical Relief and Public Health (Outer Lahore, Muhammadian Women, Urban).

Beja Ghazanfar Ali Khan, Revenue and Irrigation (Pind Dadan Khan, Muhammadian, Rural).

Chaudhri Tikka Ram, B.A., LL.B., M.B.E., Development (Rohtak North, General, Rural).

Rai Sahib Thakur Ripudaman Singh, B.A., Finance (Gurdaspur, General, Rural).

Shaikh Faiz Muhammad, B.A., LL.B., M.B.E., Local Government and Public Works (Dera Ghazi Khan Central, Muhammadian, Rural).

PARLIAMENTARY PRIVATE SECRETARIES.

Sayed Amjad Ali Shah, O.B.E., (Ferozepore East, Muhammadian, Rural).

Bhagat Hans Raj, B.A., LL.B., (Amritsar and Sialkot, General—Reserved Seat, Rural).

Sardar Jagjit Singh Man, (Central Punjab, Land-holders).

Sir William Roberts, Kt., C.I.E. (European).

Nawabzada Muhammad Faiyaz Ali Khan (Karnal, Muhammadian, Rural).

Khan Bahadur Mian Mushtaq Ahmad Gurmiani (Muzaffargarh North Muhammadian, Rural).

Sardar Gopal Singh (American) (Ludhiana and Ferozepore, General—Reserved Seat, Rural).

MEMBERS.

Abdul Aziz, Mian (Outer Lahore, Muhammadan, Urban).

Abdul Hamid Khan, Sufi (Ambala and Simla, Muhammadan, Rural).

Abdul Rab, Mian, B.A., LL.B. (Jullundur South, Muhammadan, Rural).

Abdul Rahim, Chaudhri (Shakargarh, Muhammadan, Rural).

Abdul Rahim, Chaudhri (South-East Gurgaon, Muhammadan, Rural).

Ahmad Yar Khan, Chaudhri (North-West Gujrat, Muhammadan, Rural).

Ajit Singh, Sardar (South-West Punjab, Sikh, Rural).

Akbar Ali, Pir, M.B.E. (Fazilka, Muhammadan, Rural).

Ali Akbar, Chaudhri (Gurdaspur East, Muhammadan, Rural).

Allah Bakhsh Khan, Khan Bahadur Nawab Malik, M.B.E., (Shahpur, Muhammadan, Rural).

Anant Ram, Chaudhri, B.A., LL.B. (Karnal South, General, Rural).

Ashiq Hussain, Major, M.B.E. (Multan, Muhammadan, Rural).

Badr Mohy-ud-Din Qadri, Khan Sahib Sayed (Batala, Muhammadan, Rural).

Baldev Singh, Sardar (Ambala North, Sikh, Rural).

Balwant Singh, Sardar (Sialkot, Sikh, Rural).

Barkat Ali, Malik, M.A., LL.B. (Eastern Towns, Muhammadan, Urban).

Bhagat Ram Choda, Lala (Jullundur, General, Rural).

Bhagat Ram Sharma, Pandit (Kangra West, General, Rural).

Bhagwant Singh, Rai (Kangra East, General, Rural).

Bhim Sen Sachar, Lala, B.A., LL.B., (North-Western Towns, General, Urban).

Chaman Lall, Diwan, B.A. (Oxon) (East Punjab, Non-Union Labour).

Chanan Singh, Sardar (Kasur, Sikh, Rural).

Deshbandhu Gupta, Lala (South-Eastern Towns, General, Urban).

Dev Raj Sethi, Mr. (Lyallpur and Jhang, General, Rural).

Dina Nath, Captain (Kangra South, General, Rural).

Duni Chand, Lala (Ambala and Simla, General, Rural).

Duni Chand, Mrs. (Lahore City, Women, General).

Faiz Muhammad Khan, Rai (Kangra and Eastern Hoshiarpur, Muhammadan, Rural).

Faqir Chand, Chaudhri (Karnal North, General—Reserved Seat, Rural).

Faqir Hussain Khan, Chaudhri (Tarn Taran, Muhammadan, Rural).

Farman Ali Khan, Subedar-Major Raja (Gujar Khan, Muhammadan, Rural).

Fatehjang Singh, 2nd Lieut. Bhai (South-East, Sikh, Rural).

Fateh Khan, Khan Sahib Raja (Rawalpindi East, Muhammadan, Rural).

- Fateh Muhammad, Mian (Gujrat North, Muhammadan, Rural).
- Fateh Sher Khan, Malik (Montgomery, Muhammadan, Rural).
- Fazl Ali, Khan Bahadur Nawab Chaudhri, O.B.E. (Gujrat East, Muhammadan, Rural).
- Fazal Din, Khan Sahib Chaudhri (Ajnala, Muhammadan, Rural).
- Fazal Karim Bakhsh, Mian (Muzaffargarh Sadar, Muhammadan, Rural).
- Few, Mr. E. (Anglo-Indian).
- Ghulam Mohy-ud-Din, Khan Bahadur Maulvi (Sheikhupura, Muhammadan, Rural).
- Ghulam Qadir Khan, Khan Bahadur (Mianwali North, Muhammadan, Rural).
- Ghulam Rasul, Chaudhri (Sialkot Central, Muhammadan, Rural).
- Ghulam Samad, Khan Sahib Khawaja (Southern Towns, Muhammadan, Urban).
- Girdhari Das, Mahant (South-East Multan Division, General, Rural).
- Gokul Chand Narang, Dr., Sir, M.A., Ph.D. (West Lahore Division, General, Rural).
- Gopal Das, Rai Bahadur Lala (Kangra North, General, Rural).
- Guest, Mr. P. H. (Punjab Commerce and Industry).
- Gurbachan Singh, Sardar Bahadur Sardar (Jullundur West, Sikh, Rural).
- Habib Ullah Khan, Malik (Sargodha, Muhammadan, Rural).
- Haibat Khan Deha, Khan (Khanewal, Muhammadan, Rural).
- Hari Chand, Rai Sahib Rai (Una, General, Rural).
- Hari Lal, Munshi (South-Western Towns, General, Urban).
- Hari Singh, Sardar (Kangra and Northern Hoshiarpur, Sikh, Rural).
- Harjab Singh, Sardar (Hoshiarpur South, Sikh, Rural).
- Harnam Das, Lala (Lyallpur and Jhang, General—Reserved Seat, Rural).
- Harnam Singh, Captain Sodhi (Ferozepore North, Sikh, Rural).
- Het Ram, Rai Bahadur Chaudhri (Hissar South, General, Rural).
- Indar Singh, Sardar (Gurdaspur North, Sikh, Rural).
- Jafar Ali Khan, M. (Okara, Muhammadan, Rural).
- Jagjit Singh Bedi, Tikka (Montgomery East, Sikh, Rural).
- Jalal-ud-Din Amber, Chaudhri, B.A. (West Central Punjab, Indian Christian).
- Jogindar Singh Man, Sardar (Gujranwala and Shahdara, Sikh, Rural).
- Jugal Kishore, Chaudhri (Ambala and Simla, General—Reserved Seat, Rural).
- Kabul Singh, Master (Jullundur East, Sikh, Rural).
- Kapoor Singh, Sardar, B.A., LL.B. (Ludhiana East, Sikh, Rural).
- Karamat Ali, Shaikh, F.A., LL.B. (Nankana Sahib, Muhammadan, Rural).

- Kartar Singh, Chaudhri (Hoshiarpur West, General, Rural).
 Kartar Singh, Sardar (Lyallpur, East, Sikh, Rural).
 Khalid Latif Gauba, Mr. (Inner Lahore, Muhammadan, Urban).
 Kishan Dass, Seth (Jullundur, General—Reserved Seat, Rural).
 Kishen Singh, Sardar (Amritsar Central, Sikh, Rural).
 Krishna Gopal Dutt, Chaudhri (North-Eastern Towns, General, Urban).
 Lal Singh, Sardar, M.Sc., LL.B. (Ludhiana Central, Sikh, Rural).
 Mazhar Ali Azhar, Maulvi, B.A., LL.B. (North-Eastern Towns, Muhammadan, Urban).
 Moby-ud-Din Lal Badshah, Syed (Attock South, Muhammadan, Rural).
 Mubarik Ali Shah, Syed (Jhang Central, Muhammadan, Rural).
 Muhammad Abdul Rahman Khan, Chaudhri (Jullundur North, Muhammadan, Rural).
 Muhammad Akram Khan, Khan Bahadur Raja (Jhelum, Muhammadan, Rural).
 Muhammad Alam, Dr., Shaikh, B.A. (Hons.) (Oxon.), LL.D. (Dublin), (Rawalpindi Division Towns, Muhammadan, Urban).
 Muhammad Amin, Khan Sahib Shaikh (Multan Division Towns, Muhammadan, Urban).
 Muhammad Ashraf, Chaudhri (South-West Gujrat, Muhammadan, Rural).
 Muhammad Azam Khan, Sardar (Dera Ghazi Khan North, Muhammadan, Rural).
 Muhammad Hassan, Chaudhri (Ludhiana, Muhammadan, Rural).
 Muhammad Hassan Khan Gurehani, Khan Bahadur Sardar, C.I.E. (Dera Ghazi Khan South, Muhammadan, Rural).
 Muhammad Hassan, Khan Bahadur Makhdum Syed (Alipur, Muhammadan, Rural).
 Muhammad Hayat Khan Noon, Nawab Sir, Malik (North Punjab, Landholders).
 Muhammad Hussain, Chaudhri, B.A., LL.B. (Gujranwala East, Muhammadan, Rural).
 Muhammad Husain, Sardar (Chunian, Muhammadan, Rural).
 Muhammad Iftikhar-ud-Din, Mian, B.A. (Oxon.) (Kasur, Muhammadan, Rural).
 Muhammad Jamal Khan, Leghari, Khan Bahadur, Nawab Sir (Tumandars).
 Muhammad Nawaz Khan, Major Sardar, Sir (Attock Central, Muhammadan, Rural).
 Muhammad Nurullah, Mian, B. Com. (London) (Lyallpur, Muhammadan, Rural).
 Muhammad Qasim, Chaudhri (Bhalwal, Muhammadan, Rural).
 Muhammad Raza Shah Jeelani, Makhdumzada Haji Sayed (Shujabad, Muhammadan, Rural).

- Muhammad Saadat Ali Khan, Khan Bahadur Khan (Samundri, Muhammadan, Rural).
- Muhammad Sarfraz Khan, Chaudhri (Sialkot North, Muhammadan, Rural).
- Muhammad Sarfraz Khan, Raja (Chakwal, Muhammadan, Rural).
- Muhammad Shafi Ali Khan, Khan Sahib Chaudhri (Bohtak, Muhammadan, Rural).
- Muhammad Wilayat Hussain Jeelani, Makhdumzada Haji Sayed (Lodhran, Muhammadan, Rural).
- Muhammad Yasin Khan, Chaudhri, B.A., LL.B., (North-West Gurgaon, Muhammadan, Rural).
- Muhammad Yusuf Khan, Khan, B.A., LL.B. (Rawalpindi Sadar, Muhammadan, Rural).
- Mukand Lal Puri, Rai Bahadur (Rawalpindi Division, General, Rural).
- Mula Singh, Sardar (Hoshiarpur West, General—Reserved Seat, Rural).
- Muni Lal Kalra, Pandit (Ludhiana and Ferozepore, General, Rural).
- Muzaffar Ali Khan, Qizilbash, Sardar (Lahore, Muhammadan, Rural).
- Muzaffar Khan, Khan Bahadur Captain, Malik, M.B.E. (Mianwali South, Muhammadan, Rural).
- Muzaffar Khan, Khan Bahadur Nawab, C.I.E. (Attock North, Muhammadan, Rural).
- Nasir-ud-Din, Chaudhri (Gujranwala North, Muhammadan, Rural).
- Nasir-ud-Din Shah, Pir (Toba Tek Singh, Muhammadan, Rural).
- Nasrullah Khan, Rana (Hoshiarpur West, Muhammadan, Rural).
- Naunihal Singh Mann, Lieutenant Sardar, M.B.E. (Sheikhupura West, Sikh, Rural).
- Nawazish Ali Shah, Sayed, (Jhang East, Muhammadan, Rural).
- Nur Ahmad Khan, Khan Bahadur Mian (Dipalpur, Muhammadan, Rural).
- Partab Singh, Sardar (Amritsar South, Sikh, Rural).
- Pir Muhammad, Khan Sahib Chaudhri (South-East Gujrat, Muhammadan, Rural).
- Pohop Singh, Rao, M.A., LL.B. (East Punjab, Land-holders).
- Prem Singh, Chaudhri (South-East Gurgaon, General—Reserved Seat, Rural).
- Prem Singh, Mahant (Gujrat and Shahpur, Sikh, Rural).
- Pritam Singh Siddhu, Sardar, P.A., LL.B. (Ferozepore West, Sikh, Rural).
- Raghubir Kaur, Shrimati (Amritsar, Sikh, Women).
- Ram Sarup, Chaudhri (Bohtak Central, General, Rural).
- Ranpat Singh, Chaudhri (Karnal North, General, Rural).
- Rashida Latif Baji, Begum (Inner Lahore, Muhammadan Women, Urban).
- Riasat Ali, Khan Bahadur Chaudhri (Hafizabad, Muhammadan, Rural).
- Roshan Din, Chaudhri (Shahdara, Muhammadan, Rural).

- Rur Singh, Sardar (Ferozepore East, Sikh, Rural).
 Sadiq Hassan, Sheikh (Amritsar City, Muhammadan, Urban).
 Sahib Dad Khan, Khan Sahib Chaudhri (Hissar, Muhammadan, Rural).
 Sahib Ram, Chaudhri (Hissar North, General, Rural).
 Samparan Singh, Sardar (Lyallpur West, Sikh, Rural).
 Santokh Singh, Sardar Sahib Sardar (Eastern Towns, Sikh, Urban).
 Sant Ram Seth, Dr. (Amritsar City, General, Urban).
 Satya Pal, Dr. (Amritsar and Sialkot, General, Rural).
 Shahadat Khan, Khan Sahib Rai (Jaranwala, Muhammadan, Rural).
 Shah Nawaz Khan, Nawab Sir (Ferozepore Central, Muhammadan, Rural).
 Shano Devi Sehgal, Shrimati (West Multan Division, General, Rural).
 Shri Ram Sharma, Pandit (Southern Towns, General, Urban).
 Singha, Diwan Bahadur S. P. (East Central Punjab, Indian Christian).
 Sita Ram, Lala (Trade Union, Labour).
 Sohan Lal, Rai Sahib Lala (North Punjab, Non-Union Labour).
 Sohan Singh Josh, Sardar (Amritsar North, Sikh, Rural).
 Sudarshan, Seth (Eastern Towns, General, Urban).
 Sultan Muhammad Hotiana, Mian, B.A. (Pakpattan, Muhammad, Rural).
 Sumer Singh, Chaudhri, B.A., LL.B. (South-East Gurgaon, General, Rural).
 Suraj Mal, Rai Sahib, Chaudhri, B.A., LL.B. (Hansi, General, Rural).
 Talib Hussain Khan, Khan (Jhang West, Muhammadan, Rural).
 Tara Singh, Sardar (Ferozepore South, Sikh, Rural).
 Teja Singh, Sardar (Lahore West, Sikh, Rural).
 Uttam Singh Dugal, Sardar (North-West Punjab, Sikh, Rural).
 Wali Muhammad Sayyal Hiraj, Sardar (Kabirwala, Muhammadan, Rural).

ADVOCATE-GENERAL.

- Mr. M. Sleem, Barrister-at-Law.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

SEVENTH SESSION OF THE FIRST PUNJAB LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

Tuesday, 25th February, 1941.

	PAGES.
Starred questions and answers	1
Meeting on 28th February	6
Supplementary Estimates	7
Report of the Public Accounts Committee, 1938-39	7
Excess Demands, 1938-39	25

Thursday, 27th February, 1941.

Starred questions and answers	27
Adjournment	35
Budget, 1941-42 (Presentation)	35

Monday, 3rd March, 1941.

Absence of Mr. Speaker	58
Starred questions and answers	58
Unstarred questions and answers	64
Allotment of time for the City of Lahore Corporation Bill	69
Demands for Supplementary grants	69

Tuesday, 4th March, 1941.

Starred questions and answers	97
Statement of excess expenditure authenticated by Governor	99
City of Lahore Corporation Bill	100

Thursday, 6th March, 1941.

Starred questions and answers	153
Leave of absence of Sardar Kartar Singh	154
Budget—General discussion	154

Friday, 7th March, 1941.

Starred questions and answers	205
Supplementary statement of expenditure authenticated by Governor	208

Budget—General discussion	210
-----------------------------------	-----

Monday, 10th March, 1941.

Starred questions and answers	269
Unstarred questions and answers	274
Demands for grants—	
General Administration	280

Tuesday, 11th March, 1941.

Starred questions and answers	338
Application for leave of absence of M. L. A.'s	384
Demands for Grants—	
General Administration	384
Index	

PUNJAB LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

SEVENTH SESSION OF THE FIRST PUNJAB LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

Tuesday, 25th February, 1941.

*The Assembly met in the Assembly Chamber at 12 noon of the clock.
Mr. Speaker in the Chair.*

STARRED QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

ARREST OF COMRADE KARAM SINGH MANN, BAR.-AT-LAW.

***7560. Chaudhri Muhammad Abdul Rahman Khan:** Will the Honourable Premier be pleased to state—

- (a) whether it is a fact that the Punjab Government arrested Comrade Karam Singh Mann, Bar.-at-Law, on the 13th December, 1940, near the Railway Station Mughalpura; if so, the offence for which he was arrested and the period for which the Government intend to detain him and the place where he is detained;
- (b) the diet given to him;
- (c) his weight at the time of arrest and his weight at present;
- (d) whether he is supplied any newspapers or journals to read; if not, the reasons therefor?

Parliamentary Private Secretary (Sayed Amjad Ali Shah): (a) (i) Yes, (ii) for acting in a manner prejudicial to the defence of British India, the public safety, the maintenance of public order or the efficient prosecution of the war, (iii) the period of his detention depends on future circumstances; (iv) in the European lock up Civil Lines Police Station, Lahore;

(b) He is being given the same food as cooked in the Police Mess of the Civil Lines Police Station. In addition, he is allowed tea and other "extras" at his own cost;

(c) 148 lbs. on 14th December, 1940, 146 lbs. on 1st February, 1941.

(d) (i) Yes, (ii) Does not arise.

ARREST OF COMRADE HARKISHAN SINGH SURJIT.

***7561. Chaudhri Muhammad Abdul Rahman Khan:** Will the Honourable Premier be pleased to state—

- (a) whether it is a fact that the Punjab Government arrested Comrade Harkishan Singh Surjit on the 13th December, 1940, near the Mughalpura Railway Station; if so, the reasons therefor and the period for which it is intended to detain him;

[Ch. Muhammad Abdul Rahman Khan.]

- (b) the weight at the time of his arrest and his weight at present ;
- (c) the diet given to him ;
- (d) whether he is supplied any newspaper or journal to read ; if not, why not ?

Parliamentary Private Secretary (Sayed Amjad Ali Shah): (a) Yes ; for reasons connected with the maintenance of public order ; the period of his detention depends on future circumstances.

(b) 180 lbs. on 14th December, 1940, 184 lbs. on 6th February, 1941.

(c) He is being given the diet prescribed for a C class convicted criminal prisoner, but is allowed to supplement it from private sources.

(d) First part, yes ; second part, does not arise.

Sardar Mula Singh : Is it a fact that Comrade Harkishan Singh is tortured in the fort ?

Parliamentary Private Secretary : He is not tortured.

RETIREMENT OF GOVERNMENT SERVANTS AFTER 25 YEARS' SERVICE.

***7566. Rai Bahadur Lala Gopal Das** : Will the Honourable Premier kindly refer to his speech in this House on 4th March, 1938, and state—

- (a) whether any rule has been made by the Government about the retirement of Government servants after 25 years' service ; if so, whether he will be pleased to lay a copy of it on the table of the House ;
- (b) whether it is a fact that he gave a definite undertaking that the power to retire Government servants after 25 years' service will not be given to subordinate authorities but will be exercised by Government alone and whether it is a fact that in spite of this undertaking he has delegated the power to subordinate authorities ; and if so, when and why and whether he will be pleased to lay a copy of the order delegating this power to the subordinate authorities and also of instructions, if any, issued on the subject, on the table of the House ;
- (c) whether it has been decided now that retirement of Government servants before the superannuation age does not amount to removal from service ; if so, whether before arriving at this decision the Government consulted their Law Department ; and if so, whether the opinion of Law Officers was disregarded in arriving at that decision ; and if so, the reasons therefor ;
- (d) whether in the matter of the working of the above-mentioned 25 years' service rule the Punjab Government consulted the Government of India ; and if so, what advice was tendered by them and whether the Punjab Government accepted this advice in its entirety ;
- (e) whether he will be pleased to lay a statement on the table of the House showing (a) the number of officers community-wise who have been retired prematurely by authorities subordinate to the Punjab Government since the date such power was

given to them, (b) date of such order and reasons for such retirement in each case; (c) number of years to complete the age of superannuation in each case; (d) difference in full pension and actual pension allowed in each case; (e) result of appeal in each case and the authority who passed the appellate order and steps taken by Government to see that no injustice has been done in any of these cases?

Parliamentary Private Secretary (Sayed Amjad Ali Shah): The honourable member is referred to the answers given to starred questions Nos. 7500, 7501, and 7502¹ asked by Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang on the 11th February, 1941.

Sardar Lal Singh: Is it a fact that after giving an undertaking to this Assembly that the Government itself would look into the matter of those Government employees who were being removed before their time, the Government entirely left it to the discretion of the junior officers?

Parliamentary Private Secretary: No sir. If my honourable friend would look at the answer given to Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang's question (Question No. 7500) he will find that the Government has kept the power through an appeal if it came up.

Sardar Lal Singh: Government has kept that power, but it has not made use of that power: that is what I am asking. The matter seems to be that Government left it to the discretion of junior officers about those Government servants who were to be discharged.

Parliamentary Private Secretary: No. That is not correct.

Sardar Lal Singh: Will the Parliamentary Secretary please state the total number of cases in which people have been made to retire compulsorily before time?

Parliamentary Private Secretary: I require notice for that.

Sardar Lal Singh: Is it not the rule that in such cases reference should be made to the Public Service Commission?

HUNGER-STRIKE BY SARDAR TEJA SINGH SWATANTAR.

*7252. **Pandit Shri Ram Sharma**: Will the Honourable Premier be pleased to state—

- (a) whether it is a fact that Sardar Teja Singh Swatantar, M. L. A., and others recently went on hunger strike in the Campbellpur jail;
- (b) the grievances put forward by them which led them to do so;
- (c) the time for which Sardar Teja Singh remained on hunger strike and the date when forcible feeding was resorted to;
- (d) the steps taken by the Government to redress the grievances?

Parliamentary Private Secretary (Sayed Amjad Ali Shah):
(a) No.

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

¹Vide the debates of 11th February, 1941.

HINDI AS THE MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION IN SCHOOLS.

***7196. Pandit Shri Ram Sharma :** Will the Honourable Minister of Education be pleased to state whether, anywhere in the Punjab, Hindi is the medium of instruction in any Government or local body school for males ; if so, where ?

The Honourable Mian Abdul Haye : There is no Government school in which the medium of instruction is Hindi. There are, however, a few local body schools, chiefly in certain districts of the Ambala Division, where Hindi is the medium of instruction.

SHARE OF THE DOCTOR IN CHARGE, BERI CIVIL HOSPITAL IN FEES.

***7197. Pandit Shri Ram Sharma :** Will the Honourable Minister of Education be pleased to state the amount of fees charged for cataract operations in the Civil Hospital, Beri, in Rohtak district during 1937, 1938, 1939 from well-to-do patients and the share of the doctor in fees so charged ?

The Honourable Mian Abdul Haye : No fees of any kind were charged in the hospital from well-to-do patients before March, 1938. On the occasion of his visit to the hospital in February, 1938, the Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals suggested that a committee of influential men should be formed and a subscription book started which should be presented to all but pauper patients, who came to the hospital for treatment. A sum of Rs. 329 was realised during 1938 and Rs. 265 during 1939. These amounts have been credited to Government *in toto* and no share has been paid to the doctor in charge of the hospital.

ENFORCEMENT OF THE PURE FOOD (AMENDMENT) ACT.

***7525. Khan Sahib Khawaja Ghulam Samad :** Will the Honourable Minister of Education be pleased to state—

(a) whether His Excellency the Governor has given his assent to the Pure Food (Amendment) Bill ; if so, when the assent was given ;

(b) whether the rules under this Act have since been framed ;

(c) by which date this Act is likely to be enforced in the province ?

The Honourable Mian Abdul Haye : (a) Yes, on the 27th April, 1940.

(b) Yes.

(c) The Act is already in force since the 3rd May, 1940.

INTRODUCTION OF USEFUL HANDICRAFTS IN PRIMARY AND MIDDLE SCHOOLS.

***7526. Khan Sahib Khawaja Ghulam Samad :** With reference to the reply to question No. 5525,¹ will the Honourable Minister of Education be pleased to state—

(a) whether the scheme of introduction of useful handicrafts in the Primary and Middle Schools has been carried out and whether the courses of study in these schools have been simplified ;

- (b) if the answer to the above be in the negative, the probable date by which the introduction of handicrafts and simplification of courses may be expected?

The Honourable Mian Abdul Haye : (a) The courses of study have been simplified and provision for the teaching of "practical arts" (useful handicrafts) has been made in the detailed syllabi which are being printed.

(b) It is hoped that the revised scheme of studies will be partially introduced in April, 1942.

GOVERNMENT GIRLS' SCHOOLS IN AMBALA DIVISION.

***7527. Khan Sahib Khawaja Ghulam Samad :** Will the Honourable Minister of Education be pleased to state—

- (a) the number at present of Government Girls Schools in the Ambala Division ;
(b) the places where they are located ;
(c) the number of Girls' Schools opened by the present Government in the Ambala Division since April, 1937 ?

The Honourable Mian Abdul Haye : (a) and (b) The honourable member is referred to the list of Government Educational Institutions in the Punjab corrected up to 1st June, 1940, copies of which are available in the Assembly Library.

(c) Seven.

PUNJAB PRIMARY EDUCATION BILL.

***7539. Rai Bahadur Lala Gopal Das :** Will the Honourable Minister of Education be pleased to state—

- (a) whether Government are aware that a great deal of agitation is going on throughout the province with regard to the statement of the Honourable Minister of Education made on the floor of this House in course of discussions on the Punjab Primary Education Bill last December that Urdu is and will remain the medium of instruction in the province ; if so, the action taken or intended to be taken in the matter ;
(b) whether under the new Primary Education Bill the children will be allowed to receive education in the language and script of their own choice or will be forced to receive education in the language and script prescribed by the Government ; and if they will be required to receive education in the language and script prescribed by Government, whether Government has so far decided what will be that language and script ?

The Honourable Mian Abdul Haye: (a) Government are aware that there is an unwarranted agitation in the province with regard to a statement I made in the course of discussions on the Primary Education Bill.

(b) The honourable member's attention is drawn to the Honourable Premier's statement that the *status quo* will be adhered to. A copy of the statement is laid on the table.

Statement.

The Premier explained that it was a cardinal principle of the present Government's policy to adhere to "*status quo*" where the conflicting claims and demands of different communities could not be settled by mutual agreement. Government had no intention of departing from this policy as far as the question of the medium of instruction in the schools of the province was concerned. Compulsory primary education had been in force in various areas of the province since 1919. There were about 2,000 areas where the old Compulsory Primary Education Act never gave rise to disputes or complaints such as were now being put forward. He assured the members of the deputation that the position under the new Punjab Primary Education Bill would remain exactly what it was under the Act as far as the question of medium of instruction was concerned. The Education Department had in the past considered applications for the opening of Urdu, Hindi and Gurmukhi schools at suitable centres on merits. Applications for the opening of such schools would continue to be judged by the same criteria and according to the same rules as had been applied in the past. There is an instance in which the Department had recognised a school in which the medium of instruction is Telugu.

As for the statement made by the Honourable the Minister of Education in Legislative Assembly that Urdu was the medium of instruction in the Punjab, the Premier explained that it should have given no cause for controversy because the statement was to be taken in a general sense and subject to the modification made by the Education Minister himself and repeatedly emphasised by the Premier that the *status quo* was not to be disturbed. Provision already existed for a certain amount of flexibility in the medium of instruction. There was no intention to alter it.

Sardar Ajit Singh: If according to the *status quo* there happened to be ten or fifteen boys in a school desirous of being instructed in Gurmukhi, will the Government make arrangements for instructing them in Gurmukhi?

Premier: That is not the *status quo*. That is a request.

Sardar Ajit Singh (Urdu): If ten or fifteen boys would desire to be instructed in Gurmukhi will Government make arrangements for instructing them in Gurmukhi?

Premier (Urdu): This supplementary question does not arise from the present question. However, the matter will be considered when an application to this effect will be made.

MEETING ON 28TH FEBRUARY.

Premier (The Honourable Major Sir Sikander Hyat-Khan): I have been informed that one of the honourable members has given notice of a short notice question asking whether the 28th February will be an off-day for the Assembly. It is a working day. The census this time, as you are aware, will be spread over several days. The enumeration is not going to be on one particular day, and the 1st of March is of course an off-day, and we find that the 2nd March is also an off-day. The members can therefore,

go to their homes or to their constituencies if they want to give any help in enumeration work, but I do not think that their absence from the homes on the 28th February will make much difference. But if the House thinks that we should not sit on that day, I shall consider that request.

Mian Muhammad Nurullah : That will be helpful for the census.

Premier : Instead of being helpful, it might be troublesome.

Sardar Sahib Sardar Santokh Singh : I agree that no holiday is necessary.

SUPPLEMENTARY ESTIMATES (2ND INSTALMENT), 1940-41.

Minister for Finance (The Honourable Sir Manohar Lal) : I beg to present the Supplementary Estimates (2nd instalment), 1940-41, and I beg to intimate that the demands made therein are made on the recommendation of His Excellency the Governor.

REPORT OF THE PUBLIC ACCOUNTS COMMITTEE FOR 1938-39.

Minister for Finance : I beg to move—

That the Report of the Public Accounts Committee on the Appropriation Accounts and Finance Accounts of the Punjab Government for the year 1938-39 be taken into consideration and adopted, and that the Excess Grants recommended by the Committee be voted.

These demands are made on the recommendation of His Excellency the Governor.

In making this motion I wish to say only a few words. It will be noticed that in considering these Accounts of the year 1938-39, the Public Accounts Committee met on four different occasions. Firstly, we met in the month of May for three days—23rd May, 28th May and 29th May—for a preliminary examination. At the very outset the Committee also noted the action which has been taken by the Government on the Report of the previous year. This was duly examined and approved. Then we sat for three days in July, two days in August and three days in October—8 days—during which the Heads of the Departments were examined with regard to the various items in this Report with which they were concerned, and finally we sat on the 4th of December when the Report in its final shape was considered and duly passed. You will see that as compared with the last year, the Committee sat for twice the number of days in examining the finance accounts of the Government and, if I may also point out at this stage, we sat for a longer period in considering the accounts of this province than is done in the Central Government in considering their very bulky accounts which in magnitude amount to something like ten times ours. Therefore it may be taken that our accounts were examined with the utmost thoroughness and in the greatest possible detail. Last year I had occasion to observe on this occasion that the Committee adopted a unanimous report. I am afraid I have no such fortunate position to report this time because of the fact that three members of the Public Accounts Committee thought fit to record a minute of dissent which it will be noticed is several times bulkier than the report itself. I must leave this matter at that. Taking the report as such you will observe, as has been pointed out at page 4, a high standard

[Minister for Finance.]

of accuracy in our budget, though because of the famine it could not be so accurate, particularly because of the grant that had to be made at the end of the year, as it was on the last occasion. The Committee state—

We realise that heavy expenditure on famine relief introduced an unforeseen and exceptional feature in the budget of the year, and very strict economy in expenditure had consequently to be observed towards the end of the year.

But the Committee was also of the opinion that proper control has been exercised on the accounts of your Government in every particular.

Another matter to which I wish to refer is this, that this year the excess in the matter of voted grants are only three—those set forth on page 5 of the report—as compared with seven during the last year. And as regards charged grants, it is only one as compared with four last year. I had occasion to remark last year that these excess grants are regarded by some as constituting a departure from strict financial propriety—and it is gratifying that these demands that have to be voted, have been steadily on the decline; great as was the fall last year, you will find that to-day as we examine the accounts for 1938-39 they are practically a vanishing quantity. The details of this so far as the voted grants are concerned are at page 5, and you will see that they amount to a very small amount of the total budget of the province. So far as the charged excess is concerned, it is only one which I think comes to about Rs. 60,000 which represents less than $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of the total charged amount, and that is due mainly to the adjustment of interest charges on the expenditure incurred on the Haveli Project Surveys and could not be anticipated during the year at all.

The other matter to which I might call attention is irregularities which are set forth at page 6. You will find these are a diminishing number and lie within a very short compass, and the Committee was satisfied in regard to the explanation given as regards all the four irregularities that had been noted during this year in particular. The Committee's general opinion is expressed on pages 8-9, and they say particularly with regard to the debt position:—

The debt position of the Punjab is particularly sound. The net debt of the province on 1st April, 1938, was Rs. 32.66 lakhs, and on 31st March, 1939, it was Rs. 33.25 lakhs. Thus, in spite of raising a loan of Rs. one crore, during the year, the increase in the net debt was only Rs. 59 lakhs. It is a very pleasing feature of the sound financial policy of the province that while new debt is being incurred, arrangements are also made to cancel systematically a part of the previous debt.

Then having set forth items of our capital outlay amounting to Rs. 43.78 lakhs in the shape of Irrigation Works and Hydro-Electric Scheme, they say: "This alone exceeds the net debt by Rs. 10.53 lakhs."

The Irrigation Works, productive and unproductive combined—excluding the Haveli Project,

which as you are all aware is a productive scheme—

yielded a net return of 9.23 per cent.

Then they say—

Therefore, in spite of heavy expenditure on famine relief, the general financial position of the province remained very sound, and we consider that it has been handled in a very capable manner.

They finally express their entire satisfaction with the Finance Accounts of the year. So in bringing forward this motion before the House that this subject be taken into consideration, I do so with the utmost confidence that the House also will endorse the Report of the Public Accounts Committee.

Mr. Speaker : Motion moved is—

That the Report of the Public Accounts Committee on the Appropriation Accounts and Finance Accounts of the Punjab Government for the year 1938-39 be taken into consideration and adopted, and that the Excess Grants recommended by the Committee be voted.

Sardar Sahib Sardar Santokh Singh (Eastern Towns, Sikh, Urban) : Sir, in discussing the Report of the Public Accounts Committee, I would in the first instance draw the attention of the House to the unwarranted payment of Rs. 3,39,000 made to Raja Sir Daya Kishen Kaul. This payment, we on this side of the House, consider as a most unwarranted payment and it is to be regretted that at the time of making it, the legal position of the contract was not properly examined and scrutinised. Perhaps the House remembers that originally the Jallo Resin and Turpentine Factory was a Government concern. On 1st February, 1922, the Government admitted Raja Sir Daya Kishen Kaul as a partner to this business. A formal deed of partnership was executed on this date between the Secretary of State in Council and Raja Sir Daya Kishen Kaul. The important clauses of this document were—

(i) that the partnership shall commence on the 1st of February, 1922, and shall continue for a period of 15 years from that date.

The second important clause of the agreement was the contribution or share of the Secretary of State—

Minister for Finance : May I raise an objection to this particular point the honourable member likes to discuss? It is this. I think it will be within your recollection that in the supplementary estimates presented for the year 1938-39, first instalment, at page 21 this item of the payment of Rs. 3,39,000 to Raja Sir Daya Kishen Kaul was definitely before the House. It was not a lump sum grant of any kind in which this item was included. This particular item, the exact amount of Rs. 3,39,000, had been duly ascertained and the House definitely passed the demand. It was not passed as any kind of token demand nor was it a matter which came under guillotine. It was a matter that was definitely discussed by the House. You will see in the proceedings in Volume V of our Punjab Legislative Assembly Debates on page 305, a motion—

That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 3,39,000 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the year ending 31st March, 1939, in respect of Forests,
was made by me.

To this demand a substantive amendment was moved by Sardar Hari Singh to this effect—

I beg to move that the demand be reduced by Rs. 100.

The matter was duly discussed by the House on that amendment by Sardar Hari Singh and then the House in full consideration of what was before the House passed the motion as originally made by me. Therefore the House stands committed to that motion duly made and duly passed. It would, if I may say so, be a matter entirely outside the functions of the Public Accounts Committee to say that a motion duly made in this House

[Minister for Finance.]

and duly passed is subject to further criticism and attack by the Public Accounts Committee, much less could the members of the House stand in the House to-day to say that that motion and all that that motion entailed had an element of irregularity or impropriety about it. So, my humble submission is that it is not open to the members of the House to-day that the matter formally adopted by the House on a clear vote of this House taken after discussion was erroneous in any manner. Of course, if necessary, I am prepared to go into the merits now.

Sardar Sahib Sardar Santokh Singh : Let me point out that in the first place the matter was not at all discussed at any length. It is true that a formal motion was made by the Minister in charge at that time, but a few matters have come to light now—

Minister for Finance : May I say a word more? I am sorry I did not complete my speech. You will find an authority in support of the proposition that I have made in Durell on page 119-120. He says—

The amount of estimates or the amount of any particular grant are matters of policy, and it would be entirely outside the scope of the committee to question either, or to investigate the grounds on which they were based.

You will see that in the present case, the amount was actually placed before the House and sanctioned. Then further on pages 122-123 there is a further discussion—

The purpose, as distinct from the amount of a grant, is obviously a matter for consideration, because this must be known in order that the correct appropriation may be proved. The accounts have to be reported on as to whether the money has been applied to the purpose for which it was provided by Parliament.

This is the important thing—

The accounts have to be reported on as to whether the money has been applied to the purpose for which it was provided by Parliament.

Nothing can be clearer than this that, as I have read out to you, demand No. 2 in the Supplementary Estimates First Instalment 1938-39 was made for a purpose and that every single pie of it has been applied to that purpose because the demand was made in strict terms.

Sardar Lal Singh : If this is the position of the Honourable Finance Minister, in that case we are not authorised to discuss a single word of the budget, because the whole budget is passed and the discussion has in the normal course taken place. What is then the purpose of this report and putting it to the vote of the House and putting it on the agenda for its consideration? At the time when the grant was passed all the material that is now available was not there. We had simply to go on what we had been supplied with.

Mr. Speaker : May I invite the attention of the honourable member to Rule 140 in which the functions of the Public Accounts Committee are set forth?

Sardar Lal Singh : May I ask what is the motion before the House?

Mr. Speaker : That the report of the Public Accounts Committee for the year 1938-39 be taken into consideration.

Sardar Lal Singh : My honourable friend is discussing the report, and the note of dissent. He is one of the signatories of the note. Is he not right in discussing it?

Mr. Speaker : May I know if the Honourable Finance Minister has any objection to his motion being divided into parts and each part being taken up separately? In the case of a Bill, the first motion is that it be taken into consideration and if it is carried then the Bill is taken into consideration and then the next motion that the Bill be passed is moved. So let us first decide that the report of the Public Accounts Committee be taken into consideration. When that motion is carried then the motion that the report be adopted will be proposed from the Chair.

Minister for Finance : That would appear to be the convenient method. Let us first adopt the motion that it be taken into consideration.

Mr. Speaker : Question is—

That the report of the Public Accounts Committee on the Appropriation Accounts and Finance Accounts of the Punjab Government for the year 1938-39 be taken into consideration.

The motion was carried.

Mr. Speaker : The House may now discuss and consider the report. The next motion will be that the report of the Public Accounts Committee for the year 1938-39 be adopted.

Sardar Sahib Sardar Santokh Singh : I was referring to an important clause in the agreement and it was clause 22. The contribution of the Secretary of State shall be all the lands, buildings, machinery, plant, etc. that belong to the factory, the contribution of Raja Sir Daya Kishen Kaul would be all the capital required during the said period of 15 years for the concern. In other words the Raja Sahib was required to provide the working capital for running the concern during the period. Now I come to the most important part of the agreement and it is to the effect that Raja Sir Daya Kishen Kaul had the first option to buy out the interests of the Secretary of State in the said concern. At the expiration of the period of 15 years by giving six months' notice in writing terminating with the expiry of the said period of 15 years and in case he did not exercise the option, the Secretary of State had the right to buy his interest in the concern by paying him what was to be paid to the Secretary of State in that concern or its value as entered in the books of the concern at the time of the expiry of the said period of 15 years. In case the value of any portion of the concern was not entered in the books of the concern, then such value was to be determined either by agreement or failing such agreement by arbitration. This is clause 22 of the agreement. Now, Raja Sir Daya Kishen Kaul did not exercise his option of buying and did not buy the interest of the Secretary of State in that concern and it was left to the Secretary of State to buy the interest of Raja Sir Daya Kishen Kaul in that concern. How that amount of payment was to be arrived at, is expressly stated in the agreement.

Mr. Speaker : What is the honourable member now discussing?

Sardar Sahib Sardar Santokh Singh : I am now discussing that the amount of Rs. 3,39,000 that has been paid to a certain individual was unauthorized.

Mr. Speaker : Was it not paid with the sanction of the House?

Sardar Sahib Sardar Santokh Singh : At the time the sanction was obtained certain facts were not known to the House.

Mr. Speaker : The honourable member is discussing the decision of the House. The Honourable Minister at that time moved a motion that a sum of Rs. 3,39,000 be given to so and so and that motion was passed.

Sardar Sahib Sardar Santokh Singh : But not discussed at all.

Mr. Speaker : The House gave its decision.

Sardar Sahib Sardar Santokh Singh : Only one member said a few words.

Mr. Speaker : However, there was a decision of the House.

Sardar Sahib Sardar Santokh Singh : Certain other facts were brought to the notice of the Finance Minister, and, he, as Chairman of the Public Accounts Committee, allowed us to discuss that matter. Certain documents in connection with this very matter were supplied to us. We discussed the matter at great length in the Public Accounts Committee. I do not see any reason why the Honourable Finance Minister should get up now and object to our discussing this matter on the floor of this House.

Mr. Speaker : May I invite the honourable member's attention to rule 140? Under which part of this rule, the honourable member is discussing his point? Has the committee exceeded its functions?

Sardar Sahib Sardar Santokh Singh : The Committee only exercised its right and was not allowed to exceed its functions? Certain facts were not brought to light and were not before us, at the time when the motion was moved in this House.

Mr. Speaker : But the House passed the motion.

Sardar Sahib Sardar Santokh Singh : But this matter was discussed at great length in the Public Accounts Committee. When this matter can be discussed in the Committee, why can it not be discussed here?

Mr. Speaker : Under which part of rule 140 the honourable member wants to discuss this matter?

Sardar Sahib Sardar Santokh Singh : Under rule 140, part (1) (a) which says—

That the moneys shown in the account as having been disbursed were legally available for and applicable to the service or purpose to which they have been applied or charged.

Mr. Speaker : What is the honourable member's position?

Sardar Sahib Sardar Santokh Singh : My submission, Sir, is this that this item forms part of the report of the Public Accounts Committee and as we are discussing this report, I should not be debarred from discussing this payment.

Mr. Speaker : The House sanctioned it and there the matter ended. The honourable member should not discuss or criticise a decision of the House.

Sardar Sahib Sardar Santokh Singh : The grant was sanctioned by this House, without all the facts being made available to it.

Mr. Speaker : A decision of the House cannot be questioned by the honourable member in the way in which he is questioning it.

Sardar Sahib Sardar Santokh Singh : I would again submit, sir, that this item forms part of the Report of the Public Accounts Committee and we are perfectly within our rights to discuss it. If you will refer to page 11 it is given there. Again, at page 18 the item as grant No. 4, is also there. My submission is that this item forms part of the report and therefore this House is not debarred from discussing it.

Minister for Finance : So far as the Report of the Public Accounts Committee is concerned, you will see that on page 52, it is given—

In this meeting held on the 2nd August, 1940, the Committee desired to be furnished with certain further information. This information was supplied. It was explained that the payment of Rs. 3,39,000 to Sir Daya Kishen Kaul was made by obtaining a supplementary grant from the Legislative Assembly and that the merits of the case were fully discussed in the House on the 27th June, 1938. The Committee had no comments to make on the information supplied.

You will further see, sir, that the honourable member who has raised this question, was not even present at the time when this matter was discussed and finally considered in the Public Accounts Committee. When the matter was finally discussed all the available information was placed before the Committee. They sought further information, which was placed at the disposal of the Committee *in extenso*. Sir, Rule 140, to which you referred lays down that—

In scrutinising the appropriation accounts of the province and the report of the Auditor-General thereon, it shall be the duty of the Public Accounts Committee to satisfy itself—

That the money shown in the account as having been disbursed were legally available for and applicable to the service or purpose to which they have been applied or charged.

Now, can anybody say that moneys were not legally available ?

Sardar Lal Singh : Legally available ?

Finance Minister : Yes, legally available. Who can question that ?

Mr. Speaker : Was the supplementary demand passed before Sir Daya Kishen Kaul was paid ? If so, then the discussion of this matter is irrelevant.

Sardar Lal Singh : The Rule says—

It shall be the duty of the Public Accounts Committee to satisfy itself that the moneys shown in the accounts as having been disbursed were legally available.

The funds might have been legally available, but they might not have been legally passed on to Sir Daya Kishen Kaul. This is the point.

Mr. Speaker : Which rule supports the honourable member ?

Sardar Lal Singh : Rule 140 (1) (a). Before making payment the Public Accounts Committee has to satisfy itself as to the legal position of the payment which they did not do and the members of the Committee have pointed out the reasons therefor.

Mr. Speaker : As the amount, under discussion, was passed by this House and as it was authenticated under section 80 (3) of the Government of India Act, its payment cannot be questioned now. Section 80 (3) says :—

(3) Subject to the provisions of the next succeeding section, no expenditure from the revenues of the Province shall be deemed to be duly authorised unless it is specified in the schedule so authenticated.

As the expenditure in question was authenticated and shown in the schedule after being passed by this House and before it was paid, I think its payment cannot be questioned.

Sardar Sahib Sardar Santohh Singh : May I make a submission? All grants are sanctioned by this House. Is it or is it not? Then does it follow that because a certain grant has been sanctioned by this House, the Public Accounts Committee has no business to enquire as to whether the funds thus made available, were properly and legally applied or not?

Mr. Speaker : Rule 140 (1) (a) of the Rules of Procedure is as follows :—

(a) that the moneys shown in the account as having been disbursed were legally available for and applicable to the service or purpose to which they have been applied or charged.

Is there anything to show that they were not applicable to that object or that service for which they were paid?

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : May I say a few words? The honourable members on this side have not been really able to express very clearly what is passing in their minds. A grant is sanctioned by this House when it is brought before the House by an Honourable Minister. They take it for granted that the money sanctioned would be applied for the purpose for which it is being asked after the Government has satisfied itself that a certain payment is due or a certain expenditure has to be met and is inevitable. All that the passing of a grant by this House can mean is this, that this House authorises the Finance Minister or the Government to incur a certain expenditure if it is legally incurable or to make a certain payment if it is legally payable because when the time for making that payment comes, the House may not be sitting. Authority is conferred on the Government to make that payment when it becomes due provided that it is legally payable. What these honourable gentlemen mean to say is this, that there is no doubt that the House sanctioned that amount but it was sanctioned subject to the understanding, which is always there, that the Government has to make this payment legally, not only that the amount is legally available but that it is also legally payable. Now the complaint seems to be that there are certain facts which have now come to light, which it was the duty of the Government to place before this House at the time the sanction was applied for. The grievance lies in this. If I have been able to understand my friend correctly, he means that the payment was not due without complying with certain conditions. There was a provision that an award might be given in case there is a dispute and after that award has been given, the amount found by the arbitrator in his award would be payable. The complaint is that this fact was not brought to their notice and that payment was made without reference to arbitration. If I am

wrong, the Honourable Minister of Finance would correct me because I would not like to do any injustice to anybody at all or to be unfair to the Honourable Minister of Finance or any other member on that side of the House. Now assuming that what is urged on this side is correct, it means that these honourable members have a grievance against the Government and that grievance lies in this that the procedure which had to be followed before this payment was to be made, has not been followed by the Government. If that is correct, then certainly I would say with all respect that it is open to the honourable members on this side or any other member to say that the payment was improperly made. I am not concerned to whom it was made, and for what it was made, I am discussing the matter absolutely impersonally so that there may be no infringement of the right of debate of any member of this House. That is the gravamen of the complaint. Now it is for the Honourable Finance Minister to get up and say that no facts were suppressed, that all the information that was available and that was necessary to be given to this House was given at the time this grant was applied for and that before the payment was made to the person concerned the provisions of the agreement had been scrutinised and that the payment was made in accordance with that agreement. Two things he has to make clear. One, that all the facts were placed before this House, nothing was concealed—it is not a question of concealing deliberately—that all the facts were placed before the House and it was the enlightened and deliberate sanction of this House which was obtained. Secondly, that the provisions of the agreement were scrutinised carefully and it had been ascertained that the payment was due in the manner it was made and not in any other manner and that no procedure which was to be adopted before the payment was made, was left unpursued. These two things he ought to make clear and if he can satisfy these honourable members on this point, there would be an end to the matter.

Minister for Finance : Nothing will satisfy the honourable members who raised this debate (*hear, hear and laughter*), because facts were given in the utmost detail and at the time when the Public Accounts Committee met, six or seven members were present. They looked into everything, they endorsed the position and these honourable members chose to be absent.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : That is not the point. The point is, at the time the grant was asked for here—

Minister for Finance : I am coming to that. The Government concealed nothing when the matter was placed here with a proper memorandum before the House. He has suggested that in setting forth this memorandum a dozen other things should be set forth also. I am in a position to state definitely that as regards this particular matter the Government had gone into every detail and requirement of the agreement with the utmost care with the help of the Committee. The Financial Commissioner was there, and the Chief Conservator of Forests was there. Our Legal Remembrancer also sat at the Committee and it was ultimately decided that this matter may be considered by two expert Accountants. They went into the matter. Messrs. Ferguson and Company were there on behalf of the Government and Messrs. Billimoria on behalf of Raja Sir Daya Kishen Kaul and they came unanimously to the conclusion that on strict interpretation of the agreement,

[Minister for Finance.]

the amount of Rs. 3,39,000 exactly and precisely was due to Raja Sir Daya Kishen Kaul. That report of the two firms of accountants was adopted by the Government as a correct decision and after having reflected on it with care, they came up to this House for the sanction which was duly obtained. Those are the exact facts and nothing whatever was concealed. I am prepared to exchange details of facts with the honourable gentleman from Amritsar or with any other honourable member so far as that is concerned, but the matter has been considered in the Public Accounts Committee.

I have to say one word more with regard to the interpretation of the strict rule to which reference has been made by that side and also by me. You will see that under that rule the function of the Public Accounts Committee shall be to satisfy itself as to whether the money has been applied to the purpose for which it was provided. Can anyone say that the purpose for which the money was provided by this House was not to pay the exact amount of Rs. 3,39,000 to Raja Sir Daya Kishen Kaul? Where is the departure from that rule and where has it happened that the money is provided for one thing and it is applied to some other use? That question does not arise. This is a sort of thing against which that part of rule 140 is intended to act as a guard. We have made no departure in the slightest measure and the Government has examined it with elaborate care. Five gentlemen were sitting on the Committee and they got the help of two accounting authorities. We came before the House and the House sanctioned it. If this question is to be re-opened again, then, I should say that the time of the House can be wasted on every single salary which is paid to every single officer of the Government. That can never be the intention of the Public Accounts Committee.

Sardar Sahib Sardar Santokh Singh : May I, through you, ask two questions of the Honourable Minister? One is whether or not there is a clause in the agreement to the following effect, that the Secretary of State had the right to buy his interest as a co-partner in the concern by paying him "its value as entered in the books of the concern at the time of the expiry of the said period of 15 years" and further, "in case, the value of any portions of the concern was not entered in the books, then such was to be determined either by agreement or failing such agreement, by arbitration."

Minister for Finance : Either by agreement or by arbitration.

Sardar Sahib Sardar Santokh Singh : I have not yet finished. My first question is whether the amount of Rs. 3,39,000 that has been paid to this gentleman was found entered in the books of the concern and was it in pursuance of that entry in the books that this amount has been paid? *(Interruptions.)*

I am asking a question. Unless we get a reply from the Honourable Minister how will we be able to judge as to whether or not necessary precautions were taken before the said amount was paid, to have the legal position properly scrutinised? I am asking whether or not there is the clause existing in the contract to which I am referring, and whether it was in pursuance of that clause that the payment of Rs. 3,39,000 was made?

Mr. Speaker : That can be discussed when discussion is allowed.

Sardar Sahib Sardar Santokh Singh : After having been allowed to speak, why am I debarred from putting a question ?

Mr. Speaker : The honourable member will agree, I hope, that if the discussion started by him is relevant, then and then alone his questions are relevant.

Sardar Sahib Sardar Santokh Singh : This is a most important matter. I have every right to ask the Honourable Minister, on what basis was this amount paid ? This is the only question I want to ask.

Malik Barkat Ali : Sir, I understand——.

Mr. Speaker : What does the honourable member wish to speak to ?

Malik Barkat Ali : That it is perfectly open to us under the existing rules to discuss the payment made to Raja Sir Daya Kishen Kaul on the ground that when the supplementary demand in regard to that payment was presented to this House, absolutely no mention was made of the facts, which the Public Accounts Committee have now been able to bring out as a result of its scrutiny. If these facts had been brought to the notice of this House and with a knowledge of these facts the House had passed that supplementary grant, then certainly it would not be open to us to challenge that grant. But in raising these facts, we are not in any manner challenging the grant that has been made by this House. We are only bringing to the notice of the House certain facts which show that this demand was not made in payment of a valid and legal obligation, and in this regard I desire to bring this fact to your notice that there was probably a reference made by the Honourable Minister for Finance to the Auditor-General, on the point. Whether it was open to the Public Accounts Committee to scrutinise and explore into these facts what reply the Auditor-General gave I do not know, but the matter is really one which should be concluded by the finding of the Auditor-General, if any. It is for the Auditor-General to say whether it is open to the Public Accounts Committee to explore into these facts. We are not challenging the competency of this House. We are only trying to place before the House facts which will show that the payment made was not in discharge of a legal obligation. It is for the Honourable Minister for Finance to state on the floor of the House whether any enquiry had been made by him from the Auditor-General and whether the Auditor-General supported this contention raised by us or not. As I have said, I do not know what reply the Auditor-General gave. But I desire to bring this fact to your notice that the final authority as to the competency of the Public Accounts Committee to explore into these facts is the Auditor-General and if the Auditor-General has given his finding on this matter to the Honourable Minister for Finance, I would ask him to state what that finding is.

Minister for Finance : There are no views of the Auditor-General. What has the Auditor-General got to do with that matter ? It is the finding of the Committee set under the rules.

Mr. Speaker : My reading of the rule, as I said at the very outset, is that moneys shown in the account as having been disbursed were legally

[Mr. Speaker.]

available, because they were passed by this House and were also authenticated. Once they were passed by this House and duly authenticated, they were available. So, it cannot be contended that they were not legally available. The second point is whether they were applicable to the service or purpose to which they have been applied. I think they were applicable to the purpose for which they were made available. Consequently I think that the discussion raised by the honourable member is not in order. (Hear, hear.)

Sardar Lal Singh : May I put a question ? If a certain amount is passed by this House and is to be made available for a certain purpose and it is spent blindly, does it mean that the House has got no power to question it ?

Mr. Speaker : The House can certainly question it by a regular motion.

Sardar Lal Singh : Then why is the Public Accounts Committee report brought before us ?

Mr. Speaker : Please read the rules.

Malik Barkat Ali : Since you have given your ruling, that matter cannot be discussed. The other matter referred to in the report is about Mr. Guest. The facts are mentioned at full length in the minute of dissent. I will briefly recount the facts. The facts are that the Punjab Government or the Secretary of State originally owned the Jallo Resin and Turpentine Factory. Now when the Government owned this Jallo Resin and Turpentine Factory Mr. Guest—

Mr. Speaker : The same thing again ?

Malik Barkat Ali : Kindly hear me. This relates to the Jallo Resin and Turpentine Factory which is an entirely different matter. This factory was originally owned by the Government and while this concern was the exclusive property of the Government Mr. Guest was in the service of the Government as manager of this Jallo Resin and Turpentine Factory on certain conditions. What was his remuneration in those days I do not know. Then we come to the year 1922. On the 1st of February, 1922, the Government took Sir Daya Kishen Kaul as a partner in this concern. This partnership lasted from the 1st February, 1922, to the 31st January, 1937. During these 15 years also Mr. Guest was a servant of this partnership and he managed and conducted the business of this factory on certain terms. What those terms were I do not know.

Mr. Speaker : What is the honourable member now discussing ?

Malik Barkat Ali : I am discussing the facts mentioned in paragraph 2 of the minute of dissent at page 16.

Mr. Speaker : What has that to do with accounts ?

Malik Barkat Ali : This is a question of the privilege of the House.

Mr. Speaker : Privileges of the House are not under discussion.

Malik Barkat Ali : The question is whether Mr. Guest is a servant.

Mr. Speaker : He may or may not be. That can be discussed separately. The question is whether report of the Public Accounts Committee is to be discussed.

Malik Barkat Ali : You will kindly see that the question whether Mr. Guest held any office of profit under the Crown has been raised in paragraph 2 of the Report and although it may not relate directly to the Public Accounts Committee, yet this fact has been brought to your notice as the Speaker of the House and my respectful submission is that either this question should be discussed now or it can be discussed later : that is for you to decide. I am discussing this question on the assumption that as the Public Accounts Committee Report with its annexures and the note of dissent is under discussion, it is open to us to discuss the matter raised in paragraph 2 of the minute of dissent. If you think that the matter about Mr. Guest is separate then it can be discussed some other time.

Mr. Speaker : Please confine your discussion to the Public Accounts Committee's Report.

Mian Muhammad Nurullah (Urdu) : Sir, with your permission I would like to say a few words in regard to two or three points mentioned about the Hissar Cattle Farm in the report on the Appropriation Accounts for the years 1938-39.

Mr. Speaker : Which page ?

Mian Muhammad Nurullah : At page 166. It relates to Veterinary (Grant No. 20 : Audit Comments are given at the bottom of that page). These appropriations were scrutinised by the Public Accounts Committee and this report is now before the House for discussion and approval. There is always some loss shown under this head I wonder why there is so much loss. You will find that there is a huge loss shown. At page 166 of that report you will note—

Accordingly in compiling the General Profit and Loss Account, the Superintendent, Cattle Farm, has not taken into account the charges in respect of interest on Capital (Rs. 42,637) and depreciation on certain buildings belonging to the Farm, (Rs. 172). If these charges be taken into account the net loss of Rs. 2,62,266 shown in the account will be increased to Rs. 3,05,075.

I want to know why there is this huge loss.

Again on page 167 it says—

The following statement compares the working results of the main activities of the Farm for the two years 1937-38 and 1938-39 :—

	1937-38	1938-39.
	Rs.	Rs.
Net profit or loss	Profit 84,648	Loss 2,62,266

Now according to the Audit Report the loss comes to Rs. 3,05,075 I want to know why so much loss was incurred during that year. Why can they not on such a huge Farm make a profit ?

Khan Bahadur Mian Mushtaq Ahmad Gurmani : I rise on a point of order. According to your ruling the honourable member is not in order in discussing this item, because it has already been passed by the House and authenticated by the Governor. In view of your ruling no item contained in this report could be discussed at this stage as all items of expenditure had been voted by this House and had been authenticated by the Governor.

Mian Muhammad Nurullah : That is no point of order. I am not talking about the special item which was brought before the House and sanctioned as a supplementary estimate. I am talking about the general budget appropriations and the method in which the accounts are handled. The Public Accounts Committee have failed to discuss these matters.

Minister for Finance : May I point out that the Public Accounts Committee did attend to this matter and their observations will be found recorded at page xxxii of the Report.

Mian Muhammad Nurullah : I am discussing the observations of the Public Accounts Committee. I am going to point out what they have omitted to say, what they have said and what they could have said. If the Government is not in a mood to reply to my criticisms, I will take up some other subject for discussion.

Minister for Finance : Government has not said anything of that kind. I only pointed out that the Public Accounts Committee has referred to this subject.

Mian Muhammad Nurullah : I wanted to elicit some more information and also to make certain suggestions which might usefully be adopted by Government in the future. If the Government does not like it, I will take up some other demand. In connection with the Hydro-Electric Department, I must point out that things are not going on properly. In this connection I shall draw your attention to certain facts and figures. If you refer to the Appropriation Accounts of the Punjab Government for 1938-39—

Mr. Speaker : Report on the Appropriation Accounts is not under discussion now.

Mian Muhammad Nurullah : If you refer to page xlviii you will find that the establishment charges are pretty high compared with revenue receipts and they should be reduced. I think Government should be more keen in future in reducing the establishment charges, because they compare very unfavourably with the figures of other provinces in connection with the hydro-electric schemes.

I do not want to take up the time of the House by referring to other matters. These are the two matters to which I wanted to draw the attention of the Government with a view to their exercising more control over them. With those words I resume my seat.

Malik Barkat Ali : I rise on a point of order. I understand on very good authority that it was represented to you in connection with this payment of Rs. 3,39,000 to Sir Daya Kishen Kaul that the payment was made after the supplementary grant had been sanctioned by this House. But that is not a fact. The payment was made long before the supplementary demand came up for discussion before the House. As a matter of fact if you refer to the proceedings on the subject you will find that I myself raised the question.

Minister for Finance : I am sorry I made that statement.

Malik Barkat Ali : It will be clear therefrom that what the Honourable Finance Minister represented to you just now is wrong.

Minister for Finance : I have already said that I am sorry I made that statement.

Malik Barkat Ali : The position comes to this that your ruling based on the assumption that the payment was made after the supplementary estimates had been passed by the House was clearly given on incorrect facts. I should, therefore, like to know whether you would be pleased to reconsider your ruling in view of the fact that the payment was made before the estimates were passed by the House. The Explanatory Memo. did not at all bring out those facts which have just now been brought before the House.

Minister for Finance : I have nothing more to say. I have already expressed my regret for the statement that the payment was made after the sanction of this House. That is the usual procedure, but the House is well aware that many payments are made in anticipation of the sanction of this House and ultimately the sanction of the House comes; now the House has voted the amount and regularised the demand. Nothing wrong has happened. That does not really affect the question of the appropriateness of the final vote of this House.

Malik Barkat Ali : May I also draw your attention to the fact that on the day when the supplementary grant was sanctioned, you were pleased to hold that an excess grant can only come before the House after it has been placed before the Public Accounts Committee. The present payment having been made without the authority of any grant at the time it was made, is in the nature of an excess grant, and therefore the matter can be considered by the House according to your ruling.

Sardar Sahib Sardar Santokh Singh : In view of this, may I ask you, sir, to revise your ruling?

Mr. Speaker : What is an excess grant?

Minister for Finance : An excess grant is a grant in connection with expenditure duly incurred in a given year for which the Government approaches the House for sanction the next year because there has been no time to obtain the grant during the year in which it was incurred. For instance, take the year 1940-41, which is about to end. A certain expenditure is incurred. Government will approach this House next year with the request that an excess grant has become necessary, that is a demand in connexion with expenditure during a year over and above the previously sanctioned expenditure for the year the demand to be made in the year following. The term is confined to grants demanded after the close of the financial year to regularize excesses over grants and expenditure without the vote of the Legislature, brought to light too late to admit of voting during the year to which they relate. That is an excess grant.

Malik Barkat Ali : I would request that you be pleased, before you give your ruling, to seek further information and light from the Auditor-General in regard to the practice that prevails both in the Government of India as well as in other provinces, because the matter is one of audit. You may be pleased to keep your ruling in abeyance, namely that these facts cannot be discussed, and refer to the Auditor-General whether this payment of Rs. 3,39,000 and the facts brought to light in the minute of dissent can now be discussed in spite of the supplementary grant that was passed in

[Malik Barkat Ali.]

the House. We are not challenging the competency of the House; it would be a silencing answer to any appropriation that the House passed the demand and nobody has any business to raise the question again. All that we are saying is merely this, whether this payment was made in discharge of a valid legal obligation.

Mr. Speaker : In other words whether the correct legal procedure was followed in paying the amount in question.

Malik Barkat Ali : The point is not of procedure. The point is that there was really no valid legal obligation which required to be discharged, and if a payment has been made without the backing of a valid legal obligation, whether it is within the competence of the Public Accounts Committee to bring these facts to the notice of the House when payment has been made without any valid legal obligation.

Mr. Speaker : That can be certainly brought to the notice of the House. I do not think there is any objection to that.

Malik Barkat Ali : My point is that that amount should not have been and could not have been paid to Sir Daya Kishen Kaul, because it was an excess payment, unless it had been first placed before the Public Accounts Committee. That is the contention.

Minister for Finance : The payment was made in May, 1938, and we came to the House in June, 1938, that is the next month. It is not an excess demand. The payment was made in anticipation of the sanction of the House. An excess demand is one which is made in connection with the expenditure incurred during a year, because during the year it is incurred there has been no opportunity to obtain the sanction of the House.

Mr. Speaker : I am not a financier and, therefore, not at all competent to express any opinion on matters financial. Strictly speaking an excess demand is the demand for money spent without sanction and not deliberately and purposely, but unknowingly and unwittingly. Such excesses are generally discovered after any financial year's accounts are audited. When discovered they are placed before the House for sanction in the next year's budget and sometimes even later.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : Two points arise. The first is whether this money was paid inadvertently and secondly whether it was an emergent expenditure. The Honourable Minister was pleased to point out that this payment was made in May, 1938, when the new Government of India Act under which we are sitting was in force, so that the question does not arise. The first thing was whether it was paid inadvertently or unknowingly. My submission is that by the very nature of things it could not have been paid inadvertently. As Sardar Sahib has pointed out from the agreement the amount which was shown in the books was to be paid. This amount of Rs. 3,39,000 was not shown in the books and it was claimed later on in excess of the amount mentioned in the books. This is not a small figure of Rs. 5 or Rs. 10 or Rs. 5,000 or Rs. 10,000, it is a matter of Rs. 3,39,000 which was not shown in the books and which was claimed on some other authority. As Sardar Sahib has pointed out just now to me, there was some sort of stock lying here and some stock lying there and some other things

lying there and some kind of depreciation and other things like that. This is how, I understand, this amount of Rs. 8,39,000 was made up. And the provision with respect to that amount was that either both the parties should agree or that there should be a reference to arbitration. So that it cannot be said that the amount was paid inadvertently. The amount from the very speech which the Honourable Minister was pleased to make was paid deliberately and not inadvertently.

Mr. Speaker : Yes, but that appears to have been the practice of our Government and of the Finance Department for the last 20 years.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : To pay away money like that ?

Mr. Speaker : Yes to pay money without any previous sanction and get the sanction of the House afterwards.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : Is this practice sanctioned by the present Government of India Act ?

Mr. Speaker : No.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : We are taking our stand on the Government of India Act and the constitution framed under it.

Mr. Speaker : The Audit Department should have taken exception to this illegal practice.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : Even on that point, I did not hear the Honourable Minister, but Malik Barkat Ali just now told me that the matter was referred to the Auditor-General and he has given some ruling. I do not know how far this is correct.

Mr. Speaker : Had the Accountant-General raised an objection, the Finance Department would have long ago followed the right course.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : That does not really settle the question. Supposing the Accountant-General's Department for one reason or another, by oversight or some other reason, did not raise any objection to a particular item, does it mean that the members of this House have no right to question the procedure adopted by the Honourable Minister. Now, this House has a right to ask the Honourable Finance Minister what emergency there was for these Rs. 8,39,000 to be paid without obtaining the sanction of the House ?

Mr. Speaker : All these questions should have been put when the Supplementary Demands were placed before the House in the month of June last.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : Here is the gentleman who moved the matter and raised this debate and he says that he knew nothing about it. But this fact certainly ought to have been brought to the notice of this House that this amount of Rs. 8,39,000 was paid without obtaining the sanction of this House. I am glad that the Honourable Finance Minister had admitted that the statement which he made before was not correct and I am glad that he has expressed his regret. That was the proper thing to do but this fact remains that there was no emergency, at least none has been pointed out, and there is nothing to show that the Finance Minister could not wait to obtain the sanction of this House. According to himself this payment was made on the 28th of April, 1938, and he brought it up before

[Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang.]

this House in June, 1938, he says on the 7th of June, 1938. That means exactly 40 days after. Now what could have happened if the Honourable Minister had waited for 40 days before he made this payment? Why did he make this payment? Was there any agreement under which he was bound to make this payment on the 27th day of April, 1938, and not on the 28th day of April, 1938, or on the 8th of June? Was there any agreement? He has not taken us into confidence. I understand that this was really a matter of dissolution of partnership and that no date for payment had been fixed. In the absence of anything to the contrary we should assume that no date had been fixed for the payment of this amount and that the Government was not going to incur any damages for waiting for 40 days. This is really what the gravamen of the grievance is. This is really the crux of the criticism against the Honourable Minister's action. If the Council was not going to sit for six months or more and that the matter was so pressing that the payment had to be made—

Mr. Speaker : Now that question is too late.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : Now let me tell you one thing more. You said that the Government has been in the habit of incurring expenditure without obtaining the sanction of the House in certain cases. I can assure you that if you were to examine all these cases, you will find that there was some sort of emergency behind the incurring of the expenditure and I tell you what kind of emergency there might be. Supposing the Government had ordered a bridge to be made over a river or over a canal, and the amount sanctioned was, let us say Rs. 50,000, and somehow or other the expenditure incurred came to Rs. 55,000. The Government knew that the Council could not be so unreasonable as not to sanction this additional sum and they paid it to settle the contractor and so on. In some other cases, supposing a building was being erected or a building had been washed away and further expenditure had to be incurred, they did incur the expenditure relying upon the good sense of the House that the additional expenditure would be sanctioned. It is in such cases that expenditure can be incurred and in fact it ought to be incurred in the interests of the province and good Government, otherwise the province may suffer. It is sometimes in the public interest to anticipate expenditure, but these expenditures are as a rule not heavy expenditures. This partnership had been going on for 15 years and one of the parties was the Secretary of State and not a bankrupt party, the other party was also a Raja. They are not ordinary people and so far as I could judge, there was no emergency which compelled the Honourable Minister to part with the people's money to the extent of Rs. 3,39,000 without obtaining the sanction of the House.

Mr. Speaker : The question is—

That the Report of the Public Accounts Committee on the Appropriation Accounts and Finance Accounts of the Punjab Government for the year 1938-39 be adopted.

Sardar Lal Singh : You have not given your ruling, whether we are entitled to discuss this matter or not.

Mr. Speaker : This matter cannot be re-opened.

Sardar Lal Singh : I submit that it can be re-opened.

Mr. Speaker : You re-open it by all means.

Sardar Lal Singh : I will remind the House that the whole discussion was based upon the information given by the Honourable the Finance Minister.

Mr. Speaker : I do not think the matter should be re-opened.

Sardar Lal Singh : Then, what is your ruling on the point ?

Mr. Speaker : I am not going to repeat it.

Sardar Lal Singh : I simply wanted to remind you.

Mr. Speaker : I need not be reminded. The question is—

That the Report of the Public Accounts Committee on the Appropriation Accounts and Finance Accounts of the Punjab Government for the year 1938-39 be adopted.

The motion was carried.

EXCESS DEMANDS, 1938-39.

Mr. Speaker : The question is—

That an additional sum not exceeding Rs. 2,55,326 be granted to the Governor to meet the excess expenditure incurred during the year ended 31st March, 1939, in respect of Irrigation (Capital).

The motion was carried.

Mr. Speaker : The question is—

That an additional sum not exceeding Rs. 7,09,620 be granted to the Governor to meet the excess expenditure incurred during the year ended 31st March, 1939, in respect of Famine.

The motion was carried.

Mr. Speaker : The question is—

That an additional sum not exceeding Rs. 45,093 be granted to the Governor to meet the excess expenditure incurred during the year ended 31st March, 1939, in respect of Superannuation Allowances and Pensions.

The motion was carried.

The Assembly then adjourned till 12 noon, on Thursday, 27th February, 1941.

The first part of the paper is devoted to a discussion of the general principles of the theory of the structure of the atom. It is shown that the structure of the atom is determined by the laws of quantum mechanics, which are based on the principles of wave mechanics and the theory of the wave function.

The second part of the paper is devoted to a discussion of the application of the theory of the structure of the atom to the study of the properties of the elements of the periodic table.

The third part of the paper is devoted to a discussion of the application of the theory of the structure of the atom to the study of the properties of the elements of the periodic table.

The fourth part of the paper is devoted to a discussion of the application of the theory of the structure of the atom to the study of the properties of the elements of the periodic table.

The fifth part of the paper is devoted to a discussion of the application of the theory of the structure of the atom to the study of the properties of the elements of the periodic table.

The sixth part of the paper is devoted to a discussion of the application of the theory of the structure of the atom to the study of the properties of the elements of the periodic table.

The seventh part of the paper is devoted to a discussion of the application of the theory of the structure of the atom to the study of the properties of the elements of the periodic table.

The eighth part of the paper is devoted to a discussion of the application of the theory of the structure of the atom to the study of the properties of the elements of the periodic table.

The ninth part of the paper is devoted to a discussion of the application of the theory of the structure of the atom to the study of the properties of the elements of the periodic table.

The tenth part of the paper is devoted to a discussion of the application of the theory of the structure of the atom to the study of the properties of the elements of the periodic table.

The eleventh part of the paper is devoted to a discussion of the application of the theory of the structure of the atom to the study of the properties of the elements of the periodic table.

The twelfth part of the paper is devoted to a discussion of the application of the theory of the structure of the atom to the study of the properties of the elements of the periodic table.

The thirteenth part of the paper is devoted to a discussion of the application of the theory of the structure of the atom to the study of the properties of the elements of the periodic table.

The fourteenth part of the paper is devoted to a discussion of the application of the theory of the structure of the atom to the study of the properties of the elements of the periodic table.

The fifteenth part of the paper is devoted to a discussion of the application of the theory of the structure of the atom to the study of the properties of the elements of the periodic table.

The sixteenth part of the paper is devoted to a discussion of the application of the theory of the structure of the atom to the study of the properties of the elements of the periodic table.

The seventeenth part of the paper is devoted to a discussion of the application of the theory of the structure of the atom to the study of the properties of the elements of the periodic table.

The eighteenth part of the paper is devoted to a discussion of the application of the theory of the structure of the atom to the study of the properties of the elements of the periodic table.

The nineteenth part of the paper is devoted to a discussion of the application of the theory of the structure of the atom to the study of the properties of the elements of the periodic table.

The twentieth part of the paper is devoted to a discussion of the application of the theory of the structure of the atom to the study of the properties of the elements of the periodic table.

PUNJAB LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

SEVENTH SESSION OF THE FIRST PUNJAB LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

Thursday, 27th February, 1941.

The Assembly met in the Assembly Chamber at 12 noon of the clock. Mr. Speaker in the Chair.

STARRED QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

NOMINATIONS TO P.C.S.

***7569. Chaudhri Faqir Chand :** Will the Honourable Premier be pleased to state the total number of Extra Assistant Commissioners to be taken this year by direct nomination and the proportion of the members of the scheduled castes out of it and, if no member of the scheduled castes is to be nominated as such, the reasons therefor ?

Parliamentary Private Secretary (Sayed Amjad Ali Shah) : Government have not yet finally decided the number of candidates to be nominated this year to the posts of Extra Assistant Commissioner. Commissioners of Divisions were instructed that they could send up the rolls of suitable scheduled castes candidates as extra rolls completely separate from other nominations, but I am informed that so far no roll of a scheduled caste candidate has been sent up in this way.

ARREST AND DETENTION OF MR. KARAM SINGH MANN, BAR-AT-LAW.

***7577. Rai Bahadur Lala Gopal Das :** Will the Honourable Premier be pleased to state—

- (a) whether it is a fact that Mr. Karam Singh Mann, Barrister-at-Law, has been arrested ;
- (b) the offence for which he has been arrested ;
- (c) the place where he is being detained ;
- (d) whether Government propose to produce him for trial ; if not why ;
- (e) whether it is a fact that no counsel has been permitted to see him ?

Parliamentary Private Secretary (Sayed Amjad Ali Shah) :
(a) Yes.

(b) For acting in a manner prejudicial to the defence of British India, the public safety, the maintenance of public order or the efficient prosecution of the war.

(c) In the European lock-up, Civil Lines Police Station, Lahore.

[Sayed Amjad Ali Shah].

(d) First part, no, second part, the provisions of the law under which he has been detained do not enjoin a trial in a court of law.

(e) Yes: in view of the answer to part (d) no useful purpose will be served by counsel being permitted to see him.

Sardar Mula Singh : May I know if the reduction of two pounds in his weight is due to the fact that he is constantly kept in confinement for all the 24 hours of day and night ?

Parliamentary Private Secretary : I already submitted sometime back that the weight of the detenu in question had been reduced by two pounds. If the honourable member had asked any supplementary question at that time, I would have been only glad to answer.

Sardar Mula Singh : May I ask the Parliamentary Private Secretary to further explain what he meant by saying in reply to question¹ No. *7560, the other day, that this opinion would depend on the future circumstances of the case ?

Parliamentary Private Secretary : I am replying to question- No. *7577 and not to the one which was asked the other day.

ARREST AND DETENTION OF SARDAR CHANAN SINGH.

***7578. Mian Muhammad Nurullah :** Will the Honourable Premier be pleased to state—

(a) whether it is a fact that Sardar Chanan Singh, the Persona Assistant to Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din, M.L.A., was arrested from Mian Sahib's residence on the 17th of December, 1940 ;

(b) the offence for which he has been arrested ;

(c) the place where he is being detained ;

(d) whether Government propose to release him ; if so, when ?

Parliamentary Private Secretary (Sayed Amjad Ali Shah) : (a) Yes.

(b) For reasons connected with the maintenance of public order.

(c) Central Jail, Montgomery.

(d) This depends on future events.

BHAKRA DAM SCHEME.

***7536. Khan Sahib Khawaja Ghulam Samad :** Will the Honourable Minister of Revenue be pleased to state whether his attention has been invited to the resolution passed in a meeting of zamindars of Hissar district on 19th January, 1941, requesting the Government to carry into effect at an early date the Bhakra Dam Scheme or any alternative scheme under the examination of the Government ; if so, the action intended to be taken in the matter ?

Parliamentary Secretary (Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan): Reply to the first part of the question is in the affirmative.

The exact position has been explained to the people on several occasions by public pronouncements made by the Honourable Minister for Revenue and other Honourable Ministers and also through Press notices as well as in reply to questions and debates on resolutions in the House.

The scheme will be undertaken when negotiations with the Indian States concerned are successfully concluded and finances arranged.

Sardar Ajit Singh: May I know if the action of the Government with regard to this scheme will remain confined to pronouncements only

Parliamentary Secretary: I have not followed my honourable friend's question.

Sardar Ajit Singh: I ask if the activity of the Government with regard to the Bhakra Dam Scheme will remain confined to pronouncements only and if no substantial work is to be done by it.

Parliamentary Secretary: That is not a question, sir.

Mr. Speaker: Disallowed.

RESTORATION OF LANDS IN AMBALA DIVISION UNDER THE RESTITUTION OF MORTGAGED LANDS ACT.

***7553. Khan Sahib Khawaja Ghulam Samad**: Will the Honourable Minister of Revenue be pleased to state—

(a) districtwise, in Ambala division, the total area of lands restituted since the enforcement of the Restitution of Mortgaged Lands Act;

(b) the approximate value of the lands so restituted?

Parliamentary Secretary (Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan): (a) and (b). Two hundred and eighty-four bighas and 8 biswas of the approximate value of Rs. 14,650 in the Rohtak district. In no other district of the Ambala division has any land been restored yet.

APPOINTMENT TO POST OF ASSISTANT THROUGH COMPETITION IN FINANCIAL COMMISSIONERS' OFFICE.

***7573. Rai Bahadur Lala Gopal Das**: Will the Honourable Minister of Revenue be pleased to state—

(a) whether it is a fact that in the Financial Commissioners' office a competitive examination was conducted by Mr. Le Bailly, the late Development Secretary, for promotion to the post of Assistant;

(b) whether it is also a fact that the Development Secretary also granted a margin of 15 marks to the senior men to safeguard their seniority against their juniors;

(c) if the reply to (a) and (b) above be in the affirmative, under what rules the competitive examination was held and under whose orders promotions to the post of Assistant are being given according to this competitive list (which is not recognised by the rules)?

Parliamentary Secretary (Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan): (a) and (b). The attention of the honourable member is invited to the answers given to starred Assembly question Nos. 6878¹ and 7499². Qualifying examination was held informally with a view to facilitate selection.

(c) Does not arise.

Rai Bahadur Lala Gopal Das: If that was a qualifying test, did any senior clerk appear in that test?

Parliamentary Secretary: I am afraid without notice I will not be able to give names of people who appeared in the test.

Rai Bahadur Lala Gopal Das: I simply asked whether they appeared or not and whether you have given preference to the junior most clerks over the senior clerks.

Parliamentary Secretary: It was not compulsory for the clerks to appear in that qualifying examination. I also explained that the officer, who was making the appointments to these posts, was not bound to ignore the result of the examination. The object of the examination was merely to facilitate how to find out who were better qualified people and that is all. Nothing else.

Rai Bahadur Lala Gopal Das: Do I understand that this test was held with a view to employ the apprentices in place of the senior clerks?

Parliamentary Secretary: No.

Rai Bahadur Lala Gopal Das: Is it not correct that junior people or apprentices have been given the posts of assistants over and above the shoulders of senior clerks?

Parliamentary Secretary: So far as the question of appointing men to selection posts is concerned, the question of juniority and seniority is not binding, but let me assure my honourable friend that selections were not made on the basis that the examination was held. (*Interruption*).

Rai Bahadur Lala Gopal Das: Is a similar examination held in any other department of the Secretariat?

Parliamentary Secretary: Not that I am aware of.

Rai Bahadur Lala Gopal Das: Why an exception in this case?

Parliamentary Secretary: I have explained that it was selection.

CRIME IN JAKHAL MANDI AND RAILWAY STATION AREA, HISSAR DISTRICT.

*7183. **Pandit Shri Ram Sharma**: Will the Honourable Minister for Public Works be pleased to state the number of (i) theft and similar other cases reported during the last three years from Jakhal mandi and railway station area in the Hissar district, (ii) persons challaned and persons convicted in this connection as also the reason for an unusual increase in the crime in this area?

Parliamentary Secretary (Sardar Bahadur Sardar Ujjal Singh): A statement is laid on the table.

¹ Volume XII, Page 829.

² Vide Debates of 11th February, 1941.

Crime in Jakhal Mandi and railway station area, Hissar district.

	NUMBER OF CASES REPORTED.			NUMBER OF PERSONS CHALLANED.			NUMBER OF PERSONS CONVICTED.			REMARKS.
	1937.	1938.	1939.	1937.	1938.	1939.	1937.	1938.	1939.	
Theft ..	6	4	6	3	3	4	1	2	3	There is no appreciable increase in these crimes this year.
Burglary ..	6	4	6	1	2	1	1	2	1	

ARREST OF KHAKSARS.

***7191. Pandit Shri Ram Sharma :** Will the Honourable Premier be pleased to state—

- the total number of Khaksars arrested in the Punjab with the following details ;
- those who were acquitted as well as those who were convicted ;
- those who were sentenced for offences involving violence and those convicted of offences not involving violence ;
- those charged under sections 325, 302, 304, 307 of Indian Penal Code rioting and other serious offences of a similar nature ;
- the expenditure which the Government incurred to suppress this movement ;
- the number of released batchwise so far and also of those who are still in jail ?

Parliamentary Private Secretary (Sayed Amjad Ali Shah) : The collection of all the details required by the honourable member will involve the expenditure of time and trouble disproportionate to any result to be obtained. I am, however, laying on the table of the House a statement giving the salient facts relating to the arrest, conviction and release of Khaksars.

Statement showing consolidated figures up to the 15th of December, 1940.

A. Grand total of all Khaksars arrested, up to and including the 15th December, 1940	1,710
B. Detailed analysis of total arrests as given at 'A'.	
(1) Khaksars arrested but not tried	185
(2) Khaksars arrested but discharged	195
(3) Khaksars arrested but acquitted	185
(4) Khaksars convicted—	
(a) Sentenced to imprisonment and fine (excluding those sentenced to imprisonment till rising of the court), or to imprisonment only	830

(b) Sentenced to fine only	53
(c) Sentenced to imprisonment till rising of the court only ..	47
(d) Those required to give bonds under section 562, Criminal Procedure Code, or awarded other punishments ..	215
(5) Khaksars whose cases are still pending because they are considered to have been guilty of offences involving violence ..	1,710
Total ..	273
C. Total number of Khaksars in categories 'B 1', 'B 2', and 'B 3' who were not tried, discharged, or acquitted by reason of having tendered apologies	161
D. Khaksars who have served out their sentences (excluding those sentenced to rising of the court shown separately)	547
E. Khaksars released by Government before the expiry of their sentences (i.e., persons convicted of non-violent offences)	122
F. Khaksars convicted of violence or of assaults on jail officials whom it is not intended to release	830
Total ..	

RECRUITMENT OF CIVIC GUARDS.

***7192. Pandit Shri Ram Sharma :** Will the Honourable Minister for Public Works be pleased to state—

- (a) the number and duties of men required and recruited for the civic guards districtwise and the money allotted for this purpose ;
- (b) whether any percentage for communal, urban, rural, agriculturist, or non-agriculturist representations was fixed in this force by the Government as also the number of civic guards at present districtwise ;
- (c) whether any standard of respectability was fixed for recruitment to the guards ?

Parliamentary Secretary (Sardar Bahadur Sardar Ujjal Singh) :

(a) The number of civic guards enrolled in each district up to the end of October is shown in the attached statement. There are many more who have been *selected* but have not yet taken the oath and been given their certificates of appointment. The duties to be performed by civic guards are laid down in rule 18 of the Civic Guard Rules, 1940, which states :—

“Civic guards may be called out on duty—

- (i) to assist the police in—
 - (a) the suppression of serious crime ;
 - (b) the suppression of disturbances of a communal or political nature,
 - (c) the control of important fairs and festivals,
 - (d) patrolling and nakabandi ;
- (ii) to assist in village defence schemes ;
- (iii) to assist in air-raid precaution measures ;

- (iv) to perform such duties in connection with the protection of persons, the security of property or public safety as the Provincial Government may from time to time by rule assign to them.

The first budget estimate for civic guards for the present financial year was Rs. 10,75,000 but the revised estimate will in all probability not exceed Rs. 7,00,000.

(b) No percentage for communal, urban, rural, agriculturist or non-agriculturist proportion has been laid down by Government but instructions have issued that the proportion of persons enrolled from each community should correspond roughly with that of the general population in each local area provided weightage is given to minorities: the answer to the second part of this question has already been given in paragraph (a).

(c) No standard of "respectability" has been fixed but only those persons will be enrolled who are of good character and who have not taken part in subversive movements or engaged in inciting communal bitterness.

Statement showing the number of Civic Guards enrolled in each district up to the end of October, 1940.

District.	Number of civic guards enrolled.
Rohtak	870
Jhelum	279
Mianwali	230
Montgomery	412
Sialkot	203
Hoshiarpur	131
Gujrat	832
Hissar	671
Jhang	103
Karnal	111
Gujranwala	436
Muzaffargarh	363
Sheikhpura	20
Ambala	42
Sargodha	53
Multan	411

District.							Number of Civic Guards enrolled.
Ludhiana	..	..	..	..	..	..	268
Gurdaspur	..	..	..	..	..	..	111
Rawalpindi	..	..	..	..	..	..	26
Amritsar	..	..	..	..	..	..	51
Ferozepore	..	..	..	..	..	..	104
Dera Ghazi Khan	..	..	..	..	..	..	Nil.
Simla	..	..	..	..	..	..	Nil.
Jullundur	..	..	..	..	..	..	Nil.
Lyalpur	..	..	..	..	..	..	Nil.
Lahore	..	..	..	..	..	..	Nil.
Kangra	..	..	..	..	..	..	} Returns not received.
Gurgaon	..	..	..	..	..	..
Attock	..	..	..	..	..	..
Grand Total							5,727

REPRESENTATION BY CHAUDHRI RAHMAT ULLAH FOR THE RECOGNITION
OF THE IQBAL MEMORIAL HIGH SCHOOL, KARNAL.

*7531. **Khan Sahib Khawaja Ghulam Samad** : Will the Honourable Minister of Education be pleased to state—

(a) whether any representation on behalf of Chaudhri Rahmat Ullah, the Manager of the Iqbal Memorial High School, Karnal, was received by him through the Inspector of Schools, Ambala Division, requesting him to recognise the school ;

(b) whether the Manager of the school mentioned in part (a) requested him to grant recognition to the middle department of the school ; if so, the order passed on that representation ?

The Honourable Mian Abdul Haye : (a) Yes ;

(b) Yes, but recognition has since been refused by the Department as educational necessity for the school does not exist.

MIDDLE SCHOOL SCHOLARSHIPS RESERVED FOR THE DEPRESSED CLASSES.

***7572. Bhagat Hans Raj :** Will the Honourable Minister of Education be pleased to state—

- (a) the number of Middle School Scholarships reserved for children (boys and girls separately) of the depressed classes in the Lahore district ;
- (b) the number of those among them which were actually awarded in the year 1940 ;
- (c) whether there are any scholarships from among those mentioned in (a) above which have not been so far awarded ; if so, the steps proposed to be taken to have these awarded to the deserving students belonging to the depressed classes ?

The Honourable Mian Abdul Haye :—

	Government.		District Board.
(a) Boys ..	1	..	3
Girls ..	Four scholarships have been allotted to the Lahore Circle.	..	..
(b) Boys ..	Nil	..	1
Girls ..	Nil	..	Nil.

(c) The vacant Government scholarship has been awarded in some other district in the Lahore Division. The vacant district board scholarships for boys and the Government Scholarship for girls have not so far been awarded for want of eligible candidates.

ADJOURNMENT.

Premier : Sir, I understand that several members have been deputed to supervise the census operations in their tahsils, towns, cities and *ilagas*, and, therefore, I suggest that the House should not meet to-morrow. So I move—

That the Assembly at its rising to day shall stand adjourned till 12 noon on Monday, the 3rd March, 1941.

The motion was carried.

BUDGET 1941-42.

The Honourable Sir Manohar Lal (Finance Minister): I rise to present the Budget today with some trepidation. It is likely to be, it may be the last during the life of the present Assembly, and your Government and this House may well be asked if their stewardship of the finances of the province will bear strictly and fully the application of well understood tests. That is no light occasion but I trust that the most rigorous examination will reveal that yours has been a worthy and strikingly successful custodianship exercised in a period of heavy strain and anxiety. We are not yet freed from the fear of famine—the monsoon rains

[Minister for Finance.]

that began promisingly in the stricken areas of south-eastern Punjab failed to maintain an adequate standard and recent more satisfactory winter rains, howsoever welcome, cannot afford the full measure of the relief required. And we are passing through the second year of war which though it casts no responsibility for actual defence on the provinces, could not fail to affect our finances. With our position on the map of India questions of ensuring internal security had to be firmly faced; and in a province which furnishes the most distinguished soldiery in the country (*hear, hear*) destined to cover themselves with glory in the campaigns of the middle East, in what may justly be called the Battle of India, the repercussions of the war on finances must necessarily be considerable. As I view the situation, we have succeeded in meeting our obligations resulting from war and famine boldly and cheerfully—and I venture to claim that the Government's policy, judged by its financial proposals during the past four years, has been pursued with the most jealous regard for the best interests of the province. In war, finance is a follower and not a maker of policy, and that is no less true of a state of famine. We have been confronted with both famine and war, but I am confident, our policy is bound to win approbation on the strictest scrutiny.

In my statement today I propose to adhere to my previous practice in focussing attention only on the outstanding facts of our provincial finance. Nor is detailed treatment by me necessary in view of the elaborate and lucid Explanatory Memorandum of the Finance Secretary to which the honourable members must turn for fuller information. My own effort must be by a simple and unencumbered survey to help honourable members in forming a definite and sure picture of our finances.

We are concerned today particularly with the accounts and estimates^s of three years—the year 1939-40 for which final accounts are now ready; the current year 1940-41 for which revised estimates are now available and the next financial year 1941-42 for which the budget is to be presented.

1939-40.

When the budget for the year was presented, an actual deficit of Rs. 29,47,000 was anticipated and I may remind the honourable members that the estimates contained a direct famine expenditure of no less than Rs. 37½ lakhs: the deficit thus was entirely due to this heavy provision for famine expenditure. As the year advanced the intensity of famine increased. The winter rains in 1938 had already failed and the monsoon in 1939 was in hopeless defect, nor were the winter rains at the close of the year and the early part of 1940 more favourable. It was apparent that famine expenditure would be much heavier than the original budget provision and as a fact the revised estimate of direct famine expenditure stood at the staggering figure of Rs. 74 lakhs. Much drastic reduction in expenditure had to be effected, and the deficit according to revised estimates was expected to rise only to Rs. 49·48 lakhs; but as the accounts for the year are now available, the revenue deficit stands only at Rs. 36 lakhs. One simple way of looking at the year is that while direct famine expenditure alone cost us over Rs. 74 lakhs, the actual deficit is only

Rs. 36 lakhs, and we must not forget that the additional cost of famine in special suspensions and remissions for the year amounts to Rs. 22 lakhs and *taccavi* advances in the famine districts amounted to no less than Rs. 30 lakhs.

As compared with the budget of the year, it is also to be remembered that large and important supplementary expenditure—and there was much other supplementary expenditure also—to the extent of about Rs. 27 lakhs was sanctioned during the year. In a word but for direct famine expenditure the year would have yielded a surplus of Rs. 38 lakhs after meeting supplementary expenditure and not taking into account special suspensions and remissions amounting to Rs. 22 lakhs due to famine. If we bear these suspensions and remissions also in view, the surplus would have stood at Rs. 60 lakhs.

During the year the Extraordinary Receipts amounted to Rs. 41,63,000 with further an item of adjustment in capital and revenue account of the magnitude of Rs. 10,81,000. If we take these into consideration even excluding supplementary estimates (Rs. 27 lakhs) and deterioration of revenue due to famine (Rs. 22 lakhs) the actual deficit of Rs. 36 lakhs is more than covered by our Extraordinary Receipts.

In spite of deterioration in our finances during the year due to famine, ranging over more than a crore and a quarter of rupees,—

			<i>In lakhs.</i>
(i) direct expenditure	..	..	74
(ii) remissions and suspensions	..	..	22
and (iii) <i>taccavi</i> in these districts	..	..	30
		Total	1,26

a larger actual expenditure on beneficent departments than even in 1938-39 which in itself had marked in spite of famine a considerable advance on the previous year is to be noted. (*Cheers.*)

This gratifying position could have been achieved only by the vigorous prosecution of the economy campaign initiated as soon as it was realized that even the direct expenditure on famine relief was likely to exceed heavily the budget estimate of Rs. 37 lakhs. It is enough to intimate that this economy meant the curtailment of expenditure by over Rs. 60 lakhs—a proof that, in spite of the narrow compass within which provincial finance in India lies, our finances in the Punjab are capable by prudent reduction in expenditure even in the short period of a single year to enable us to bear without breaking the strain of heavy and immense expenditure such as famine has necessitated. Such measures of economy, however, cannot continue indefinitely without impairing the efficiency of administration or without detriment to important essential services. Lost ground must be made good at the earliest date and I am happy to feel that in the proposals for the next year it has been possible to include steps to regain the old position (*hear, hear*). Care in the management of finances has enabled Government, at the very first sight of disappearing distress, to restore the normal condition, nay further to strengthen both essential service and beneficent activity.

[Minister for Finance]

1940-41.

As we approached the year, two years of extreme famine lay immediately behind and famine still threatened our economic life and therefore our finances for the third year. The estimates for the year revealed a revenue deficit of Rs. 28 lakhs, due entirely to famine for which provision was made in the budget for a direct expenditure of Rs. 32 lakhs. It was then anticipated that there would be a loss of revenue on additional suspensions and remissions to the extent of Rs. 11 lakhs, but this as also the special *taccavi* advances in the stricken areas were included in the estimates.

The revised figures now show that the budget estimate of a deficit of Rs. 28 lakhs has been converted into a surplus of Rs. 24 lakhs (*hear, hear*). This in itself is a happy enough position, an improvement beyond all reckoning. But I must point at once to a striking feature of the year's finance. In the year's expenditure are included three items of note beyond the original budget provision. These are :—

- (i) an addition to our Special Development Fund of Rs. 13 lakhs enabling the purpose of the Fund to be fully carried out as originally designed over a period of six years ;
- (ii) an additional provision of Rs. 14 lakhs under Police so that in these days of trouble and anxiety peace and order be firmly safeguarded in our province (*hear, hear*) ; and
- (iii) a small contribution of Rs. 5 lakhs to strengthen our Air Raid Precautions.

The revised estimates show an increase of Rs. 37 lakhs over the estimated expenditure in the budget. Of these 37 lakhs, Rs. 32 lakhs are due to the three items specified above. The balance is more than covered by the cost of raising the new loan amounting to no less than Rs. 11 lakhs. But in spite of this additional expenditure of Rs. 37 lakhs, as I have said, the deficit of Rs. 28 lakhs has disappeared, leaving in its place a surplus of Rs. 24 lakhs. This is due to an improvement in our revenue receipts of Rs. 89 lakhs. The original budget estimate of revenue receipts stood at Rs. 11,74 lakhs and the revised estimate now is Rs. 12,63 lakhs. The increases have taken place all along the line, but I need refer only to—

In lakhs.

(i) Land Revenue gross receipts	..	..	31
(ii) Irrigation Direct Receipts	..	..	22
(iii) Share of income-tax from the Government of India	..	..	9
(iv) Other Taxes and Duties (Petrol and Entertainment Duties)	..	..	3

There is also an increase of Rs. 10 lakhs under Forests, resulting from both increased demand for timber and better prices. The increase of Rs. 9 lakhs under Taxes on Income received from the Government of India call for special notice. This receipt began in the year 1938-39 with a sum of Rs. 12 lakhs. By an annual increase of roughly Rs. 10 lakhs

now it stands at Rs. 33,28,000. An improvement of Rs. 8 lakhs, resulted mainly from reduction in the working expenses under Irrigation. It is, however, to be noted that the income from Stamps which has been steadily declining has fallen from the budget estimate by no less a figure than Rs. 7 lakhs.

The improvement in the revenue position is striking enough, but we have been no less fortunate in the matter of Extraordinary Receipts. They were estimated at the high enough figure of Rs. 50 lakhs. The revised estimate now is Rs. 83 lakhs. The honourable members would note that it has not been necessary to bring into aid even a rupee of these Extraordinary Receipts towards meeting the exceptional expenditure caused by famine or war. The whole of these receipts are intact to improve our balances and meet capital expenditure for which we have large responsibilities (*hear, hear*). Our irrigation projects in hand can be carried forth to the whole of this extent without resort, at once difficult and undesirable, to the loan market.

It would be difficult to discover any year in the history of Punjab finance that shows so characteristically and unmistakably the essential soundness of our finances (*hear, hear*).

1941-42.

The budget estimate of revenue receipts is Rs. 12,60 lakhs, very nearly the same as the revised estimate for the current year, while the budget estimate of revenue expenditure is Rs. 12, 56 lakhs, 17 lakhs more than the current year, leaving a surplus of Rs. 4 lakhs. The revenue receipts constitute the big advance of Rs. 90 lakhs on the year 1939-40 for which complete accounts are now available. This advance is mainly due, as may be expected, to our principal sources of revenue. In brief the figures are :—

<i>In lakhs.</i>			
Land Revenue (gross)	..	..	58
Share of Income-tax under the Niemeyer Award	..	..	13
Other Taxes and Duties	..	..	13
Forests	..	..	5
Excise	..	..	2
Motor Vehicles Act	..	..	1

In Irrigation the increase in direct receipts, 5 lakhs, is more than offset by an increase in working expenses necessitated by the economies that had to be exercised during famine years. Other increases are of a formal character, for example under Beneficent Departments due to the sale of seeds and larger transfers from the Special Development Fund and in the Hydro-Electric Schemes which are more than offset by corresponding rise in working expenses. On the negative side, the main item is the fall by Rs. 6 lakhs under Stamps—a steadily declining source of revenue. It is not necessary to compare these receipts with the revised figures of 1940-41, the aggregate variation is small though individual items exhibit substantial divergence. On the revenue expenditure side, the year marks an advance of Rs. 17 lakhs on the revised estimates of the current year—the increase is chiefly under Beneficent Departments, and the main decrease is under Famine. Other variations are largely of a formal character, in this category I include also the fall in interest charges and reduction of debt.

[Minister for Finance].

EXPENDITURE ON BENEFICENT DEPARTMENTS.

Of strictly new expenditure, once again the major part has been allotted to the beneficent departments. It will be observed that it is proposed to spend Rs. 21 lakhs more under this head than during the current year. A complete view of the scope and measure of further beneficent activities proposed for the year can be had only from a study of the volume of New Expenditure. Here I can only attempt a rapid reference to some of the leading features. In the forefront stands education as before. This time provision has been made for higher education by raising two intermediate colleges at Rohtak and Hoshiarpur to the degree standard, but the scope of education generally continues to develop. Provision has been made for promoting literacy among adults and the Ministry's attention to the education of girls continues unabated. Three vernacular middle schools and one high school (at Okara) are to be opened and ten more primary schools are to be established. It will be remembered that in the previous two years as many as 260 new primary schools had been opened. As the number of girls receiving higher education increases, considerable additional staff is being provided. The grants-in-aid and scholarships for backward communities constitute a special feature of the year and the rural development programme makes intensive educational work in the villages particularly effective. The scheme involves among other benefits conversion of one school in each tahsil into a model school. Government has also decided to continue its assistance to a work of high scholarship connected with the Etymological Dictionary of the Vedic Language. Provision, though small, has also been made for some scholarships to enable the promising boys from the Tribal Area of the Dera Ghazi Khan District to receive higher education. Progress is to be recorded also under medical and public health. The scheme of subsidized dispensaries is to be expanded, while some of these dispensaries will be placed in charge of women doctors. A bold innovation is to be tried by the system of appointing part-time honorary medical officers in the Mayo Hospital at Lahore. Rural dispensaries are being strengthened in both equipment and staff and the medical attendance of women receives particular attention, the work of inspection so necessary in rural areas is to be made more effective. An X-ray plant is to be installed in connection with the Tuberculosis Institute at Lahore, while the staff of the Victoria Jubilee Hospital at Amritsar is to be strengthened. It is proposed also to open a separate hospital for women at Rajanpur in the Dera Ghazi Khan District. Under Public Health a sum of Rs. 8 lakhs is being made available for sanitary schemes, of which Rs. 2½ lakhs is intended for rural areas. The staff to combat hookworm disease in the province is being retained and the provision, though small, for combating the disease of goitre in the Kangra district deserves notice. The Public Health School at Lahore is being retained for a further period of three years. There is also a grant for the extension of Maternity and Child Welfare Work. Two significant items under Public Health are to be remembered: (i) the grant towards the Simla Improvement of Rs. 1½ lakhs, and (ii) the provision of a sum of about three-quarters lakh in connection with the Solar Eclipse Fair at Thanesar during the year 1941.

The allotment from the Special Development Fund will go in the main towards improving drinking water supply in 216 villages. Once again there is a special provision of Rs. 10,000 for wells for the scheduled castes (*hear, hear*). It is also proposed to undertake the construction of suitable drains in 270 villages, that is roughly in ten villages in each of the 27 tahsils selected, and Rs. 37,800 have been provided for this purpose.

Under Agriculture, where the department has so many high and notable achievements to its credit, the good work proceeds with increasing energy. Further attention is to be concentrated on the control of pests and diseases that affect field and garden and a provision of far reaching benefit is to be made by the scheme for the distribution of pure blight resistant gram seed on an extensive scale (*hear, hear*). It is proposed also to establish at Gurdaspur a wheat breeding station for humid areas. The Punjab Marketing Scheme is to be retained, and work is to be continued in connection with the advanced course in fruit preservation at the Punjab Agricultural College at Lyallpur and the bee-keeping schemes at Kulu and Nagrota. The helpful work of demonstration and propaganda is to be brought home to the villages with undiminishing intensity. Under Veterinary four new hospitals are to be opened and provision has been made for establishing a research station for the Lohani breed of cattle in the Kangra District. Other schemes will be financed from the Special Development Fund where a provision of over Rs. 60,000 exists for the purpose. The beneficent activity of the Co-operative Department is to be helped by a provision of additional funds for the consolidation of holdings (the additional grant for the year is about Rs. 1½ lakhs) and for the improvement and starting of Better Living Societies. Hitherto the scheme for co-operative education and training was financed by the Government of India, the responsibility will now rest on provincial revenues. With the assistance from the Special Development Fund in these two most desirable directions alone the department will receive a total allotment of about Rs. 3½ lakhs. Money from the Special Development Fund will be available also for other activities of the department, e.g., Cho Reclamation and the Employment and Training of Lady Welfare Workers.

There is a provision of new expenditure to the extent of Rs. 2½ lakhs under Industries. The industrial survey has to be continued as also arrangements for the metallurgical Laboratory. An industrial school for girls will be opened at Multan, and the staff of the existing schools is to be strengthened. A beginning is to be made for the training of women in domestic handicrafts and it is proposed to reorganize the Government Tanning Institute at Jullundur at a cost of nearly half a lakh. Assistance is being provided to the work of industrial research along many directions: training in pottery is to be reinforced and efforts are to be made to improve various other small industries. A commercial section in connection with the Marketing Organization at Amritsar is to be added at a cost of half a lakh of rupees and a provision has been made for grants for development and encouragement of handicrafts and cottage industries by individual enterprises on small scale. A provision has also been made for the usual assistance under the Punjab State Aid to Industries Act, 1935.

[Minister for Finance].

OTHER NEW EXPENDITURE.

A department for reclaiming areas affected by *Thur* is to be formed at a cost of Rs. one lakh and temporary establishments for the Nili Bar and lower Bari Doab Colonies are to be continued at a cost of over 1½ lakhs of rupees per year. Several of our roads are to be improved and reconditioned and a boat bridge is to be built over the Chenab at Garh Maharaja near Shorkot. Training classes and courses for members of panchayats are to be organised.

A further noticeable item is of a lakh of rupees for the promotion of communal harmony in the province (*hear, hear*). All these items may be regarded as of direct beneficence, though they do not strictly fall under the head of the Beneficent Departments.

A provision of nearly one lakh of rupees has been made for the next general elections and of a lakh and a half for war publicity. In a period when owing to war unsettled conditions may arise at any moment and have to be watched with the utmost vigilance, adequacy of the police force is obviously of the utmost importance and additional police is being continued with increased strength. As compared with the budget for 1940-41 this represents an increase of Rs. 14 lakhs, but as compared with the revised estimate there is no further increase, as during the current year provision has had to be made through supplementary demands for necessary addition in police strength. It is proposed in selected districts to study up-to-date methods of investigation for burglary and murder cases and this is expected to cost Rs. 1½ lakhs.

FAMINE.

In previous years a fairly accurate picture of the effect of famine on provincial finance was given in the form of a brief conspectus. Now that we are within fair sight of the famine coming to an end, it would be an advantage to summarise the position for four years since 1938 when famine appeared.

Source.	IN THOUSANDS OF RUPEES.				Total.
	Accounts, 1938-39.	Accounts, 1939-40.	Revised, 1940-41.	Budget, 1941-42.	
Direct expenditure on famine relief, including expenditure through other departments	35,27	73,63	29,49	9,00	1,47,39
Remissions and Suspensions ..	31,00	22,00	8,00	..	61,00
Total ..	66,27	95,63	37,49	9,00	2,08,39
<i>Taccavi</i> loans in famine districts ..	20,00	30,00	13,50	4,00	67,50
Total including <i>Taccavi</i> Loans ..	86,27	1,25,63	50,99	13,00	2,75,89 (<i>Hear, hear.</i>)

The total for the four years taken together amounts to Rs. 2,75,89,000. The *taccavi* loans should be regarded as the cost of famine for obvious reasons. Already for the next year a sum of Rs. 18 lakhs is proposed to be written off out of these loans and it will be readily seen that the prospect of realizing these advances to cultivators in districts that have been severely hit by conditions of scarcity over a period of three years must be extremely small and remote. The famine in a word represents an immediate loss and directly attributable expenditure of Rs. 2 crores and 76 lakhs—a stupendous figure considering our limited finances, and who can calculate the indirect effect of such a long continued period of scarcity and distress on our finances? Through such intense trial we have come through, I cannot say, unscathed, because for many years we must bear the heavy marks of suffering and struggle, but we have come through, I trust, sound of wind and limb determined courageously to help forward the car, perhaps I should say the chariot, of our dear province's progress (*hear, hear*). Lest we indulge in undue optimism and put aside caution, we have to remember that even today we are not entirely freed from anxiety. During 1940, the average number of persons on relief was over 200,000 a day after the rains in August it stood at 150,000, and it was only in September that relief works could be closed down gradually. It is, however, still necessary to give gratuitous relief to the needy, and medical and general health arrangements on a substantial scale have to continue; and it has been found necessary to make a provision of Rs. 8½ lakhs in the budget.

LAND REVENUE SUSPENSIONS AND REMISSIONS.

Last year I collected the figures under this head for three years since 1937 when the present Ministry came into power with the figures of three years immediately preceding Provincial Autonomy. The figures presented a significant comparison. It was pointed out how strikingly liberal had been the scale of suspensions and remissions under the present Government. Taking the figures for land revenue and water rate suspensions and remissions for five years since 1937 the aggregate comes to Rs. seven crores (*hear, hear*).

Years.		Land revenue suspensions and remissions.	Water rate.	Total.
		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1937-38	.. ..	97,17,000	40,44,027	1,37,61,027
1938-39	.. ..	1,18,23,000	26,49,651	1,44,72,651
1939-40	.. ..	1,51,80,000	22,51,100	1,74,31,100
1940-41	.. ..	86,07,000	19,96,151	1,06,03,151
1941-42	.. ..	1,15,03,000	20,75,313	1,35,78,313
Total	.. ..	5,68,30,000	1,30,16,242	6,98,46,242

[Minister for Finance].

The aggregate of five years from 1932 to 1937 was as below :—

	Rs.
Land Revenue Suspensions and Remissions ..	3,23,52,000
Water rate	1,04,35,000
Total ..	4,27,87,000

I ventured to observe last year that these remissions marked a record in the history of our land revenue administration (*hear, hear*). The figures for two more years now added furnish further proof, if any were needed, of the unprecedentedly liberal character of the Government's policy in this essential respect. Such a policy of affording relief in an unstinted measure wherever any hardship or distress may exist must secure the willing commendation of the most uncompromising advocates of rural classes in an agricultural province. Its successful adoption and whole-hearted pursuit must constitute an abiding claim of this Government to be ranked as the true servants and ministers of the province (*hear, hear*).

HYDRO-ELECTRIC SCHEME.

In previous years I had referred to the financial working of the Hydro-Electric Scheme with much concern and I had expressed, though not without hesitation, the hope that the gap between the interest on capital outlay and net revenue after making allowance for depreciation may rapidly diminish and may be expected even to disappear within a measurable period. I speak today with my anxiety not much relieved about the financial results of the scheme. The construction of the scheme came to an end early in 1936 and according to original estimates it was anticipated that in the tenth year the scheme would yield a substantial net return then calculated at 5.75 per cent. The accounts for 1938-39 show that the interest charges exceed the net returns by about Rs. 9.85 lakhs, the disparity in 1939-40 was 16.45 lakhs. In the budget estimate for the current year it was expected that the deficiency would be still over Rs. 16 lakhs, but the revised estimates reveal a much more unsatisfactory position. While the interest charges stand at Rs. 27,66,000, the net return has fallen to Rs. 5,51,000 as a result of drop in gross receipts, and increase in all directions of expenditure. The disparity has increased to over Rs. 22 lakhs. The budget estimate for 1941-42 shows that the difference between interests charges and the net revenue would be Rs. 17½ lakhs. The position in the current year has been particularly unsatisfactory because while the gross receipts have fallen, the establishment charges have increased. On the present working it may be said that on an average the net income of the scheme falls short of interest charges by Rs. 17 lakhs and even if we were to ignore the amount appropriated for depreciation, and that would not be justifiable business accounting, the gap will remain at about Rs. 6 lakhs. I see at present no prospect of the gap being substantially bridged over, much less the interest charges being completely met from that income, not to speak of there being a net return on the whole working

of the scheme. The most outstanding factor which leads to this unhappy position is that while the original scheme contemplated a generating capacity of 36,000 K. Ws., it is now realized that the output of power will not exceed 16,500 K. Ws. at a daily load factor of 73 per cent. This falsifies all previous financial forecast. The large reduction in the available energy now estimated is due to low discharge in the river Uhl during winter months; this is a matter beyond our control, though original estimates should probably have foreseen this situation. Apart from this paramount factor, the most important circumstance that affects our net receipts is the expenditure on establishment. When a large part of establishment charges becomes debitable to capital account, the revenue account would have to bear only a part of this burden. The annual variation in establishment charges is mainly due to this fact. It appears that when the position is finally stabilized after the full expansion of the scheme, the burden of establishment charges in revenue account may not make itself felt in the same measure as at present. The full development of the scheme now rests mainly on the provision of such thermal units as would make the supply of energy during winter months adequate. But for the time it would be difficult to establish the necessary thermal plants because of the conditions created by the war as regards import of machinery. In the meantime these essential facts are being borne in view and the necessity of keeping down expenditure has been enjoined on the department.

As compared with the revised estimate of the current year capital outlay on electricity scheme shows an increase of Rs. 12 lakhs and among the new projects to be thus financed are Khangah Dogran, Lahore South Rural and Jandiala Guru.

EXTRAORDINARY RECEIPTS.

A noticeable feature of our estimates is the item of Extraordinary Receipts exhibited outside our ordinary revenue receipts. Taking the three years immediately under our consideration, it will be noticed that last year these Extraordinary Receipts amounted to the very considerable figure of Rs. 41,68,000. During the current year while the budget estimate under this head was Rs. 49,70,000, it is now estimated that these receipts will amount to no less a figure than Rs. 82,51,000 due to a number of very favourable circumstances. For the year 1941-42 the budget estimate stands at Rs. 68,09,000. The aggregate for the three years stands at Rs. 1,92,23,000. While our estimates are so framed that Extraordinary Receipts are not taken into account for meeting ordinary revenue expenditure, they are legitimately a source from which extraordinary expenditure can be met. Last year I dealt at some length on the way in which our revenue deficit caused by severe and prolonged famine in south-eastern Punjab, where Government pursued a very liberal policy of famine relief and of suspensions and remissions, could be regarded as having been legitimately met from Extraordinary Receipts. These Extraordinary Receipts have, however, in the main gone to the building up of our big capital works. In the Finance Accounts for 1938-39 presented by me to the House a short while ago it will be found that the total of our capital outlay to the end of the year 1938-39 stood at Rs. 41,83 lakhs. This figure

[Minister for Finance].

is composed mainly of expenditure on the construction of our Irrigation works and the Hydro-Electric Scheme. As against this capital asset of the province, the net debt on the 31st March, 1939, stood at Rs. 33.24 lakhs. In other words, the province was able to undertake capital outlay to the extent of Rs. 8.60 lakhs without borrowing. This was possible in the main because of these Extraordinary Receipts. The latest figures show that this favourable position continues. Technically the Extraordinary Receipts go into our general balance, but in actual effect they have been employed to meet capital expenditure obviating to that extent the necessity of borrowing in the execution of our Irrigation and Hydro-Electric Schemes. This is a procedure that has lent special strength to the finances of the province, this has been strikingly exemplified during the past four years: the three years of famine with all the strain of a direct expenditure of Rs. 1½ crores, caused no unmanageable dislocation, much less any breakdown, and it has been possible to execute Haveli and other projects to the extent of Rs. 32 lakhs without borrowing. Our strength in this direction is on the increase. This strength represents in a peculiar degree our capacity to undertake expensive works of a permanent value, thereby not only adding to our normal revenues, but affording protection against the danger of natural calamity. If borrowing would anyhow justify an undertaking, it is obvious that where a steady flow of Extraordinary Receipts is likely to be made ampler by an Irrigation project, the scheme acquires a particular attraction.

Here perhaps I should point out in connection with our debt position that during the past four years loans amounting to Rs. 6.30 lakhs were raised by Government while the debt of the province increased only by Rs. 4.49 lakhs during the period. This gratifying situation is due to the rigour with which the Sinking and Depreciation Funds have been duly applied to the cancellation of existing debts and the consolidated debt due to the Government of India is being steadily repaid, in one word due to a vigilant and wise conservation of our resources (*heer, hear*).

PUBLIC ACCOUNTS COMMITTEE.

It was for the second time that the Finance Accounts of the Punjab Government fell within the purview of the Public Accounts Committee. We are not directly concerned today with the year 1938-39 for which final accounts were presented last year, but it is gratifying to note that the Committee referring to the first year of famine expressed itself in these terms:—

“The ways and means position, month by month, shows how well the provincial finances stood the heavy strain of the famine. More than adequate balance was maintained throughout the year. There was no recourse either to Ways and Means Advances, or to Treasury Bills”.

The Committee also described the debt position of the province as particularly sound and remarked that “it is a very pleasing feature of the sound financial policy of the province that while new debt is being incurred, arrangements are also made to cancel systematically a part of the previous

debt." and while recording their entire satisfaction with the Finance Accounts for the year 1938-39 added "in spite of heavy expenditure on famine relief, the general financial position of the province remained very sound, and we consider that it has been handled in a very capable manner" (*hear, hear*).

IRRIGATION PROJECTS.

Of these projects I have spoken at considerable length in previous years. The story of progress has been continuous and uninterrupted. The Haveli canals are steadily developing, bringing much relief to the peasant in the Nili Bar Colony and providing the blessings of irrigation to three of our districts that are not favoured much by the monsoon. The project is already the source of increased provincial revenue.

THE THAL PROJECT.

In circumstances explained last year and well known to honourable members, the work of construction, though started in spite of war, has to proceed slowly. The programme has had to be substantially revised; instead of an expenditure of Rs. 2.96 lakhs in the two years 1940 to 1942 it has been found necessary to reduce it to Rs. 1.15 lakhs. The construction of the main canal, as also of branches, has had to be suspended; but the construction of the headworks at Kalabagh will be carried out in such wise as to involve no injury to economy. Steps have also been taken to guard us against any rise of price in the matter of the iron and steel requirements of the scheme. The very necessary work of soil survey is to continue; and experiments in connection with the determination of absorption losses in watercourses and other important problems are also in full operation. Delay in the completion of the project is inevitable, no exact forecast can be attempted, but a firm beginning has been made, and economy itself now demands that delay should be reduced to the utmost possible extent (*hear, hear*).

THE BHAKRA DAM.

The anxiety of the Government in affording relief to the parched districts of Hissar and Rohtak continues undiminished, but it cannot be concealed that the scheme, so designated, has to some extent receded once again into the background. The general position is as I expressed last year: "The main problem and the associated questions are under attack from all possible sides. The project is expensive and finance at present is not easy". The House would no doubt wish to know that investigations for the construction of this project are in full operation. The High Dam circle has been continuously working since October, 1939, and is expected to conclude its activities by the end of October this year. As now planned, the scheme would lie within a more limited and manageable financial compass. It is also encouraging that much preliminary work of essential character has been done, for example, the most suitable alignments at site have been largely determined and flood investigation for drainage

[Minister for Finance].

crossings substantially advanced; also many scientific questions involved in the scheme have been satisfactorily examined. But with all this, I cannot say today when actual construction can commence.

In the meantime, the Western Jumna Canal Extension Scheme which is intended to provide relief to the very districts that the Bhakra Dam would eventually serve, has been fully launched. In the current year the estimated expenditure is Rs. 19 lakhs, and the budget provision for the next year is Rs. 29 lakhs. There is to be no curtailment of programme and by next summer, limited supplies of water would be forthcoming. It will be remembered that the scheme designed for the present to supply water only for *kharif* will be converted later into a source of perennial irrigation.

FIVE YEARS.

I venture now to attempt a rapid reference to the four years during which the present Government has functioned — complete accounts are available for three of these, and revised figures for the fourth—, and peer into the fifth year on which we are about to enter and for which budget estimates are to be presented today. On the financial side we can apply several tests to determine our financial position and I propose to offer a few salient facts. Over the whole period of five years we have had surpluses in three years aggregating Rs. 61 lakhs and deficits during the two years of intense famine aggregating Rs. 81 lakhs indicating a net deficit of only Rs. 20 lakhs. As against this, we have to remember that in the year 1938-39 we placed as large a sum as Rs. 55 lakhs in the Special Development Fund and during the current year again a sum of Rs. 13 lakhs has been added to the Fund. In other words, apart from this Fund, our normal revenue accounts, in spite of famine, would have shown a surplus of Rs. 48 lakhs. Another way of judging our financial position would be to compare our net deficit of Rs. 20 lakhs over the whole period of five years with our famine expenditure. As I have previously pointed out, direct famine expenditure alone from 1938 amounts to Rs. 1,47,89,000. During the period, our finances were able not only to bear the strain of heavy and liberal suspensions and remissions amounting to Rs. 61 lakhs, but were able to meet the direct expenditure of Rs. 1,47,89,000 on famine as against a net deficit of only Rs. 20 lakhs: if normal conditions had obtained we would have had over Rs. 2 crores more in our exchequer to expend on beneficent nation-building activity. That is the measure of the frustration of our many dreams for the rise and the uplift of the Punjab. Our consolation is that means were given us to relieve misery and suffering, and the province's solemn endeavour to render help in affliction and distress was crowned with success (*hear, hear*).

And yet a third test is the measure by which our debt falls below our capital assets. To this I have referred already. I need here only say that this is an element of abiding strength in the province's financial position. Test it how you may the five years of this Government, including the year, for which only financial proposals are being made today, show not only a brave and resolute policy of resisting misery and starvation entailed by

famine, but also of carrying further the work of building better, ampler and healthier life, and to that end of studying and executing plans of subduing nature.

Another approach to our review is to consider the direction of policy during this period. I can only refer to the outstanding features: (i) In the forefront stands steady increase in beneficent expenditure. This expenditure has steadily risen from Rs. 3,08 lakhs in 1937-38 to Rs. 3,59 lakhs in 1941-42, i.e., a rise of Rs. 51 lakhs in spite of the heavy burden of famine and now of both famine and war; (ii) another direction in which policy is clearly marked and would be duly appreciated is the determination on the part of this Government to see that law and order are duly preserved (*hear, hear*). The utmost effort has been made to control crime and suppress disturbance. Of this the material evidence with which we are concerned today is the fact that expenditure under the head Police has advanced during the five years by Rs. 19½ lakhs; (iii) the third direction in which policy stands most marked is the close attention which this Government has given to plans of building up permanently provincial wealth. This is strikingly marked by the way in which irrigation projects have been completed and are today under way.

All this manifold programme of beneficent activity and building up strength has been possible because of, among other reasons, a genuine strengthening of our revenue resources. The main items in this permanent addition to our resources are:—

In thousands.

(a) Receipts from the Government of India under the Niemeyer Award now standing for 1941-42 at	85,68
(b) Receipts under Motor Vehicles Taxation Act recording an increase of	6,00
(c) Other Taxes and Duties now recording a substantial figure of	24,78

(Of these, the new Petrol Duty is responsible for Rs. 9 lakhs, and the estimate of the two new Taxes recently imposed during the budget year is Rs. 10 lakhs. The Entertainment Duty brings in Rs. 4,64 lakhs and Tobacco Duty a little over a lakh.)

These three items represent an aggregate improvement of Rs. 66,46 lakhs in our revenue. On the other hand, it has to be remembered that the receipts under Stamps now steadily on the decline have during the last five years gone down by Rs. 22 lakhs. But as against this and other small adverse factors, the development of colonies proceeds with natural vigour and expanding irrigation works can be relied upon to bring increasing revenues.

Today as I have attempted a short survey of some salient aspects of our finance, I visualise that conservation of resources and building up wisely strength for the future are the two leading features of success that

[Minister for Finance].

stand out—so these we must adhere : we must bind them like shields about our necks, we must write them on the tables of our hearts. If policy is any index of the philosophy with which statesmen should be endowed, the veil before our eyes is easily pierced and we may discern in the present the emerging pattern of the future—a wholly gladdening prospect.

Three years of trial have we suffered—we have passed through a period of sore travail. Now once again the face of prosperity shines upon us as through a cloud. We began with abundance in 1937, though not without tokens of trouble at first, and we were able to set our foot on the path of service and adventure. A large Special Development Fund was created to make real the work of rural uplift—to that fund we have been privileged to add today in the third year of famine. May we not hope for more vigorous life to the province from this purpose and endeavour ? And the Assembly in its prudence has resolved to take bold steps towards the founding of industries so that our economic life may rest on secure and unshakable foundations and the path of progress may suffer no obstruction.

Sir, a great statesman defined on a memorable occasion in words of rare aptness the ideal function of a member of Parliament. He said: "I wish to be a member of Parliament to have my share of doing good and resisting evil". Unsurpassable words are these in the majesty of their simple eloquence. I trust these words enshrine the ideal that most of us, nay all of us, have followed in the course of our membership here. We have been set in a place where great and laudable designs have unfolded themselves, and plans for the strength and the advance of the province studied and executed. We have been confronted with the grave duty of facing bold problems of the relief of human misery and distress on an unprecedented scale in our history. As we look back and watch our doings of today, who is not conscious of some share in the great and worthy and noble enterprise of serving the Punjab ? If the verdict be that this service has been performed, nay even sincerely attempted, by this Government, I can shut the book and need look no further, for that is enough for my measure. (*Hear, hear.*)

I must now express my appreciation of the work of the officers and the staff of the Finance Department. The House could not have failed to judge for itself by now how efficiently and competently that work is being performed. It would be readily agreed that the staff prepares a most careful and accurate statement of the accounts and the Secretary's Memorandum is a document of great lucidity which makes complicated financial situations intelligible to us all. I must be permitted to state that more than the mere shape of accounts and the helpfulness of explanations, it is due to a large extent to their strict vigilance that our finances bear the gratifying aspect that they do today. This has been of the highest value considering the very anxious times through which we have been passing. The personnel of the Department has remained unchanged for another year and this has been of the utmost relief and help to me. Mr. H. D. Bhanot, our very popular Finance Secretary (*cheers*), has surpassed himself in the energy with which he has guarded the best traditions of exchequer control. He represents the very embodiment and genius of the Finance

Department—an ever-smiling face, but a stern-minded resolve not to countenance demands to which any exception can possibly be taken (*cheers*). I have no doubt that while his suave manner, his close application to details and his unsparing work would win him success in any sphere of activity, he is specially marked out as a brilliant associate in the Ministry of Finance (*hear, hear*).

The two principal assistants of the Financial Secretary have during the current year added to their remarkable record of efficient work. On their advice I have learnt to rely unhesitatingly. It was a matter of particular pleasure to me that Mr. H. J. Pearson, the Deputy Secretary, was the recipient of an honour in the New Year's List (*hear, hear*). Mr. Pearson's scrutiny of Public Works proposals is of direct pecuniary gain, and as I have said on previous occasions Rai Sahib Lala Lal Chand's knowledge of procedural detail and apt precedent has always been of great advantage (*hear, hear*).

I wish once again to record my indebtedness to our Superintendents and Assistants. To their thorough examination of all relevant facts, I can bear personal testimony. The success of the Department is due in no small degree to their zealous co-operation, high sense of duty and perseverance in work. (*Hear, hear.*)

I must also record the Government's tribute to the assistance received from the Accountants-General, who have presided over our accounts during the year. During the year, there has been one change in this office but the welcome rigour of auditorial scrutiny continues unabated and I am particularly thankful to our present Accountant-General, Mr. P. K. Wattal, for the very valuable assistance he gave to the Public Accounts Committee (*hear, hear*).

Sir Ernest Burdon, the Auditor-General for India, was always willing to help us by his authoritative advice. I am sure, Sir Cameron Badenoch, who has taken his place, would also keep his beneficent eye on us.

Sir, I beg to present to the Assembly the Budget for the year 1941-42 (*loud applause*).

The Assembly then adjourned till 12 noon on Monday, 3rd March, 1941.

PUNJAB LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.
SEVENTH SESSION OF THE FIRST PUNJAB LEGISLATIVE
ASSEMBLY.

Monday, 3rd March, 1941.

The Assembly met in the Assembly Chamber at 12 noon of the clock.

ABSENCE OF MR. SPEAKER.

Secretary : I have to acquaint the House of the unavoidable absence of Mr. Speaker. As honourable members know he received injuries in a motor car accident two days ago. The House will be glad to know that the injuries were minor and that he is improving satisfactorily.

At this stage Mr. Deputy Speaker occupied the Chair.

Premier : We are extremely sorry to hear that the honourable Speaker was involved in a motor car accident and we are glad to learn that he is making satisfactory progress. We wish him complete and speedy recovery.

Sardar Sahib Sardar Santokh Singh : Sir, I associate myself with what the Premier has said with regard to the motor accident in which the honourable Speaker was involved and we all wish him very speedy recovery.

Mian Muhammad Nurullah : We all associate in that.

STARRED QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

VISIT OF MINISTERS TO MIANWALI DISTRICT.

***7571. Khan Sahib Khawaja Ghulam Samad :** Will the Honourable Premier be pleased to state—

- (a) whether any of the Ministers has visited Mianwali district since April, 1937; if so, the names of the Ministers who visited Mianwali district during this period and the places in that district which each of them visited respectively;
- (b) whether any meetings were held in that district by the Ministers who visited this district; if so, the places where such meetings were held?

The Honourable Major Sir Sikander Hyat-Khan : (a) and (b).
No.

MODEL FARMS IN AMBALA DIVISION.

***7554. Khan Sahib Khawaja Ghulam Samad :** Will the Honourable Minister of Development be pleased to state, district-wise, in Ambala division the names of towns and villages where model agricultural farms are located?

Parliamentary Secretary (Chaudhri Tikka Ram): Below is given a list of the names and addresses of Model Farms in Ambala division :—

- (1) Bhagwan Farm, Bahadurgarh (Rohtak).
- (2) Chaudhri Sri Chand Farm, Sonapat (Rohtak).
- (3) Rashid Farm, Pundri (Karnal).
- (4) Bir Roharian Farm, Kaithal (Karnal).
- (5) Ingras Skinner Estate, Tappa (Gurgaon).
- (6) Budh Singh Model Farm, Palwal (Gurgaon).
- (7) Pingrapole Farm, Chhesa (Gurgaon).
- (8) Sikandarpura Estate near Sirsa (Hissar).

HOUSES SEARCHED IN PROVINCE FOR OBJECTIONABLE LITERATURE.

***7193. Pandit Shri Ram Sharma :** Will the Honourable Premier be pleased to state—

- (a) the number of houses raided by the police per month during this year and district-wise in search of objectionable literature ;
- (b) the number of cases in which nothing objectionable was found and the list of objectionable papers seized by the police ?

The Honourable Major Sir Sikander Hyat-Khan : It is not in the public interest to answer this question.

WORKING OF THE ROHTAK MUNICIPAL COMMITTEE.

***7198. Pandit Shri Ram Sharma :** Will the Honourable Minister for Public Works be pleased to state—

- (a) whether he is aware of the fact that the Municipal Committee, Rohtak, has taken no action whatsoever in the matter of retrenching and reducing its expenditure in the light of the remarks in inspection note, dated 3rd February, 1940, by the Divisional Inspector of local bodies and the suggestions of the Deputy Commissioner in letter No. 418-L. F., dated 11th May, 1940, and also of the Commissioner ;
- (b) if so, the action Government proposes to take in the matter ?

Parliamentary Secretary (Shaikh Faiz Muhammad): (a) The Committee has taken action in the matter.

(b) Does not arise.

UNLICENSED FIRE-ARMS RECOVERED BY POLICE IN SARGODHA.

***7199. Pandit Shri Ram Sharma :** Will the Honourable Minister for Public Works be pleased to state—

- (a) whether it is a fact that a large number of unlicensed fire-arms were recovered by the police in the district of Sargodha during the last six months ;
- (b) the number of unlicensed arms so recovered and the number of those surrendered voluntarily by the people as also the number of such people ;

- (c) the special steps Government propose to take to seize unlicensed arms in other districts of the province?

Parliamentary Secretary (Sardar Bahadur Sardar Ujjal Singh):

(a) Yes.

(b) 8 revolvers, 10 pistols and 8 rifles were recovered from 14 persons. 5 revolvers, 48 pistols and 22 rifles were surrendered voluntarily. No record of the persons surrendering arms voluntarily is kept.

(c) The matter is receiving special attention. A separate staff of the Criminal Investigation Department has been appointed and large recoveries from several districts have already been made.

POSTPONEMENT OF ELECTIONS OF THE DISTRICT BOARDS AND MUNICIPAL COMMITTEES.

***7567. Khan Sahib Khawaja Ghulam Samad:** Will the Honourable Minister of Public Works be pleased to state—

(a) whether it is a fact that the District Board and Municipal Committee elections have been postponed throughout the whole province; if so, up to what period;

(b) if not, the names of the districts and municipal committees where elections will be held in 1941?

Parliamentary Secretary (Shaikh Faiz Muhammad): (a) and (b). General elections of all local bodies falling due up to the 30th June, 1941, have been postponed for one year with effect from the date on which they would have been held in the normal course or in consequence of the previous orders of postponements. The question of the postponement or otherwise of elections which fall due after the 30th June, 1941, is under consideration.

SIKH PROCESSIONISTS OF SARGODHA.

***7584. Sardar Lal Singh:** Will the Honourable Premier be pleased to state whether in the matter of the route to be followed by Sikh processionists of Sargodha on the next birthday celebrations of Guru Gobind Singh, the Government intends to depart from the practice hitherto followed; if so, the reasons therefor?

Parliamentary Secretary (Sardar Bahadur Sardar Ujjal Singh): Part (i).—No: unless the immediate interests of the public peace necessitate some temporary modification.

Part (ii).—Does not arise.

NUMBER OF MURDERS COMMITTED BY THE ODS.

***7585. Sardar Lal Singh:** Will the Honourable Minister of Public Works be pleased to state—

(a) whether it is a fact that in the districts of Karnal, Rohtak, Hissar, Gurgaon and neighbouring districts in the South-East Punjab, a number of murders were committed by the Ods in January last; if so, the exact number of such murders with other details connected with these murders;

[S. Lal Singh]

(b) whether it is a fact that the Ods were armed with fire-arms; if so, whether they had licences to possess these fire-arms;

(c) whether the culprits have since been traced and arrested and challaned; if not, what special steps have been taken to bring these culprits to book?

Parliamentary Secretary (Sardar Bahadur Sardar Ujjal Singh):

(a) No. Only one case occurred in village Masudpur, Police Station Hansi, District Hissar, on 13th January, 1941, in which two villagers were murdered and five injured in a fight between 8 members of a gang of Ods and some Jats and other residents of the village. The fight arose because the party of Ods objected to their flock being impounded for grazing.

(b) No.

(c) The case is under investigation. Eight persons alleged to be concerned have been named and efforts are being made to round them up.

ACQUISITION OF LAND FOR WESTERN JUMNA CANAL AND SIRHIND CANAL.

***7576. Khan Sahib Khawaja Ghulam Samad:** Will the Honourable Minister of Revenue be pleased to state the area of land in bighas in Ambala district acquired by the Government on payment of compensation in cash or kind for Western Jumna Canal and also for Sirhind Canal and also the area of land in that district in bighas that is being irrigated by these canals?

Parliamentary Secretary (Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan): The required information is given below:—

Name of Canal.	Area of land in Ambala District acquired by Government in bighas.	Average irrigation done during the past 5 years in bighas.
Western Jumna Canal ..	12,106	16,507
Sirhind Canal ..	22,819	<i>Nil.</i>
Total ..	34,925	16,507

Khan Sahib Khawaja Ghulam Samad: Will the Parliamentary Secretary please state whether Government have ever considered whether when such a large area of land such as 35,000 bighas have been acquired for the said canals, and only a few bighas of land are irrigated by them in the Ambala district, they should take steps to extend the irrigated area of Ambala district?

Parliamentary Secretary: I cannot make out whether it is an expression of opinion or a supplementary question.

Khan Sahib Khawaja Ghulam Samad : Sir, I shall put the question again. May I know whether Government has ever contemplated to further compensate the residents of Ambala District whose large area of land was acquired by the Government for the Sirhind Canal and the Western Jumna Canal on payment of nominal price by increasing the irrigated area of that district also, as at present only 16,506 bighas of land are irrigated there by these canals?

Mr. Deputy Speaker : Order, order. The supplementary question has already been put by the honourable member.

Khan Sahib Khawaja Ghulam Samad : I want a reply.

Mr. Deputy Speaker : You are making a speech.

Khan Sahib Khawaja Ghulam Samad : I am only explaining my question.

Mr. Deputy Speaker : The question has already been put and it is for the Parliamentary Secretary to reply or not.

Parliamentary Secretary : For the average irrigation done in the last five years in the Ambala district the figure is 16,507 bighas.

HANDCUFFING OF LALA SANT RAM SETH.

***7582. Sardar Sahib Sardar Santokh Singh :** Will the Honourable Minister of Finance be pleased to state whether Lala Sant Ram Seth, a member of this House, was handcuffed recently when being taken from the Amritsar police thana to the court and therefrom to the jail, and, if so, why and under what circumstances?

The Honourable Sir Manohar Lal : I regret that answer to this question is not yet ready.

ARREST OF MASTER PURANANAND.

***7583. Sardar Sahib Sardar Santokh Singh :** Will the Honourable Minister of Finance be pleased to state—

(a) whether Master Purananand, a very respectable Congressman of Amritsar, who recently courted arrest, was handcuffed when being taken from Amritsar to Ferozepore;

(b) whether bars were also put on his legs; if so, why and under what circumstances?

The Honourable Sir Manohar Lal : (a) Yes.

(b) Yes; in conformity with paragraph 757 of the Punjab Jail Manual.

SILENCE ORDER PASSED BY THE ADMINISTRATOR, LAHORE MUNICIPALITY.

***7200. Pandit Shri Ram Sharma :** Will the Honourable Minister for Public Works be pleased to state—

(a) the dates on which the 'silence order' was passed by the Administrator, Lahore Municipality, and enforced in the city;

(b) whether such order has been enforced in any other city or town of the Punjab;

[Pandit Shri Ram Sharma.]

(c) whether this order received sanction of the Government before being enforced?

Parliamentary Secretary (Shaikh Faiz Muhammad): (a) The honourable member is presumably referring to the order passed by the Administrator under section 184 of the Punjab Municipal Act on the 22nd July, 1940, copies of which were supplied to the press on the 30th July, 1940.

(b) Government have no information.

(c) Sanction of Government was not required.

STOPPAGE OF LAHORE ALLOWANCE TO OFFICIALS OF THE HIGH COURT, LAHORE.

***7581. Chaudhri Sumer Singh:** With reference to the answer to starred question No. 736¹, put on 10th December, 1940, will the Honourable Minister of Finance be pleased to state whether it is a fact that all the officials of the High Court drawing less than Rs. 100 per mensem, as salary and not in occupation of Government quarters, were compelled to apply for allotment of Government quarters in Chauburji Estate in December, 1939, and that in consequence thereof some of them had to lose their local allowance on withdrawing their applications made under compulsion in December, 1939, before any quarters were allotted to them; if so, the number of officials who thus lost their local allowance with the authority on which their local allowances were stopped?

The Honourable Sir Manohar Lai: I regret that answer to this question is not yet ready.

LEVY OF ROAD TAX ON NURPUR-SHAHAN ROAD.

***7589. Khan Muhammad Yusuf Khan:** Will the Honourable Minister for Public Works be pleased to state when the reply to my starred Question No. 6668², asked on 26th April, 1940, may be expected to be ready?

Parliamentary Secretary (Shaikh Faiz Muhammad): The answer to starred Question No. 6668² asked on 26th April, 1940, is as follows:—

(a) No representation has been received officially and it is not possible for me to recollect whether any verbal representation was made or not.

(b) Yes.

(c) The matter is under consideration.

Khan Muhammad Yusuf Khan: May I know how long this matter will be under consideration? The year is approaching to a close.

Parliamentary Secretary: It is difficult to say how long the matter will be under consideration. The matter will be considered in all its aspects.

Khan Muhammad Yusuf Khan: May I know whether this will be applicable during this year?

Parliamentary Secretary: It is difficult to answer that question.

¹Volume XIV, page 924.

²Volume XIII, page 1064.

REFUSAL OF THE POLICE AT BANGA POLICE STATION TO RECORD REPORT
BY WILAYAT KHAN.

***7591. Malik Barkat Ali :** Will the Honourable Minister of Public Works be pleased to state whether it is a fact that the report of one Wilayat Khan, son of Sohne Khan, Rajput of Heon, tahsil Nawanshahr, district Jullundur, who had gone on the 4th or 5th of September, 1940, to Banga police station to lodge report of a cognisable offence committed on his person, was not recorded by the police official concerned ; if so, whether the police did so under the orders of the then Superintendent of Police, Jullundur, and if so, the reasons for issuing such orders ?

Parliamentary Secretary (Sardar Bahadur Sardar Ujjal Singh) : The honourable member is referred to the answer to Assembly Question No. *7592 (below).

STRICTURES BY MAGISTRATE AT JULLUNDUR AGAINST
POLICE.

***7592. Malik Barkat Ali :** Will the Honourable Minister for Public Works be pleased to state whether it has come to his notice that the trying magistrate in the *challan* against Kala Khan, son of Sohne Khan, Rajput of Heon, Tahsil Nawanshahr, district Jullundur, passed severe strictures, in his judgment against the Superintendent of Police, Jullundur, for having directed his subordinate officials not to record the First Information Report of Wilayat Khan and for having ordered the *challan* of his relations on the report of the other party to be sent to the magistrate, although the investigating Sub-Inspector had reported the case to be false, and also against the police officials at Banga police station ; if so, the action taken or intended to be taken against these police officers ?

Parliamentary Secretary (Sardar Bahadur Sardar Ujjal Singh) : Government understand that the judgment in question is likely to be the subject of further legal proceedings and they are, therefore, not prepared to express an opinion on the justice of the criticisms contained in it.

Khan Sahib Chaudhri Sahib Dad Khan : May I ask whether the appeal has been filed or whether it has yet to be filed ?

Parliamentary Secretary : I want notice of this question.

Khan Sahib Chaudhri Sahib Dad Khan : May I ask whether Government took the advice of the legal adviser in this case ?

Parliamentary Secretary : I require fresh notice for the question. I have stated that the judgment in question is likely to be the subject of further legal proceedings.

COMPLAINT AGAINST THE HEADMISTRESS, MUNICIPAL GIRLS MIDDLE SCHOOL,
HANSI.

***7220. Pandit Shri Ram Sharma :** Will the Honourable Minister of Education be pleased to state—

- (a) whether he and the Deputy Commissioner, Hissar, some time ago received a resolution of protest passed by the local Arya Samaj against the action of the headmistress, Municipal Girls Middle

[Pt. Shri Ram Sharma.]

School, Hansi, in ordering the cooking of meat as a part of study in cooking in the school and thereby wounding the religious susceptibilities of the Hindu girls reading in that school ;

- (b) if answer to (a) be in the affirmative, whether the authorities concerned made an inquiry into the complaint and took any step to allay the feelings of the Hindu public in this matter ?

The Honourable Mian Abdul Haye : (a) An objection was made by the President of the Municipal Committee to the school authorities. Meat has never been cooked in the school during cookery lessons.

- (b) Does not arise.

CHANGES IN THE MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION IN THE MUNICIPAL GIRLS MIDDLE SCHOOL, HANSI.

***7221. Pandit Shri Ram Sharma :** Will the Honourable Minister of Education be pleased to state—

- (a) the number at present of Hindi and Urdu reading girls, respectively, in the Municipal Girls Middle School, Hansi, district Hissar ;
- (b) whether he and the Deputy Commissioner, Hissar, have recently received a resolution of protest passed by the Arya Samaj, Hansi, against the intended move on the part of the headmistress to change the medium of instruction in the school from Hindi to Urdu ; if so, the action taken thereon ?

The Honourable Mian Abdul Haye : (a) The number of girls reading Hindi and Urdu is 127 and 12, respectively.

(b) The headmistress has not put up any proposal for the change of the medium of instruction from Hindi to Urdu nor have Government and the Deputy Commissioner, Hissar, received any protest from the Arya Samaj, Hansi.

DISTRICT INSPECTOR OF SCHOOLS AT ATTOCK.

***7579. Sayed Mohy-ud-Din Lal Badshah :** Will the Honourable Minister of Education be pleased to state—

- (a) whether he is aware of the fact that the present District Inspector of Schools at Attock had remained posted to that place for the last five years ;
- (b) the number of such district boards and Government aided schools in the Attock district as are within the jurisdiction of the above-named District Inspector of Schools ;
- (c) the number and the names of the schools inspected by the above-mentioned District Inspector, tahsil-wise each year in the Attock district during the last 4½ years with the dates on which each school was inspected and the distance in the average at which each school is situated from the road used for motor cars and buses ;

- (d) whether there are any schools in the jurisdiction of the said District Inspector which the latter has not visited even once during this long period of four years and distance at which each of these schools is situated from the road and if there are any such schools, the reasons for which these have not been inspected even once by the District Inspector?

The Honourable Mian Abdul Haye : (a) The present District Inspector of Schools joined at Campbellpur on the 15th June, 1936.

(b) 317.

(c) and (d) A statement giving the required information is attached.¹ The schools which have been inspected by the District Inspector during the period of his stay in the district are underlined. The statement has been drawn tahsil-wise, but it is regretted that this information is not available year-wise. It is not in the public interest to supply the rest of the information.

Sayed Mohy-ud-Din Lal Badshah : Sir, I want to submit that this question is important as well as urgent for the public of Attock. May I know as to when the required information will be supplied?

Minister : I have already stated that this question related to a long period of 4½ years and the honourable member has asked as to which school was visited by the District Inspector and on what dates. Obviously it is not possible to supply this information immediately.

INQUIRY INTO THE CONDUCT OF DISTRICT INSPECTOR OF SCHOOLS, ATTOCK.

***7580. Sayed Mohy-ud-Din Lal Badshah :** Will the Honourable Minister of Education be pleased to state—

- (a) whether he is aware of the fact that the present Divisional Inspector of Schools, Rawalpindi, has recently conducted a departmental inquiry against the present District Inspector of Schools, district Attock;
- (b) if the answer to parts (a) and (b) be in the affirmative, the result of that inquiry and the steps taken by the Government to safeguard the interests of the teachers who have given evidence against the above-mentioned District Inspector of Schools?

The Honourable Mian Abdul Haye : (a) A preliminary inquiry has been held.

(b) The matter is under consideration.

Sayed Mohy-ud-Din Lal Badshah : When should we expect the result to be out?

Minister : Within a few days.

ENUMERATION OF SCHEDULED CASTES DURING THE CENSUS.

***7590. Sardar Moola Singh :** Will the Honourable Minister of Education be pleased to state—

- (a) whether his attention has been drawn to the posters issued by one Mota Singh in which it has been announced that a conference

¹Kept in the Assembly Library.

[S. Moola Singh.]

of the scheduled castes is to be held at Jaranwala on 16th February, 1941, and that in that conference the Honourable Minister of Education, the Deputy Commissioner, Lyallpur, the Tahsildar, Jaranwala, the Director of Panchayats, District Inspector of Schools, Lyallpur, are to take part and make speeches to persuade the scheduled castes not to get themselves enlisted as Hindus in the census registers to be prepared during the ensuing census operations ;

(b) whether he is aware that contents of the posters have created a stir among the Hindus and scheduled castes of the province and that both the communities are very much agitated over it as recently represented to him and also to the Deputy Commissioner, Lyallpur, by a number of memorials by some members of both the communities ;

(c) if the answer to (a) and (b) above be in the affirmative, the action Government intends to take to allay the feelings of the Hindus and scheduled castes in the matter ?

The Honourable Mian Abdul Haye : (a) Yes.

(b) Some complaints were received. The poster was issued by Mota Singh without obtaining the previous consent of any of the officers mentioned therein and without their knowledge. None of them attended the conference.

(c) Does not arise.

DETERIORATION IN GOVERNMENT HIGH SCHOOL, GURGAON.

***7593. Chaudhri Sumer Singh :** Will the Honourable Minister of Education be pleased to lay on the table of the House a comparative statement showing the results of the Matriculation Examinations as well as of the sports tournaments of the Government High School, Gurgaon, for the years the present headmaster has been in charge of that school and also for the years his predecessor was holding charge of the school and state if it is a fact that both educationally and physically the school has deteriorated ; and if so, the reasons therefor and the action intended to be taken to set matters right ?

The Honourable Mian Abdul Haye : *First part.*—

Matriculation results.

Year.	Number sent up.	Number passed.	Percentage.	Name of the Head master.
			Per cent.	
1932	39	20	51.3	M. Izhar-ul-Hassan.
1933	34	34	100	
1934	19	19	100	
1935	25	25	100	

Year.	Number sent up.	Number passed.	Percent. ago.	Name of the Headmaster.
			Per cent.	
1936	37	36	97.3	L. Suraj Bansi officiated from 12th December, 1935, to 3rd May, 1936, and the present Headmaster (Lala Bishan Das Khosla) is working since 4th May, 1936.
1937	35	33	94.3	
1938	38	36	95	
1939	55	38	69	
1940	72	63	87	

Physical condition.—During the period 1932—35 the school finally won the Hockey Shield after three years' continuous victory. Under the present Headmaster the school won Hockey Shield and Football Cup.

Second part.—The above facts speak for themselves and it is not intended to take any action in the matter.

SCHOLARSHIPS UNDER SECTION D, CHAPTER V OF THE EDUCATION CODE.

***7594. Chaudhri Sumer Singh :** Will the Honourable Minister of Education be pleased to state whether he is aware of the fact that the students from the Punjab prosecuting their studies further in the M. A. O. College, Aligarh, are permitted to avail themselves of the scholarships permissible under Section D, Chapter V of the Education Code and that residents of Gurgaon district prosecuting their studies in colleges in the Delhi province are not permitted to avail of these scholarships; if so, the reasons therefor?

The Honourable Mian Abdul Haye : Yes. Government scholarships were made tenable at the M. A. O. College, Aligarh, in 1889 as it was considered desirable to give facilities to Muslim boys from the Punjab to avail themselves of the special religious, social and intellectual education imparted there. Similar reasons do not exist in the case of boys of the Gurgaon district desirous of prosecuting their studies at Delhi.

SCHEME OF STUDIES FOR VERNACULAR AND ANGLO-VERNACULAR PRIMARY AND MIDDLE SCHOOLS.

***7597. Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang :** (i) Will the Honourable Minister of Education be pleased to lay on the table of the House a copy of the scheme of studies now in force for Vernacular and Anglo-Vernacular Primary and Middle Schools for the boys and also state when the last revision of the said scheme of studies took place?

(ii) Will he also be pleased to state whether it is a fact that in his speech made on the floor of the House at the time when the Primary Education Bill was under consideration he was pleased to state that the only medium of instruction for the boys in primary schools in the Punjab was Urdu? If so, will he be pleased to state how he reconciles this statement with the scheme of studies which makes provision for instruction being imparted in primary schools through the medium of Hindi and Punjabi as well?

The Honourable Mian Abdul Haye : I regret that the answer to this Question is not ready.

UNSTARRED QUESTIONS.

MUSLIM CLERKS IN THE OFFICE OF DEPUTY COMMISSIONER, SIMLA.

1380. Shaikh Sadiq Hassan : Will the Honourable Minister of Revenue be pleased to state—

(a) the proportion of permanent Muslim clerks in the office of the Deputy Commissioner, Simla ;

(b) the proportion of all Muslim clerks in the office of the Deputy Commissioner, Simla ?

The Honourable Dr. Sir Sunder Singh Majithia : (a) 15·62 per cent.

(b) 17·14 per cent.

REPRESENTATION OF MUSLIMS IN GOVERNMENT SERVICES IN THE SIMLA DISTRICT.

1381. Shaikh Sadiq Hassan : Will the Honourable Premier be pleased to state whether any appeals by Muslims regarding the non-observance of the communal proportion in various Government services in the district of Simla have been made to the authorities ; if so, the action, if any, so far taken by the authorities in the matter, if no action has been taken so far, the reasons therefor ?

The Honourable Major Sir Sikander Hyat-Khan : Government have received no such representation, but the honourable member must be aware that in departments which are recruited on a provincial basis no account is taken of the home districts of candidates as this would not be feasible.

LICENCES FOR ARMS.

1382. Shaikh Sadiq Hassan : Will the Honourable Minister for Public Works be pleased to state the number, community-wise, of the persons in the province who possess licences for revolvers, rifles and guns, separately ?

The Honourable Major Khizar Hayat Tiwana : The time and labour involved in collecting the information will not be commensurate with any possible benefit to be obtained.

COMMUNAL PROPORTION AMONG PROVINCIAL CIVIL SERVICE OFFICERS AND TEHSILDARS.

1383. Khan Sahib Khawaja Ghulam Samad : Will the Honourable Premier be pleased to state, community-wise, and tehsil-wise, the number of Provincial Civil Service officers and of Tehsildars posted to the Ambala division excepting Simla ?

The Honourable Major Sir Sikander Hyat-Khan : The honourable member will find the information he requires given on pages 253-255 of the Civil List corrected up to the 1st January, 1941.

COMMUNAL PROPORTION AMONG POLICE OFFICERS.

1384. Khan Sahib Khawaja Ghulam Samad : Will the Honourable Minister for Public Works be pleased to state, community-wise, the number of Superintendents, Deputy Superintendents, Inspectors and Sub-Inspectors of Police posted in District and Tehsil Headquarters only in the Ambala division excepting Simla ?

The Honourable Major Khizar Hayat Tiwana : The following statement gives the required information :—

Name of the district.	Rank.	COMMUNITY.				
		European.	Muslim.	Hindu.	Sikh.	Indian-Christian.
Hissar ..	Superintendent of Police ..	..	1	..	..	..
	Deputy Superintendent of Police.	..	1	1	..	..
	Inspectors .. ..	..	2	1	..	..
	Sub-Inspectors .. ..	..	7	..	1	..
Rohtak	Superintendent of Police ..	..	..	1	..	..
	Deputy Superintendent of Police.	..	..	1	..	..
	Inspectors .. ..	..	2	..	..	..
	Sub-Inspectors .. ..	..	3	..	1	..
Gurgaon ..	Superintendent of Police ..	1	..	..	..	..
	Deputy Superintendent of Police.	..	1	..	..	..
	Inspectors .. ..	..	1	..	1	..
	Sub-Inspectors .. ..	..	9	2	3	1
Karnal	Superintendent of Police ..	..	..	..	1	..
	Deputy Superintendent of Police.	..	1	..	1	..
	Inspectors .. ..	..	1	2	..	..
	Sub-Inspectors .. ..	..	7	3	3	..
Ambala	Superintendent of Police ..	1	..	..	..	..
	Assistant Superintendent of Police.	..	..	..	1	..
	Deputy Superintendent of Police.	..	1	..	..	..
	Inspectors	4	..	2	..	..
	Sub-Inspectors .. ..	..	3	1	4	..

CONSOLIDATION OF HOLDINGS IN AMBALA DIVISION.

1385. Khan Sahib Khawaja Ghulam Samad : Will the Honourable Minister for Development be pleased to state—

- (a) the number and names of villages of Ambala division in which the consolidation of holdings is going on at present and the result so far achieved in this connection ;
- (b) the names of the Consolidation Sub-Inspectors posted to Ambala district who helped in consolidating larger number of holdings than those consolidated by their colleagues in that district ;
- (c) whether it is the practice of the department to give preference to the Sub-Inspectors consolidating more holdings in the matter of promotion ; if so, whether this practice has been adopted in the case of Sub-Inspectors in the Ambala district ; and if not, why not ?

The Honourable Chaudhri Sir Chhotu Ram : The results to be achieved will not be commensurate with the time and labour involved in collecting the information desired by the honourable member.

APPOINTMENT OF MUSLIM EXTRA ASSISTANT COMMISSIONERS IN
AMBALA DIVISION.

1386. Khan Sahib Khawaja Ghulam Samad : With reference to the answer to unstarred question No. 1157¹, will the Honourable Premier be pleased to state the number of those among them who were appointed direct and of those who were promoted from lower ranks in Government service ?

The Honourable Major Sir Sikander Hyat-Khan : Three were recruited direct and three were promoted from other services.

FEMALE TEACHERS AT LAHORE.

1387. Khan Sahib Chaudhri Sahib Dad Khan : With reference to the answer to unstarred question No. 1854² asked by me on 11th February, 1941, will the Honourable Minister of Education be pleased to state what steps Government intend to take in order to make up the deficiency of Muslim female teachers at Lahore where their number has been stated to be only 4 out of the total of 51, and, if no step is intended to be taken in this direction, the reasons therefor ?

The Honourable Mian Abdul Haye : Evidently " 1854 " is a misprint for " 1855 ". Gradually in cases where it is possible and efficiency will not suffer, Muslim teachers will be transferred to Lahore in the place of non-Muslims.

¹ Volume XV, page 60.

² Volume XV, page 626.

REPRESENTATION OF JAT, GUJJAR AND RAJPUT DEPUTY COLLECTORS
AND ZILLADARS.

1388. Chaudhri Ranpat Singh : Will the Honourable Minister of Revenue be pleased to state the number of Deputy Collectors and Zilladars appointed direct during the last four years and whether any of them is a Jat, Rajput or Gujjar of the district Karnal ; if not, why not ?

The Honourable Dr. Sir Sundar Singh Majithia : (i) Appointments to the Deputy Collectors' Service are made by promotion from amongst the Zilladars.

The numbers of Zilladars appointed were :—

1937	..	..	..	..	11
1938	..	..	..	..	15
1939	..	..	..	..	5
1940	..	..	..	..	27

(ii) No. Government cannot undertake to accommodate members of any particular tribe from any particular district.

REPRESENTATION OF JATS, RAJPUTS AND GUJJARS AMONG
INSPECTORS, SUB-INSPECTORS AND ASSISTANT SUB-
INSPECTORS OF POLICE.

1389. Chaudhri Ranpat Singh : Will the Honourable Minister for Public Works be pleased to state the number of Inspectors, Sub-Inspectors and Assistant Sub-Inspectors of Police appointed direct throughout the Punjab during the last four years and whether any of the persons so appointed is a Jat, Rajput or Gujjar from the Karnal district ; and if not, why not ?

The Honourable Malik Khizar Hayat Tiwana : Three Inspectors, 37 Prosecuting Sub-Inspectors and 124 Assistant Sub-Inspectors. None of them is either a Jat, Rajput or Gujjar of the Karnal district. Direct recruitment to these ranks is made by selection boards entirely on merits and no preference is given to residents of any particular district or locality.

REPRESENTATION OF MUSLIMS IN TEACHING AND CLERICAL
STAFF OF LAW COLLEGE, LAHORE.

1390. Chaudhri Muhammad Sarfraz Khan : Will the Honourable Minister of Education be pleased to state—

- whether it is a fact that the Principal of Law College is holding a contractual post ; if so, when does his contract expire and who is expected to succeed him ;
- whether it is a fact that Muslims are inadequately represented on the teaching staff of the Law College, Lahore ;
- whether it is also a fact that the representation of the Muslims is also inadequate so far as the Superintendent and other staff of the Law College Hostel is concerned ;

[Ch. Mohd. Sarfraz Khan.]

(d) if the answer to (b) and (c) above be in the affirmative, the reasons therefor ;

(e) whether he will be pleased to lay on the table of the House a statement showing, community-wise, the strength of the teaching staff, both temporary and permanent, of the Law College, Lahore, and also of the staff of the Law College Hostel, including the menial staff ?

The Honourable Mian Abdul Haye : (a) *First part.*—No.

Second part.—Does not arise.

(b) and (c) The appointments under the University of the Punjab are made by the Senate and Syndicate of the University, and the Punjab Government has nothing to do with them.

(d) Does not arise.

(e) (i) Teaching staff :—

<i>Hindus.</i>	<i>Muslims.</i>	<i>Sikhs.</i>	<i>Christian.</i>
9	6	2	1

(ii) Hostel Staff :—

Superintendent — Hindu.

Part-time Medical Adviser — Hindu.

Electrician — Hindu.

	<i>Hindus.</i>	<i>Muslims.</i>	<i>Sikh.</i>	<i>Christians.</i>
Menials ..	9	2	1	2

STRICTURES BY THE CITY MAGISTRATE, JULLUNDUR, AGAINST POLICE.

1391. Khan Sahib Chaudhri Sahib Dad Khan : Will the Honourable Minister of Public Works be pleased to state—

(a) whether he is aware that strictures have been passed by the City Magistrate, Jullundur, against the conduct of the Superintendent of Police, Jullundur, and the Sub-Inspector of Banga Police Station, Jullundur district, in the riot case registered at Banga Police Station on 8th September, 1940 ;

(b) if so, what action has been taken against the Superintendent of Police, Jullundur, and the Sub-Inspector of Police, Banga ; if no action has been taken, the reasons therefor ?

The Honourable Malik Khizar Hayat Tiwana : The honourable member is referred to the answer given to Assembly question No. 7592¹ starred.

ALLOTMENT OF TIME FOR THE CITY OF LAHORE CORPORATION BILL.

Minister for Public Works (The Honourable Malik Khizar Hayat Tiwana): I have to intimate to the House that if the discussion of the Supplementary Demands is finished earlier than the time allotted for it then we will resume discussion on the City of Lahore Corporation Bill.

DEMANDS FOR SUPPLEMENTARY GRANTS.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: The House will now take up the discussion of the Demands for Supplementary Grants.

LAND REVENUE.

Minister for Finance (The Honourable Sir Manohar Lal): I beg to move—

That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 32,880 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the year ending 31st March, 1941, in respect of Land Revenue.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: Demand moved—

That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 32,880 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the year ending 31st March, 1941, in respect of Land Revenue.

Mian Muhammad Nurullah (Lyallpur, Muhammadan, Rural) (Urdu): I beg to move—

That the item of Rs. 1,210 on account of construction of watercourses, etc., be reduced by Rs. 1.

Sir, if the discussion of this item is postponed for the present, I am afraid Irrigation may not come under discussion at all during the general discussion of the Budget, and in that case I will get no opportunity to take up this matter.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: The honourable member can only discuss the motion under consideration.

Mian Muhammad Nurullah: The motion under consideration is the grant for the construction of watercourses in the Dhundi Estate, and in the Explanatory Note attached thereto it is stated:—

The question of the construction of watercourses and watercourse culverts fell under the following two categories:—

- (a) Where land is given, or is intended to be given, to tenants-at-will, the cost of construction is to be borne by the owner of the estate, i. e. Government, and
- (b) where occupancy rights exist, or are to be granted to tenants the cost of construction is to be borne by such tenants,—vide Appendix 6 to the Public Works Department Code.

(Urdu): Sir, it is clear from this that watercourses will be dug in the Dhundi Estate at the cost of Government. That is all right. Who should be the tenants-at-will? They should be the local zamindars.

My second submission is that local zamindars should be given all possible facilities against the outsiders who may offer better terms when tenders are called. Local zamindars should be given preference over outsiders.

Parliamentary Secretary (Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan): I rise to a point of order. Is the honourable member entitled to discuss the question of policy while discussing a supplementary grant? I submit that he can only discuss the particular item and not the policy of Government.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: In discussing this demand the honourable member cannot go beyond the expenditure incurred on this very item. So far as the policy underlying this item of expenditure is concerned, the honourable member is at liberty to discuss it, but he cannot go beyond that.

Mian Muhammad Nurullah: It is explained here in the Explanatory Note that Government will bear the cost of the *khals* for those who are tenants-at-will, but the tenants-at-will can be turned out at any time, and I think that the cost of *khals* should be borne by Government, but where the trees are concerned, the trees grow up in a number of years, say 10 or 15 years and then the trees are either credited to the Government account or they go to the zamindars, while they are mostly the property of Government. But what happens actually is that the kanungo or the patwari either makes the zamindar pay for a certain portion of the trees and puts the tree to his credit and the Government loses revenue on that account or otherwise he sometimes takes the whole of the tree and puts it in on the Government record. It should be made clear that all those trees on these *khals* should be the property of the zamindars because it is they who suffer on account of the growth of these trees as the crops round about cannot flourish.

Secondly, regarding the quality of tenants-at-will. I hope what I say will be in order.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: What does the honourable member mean by 'quality of tenants'?

Mian Muhammad Nurullah: It means, what sort of people ought to be employed as tenants. They should be local people, and so on.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: The honourable member cannot discuss that.

Mian Muhammad Nurullah: Then about trees, I have to press upon the Government that they should be the property of the tenants and the tenants may use those trees whenever they like.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: Demand under consideration, motion moved is—

That the item of Rs. 1,210 on account of construction of watercourses, etc., be reduced by Re. 1.

Premier (The Honourable Major Sir Sikander Hyat-Khan): As I understand it, the relevant portion of my honourable friend's speech boils down to this, that the trees should be the property of the tenants. I cannot see how the question arises. Where tenants-at-will are concerned, Government is going to pay as owner of the land and in the other case where occupancy rights exist they will exist in trees also. So my honourable friend has unnecessarily laboured the point.

Mian Muhammad Nurullah : If there are trees on the *khals* which are Government property, will they belong to the zamindar ?

Premier : We are not concerned with *khals*. It is a question of water-courses. Where occupancy tenants are concerned they will pay for them. Where Government is concerned, Government will pay for them. That is the only point and no other point arises on this demand. So far as the question of trees is concerned they will get them in accordance with the custom there. If the occupancy tenants are to get them, they will get them, otherwise not.

Mr. Deputy Speaker : Question is :

That the item of Rs. 1,210 on account of construction of watercourses, etc., be reduced by Re. 1.

The motion was lost.

Mr. Deputy Speaker : Question is—

That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 32,880 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the year ending 31st March, 1941, in respect of Land Revenue.

The motion was carried.

EXCISE.

Minister for Finance (The Honourable Sir Manohar Lal) : I beg to move—

That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 27,020 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the year ending 31st March, 1941, in respect of Excise.

The motion was carried.

FORESTS.

Minister for Finance (The Honourable Sir Manohar Lal) : I beg to move—

That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 1,38,980 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the year ending 31st March, 1941, in respect of Forests.

Mr. Deputy Speaker : Motion moved is—

That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 1,38,980 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the year ending 31st March, 1941, in respect of Forests.

Sardar Sahib Sardar Santokh Singh (Eastern Towns, Sikh, Urban) : I beg to move—

That the demand be reduced by Rs. 100.

As you will observe, a sum of Rs. 1,05,250 is being asked in the supplementary estimates for establishment under forests. In this connection I would like to draw the attention of the House to the fact that there has been a good deal of waste already over the establishment so far as the forests are concerned. This matter came up before the Public Accounts Committee and an explanation was asked of the Chief Conservator as to whether it was necessary to have all this staff for the Forest department. The statement supplied by the Chief Conservator of Forests from which

[S. S. Sardar Santokh Singh.]

I may be allowed to quote, shows that during the year 1921-22 the total expenditure on conservancy and works was Rs. 32,26,000 and the establishment charges, Rs. 10,79,000 and while the expenditure on works has been steadily declining from the year 1921-22 up to 1938-39, the expenditure on establishment has remained just the same. In 1937-38, the expenditure on conservancy and works came down from 83 lakhs to Rs. 11,16,000 and again in 1938-39, this expenditure came to Rs. 11,92,000.

Minister for Development : We are concerned with this specific item and not with the general working of the department.

Mr. Deputy Speaker : The honourable member will please confine himself to the demand under consideration.

Sardar Sahib Sardar Santokh Singh : I am confining myself to the motion before the House. Under this supplementary estimate the Government has asked for a certain sum of money for establishment and I am going to show that the establishment, so far as forests are concerned, was already very heavy and in fact there has been a good deal of waste in it and I am perfectly justified in referring to these figures to show to the House that this establishment for which we are being asked to provide money is not at all necessary. If I cannot quote these figures I do not know how else can I establish my point? My point is that from the year 1921-22 the expenditure on works came down to one-third of what it was in that year, whereas the expenditure on establishment remained practically the same. The explanation that was supplied to us by the Chief Conservator of Forests may have satisfied the Government, but it cannot satisfy any other impartial authority.

Mr. Deputy Speaker : The honourable member will be in order only in discussing the additional expenditure and not the whole expenditure.

Sardar Sahib Sardar Santokh Singh : In discussing the additional expenditure I have the right to say that the expenditure that was already being incurred is very high, that there was superfluous staff and that there has been a great deal of wastage. If I cannot even mention that, I do not know what else to say. I was going to show that the expenditure which we are incurring over establishment in connection with forests is already very high and that additional staff was quite unwarranted.

Mr. Deputy Speaker : The honourable member can refer to it only in passing, but the main discussion should centre on this additional expenditure.

Sardar Sahib Sardar Santokh Singh : Am I not allowed to quote the figures of the previous years? If that is your ruling, no useful purpose will be served by continuing this discussion. I was only saying that while the expenditure on conservancy and works has gone down to 33 per cent from the year 1921-22, the expenditure on establishment has remained the same, namely cent per cent. In 1921-22 the expenditure on establishment was Rs. 10,79,000 and in the year 1938-39, although the expenditure on works did come down by 66 per cent, the expenditure on Establishment has remained just the same, was in fact a little higher and stood at Rs. 11,23,000. Let us not forget that the item of Rs. 11,92,000

representing the expenditure on conservancy and works in 1938-39 includes also the item of Rs. 89,000 paid to Raja Sir Daya Kishen Kaul and but for this item, the expenditure on conservancy and works would have gone down to 8 lakhs and fifty-three thousand. Under the circumstances, it was very necessary, I should say, it was incumbent upon the Government when sanctioning further expenditure for the Forest Department to see whether or not there was already surplus staff in that Department. Coming to the explanation that was given by the Chief Conservator of Forests, the officer himself admits, that during the period which covers the year 1938-39, the superior staff of the Forest Department was undoubtedly above the normal requirements and he adds that this was gradually being adjusted to normal requirements by retirements. No other authority than the Chief Conservator of Forests says in his explanation that the superior staff of the Forest Department was already and undoubtedly above the normal requirements. In so far as the question of this expenditure was concerned and in face of this explanation it is hard to understand why a further sum of Rs. 12,540 on account of pay of officers voted and 26,080 charged and also Rs. 46,600 representing the pay of the establishment is being asked for. If the superior staff of the Forest Department was already in excess according to the explanation given by the Chief Conservator of Forests, and that explanation was given so far as I remember either in August or September last year, is there any reason why further expenditure on account of the pay of officers should be incurred? I would like the Honourable Finance Minister to explain to this House as to when these further appointments of superior staff became necessary, whether it was before or after the explanation given by the Chief Conservator of Forests? I also ask whether this aspect of the question that there was already surplus staff in the Department was thoroughly considered by the Government or not, also whether it was really necessary to provide more superior staff to carry on the work? I make bold to say that this aspect of the question was never examined, and that the staff has been given to this department as was being done during the last so many years in excess of their requirements. If the Honourable Minister for Finance can satisfy us that he or the Minister in charge had scrutinized all the figures of the demand that was made on him by the Forest Department, I, for one, would be satisfied, but if he cannot satisfactorily explain to the House why this became necessary, we should be perfectly justified in refusing this grant. I now look to the Honourable Finance Minister to explain to us whether he actually scrutinized all these figures and whether the staff sanctioned for this Department was really necessary and warranted by the requirements of the case.

Mr. Deputy Speaker : Demand under consideration, motion moved is—

That the demand be reduced by Rs. 100.

Minister for Development (The Honourable Chaudhri Sir Chhotu Ram): Sir, I will not waste the time of the House by replying to the irrelevant points which have been raised by the honourable mover of this cut. He has been speaking of the Public Accounts Committee and about the expenditure that was being incurred by the Department four, five or six years ago. This item is related definitely to the cost which will be incurred in connection with the supply of timber to the Government of India and

[Minister for Development.]

if my honourable friend had cared to go through the note which is contained here, he would not have taken the trouble of sending in this motion at all. The note runs as follows—

The additional expenditure of Rs. 1,38,980 is required in connection with increased exploitation works and extensive extraction of bamboos and resin in order to meet the urgent War demands which could not be foreseen when the budget estimates for 1940-41 were prepared. The supply of timber is to continue during the War and the necessary provision is being made in the estimates for 1941-42. The cost of the new organization has been arranged to be met provisionally from Provincial Revenues and later adjusted by recovery of the entire cost from the Government of India (Supply Department) during the current financial year.

Mr. Deputy Speaker : Question is—

That the demand be reduced by Rs. 100.

The motion was lost.

Mr. Deputy Speaker : Question is—

That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 1,38,980 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the year ending 31st March, 1941, in respect of Forests.

The motion was carried.

IRRIGATION ESTABLISHMENT.

Minister for Finance : I beg to move—

That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 2,30,900 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the year ending 31st March, 1941, in respect of Charges on Irrigation Establishment.

Mr. Deputy Speaker : Motion moved—

That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 2,30,900 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the year ending 31st March, 1941, in respect of Charges on Irrigation Establishment.

Mian Muhammad Nurullah (Lyallpur, Muhammadan, Rural)
(Urdu): Sir, I beg to move—

That the item of Rs. 91,900 on account of continuance of High Dams Circle be reduced by Rs. 1.

The High Dams Circle was opened temporarily with a view to prepare designs and estimates for the Bhakra and Balaichu Dams and the canal taking off the Sutlej to irrigate the famine-stricken area in the South-East Punjab. But it is a matter of great regret that the canal water has not been supplied to those areas where it was most urgently needed. On the contrary it has been made available in those areas where it was not immediately required. Now when the Government have asked for this sum of money in order to continue the High Dams Circle I would request them to draw the attention of the officers concerned to the desirability of supplying water first to those areas where it is most urgently wanted. The people of the Hissar district have rightly complained that preference has not been given to them in the matter of disbursement of water. They think that in the first instance water should have been supplied to the Sirsa Branch where famine has been very severe and after that if any water was available that should have been supplied to the Kharif Channel in the Hissar district and then to the Hissar Major Distributory. But Government have not adopted any one of these courses. On the contrary they have supplied water to the Delhi Branch and Jhajjar Tahsil

of Rohtak. I do not know what special circumstances have led the Honourable Minister for Development to advise the Government to take that step. Anyhow it is a general complaint that water has been supplied to the Rohtak district because the Honourable Minister hails from it. I have not ascertained these facts for myself but this is what I have been told by the people of that ilaqa. If this information is correct I think Government would do well to issue instructions to the officers concerned to see that those people should get water first who have suffered a great deal through the ravages of famine. With these few words I move my cut motion.

Mr. Deputy Speaker : Demand under consideration, motion moved—

That the item of Rs. 91,900 on account of continuance of High Dams Circle be reduced by Re. 1.

Premier (The Honourable Major Sir Sikander Hyat-Khan) (Urdu) : Sir, the old Hindustani adage :

مرن کہتا ہے کہ

comes true in the case of my honourable friend Mian Muhammad Nurullah. The demand relates to the High Dams Circle which was opened for the preparation of the designs and estimates for the Bhakra and Balehu Dams and the canal taking off the Sutlej to irrigate the famine-stricken area in the South-east Punjab. But my honourable friend waxed eloquent on the question whether water should be supplied first to the Rohtak or the Hissar district. That has nothing to do with this demand. In fact what it relates to is the continuance of that circle for preparing the project in complete detail including the designs of all major and minor works and layout of the complete canal system. I may, however, assure my honourable friend that Sir Chhotu Ram will have to wait for one year before his district gets irrigation water, because Hissar will be the first to get it. I wish he had consulted me before moving this amendment.

Mian Muhammad Nurullah : May I draw your attention to the last two lines of the item.

Premier : The honourable member's objection related to the demand in respect of the continuance of the High Dams Circle and I have explained the position.

Mian Muhammad Nurullah (Urdu) : Sir, in reply to the remarks of the Honourable Premier I would simply refer him to item No. 1 on page 21. It reads—

A temporary circle, called the High Dams Circle, was opened in the Public Works Department, Punjab, Irrigation Branch, from the 30th October, 1939, to the 30th April, 1940, for the preparation of the designs and estimates for the Bhakra and Balehu Dams and the canal taking off the Sutlej to irrigate the famine-stricken area in the South-east Punjab. It has been decided to continue the entire establishment employed in the Circle up to the 31st October, 1941 with the object of preparing the works and layout of the complete canal system, so that the work can start immediately after sanction is conveyed to proceed with the construction of the Project.

Probably he has overlooked the last two lines and, therefore, failed to appreciate my objection to the demand.

Premier : The question is of the continuance of the High Dams Circle, while my honourable friend introduced the matter of priority of the Rohtak or Hissar districts in respects of the supply of irrigation water, and went so far as to drag into discussion the Jumna canal. My submission is that these things have nothing to do with this demand.

Mr. Deputy Speaker : The question is—

That the item of Rs. 91,900 on account of continuance of High Dams Circle be reduced by Rs. 1.

The motion was lost.

Mian Muhammad Nurullah (Lyallpur, Muhammadan, Rural) (*Urdu*) :
Sir, I beg to move—

That the demand be reduced by Rs. 10.

A look on page 24 of the Supplementary estimates item 7 will reveal that it relates to the opening of a special Revenue Division in the Western Jumna Canal, — Demand Rs. 19,730 (voted) (Non-recurring). It further says—

The situation in the Delhi Division of the Western Jumna Canal regarding *warabandi* applications under section 68 of the Canal Act assumed serious proportion and several hundreds of such applications were found pending in the beginning of the year. There was no possibility of the Executive Engineer, Delhi Division, with the existing staff disposing of all these *warabandi* applications pending with him and others that might come during the next two or three years and this state of affairs could not be allowed to continue.

Now, sir, this problem of *warabandi* is not peculiar to Delhi Division only but prevails all over the province. Even in our *ilqa* cases of *warashikni* are the rule rather than an exception. *Warashikni* has ruined many a small cultivator, who cannot get water for as long as six months at a stretch. In the circumstances, I fail to understand how the Government can hope to cope with this situation with the measures that it wants to adopt. The proper method would have been to strike at the root, i.e. to do something for the reform of the defective law which exists at present. If the Government goes on creating new Divisions and appointing additional officers I do not see wherefrom the funds for defraying the cost of such expensive measures would be forthcoming. If the present slackness of authorities and the increase of work continues there will be no end to such additional appointments for which additional funds will be required. God alone knows where the money is to come from. We, the zamindars, are already paying a very high rate of *abiana* and there is no further scope of increase in it. I am afraid this beginning in the case of Western Jumna Canal circle may prove to be the 'thin end of the wedge'. These additional arrangements will mean increased expenditure which will ultimately have to come from our pockets. I, therefore, request the Government to remove the cause in order to prevent the spread of the disease rather than to accentuate matters by carrying out the measures that they propose to do.

Mr. Deputy Speaker : Demand under consideration, motion moved is—

That the demand be reduced by Rs. 10.

Parliamentary Secretary (Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan) (*Urdu*) :
Sir, so far as I have been able to understand the remarks made by my honourable friend Mian Muhammad Nurullah in support of his motion, it appears that he has two objections to the arrangement proposed to be made by the Government in this connection. Firstly that *warabandi* if not properly made causes great hardship to the cultivators and secondly that this trouble is not only particular to Delhi Division but exists in the rest of the province as well. In my opinion my honourable friend should instead of criticising the Government, appreciate the appointment of the

special staff to cope with the situation. This situation has arisen in the Delhi Division because of the majority of smaller zamindars in that ilaqa, who do not get their due share of water, making innumerable applications. It is in order to remove this complaint that the special staff has been appointed. On account of the complaint being widespread and there being an insufficient staff to deal with the situation, the Government had perforce to appoint a special staff.

In view of these circumstances, I think the motion moved by my honourable friend is in no way justified and should, therefore, be rejected.

Mr. Deputy Speaker : The question is—

That the demand be reduced by Rs. 10.

The motion was lost.

Mr. Deputy Speaker : The question is—

That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 2,30,900 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the year ending 31st March, 1941, in respect of Charges on Irrigation Establishment.

The motion was carried.

GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

Finance Minister : Sir, I beg to move—

That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 21,000 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the year ending 31st March, 1941, in respect of General Administration.

Mr. Deputy Speaker : Motion moved is—

That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 21,000 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the year ending 31st March, 1941, in respect of General Administration.

Mian Muhammad Nurullah (Lyallpur, Muhammadan, Rural) (Urdu) : Sir, I beg to move—

That the demand be reduced by Rs. 100.

Sir, the two items (a) and (b) are :—

(a) Eight additional temporary posts of Extra Assistant Commissioners, Rs. 2,800.

(b) Transfer of 27 sub-judges to the executive side to work as magistrates, Rs. 1,28,200.

Then in the detailed note we find :—

Out of the above items responsible for the increase, item (c) is too obvious to need any explanation.

Only (a) and (b) are explained here :

(a) It is estimated that twenty full-time and ten half-time Extra Assistant Commissioners will be required to work as Taxation Officers in connection with the new Taxation Acts.

I do not know what this “half-time Extra Assistant Commissioner” means and I would request the Government to explain the term. The note goes on further :

It will be extremely difficult to find so many Extra Assistant Commissioners, because even if the Punjab Civil Service (Executive Branch) cadre is increased it takes eighteen months before most of the new recruits get first class magisterial powers and can be of real use in districts. Though it will not solve the problem, it will improve the position if the training of those Extra Assistant Commissioner candidates who were accepted in 1940 but have not been posted out, is started at once. Only eight of these candidates remain to be posted out. Eight temporary posts have accordingly been created for the remaining two months of the current financial year, of which the extra cost is estimated to be Rs. 2,790 or Rs. 2,800 (round).

[Mian Mohammad Nurullah.]

Now one of the chief reasons for requiring the services of these Extra Assistant Commissioners is the Taxation Acts. I do not see why it is necessary to appoint these officers at this stage when a temporary staff should have sufficed. Further on if we read (b), we find—

(b) In view of the fact that the number of money suits in the Punjab has decreased, it was decided to reduce the cadre of the Punjab Civil Service (Judicial Branch) consisting of 165 permanent and 5 temporary posts by nineteen posts. This reduction has been effected partly by the abolition of the temporary posts and partly holding in abeyance of fourteen permanent posts. Accordingly 27 subordinate judges have been transferred to the executive side to do magisterial work and have been employed against the 28 temporary posts of Extra Assistant Commissioners, which were created in order to deal with cases under the Agrarian Acts.

Sir, I cannot understand why the Government should transfer judicial officers to the executive side for working as special officers when their appointment in their judicial capacity would have served the purpose better. If at all, the Government would be well-advised to amalgamate the two cadres in the interest of increased efficiency and reduced cost.

Mr. Deputy Speaker : Demand under consideration, motion moved—

That the demand be reduced by Rs. 100.

Rai Bahadur Mukand Lal Puri (Rawalpindi Division, General, Rural) : The present demand for new appointments is in keeping with the general policy of the present Government, i.e., to add to the loaves and fishes which the Government or the party in power can distribute among its own men. The two Acts, for which this new expenditure is being asked for, I take it, are the Urban Immovable Property Tax Act and the Sales Tax Act. One of the fundamental principles of taxation should be that as little as possible should be spent on assessment and realisation of the taxes. Wherever the Urban Immovable Property Tax is in force, if my information is not incorrect, in other places the local bodies are left to assess and realise the tax and a certain percentage is paid to the Government, on the total realisation to these local bodies. The local bodies have their own assessors who are already performing this duty. A house-tax is already being levied at Lahore, Sargodha, Lyallpur, and many other towns, regular assessors already exist who assess the rental value of immovable property for the purpose of house-tax there. How far is it advisable that such a machinery should be duplicated for the sake of a provincial tax of exactly the same kind. If the rental value of a house is to be assessed and if a competent officer exists in the municipality concerned, what necessity is there for this Government to ask for the appointment of another Extra Assistant Commissioner to do the same work which is already being done at these places successfully with certain amount of experience and a certain amount of accumulated information? Therefore, as far as the tax on urban immovable property is concerned, it should have been left to the local bodies, as is done in other places, and a certain percentage should be given from the provincial revenues to the local bodies concerned for assessment and realisation of that tax. It will prevent the unnecessary creation of another department. Of course the advantage to the Government is that it will have chances of appointing a number of its own people but that is precisely the thing against which we wish to raise our protest. Let us consider the sales tax. This matter could again be left to the local bodies easily, because for the purpose of octroi and other duties, similar

functions are being discharged by the local bodies. They could certainly perform these duties more efficiently and more economically. Sir, in the interest of economy, and to prevent the multiplication of that bureaucracy which has been for so long a favourite target of criticism from all sides of the House, I beg to oppose this demand.

Premier : Unfortunately, my honourable friend has not had the time to study the papers, and it seems that he has been very busy and does not know what he is talking about. My honourable friend has gone over the whole field of taxation measures and has suggested what we should do. There is nothing of the kind in the demand under discussion. Demand No. 5 shows that certain officers have already been transferred from the Judicial side to the Executive side. Instead of creating new posts, we have transferred twenty-eight judicial officers to the executive side for the additional work in connection with the Restitution of Mortgaged Lands Act and other Agrarian Acts.

Rai Bahadur Mukand Lal Puri : I have objected to the proposal to add taxation officers to the Provincial cadre in order to work out these taxes.

Premier : We are not asking for that in this demand.

Rai Bahadur Mukand Lal Puri : You are.

Premier : My honourable friend has not had the time to digest it. He has been discussing several things.

Rai Bahadur Mukand Lal Puri : On a point of fact. I am reading from the explanatory note of Honourable the Finance Minister. Twenty full-time and ten half-time Extra Assistant Commissioners will be empowered to work as taxation officers in connection with the new taxation measures and my proposal is that this addition should not take place.

Premier : My honourable friend has not read it properly. He has been busy with his High Court work, and other work of a political nature during the last two days and has not had time to look at it. We are not asking for that at all. We are merely showing you that this staff may eventually be required. We are not asking for it. All that we are pointing out is that these twenty sub-judges were transferred sometime ago because there was no work on the judicial side and instead of dismissing them, as would have been necessary in the public interest, we took them on the executive side, instead of recruiting new people on the executive side, so that they could cope with extra work due to the agrarian legislation. That is one thing. The second thing is the item of three thousand and one thousand. That is required for these eight Extra Assistant Commissioner candidates whom we have already recruited ; instead of waiting for another two months, they will start their training now so that when we have to start work on these taxation measures, there may be other officers ready to take their place so far as this work is concerned. That is the substance of this demand and if my honourable friend wants any other point to be elucidated, I shall be glad to help him but I wish that my honourable friends over there would carefully study the notes before entering into the discussion.

Mr. Deputy Speaker : The question is—

That the demand be reduced by Rs. 100.

The motion was lost.

Sardar Lal Singh : Can I move cut No. 3 to discuss the general policy?

Mr. Deputy Speaker : No. The question is—

That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 21,000 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the year ending 31st March, 1941, in respect of General Administration.

The motion was carried.

POLICE.

Minister for Finance : I beg to move—

That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 13,80,010 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the year ending 31st March, 1941, in respect of Police.

Mr. Deputy Speaker : Demand moved—

That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 13,80,010 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the year ending 31st March, 1941, in respect of Police.

Mian Muhammad Nurullah (Lyallpur, Muhammadan, Rural) : I beg to move—

That the item of Rs. 72,900 on account of staff for serious crime in Eastern Range be reduced by Rs. 10.

(Urdu) Sir, It is given on page 41 of the Supplementary Estimates for 1940-41 that the crime had so much increased in the districts of the Eastern Range that the Government was obliged to create a post of Deputy Inspector-General. I ask the Government if they had taken action in time and if the Police had been more strict in combating the crime, would this extra burden have been laid on the province? I submit that evil should have been nipped in the bud from the very start. Sir, what I learn is that it was only a feud between certain families which spread on and for which we have to incur all this expenditure. If the Government had found some remedy to combat the outbreak of crime in that ilaga in time, I am sure, things would not have gone to such an extent. To say that under the present circumstances it is not possible for the present staff to cope with the crimes is no excuse. It would be open to the Government to bring forth such excuses in every place and department.

With these words, Sir, I move my cut motion.

Mr. Deputy Speaker : Demand under consideration, motion moved—

That the item of Rs. 72,900 on account of staff for serious crime in Eastern Range be reduced by Rs. 10.

Minister for Public Works (The Honourable Malik Khizar Hayat Tiwana) : Sir, I am glad to find that the honourable member is at one with me as far as the necessity of this expenditure is concerned. His only grouse is why did we not incur this expenditure earlier. If we had done so, then the honourable member would have criticised that when the crime figures were not available, why did the Government incur this expenditure. We cannot anticipate the mind of criminals. It is very difficult to find out

when the situation necessitating expenditure would arise. Government consists of human beings and it can only act when it finds the necessity for the additional staff has arisen. We acted promptly. We thought that the original staff would be able to cope with the situation but when we knew that they were not able to cope with it and for various other factors, an additional staff was needed, it was sanctioned promptly. The situation has improved and I hope it will improve further.

Mr. Deputy Speaker : The question is—

That the item of Rs. 72,900 on account of staff for serious crime in Eastern Range be reduced by Rs. 10.

The motion was lost.

Sardar Lal Singh (Ludhiana Central, Sikh, Rural): Sir, I beg to move—

That the demand be reduced by Rs. 1.

I have moved this motion to discuss the general policy underlying the increase of expenditure. I can give only two reasons for so much increase of expenditure. These two reasons are probably the increase of crime particularly in the Eastern Range and the state of war. So far as the state of war is concerned I think there can be no two opinions on this point that there is no subversive movement worth the name at present in this province (*Premier: Hear, hear.*) and if there is any movement on which some interpretation can be laid that movement is admittedly the most peaceful one. There is no reason therefore to trot out that the war necessitates more expenditure on police. The other reason is that there is increase of crime. Now, sir, there are very deep reasons underlying this increase of crime. It has been admitted by the Government benches when answering numerous questions that one of the main factors for the increase of crime in the Eastern districts is the neighbouring Indian states, which reason, I submit, has been there all this time for the last 4 years and previous to that also. When it was brought to the notice of the Government that one of the causes of the increase in crime is that criminals live in one place and commit crime in the neighbouring district. (*Premier: Yes, it is.*) It was laughed at and it was not admitted to be one of the reasons that it was so. I am glad that he has changed his view now. Experience has taught him that the neighbouring states is one of the factors for the increase of crime. I would also submit that underlying this increase of crime is the general non-confidence in the present police force. The main reason is that the police force has not got confidence of the public, it is dominated by one community and so there cannot be any efficiency of the police work. There is a great demand that all the services of the Punjab Government should be represented according to the communal proportion.

Mr. Deputy Speaker : The honourable member is not in order.

Sardar Lal Singh : I am discussing the underlying reason for the increase in crime. One of the main reasons is that until the public have confidence in the police force and the police force is going to make no distinction between one community and the other when dealing with serious crimes or even when dealing with ordinary crimes, there can be no peace and no amount of increase in staff will inspire confidence in the public.

Premier : Which particular item is my honourable friend discussing now?

Sardar Lal Singh : I am discussing the underlying reasons for the increase in crime which makes the Government increase the police force.

Premier : Which is that particular item in this supplementary grant ?

Sardar Lal Singh : Eastern Range. Whenever this question has been brought either by the press or by the representatives of the people in this House it has been pooh-pooched and the Government has said that it was doing everything ; although it does not deny that the communities should be represented in the police force according to their numbers, so that the people can have confidence

Mr. Deputy Speaker : It is only the additional force that is under discussion.

Sardar Lal Singh : The additional force has become necessary because people have no confidence in the police and no amount of increase in the police force will inspire confidence until this state of affairs continues. There can be no decrease in crime because when a man in power knows that his misdeeds are to be wiped out by the higher people, he cannot do justice.

Mr. Deputy Speaker : The honourable member for the present can only discuss the additional police. He will have ample time to discuss the police generally.

Sardar Lal Singh : I am discussing why additional police has become necessary and why there has been an increase in crime. I want to submit why there is no suppression of crime. I may point out that there can be no suppression of crime until the police enjoys the confidence of the public and the public is treated more equitably. People should have confidence. Now I will pass on to another fact. In the Eastern Range there are several villages in which punitive police has been stationed. I admit there are occasions when punitive police post becomes necessary and this punitive police has been in the villages of Ludhiana district for two or three years past and the poor villagers, some of whom are poverty-stricken, are made to pay all the cost of the punitive police.

Premier : We are not discussing the punitive police.

Sardar Lal Singh : I am not discussing the punitive police. I am discussing the reasons for

Premier : I must submit that my honourable friend should confine the discussion to the demand under consideration : he cannot go over the whole field.

Mr. Deputy Speaker : The honourable member should confine his remarks to the motion under discussion.

Sardar Lal Singh : I am discussing increase of expenditure. The Government has been realizing lot of money by the punitive police and they still want to create more posts and a large additional police force besides this punitive police.

Mr. Deputy Speaker : There is hardly any connexion between the money collected for the punitive police and the motion under consideration.

Sardar Lal Singh : It will give you an idea not only that the expenditure is due to the additional police but that the Government apart from the additional police is realizing large sums of money from these eastern districts by means of punitive police tax.

Mr. Deputy Speaker : But that is not under discussion. The honourable member will have an opportunity to discuss it while discussing the budget in general.

Sardar Lal Singh : I am discussing the extenuating circumstances for creating these posts besides the punitive police : there is no justification for this additional police because there is a large force of punitive police which is stationed in these eastern districts and is living upon those villages. Besides that you want to create several high paid posts simply in the name of crime.

Premier : My honourable friend is under a misapprehension if he thinks that the punitive police are separately appointed out of a separate cadre. It is wrong. This police is posted in a particular village as additional police. The amount realized is credited to the Government. It does not mean extra expenditure in that way. It is out of this staff that the additional police force are manned. My honourable friend is not aware of that.

Sardar Lal Singh : I am not unaware of that argument.

Premier : It is a fact.

Sardar Lal Singh : If there is additional police why create more ?

Premier : For the reasons which are given in the memorandum.

Sardar Lal Singh : I submit that on the one side you realize expenses for the punitive police from the villages and on the other you want to add more additional police. Punitive police should be posted there on a more equitable basis. You should not go further and add to their burden by creating more additional police. There will be no help so far as the increase of crime is concerned and so far as peace in the rural area is concerned.

Mr. Deputy Speaker : Demand under consideration, motion moved—

That the demand be reduced by Re. 1.

Rai Bahadur Mukand Lal Puri : Sir, it is with great reluctance that I rise to raise my protest against the communal disparity which exists in the recruitment in the lower ranks not only of the additional police—

Minister for Public Works : How is it relevant ?

Mr. Deputy Speaker : The honourable member is not relevant in discussing communal proportions.

Rai Bahadur Mukand Lal Puri : I am voicing my protest against the continuance of communal disparity in the recruitment of additional police for which this House is being asked to sanction an expenditure of Rs. 2,61,490.

Premier : Please speak to the Chair and not to the gallery.

Rai Bahadur Mukand Lal Puri : I am speaking to the Government through the Deputy Speaker, but unfortunately our appeal—

Premier : On a point of order. The honourable member is wholly irrelevant.

Mr. Deputy Speaker : I would request the honourable member to proceed with his speech.

Rai Bahadur Mukand Lal Puri : But our appeals have fallen invariably on deaf ears and more particularly of the members of the Government. Now this matter of communal disparity in the recruitment—

Premier : On a point of order. My honourable friend is again irrelevant. This question can be discussed when the budget comes up.

Mr. Deputy Speaker : I would request the honourable member to confine himself to the motion under discussion.

Rai Bahadur Mukand Lal Puri : I wish to confine myself not only to the spirit but also to the strictest letter of the demand under consideration.

Premier : Which demand?

Rai Bahadur Mukand Lal Puri : It is given at page 31, pay of establishment which this House is being asked to sanction :

14 Sub-Inspectors,

16 Assistant Sub-Inspectors and so on.

Premier : On a point of order. My honourable friend has not read it. It is for the retention of the provincial additional police.

Rai Bahadur Mukand Lal Puri : If you continue a pernicious system you think that you are immune from criticism. You committed a wrong two years ago and when we ask you not to continue it you want us not to raise our protest against it.

Premier : But where is the communal proportion laid down here?

Rai Bahadur Mukand Lal Puri : The communal proportion is not laid down. That is precisely my grievance. The communal disparity is there in a most glaring fashion, and I want the Honourable Premier or his trusted lieutenant Major Khizar Hayat to refute my statement on the subject. Only the other day in answer to a question by an honourable member such disparity in communal proportion was shown which would have shocked anyone with a sense of fairness. I merely wish in modest and *dabe alfaz* to bring to the notice of the Government that there is a very strong feeling amongst members of my community against the continued disregard of this very legitimate request which has been times out of number placed before the Government. What I am submitting is this that this Government on various occasions has, I say quite rightly, tried to remove the communal disparity where the preponderance was of the other community. I am told that in some places they have gone outside the province to find out members of a particular community so that the post may not be given to other communities which already enjoyed a certain amount of preponderance, although I should have objected to a person from outside the province being preferred to a Punjabi who does not belong to the favoured community. This matter has been brought to the notice of the Government that there is a communal disparity of a very bad kind and that Government have not done anything to remove it.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: The honourable member is again going beyond the scope of the motion.

Mian Muhammad Nurullah: My honourable friend is dealing with the additional police and he is justified in referring to it.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: The honourable member is discussing the entire police force.

Rai Bahadur Mukand Lal Puri: I am talking of the principle underlying the recruitment of the additional police force as a part of the general police force and also as a separate unit.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: The honourable member is not relevant in discussing the policy of the Government in the matter of recruitment to the entire police force.

Rai Bahadur Mukand Lal Puri: I am condemning the continuance of this system. I am sure you do not expect me to use the word 'additional' every time I use the word 'police'. But I may say that throughout my discussion I am only referring to the additional police. Whenever we used to raise this point before this Government came into power, that Government used to make a note of our demands and the Inspector-General of Police used to make an effort in this matter. I say it from definite knowledge and experience that there used to be a certain amount of effort made to remove the communal disparity. Unfortunately now our demands fall on deaf ears, if the Honourable Premier would permit me to say so. We may cry and cry hoarse but the machinery of Government does not move.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: The honourable member is still irrelevant.

Rai Bahadur Mukand Lal Puri: I am not. I am only confining my remarks to the additional police force. Whenever we make such a demand the reply is flung on our face that Hindus with requisite qualifications are not available. I submit that that is not true. They are available in sufficient numbers. I know scores of people ready to take up the appointments if offered.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: The honourable member is not confining himself to the additional police.

Rai Bahadur Mukand Lal Puri: I am confining myself to the additional police and if by mistake I fail to use the word 'additional' before the word 'police', that word may be supplied and I may be understood to refer only to additional police.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: The honourable member should not repeat the same thing over and over again.

Rai Bahadur Mukand Lal Puri: If additional police is to be recruited in Lahore it is said that sufficient number of police constables are not forthcoming. I say that that is not correct. I ask, whether in the eastern districts of this province such as Rohtak, Kangra, Gurgaon, Hissar, Ambala, Jullundur and Hoshiarpur where there is no lack of qualified Hindus, proper proportions of Hindus are maintained. (*An honourable member from treasury benches:* Yes.) No, this is not so. Even in Lahore and Amritsar if properly qualified Hindus are not forthcoming, there would be no

[B. B. Mukand Lal Puri.]

harm if you recruit Hindus from Ambala or Rohtak for the police force in Amritsar or Lahore. Why should not the Jats, Rajputs and others of the Hindu community in the eastern districts or the central districts be given a chance to serve in Lahore, Amritsar or Gujrat or in western districts. If a good Mussalman is not available in Ambala, one from Dera Ghazi Khan can be taken. This is a matter to which I wish to draw attention of the Government. I respectfully approach the Honourable Premier with a request that he will take steps to remove this grievance of ours. It is not merely a question of loaves and fishes of office. We do not mind if the recruitment of Hindus is made from the constituency of the Minister of Development. I have and so have the other Hindus of western districts full confidence in the Hindus of Rohtak, Gurgaon, Hissar and such other places.

I am only voicing the modest demand of my community, in asking the Government to take some steps to remove the communal disparities in the lower ranks of the police force. The heads of the police department frequently plead that adequate number of Hindus are not forthcoming. If the police department is to be manned entirely by Hindus, I can produce enough number, but that would not be desirable. But fancy taking shelter behind the plea that requisite number of Hindus are not forthcoming to join the police force especially in these hard days. I therefore seriously protest against the sanction of this demand for the additional police.

Premier (The Honourable Major Sir Sikander Hyat-Khan): I am afraid my honourable friend has still not got over that militant spirit which he probably imbibed during the last two or three days in that conference in which he took a prominent part. I believe he has taken the earliest possible opportunity to show his loyalty, his adherence, his enthusiasm for the resolution which he sponsored the other day in that Hindu Minority Provinces Conference.

Sardar Lal Singh: Is that relevant?

Premier: I am not relevant. Only the honourable member was relevant!

Sardar Lal Singh: Proceedings outside this Assembly have nothing to do with the motion before the House.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: Order, order.

Premier: My honourable friend could have waited till the budget demands came up before the House when he could have given vent to his spleen on the Government. But my honourable friend has decided otherwise, and when the atmosphere is charged with bitterness from various quarters and when the poison has been pouring forth from various directions, he has thought it fit to pour oil on the fire.

Sardar Lal Singh: May I draw the attention of the Honourable Premier to the fact that this out motion was given notice of several days before the conference was held?

Premier: My honourable friend probably thinks that my remarks refer to him.

Sardar Lal Singh: I am not afraid of your remarks. I am used to them.

Premier : I know that my honourable friend is impervious to all kinds of remarks, but I may assure him that I was not referring to him. I was referring to Rai Bahadur Mukand Lal Puri and I am sure that he would not mind my friendly admonition to him. He has been indulging in a rather communal atmosphere and naturally he is imbued with that spirit. I hope he will soon shed it. He is just fresh from that conference and it will generally take some time before he can get over its effects. But I may tell him that its aftermath will do no good either to him or to his community. (*Interruption.*) I merely referred to the atmosphere in Lahore during the past few days and said that most probably the Hindu Sabha Conference and other conferences merely added to the poison and bitterness which I wanted to avoid. My honourable friend looked to the gallery and then said, "What an injustice has been done to the Hindus in this department?" He did not look at me, but he looked up to the Press Gallery so that they may take note of what he was saying and say what a loyal member of the Hindu Sabha he is, that he is ventilating the grievances of the Hindus.

Sardar Lal Singh : The Ministers look to the Press Gallery more often than do the members here.

An honourable member : Even the Premier does so.

Premier : I never look to the Gallery, because they are always kind to me. They always report me correctly and I do not need to look up to them.

My honourable friend, Mr. Puri, has been ventilating the imaginary grievances of the Hindus. If Mr. Puri will listen to me, I think he will be sorry for what he said and I hope that he will pay a little attention. He got up and delivered his diatribe or harangue. He said that the previous Government was nothing but a pillar of justice and that the present Government has done nothing to remove the disparity. As a matter of fact, unless my honourable friend has got a short memory, he will find that it is the other way about. When I was on the Police Commission in 1926, my Hindu friends came to me and said, "We want to have more Hindu constables to be recruited". A very practical demonstration was given only a week later. Fortunately we got a requisition from the Hongkong Police which, as you know, is a very coveted service, as everybody wants to go to that place, particularly my Sikh friends and those who have gone with the Army like to go there. We advertised all over the province and 800 Sikhs and a certain number of Hindus arrived at Lahore. I was present at that parade and we had to select only 100 and we selected that number. After that we asked every individual whether he would like to be recruited for vacancies in the Punjab police and they said that they would not care to be recruited to the Punjab police. We asked, why? They said, "There is more *izzat* in the Hongkong police, we get nice quarters and we want a high standard." My friend asked, why are we not taking over Hindus? One of the instructions issued by this Government to every Superintendent of Police was to try and take as many Hindus in the lower ranks of the police as came forward, and the trouble was that except from the south-eastern Punjab, no body came forward, because they did not think it worth their while to enlist. That does not mean that we have not tried to remove the disparity.

[Premier.]

If Mr. Puri will look at the 1940 figures — we have not yet got figures for 1941 — he will find that in the upper ranks the Hindus have more than their due according to their proportion. In spite of that we have been endeavouring to get more in the lower ranks. Can my honourable friend deny it? We have strictly set our face against any rapid removal of disparity. If we had tried to do that, the result of such a policy would have been lop-sided. It will take some time to remove a disparity in any department but we have set our face against such disparities. We decided that we should adhere strictly to 50 : 30 : 20 ratio for the various communities and make the recruitment according to that in practically all the other departments. But even in these departments it will take years to remove the disparities. My honourable friend says Government has done nothing to remove disparity in other departments. Take the Irrigation Department. He will find that the Muslims there are only 9 or 10 per cent. Government has not been able to increase this by more than one per cent. If so, have the Muslims got a legitimate grievance? If they were of the same mentality and communally-minded, like my honourable friends, they would have the same grievances, but I can assure my honourable friend that so far as this Government is concerned, we have laid down this proportion and we will proceed according to that proportion. If my honourable friend will examine the higher posts in the police, he will find that the Muslims there are 48·2 per cent deputy superintendents, 34·9 per cent inspectors, 59·1 per cent sub-inspectors, and 61·3 per cent assistant sub-inspectors. If he will look at the figures for the previous years, he will find that in the lower ranks the proportion of Muslims was higher than it is now. So far as the Hindu constables are concerned, we have to depend only on the south-eastern districts.

As regards the recruitment of additional police, hitherto our practice has been merely to take in Army reservists because they are trained, they are physically fit and they are otherwise amenable to discipline and do not require lengthy training. Therefore we have hitherto always employed reservists. The Dogras come from the Kangra district or the Hoshiarpur district, the Jats and the Ahirs come from the southern districts and the Sikhs come from the central districts. Now I think when we have to recruit any further additional police, it will be necessary to recruit it from the Army reservists. At the moment there is no question of favouritism except to those who have Army connexions. Our policy has been to recruit the Army reservists without any communal considerations and I can assure the House that so long as I am here that policy without any favouritism will be followed.

Sardar Lal Singh : I respectfully submit that this introduction of irrelevant matter as regards the Minority Conference was entirely out of place. If it could be said against Mr. Puri that he had been influenced by what has been happening outside this Assembly, the same could be said with equal justification that the Premier had been influenced by another conference which took place during the same days on parallel lines. But that question will not help us any further. The question is that a certain portion of the population in this province feels aggrieved that it is not as well represented as it should be numerically on an important force like the

police which controls the peace and well-being of this province. The Honourable Premier is adept in quoting instances which are entirely out of point. He said that people going to Shanghai were invited. It is natural that people going to Shanghai having seen better standards of living will not naturally come down to accept lower salaries.

Premier : My honourable friend is only presuming. They are new. They are fresh recruits.

Sardar Lal Singh : He has quoted the example that people for Shanghai were invited and they did not accept. That does not prove that you cannot get Hindus and Sikhs. The root cause is that there is a general impression amongst the Hindus and Sikhs that the police force is dominated by a certain community which makes them afraid of enlistment and keeps them away. That is one of the reasons and they should be told that they will have equal opportunities as the other community and I am sure that those communities will certainly come forward.

Mr. Deputy Speaker : Question is—

That the demand be reduced by Rs. 1.

The motion was lost.

Mr. Deputy Speaker : Question is—

That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 13,80,010 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the year ending 31st March, 1941, in respect of Police.

The motion was carried.

MEDICAL.

Minister for Finance (The Honourable Sir Manohar Lal) : Sir, I beg to move—

That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 62,700 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the year ending 31st March, 1941, in respect of Medical.

The motion was carried.

AGRICULTURE.

Minister for Finance (The Honourable Sir Manohar Lal) : I move—

That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 21,190 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the year ending 31st March, 1941, in respect of Agriculture.

The motion was carried.

ELECTRICITY SCHEMES—WORKING EXPENSES.

Minister for Finance (The Honourable Sir Manohar Lal) : I move—

That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 1,59,000 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the year ending 31st March, 1941, in respect of Receipts from Electricity Schemes—Deduct Working Expenses (other than Establishment).

Mr. Deputy Speaker : Motion moved—

That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 1,59,000 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the year ending 31st March, 1941, in respect of Receipts from Electricity Schemes—Deduct Working Expenses (other than Establishment).

Mian Muhammad Nurullah : I beg to move—

That the demand be reduced by Re. 1.

Mr. Deputy Speaker : The honourable member's amendment does not seem to be in order.

Mian Muhammad Nurullah : The demand includes two items of Rs. 32,100 and Rs. 1,26,900. This is also a general question just as in regard to the police grant. It arises out of the general policy.

Mr. Deputy Speaker : The honourable member may discuss this item alone.

Mian Muhammad Nurullah : I am discussing this item only. If you read the note on page 49 of the supplementary estimates you will find :

(1) Works expenditure financed from ordinary revenues.

The sum demanded under this minor head is intended to cover the excess caused by changing the allocation of the estimates for losses on stock from the Capital Head to the Revenue Head as desired by the Accountant-General, Punjab.

So there has been excess and I am entitled to discuss that excess. Further on, on the same page you will find :

B (7) Cost of power creditable to bulk supply.

The sum of Rs. 1,26,000 asked for under this minor head is required to meet the excess expenditure likely to be incurred before the current financial year expires.

This makes it clear that my motion is quite relevant. Why was that excess caused? I am going to discuss it. It has also been discussed lately in the speech of the Honourable Finance Minister himself and this has made me give notice of this cut motion, so that Government may in future take all the precautions and adopt all measures necessary to effect retrenchment so that there may be no excess in this department in future. The remarks of the Honourable Finance Minister on page 15 of his budget speech show the great concern he feels for this.

Mr. Deputy Speaker : The honourable member is discussing the demand in general and not this item.

Mian Muhammad Nurullah : This item is included in the excess expenditure and I say that is because the department has not been efficiently run in a businesslike way.

Mr. Deputy Speaker : That is not covered by this amendment. The amendment is out of order. Question is—

That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 1,59,000 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the year ending 31st March, 1941, in respect of Receipts from Electricity Schemes—Deduct Working Expenses (other than Establishment).

The motion was carried.

SUPERANNUATION ALLOWANCES AND PENSIONS.

Minister for Finance (The Honourable Sir Manohar Lal) : I beg to move—

That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 37,800 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the year ending 31st March, 1941, in respect of Superannuation Allowances and Pensions.

The motion was carried.

STATIONERY AND PRINTING.

Minister for Finance (The Honourable Sir Manohar Lal): I beg to withdraw from this demand item No. (2) — an item consisting of Rs. 4,550 as shown in the Supplementary Estimates. The demand will now be reduced by this amount of Rs. 4,550. I therefore move—

That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 72,720 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the year ending 31st March, 1941, in respect of Stationery and Printing.

The motion was carried.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Minister for Finance (The Honourable Sir Manohar Lal): I beg to move—

That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 17,03,920 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the year ending 31st March, 1941, in respect of Miscellaneous.

In doing so, I wish to point out that a mistake has crept in at page 59 of the Supplementary Estimates where it is said, "Air Raid Precautions measures — Rs. 4,74,600 (Recurring)". It should be "non-Recurring". That is a demand which is made only for this year — no recurring liability.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: Demand moved—

That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 17,03,920 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the year ending 31st March, 1941, in respect of Miscellaneous.

Sardar Lal Singh (Ludhiana Central, Sikh, Rural): Sir, I beg to move—

That the item of Rs. 17,200 on account of pay of Chief Officer, Air Raid Precaution, in item 3, be reduced by Rs. 1.

Sir, I have nothing to say as regards the person of this Chief Officer. I do not even know whether he is an Indian or an Englishman. But what I understand has taken place is this that this Chief Officer was in the employ of the Central Government; the whole subject of this war and Air Raid Precautions is a central subject. I understand that the Punjab Government is out to help the Central Government in its war effort as much as it can, but I submit that this method of doing things is rather objectionable. What has been done is this that this appointment has been bodily taken over from the Central Government and the gentleman is to be paid out of the provincial revenues without any thought being bestowed upon primarily whether the Government would like to make any changes while taking over the Chief Officer under its own wings and whether any economy could be effected without efficiency being reduced. I submit that Rs. 2,000 per mensem is a very high salary. Rupees 2,000 per mensem are to be paid to the Chief Officer and under him are a stenographer and chaukidars and peons getting 14 to 19 rupees per mensem. Apart from the merits of the case, there is a very obnoxious disparity between the salaries of the Chief Officer and his subordinates. The Chief Officer has simply to go lecturing about how to put out fire and so on. If the Punjab Government had devoted a little attention to the subject, they could have wired to the High Commissioner in England to get hold of two or three Indians there

[S. Lal Singh.]

and give them a few months' training in Air Raid Precautions and appoint them on half the salary which this gentleman draws. I submit that this slipshod manner is simply to please the Central Government without any consideration of the interests of the province. On the one hand we want retrenchment and resources, on the other we do not care two pence for the interests of the province while appointing men on Rs. 2,000. This policy of appointing men on such salaries without considering whether the person appointed is an Indian or an Englishman is not good. After all wars will come again and we shall have to take air raid precautions, we should have appointed a man who may have been useful in the future also. The present appointment is not at all on right lines.

Mr. Deputy Speaker : Demand under consideration, motion moved is—

That the item of Rs. 17,200 on account of pay of Chief Officer, Air Raid Precaution, in item 3, be reduced by Re. 1.

Minister for Public Works (The Honourable Malik Khizar Hayat Tiwana) : I think the honourable member seems to have been basing his remarks on a misunderstanding. There is no attempt whatever on the part of the provincial Government to take over responsibilities which rightly belong to the Central Government. What happened was this. Suddenly when the War situation developed, as the House would remember, there was a keen demand from every city and town in the Punjab that Air Raid Precautions should be taken and the provincial Government had to take active steps and expedite these precautions. We had incurred this expenditure under the direction of the Central Government. If you will see lower down they are paying us Rs. 1,17,810 at present, because they have decided to pay us on the basis of a calendar year. We are claiming the rest and we will get it. This is the responsibility of the Central Government and it is just a question of incurring expenditure in the interests of the province earlier. We will then claim the amount from the Central Government. We are doing this in many other cases. As to the officer in question he had to be an Engineer and it was very difficult to find a suitable engineer. We were very lucky in obtaining the services of a retired Chief Engineer who was employed on this work. It is not easy, as the honourable member knows, to send Indians from here to England and bring them back after training.

Sardar Lal Singh : I never said that. There are Indians already in England.

Minister : Nor is it easy to obtain the services of those Indians. What happened was this. The Army authorities had their own experts who are in touch with the latest methods of Air Raid Precautions and under their directions this provincial officer has been carrying out the work. What up-to-date information was wanted was available and we had this competent Chief Engineer working here. The amount to be spent on him is later to come from the Government of India and there is no question of the provincial Government trying to please anybody. It is in the interests of the province and I trust no honourable member would differ that Air Raid Precautions are very essential in the province during the present state of war. I do not think this is a demand over which the House need take more time.

Mr. Deputy Speaker : Question is—

That the item of Rs. 17,200 on account of pay of Chief Officer, Air Raid Precaution in item 3, be reduced by Re. 1.

The motion was lost.

Mr. Deputy Speaker : Question is—

That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 17,03,920 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the year ending 31st March, 1941, in respect of Miscellaneous.

The motion was carried.

ADVANCES REPAYABLE.

Minister for Finance : I beg to move—

That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 1,07,200 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the year ending 31st March, 1941, in respect of Advances not bearing Interest—Advances Repayable.

The motion was carried.

IRRIGATION.

Finance Minister : Sir, I beg to move—

2 p. m.

That a token sum not exceeding Rs. 10 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the year ending 31st March, 1941, in respect of Construction of Irrigation.

Mr. Deputy Speaker : Demand moved—

That a token sum not exceeding Rs. 10 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the year ending 31st March, 1941, in respect of Construction of Irrigation.

Mian Muhammad Nurullah (Lyallpur, Muhammadan, Rural)
(Urdu): Sir, I beg to move—

That the demand be reduced by Re. 1.

Sir, all the objections raised by me in connexion with 'charges on Irrigation Establishment' also hold good in respect of this token demand.

In this connexion I only want to ask the Honourable Minister of Development if it is true that instead of water being given to Sirsa and Hansi branches first and in case more water was available, to Kharif Channel, priority is being given to the Delhi Branch and thus the constituency of the Honourable Minister is the first to be benefited? I am glad to know that he takes so much interest in his constituency and is anxious to provide irrigation facilities to his constituents. But fairness demands that the famine-stricken area should be the first to receive water and only after its needs have been satisfied should irrigation facilities be extended to other areas.

Mr. Deputy Speaker : The question is—

That the demand be reduced by Re. 1.

The motion was lost.

Mr. Deputy Speaker : The question is—

That a token sum not exceeding Rs. 10 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the year ending 31st March, 1941, in respect of Construction of Irrigation.

The motion was carried.

CO-OPERATION.

Finance Minister : Sir, I beg to move—

That a token sum not exceeding Rs. 10 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the year ending 31st March, 1941, in respect of Co-operation.

The motion was carried.

CIVIL WORKS.

Finance Minister : Sir, I beg to move—

That a token sum not exceeding Rs. 10 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the year ending 31st March, 1941, in respect of Civil Works.

The motion was carried.

PUBLIC WORKS DEPARTMENT (BUILDINGS AND ROADS ESTABLISHMENT).

Finance Minister : Sir, I beg to move—

That a token sum not exceeding Rs. 10 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the year ending 31st March, 1941, in respect of Charges on Public Works Department, Buildings and Roads Establishment.

The motion was carried.

CIVIL WORKS OUTSIDE REVENUE ACCOUNT.

Finance Minister : Sir, I beg to move—

That a token sum not exceeding Rs. 10 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the year ending 31st March, 1941, in respect of Capital Account of Civil Works outside the Revenue Account.

The motion was carried.

LOANS AND ADVANCES.

Finance Minister : Sir, I beg to move—

That a token sum not exceeding Rs. 10 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the year ending 31st March, 1941, in respect of Loans to Municipalities and Advances to Cultivators.

Mr. Deputy Speaker : Demand moved—

That a token sum not exceeding Rs. 10 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the year ending 31st March, 1941, in respect of Loans to Municipalities and Advances to Cultivators.

Mian Muhammad Nurullah (Lyallpur, Muhammadan, Rural) : Sir I beg to move—

That the demand be reduced by Rs. 10.

This is one of the most important schemes ever handled by this big town of Lahore and big amounts are being spent on this scheme. If you will read Note 2 on page 71, it is stated—

Of this amount, a sum of Rs. 4½ lakhs was required for immediate payment to the Public Works Department and for the purchase of additional supplies of pipes, etc., before prices arose any further. Sanction for the grant of this loan of Rs. 5½ has been given.

(Urdu): When on account of war the prices of pipes, etc., had considerably increased what was the good in importing them from abroad? Could not those articles be manufactured here in the province at the same cost? If they could be manufactured the Government would have done well to have them so made in order to relieve acute unemployment prevailing in this country, and to develop Indian industry and also to get the required material at cheaper rates.

My main objection to the action of the Government in this connexion is that they have not supported home-industry.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: Demand under consideration, motion moved is—

That the demand be reduced by Rs. 10.

Lala Sita Ram (Trade Union, Labour) (Urdu): Sir, I rise to support the amendment moved by my honourable friend Mian Muhammad Nurullah. The position in connexion with this matter has been explained on more than one occasion. You know, Sir, that it is the sanitation in the old city that requires immediate attention. But, as it is said, the extension of the Drainage Scheme to that area is impracticable, my submission is that the execution of the scheme be postponed till the end of the war, as the prices of the material required have very considerably gone up. Had the scheme related to areas like the old city and Mozang, where sanitary conditions are awfully bad I would not have made such a suggestion, since no price would have been high in that case. But I have no hesitation in saying that if the scheme is held in abeyance for a year or two, the people residing on the Mall, Meleod Road and other such localities for whose benefit it is meant and is now being built, will not have to face any serious difficulty, because sanitary conditions in these localities are not so unsatisfactory as to require immediate attention. Thus if the execution of the scheme is postponed till a more favourable time, you will achieve your object with much less expenditure and the money thus saved can be utilized for some other purpose. Another point which supports my suggestion is that the money spent on the scheme is borrowed money and, therefore, you should be very careful not to squander it. You have to pay interest on this huge sum, and a borrower who is not careful of the borrowed sum, invites his own ruin. I know that the proceeds of the house-tax will wipe out the debt in a short time, but that is no reason why you should not try to economise. With these remarks I support the amendment.

Minister for Public Works (The Honourable Malik Khizar Hayat Tiwana): I would first of all draw the attention of the honourable member, who spoke last, to the actual demand. It has not got anything to do at all with the points he has raised. Actually what has happened is that there is a certain amount of money with the Trust for which they could not find immediate use and the Municipality wanted that money. During the war it is very difficult to raise loans. Therefore, it has been mutually arranged that the Trust should give the loan to the Municipality and the Municipality will eventually pay the money back to the Trust when it is wanted. The honourable members, during the course of their remarks, said certain things that are liable to create misunderstanding. So, I would like to reply to those points. First of all, it has been said that things are

[Minister for Public Works.]

being brought into Lahore from outside. That is not the case. As I gave an assurance in this House, every effort is being made to get the local material wherever it is available. The labour for the sewerage is mostly locally procured. Then it is the bricks which are locally burnt. The pipes are made in Lahore Cantonment. So, with the exception of machinery, which is not manufactured in India and which we have had to import, all the rest that is obtainable here is being obtained. It has been ordered that any article that can be obtained locally, should be obtained. It is not correct to say that we are not helping the local industries. If there is anything that is available here but is being brought from outside, then I would like the honourable members to tell us that such is the case and I will look into the matter. Is any article which is available in the Punjab, coming from outside? Sewerage pipes and labour are all procured locally and the exception is that of machinery. The honourable member went on to criticise the actual execution of the scheme. That is not relevant to the demand. He knows fully well that all parts of a sewerage scheme cannot be carried out all at once. Some portions have got to be completed earlier than the others. Every effort is being made to expedite the scheme and anybody who has gone about Lahore would know that drains are under construction at a very rapid pace and the scheme is making very good progress.

Lala Sita Ram : May I ask a question? Is it not a fact that the best part of the city is being taken in hand at present so far as the Sewerage Scheme is concerned? The rest is not taken in hand.

Minister for Public Works : The honourable member may be knowing what is the best part of Lahore. I call the entire Lahore city, which has eventually to come under the scheme, as a very good city. (*Interruption.*) The trouble is that the main drains have got to be constructed first. Unless you have the main sewers, you cannot have the connecting links. Main sewers are to be constructed first and the links will come later on. You cannot have cart before the horse. The work was started before the war and it is not in the interest of the tax-payer that the work should be held over, otherwise it might be shelved for long. This is the reason for the demand and I hope that it would be passed by this House.

Mr. Deputy Speaker : The question is—

That the demand be reduced by Rs. 10.

The motion was lost.

Mr. Deputy Speaker : The question is—

That a token sum not exceeding Rs. 10 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the year ending 31st March, 1941, in respect of Loans to Municipalities and Advances to Cultivators.

The motion was carried.

The Assembly then adjourned till 12 noon on Tuesday, 4th March, 1941.

PUNJAB LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

SEVENTH SESSION OF THE FIRST PUNJAB LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

Tuesday, 4th March, 1941.

The Assembly met in the Assembly Chamber at 12 noon of the Clock. The Secretary informed the House of the unavoidable absence of Mr. Speaker due to an accident. Thereupon Mr. Deputy Speaker took the Chair.

STARRED QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

REMOVAL OF WATER STAND-POST BY THE MUNICIPAL COMMITTEE, REWARI.

***7222. Pandit Shri Ram Sharma :** Will the Honourable Minister of Public Works be pleased to state whether it is a fact that the Harijan Jatia Chamaran of Rewari, district Gurgaon, have represented several times to the Deputy Commissioner, Gurgaon, and also to the higher authorities against the action of the President, Municipal Committee, Rewari, in removing the water stand-post some time in November, 1939, from their Mohalla to a distant and inconvenient place; if so, the action taken thereon?

Parliamentary Secretary (Shaikh Faiz Muhammad): Yes. No action was considered necessary by the Deputy Commissioner on the representations, as the stand-post has been shifted only 100 feet away from the old site to meet the needs of an adjacent Mohalla also. It is provided with two taps to meet the demand for water of both Mohallas.

REFERENCE TO THE MAGISTRACY IN POLICE ADMINISTRATION REPORT.

***7251. Pandit Shri Ram Sharma :** Will the Honourable Minister for Public Works be pleased to state—

(a) whether he is aware of the fact that a reference to the magistracy has been made in the Police Administration Report for 1939 in the following words “some magistrates are inclined to regard themselves as statutory protectors of the accused against the malice of the police”;

(b) if so, the data on which this assumption is based?

Parliamentary Secretary (Sardar Bahadur Sardar Ujjal Singh):
(a) No. But the words do appear in the Government review of that Report.

(b) The experience of district officers.

GAMBLERS ARRESTED IN HARYANA DISTRICTS DURING DIWALI OF 1940.

***7253. Pandit Shri Ram Sharma :** Will the Honourable Minister for Public Works be pleased to state the number of gambling dens raided by the police and arrests made during the *Diwali* of 1940 in the Haryana districts of Rohtak, Gurgaon, Hissar and Karnal?

Parliamentary Secretary (Sardar Bahadur Sardar Ujjal Singh):

The required information is given below:—

District.			Number of gambling dens raided.	Number of persons arrested.
Rohtak	..	..	Nil	Nil
Gurgaon	..	..	Nil	Nil
Hissar	..	..	17	9
Karnal	..	..	1	Nil
Total			18	9

PREFERENTIAL TREATMENT TO SONS OF GAZETTED OFFICERS OF THE EDUCATION DEPARTMENT IN FEE CONCESSIONS AND SCHOLARSHIPS.

***7595. Chaudhri Sumer Singh :** Will the Honourable Minister of Education be pleased to state—

(a) whether it is a fact that, as laid down in Chapter V of the Education Code, the sons of the officers of the Provincial Education Service are entitled to preferential treatment in the matter of grant of fee concessions and scholarships to the sons of other employees in the subordinate service of the Education Department; if so, the reasons therefor;

(b) whether he is aware that the grant of this privilege to the members of the Provincial Education Service has created dissatisfaction among the latter class of public servants; if so, the action intended to be taken to remove this discontent?

The Honourable Mian Abdul Haye : (a) Provision exists in Section G (a) Article 160-A, Punjab Education Code, XI edition (Reprint), for scholarships to the children of officers of the various provincial services who die before they retire on a pension and leave their families in straitened circumstances, but there is no provision for the grant of fee concessions.

(b) I am not aware of any such dissatisfaction nor does Government intend taking any action in the matter.

ZAMINDARI SCHOLARSHIPS TO SONS OF GUJARS OF GURGAON DISTRICT.

***7596. Chaudhri Sumer Singh :** Will the Honourable Minister of Education be pleased to state what action has been taken so far or is intended to be taken on the request made by the Gujars of the Gurgaon district in their capacity as agriculturists in various addresses presented to all Ministers during their visits on different occasions to Gurgaon district that their children may be permitted to compete for the award of Zamindari Scholarships permissible under section F, Chapter V of the Education Code?

The Honourable Mian Abdul Haye : Under the existing orders all Hindu and Sikh agricultural tribes notified as such under the Punjab Alienation of Land Act are eligible to compete for the Zamindari Scholarships.

STATEMENT OF EXCESS EXPENDITURE AUTHENTICATED BY GOVERNOR.

Minister for Finance : Sir, as required by section 81 of the Government of India Act, 1935, I lay on the table the statement of excess expenditure for the year 1938-39 authenticated by His Excellency the Governor.

As required by section 81 of the Government of India Act, 1935, I hereby authenticate the following statement of excess expenditure for the financial year 1938-39, which specifies :—

- (a) the excess grants made by the Punjab Legislative Assembly in its Session held in February, 1941, and
- (b) the sum required to meet the excess expenditure charged on the revenues of the Province.

STATEMENT.

Grant No.	Major head of account.	Excess grants made by the Punjab Legislative Assembly.	Sum required to meet expenditure charged on the revenues of the Province.	Total.
		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
7	Irrigation (Works) .. .. .	..	59,993	59,993
9	Irrigation (Capital)	2,55,326	..	2,55,326
30	Famine	7,09,620	..	7,09,620
31	Superannuation Allowances and Pensions.	45,093	..	45,093

LAHORE :

The 21st February, 1941.

H. D. CRAIK,

Governor of the Punjab.

CITY OF LAHORE CORPORATION BILL.

Clause 273-A.

Mr. Deputy Speaker : The House will now resume consideration of the City of Lahore Corporation Bill.

Sardar Sahib Sardar Santokh Singh (Eastern Towns, Sikh, Urban) : Sir, I stood up the other day to oppose this new clause, 273-A,¹ when the House was adjourned. This clause provides that—

Save as otherwise expressly provided, no civil court shall have jurisdiction to settle, decide or deal with any question which is by or under this Chapter required to be settled, decided or dealt with by the Corporation or the Chief Executive Officer.

Now, Sir, this refers to Chapter XXIV. In this Chapter very wide powers have been given to the Chief Executive Officer concerning erection, re-erection and destruction of buildings and houses. It is the Chief Executive Officer, who, under this Chapter, will be cloaked with very wide powers that the Bill gives him. I will enumerate some of the powers that are given to the Chief Executive Officer under this Chapter and against which it is now sought that the jurisdiction of the civil courts be done away with. Clause 263 (b) under this Chapter lays down that :

The Chief Executive Officer may refuse to approve of the site on which it is intended to erect or re-erect any building on all or any of the following grounds :—

- * * * * *
- (b) that the site is in a portion of the City in which the position and direction of the streets have not been determined, and that the building which it is proposed to erect on such site will, in the opinion of the Chief Executive Officer, obstruct or interfere with the construction in future—

The point to be noted is that permission can be refused not because the proposed building obstructs or interferes with the present construction of any street but covers also future construction as well—

—of suitable streets in such portion of the City or the drainage, water-supply or ventilation thereof; provided that any person to whom permission to erect or re-erect a building on such a site has been refused may, by written notice to the Chief Executive Officer, require that the position and direction of the future streets in the vicinity of his intended building be forthwith laid down and determined, and if such requisition be not complied with within one year from the date thereof, may subject to all other provisions of this Act, applicable thereto, proceed with the erection of his building.

Two important points must be noted in respect to this clause. One is that if in the sole discretion of the Chief Executive Officer — he may be acting quite rightly though on wrong reports or in some cases intoxicated with power may be acting even in a *mala fide* manner,— he feels, that the proposed building though in conformity with the by-laws and regulations, may hereafter at some distant date, in his judgment obstruct or interfere with the construction of streets, he has the right and wide powers of refusing to sanction the erection or re-erection of any such building, and if he does make that decision then the person concerned may have to wait for one year to have his remedy and he will not be entitled to erect his house

¹ 273-A. Save as otherwise expressly provided, no civil court shall have jurisdiction to settle, decide or deal with any question which is by or under this chapter required to be settled, decided or dealt with by the Corporation or the Chief Executive Officer."

and must necessarily wait for at least one year. Further on, in clause 268 (d), it is laid down:

When the site is in a portion of the City for which a town planning scheme has not been sanctioned by the Provincial Government and that the building which it is proposed to erect or re-erect on such site will, in the opinion of the Chief Executive Officer be likely to conflict, in a manner to be communicated in writing to the applicant with the provisions of a town planning scheme.

Just see the enormity of power that is being vested in the Chief Executive Officer, that a scheme may not have been sanctioned, not even prepared, and still, because he thinks that a certain scheme may be made, he has the right to refuse the sanction for the erection or re-erection of a building. Again, in clause 265 it is laid down:

If at any time before the completion of a building of which the erection has been sanctioned under section 262, the Chief Executive Officer finds that any modification of the sanctioned plan is necessary, the Chief Executive Officer may, subject to compensation for any loss to which the owner may be put, direct that the building be modified accordingly.

The point to be noted is, that the Chief Executive Officer may sanction a building and if subsequently it comes to his mind that that sanction must be cancelled, although certain portions of the building may have been already erected, he has the right to cancel that sanction. Even in that case where the man concerned might feel that he is not being dealt with in a proper manner, he will have no remedy left to him as the jurisdiction of the civil courts is sought to be divested. That man will have no remedy even if he is in a position to prove that the Chief Executive Officer had not acted in a *bona fide* manner. Even after the building has been permitted to be erected, the Chief Executive Officer has the right to refuse permission for the occupation of the building if he thinks that some irregularity has been committed. Clause 267 lays down—

(3) Within seven days from the date of commencement of such inspection, the Chief Executive Officer shall,—

(a) give permission for the occupation of the building erected or for the use of the part of the building re-erected, or

(b) refuse such permission in case such erection, re-erection, construction or re-construction is in contravention of any provision of this Act.

Well, Sir, the Chief Executive Officer might think in certain circumstances that certain irregularities have been committed. The man on the other hand feels that he has not offended against any by-law, even then he is put to the trouble and he cannot occupy the building for as long as the Chief Executive Officer may deem it necessary. The poor man will have no remedy against this arbitrary action of the Chief Executive Officer. Coming further, clause 268 lays down—

(1) In any case in which the erection of a building has been commenced or is being carried on unlawfully as mentioned in section 273, the Chief Executive Officer may by written notice, require the building operations to be discontinued from the date of the service of such notice.

(2) Any person failing to comply with the terms of such notice shall be punishable with a fine which may extend to one thousand rupees and when the non-compliance is a continuing one, with a further fine which may extend to fifty rupees for every day after the first during which the non-compliance continues.

[S. S. Santokh Singh.]

Clause 269 lays down—

- (1) If any person contravenes any provision of section 267 or disobeys any direction of the Chief Executive Officer made under that section the Chief Executive Officer after giving twenty-four hours' notice shall direct all persons engaged in any capacity in the work of erecting or re-erecting the building in question or part thereof or constructing or re-constructing any projecting portion thereof or occupying or using such buildings or part thereof to remove themselves and shall take such measures as will prevent any one of such persons from again entering into or remaining upon such building or part thereof except with his permission.

It will be seen that not only the Chief Executive Officer has been given the right to give notice to the owner of the building or the premises, but he can by notice direct even labourers working on the premises and ask them to discontinue the work. The inconvenience that will be caused to the poor owner can better be imagined than described. What I am pointing out is that very large powers are given to the Chief Executive Officer in all these matters. Then clause 271 lays down:—

Should any house, shop, wall or other building or part of a building project beyond the regular line of a street, either existing or determined or for the future or beyond the front of the building on either side thereof, the Corporation may, whenever such house, shop, wall or other building or part thereof, has been either entirely or in greater part taken down or burned down, or has fallen down, by notice, require such building or part when being rebuilt to be set back to or towards the said regular line or the front of the adjoining buildings; and the portion of the land added to the street by such setting back or removal shall become part of the street and shall vest in the Corporation:

Provided that the Corporation shall make full compensation to the owner of the land, or of the building thus vacated for any damage he may sustain in consequence of his building or any part thereof being set back.

Now all of us know that the sites in Lahore are very costly and fetch enormous prices, and in case the Chief Executive Officer wants a particular owner of a house to set back his house to come into line with certain alignment even then he will be the sole authority to decide the amount of compensation that may have to be given. Again clause 272 says—

- (2) The Corporation shall make reasonable compensation to the owner for any damage or loss which he may sustain in consequence of the prohibition of the re-erection of any building or part of a building except in so far as the prohibition is necessary under any rule or by-law.

I have just quoted several of these clauses to show—and there are many more which could be quoted but I do not want to take more time of the House in quoting them—what wide powers under this Chapter shall vest in the Chief Executive Officer in carrying out his duties. Let us not forget that this Chief Executive Officer will be subordinate to none, certainly not subordinate to the Corporation: he may be only subordinate to the local Government, the Minister for Public Works but the Minister for Public Works with all the multifarious duties that he has to perform will be in no position to go into all the doings and I might say—also misdoings of the Chief Executive Officer. All of us are aware that the ex-Administrator of Lahore even defied the Minister for Public Works in certain matters. Complaints were made on the floor of the House that the ex-Administrator of the Lahore Municipality had actually defied the Minister even, what to talk of the councillors or other poor people. As I have said he will not be a subordinate of the Corporation, and the only safeguard in such cases, if he went wrong, is that the people can approach the court for the redress of their grievances. Now, why should we imagine that the

courts will go out of their way and support the people where they have no *bona fide* claim against the Corporation? It is not easy for every man to have redress in the civil courts especially in these matters. There will be first the question of cost of litigation, and if the courts find that the action of the plaintiff to run in the Corporation was vexatious and *mala fide*, he may not only be saddled with further costs, but may also be run in for damages by the Corporation. Therefore the owners of the buildings will have to think ten times before they take into their head to go to the civil court against the Corporation. The Chief Executive Officer with all the influence that he shall certainly have and his autocratic powers cannot be supposed to yield to any undue demand of anyone, and it passes my comprehension why the Government should in this matter come to the rescue of the Chief Executive Officer and embolden him to commit wrongs in the absence of any safeguards for the owners. The Chief Executive Officer, who is responsible to nobody, should not be allowed to become more autocratic than what he will otherwise be, and people should not be deprived of the right to approach the civil courts for the redress of their grievances. If their jurisdiction is taken away the plight of the people can be better imagined than described. Such a provision does not exist in any Act of any other Corporation. The Honourable Minister for Public Works takes his stand on the provisions of the Punjab Municipal Act. Sir, in bringing forward this Bill the basic principle, as I understand it, should have been to give more power to the Corporation and to infuse more confidence in the minds of the Lahore citizens, and as such nothing whatsoever should be done to take away that confidence of the people. After all what is there to fear if the Corporation or the Chief Executive Officer act in a *bona fide* and in an honest manner? There are adequate provisions in this Bill, which will soon become an Act to protect the Corporation and the Chief Executive Officer against any action that any citizen of Lahore may take into his head to take against them. Where, however, they do go deliberately wrong there should be some provision to check it. Everybody has got an inherent right to go to the courts of the province for the redress of grievances; and I for one fail to see what necessity there is for this Government to insist upon this clause which will shake the confidence in the minds of the Lahore people towards the Corporation and will create the impression that the Lahore Corporation may do any wrong and there will be no redress against those wrongs. I hope the Honourable Minister will in the light of my remarks see his way to reconsider his decision in regard to this matter.

Minister for Public Works (The Honourable Malik Khizar Hayat Tiwana): In this chapter which is to be governed by this new clause which was moved the other day we are only concerned with clauses 260—278. It has been said that such a provision does not exist elsewhere. But I am glad to note that the honourable member subsequently recognized that such a provision does exist in our own Municipal Act. If he would refer to section 225 which provides for appeals he will find that an appeal is provided to the Deputy Commissioner and to the Commissioner and later on it says —

No such refusal of notice or order, shall be liable to be called in question otherwise than by such an appeal.

[Minister for Public Works.]

This provision has been so far in force and no difficulty has been experienced except recently. That is why we have come forward with this clause. You will find later on an amendment standing in the name of Sayed Amjad Ali Shah to clause 262. I hope, when that amendment is moved with your permission, to accept it. It reads—

That in sub-clause (2), line 3 (of clause 262), for the word "any" occurring for the second time, the words "just and sufficient" be substituted.

Therefore, if there are just and sufficient reasons, the matter may be taken up to the Commissioner or to the Government, as the case may be. This, as far as I can see, is an improvement on the existing municipal practice. Appeals are provided under clauses 366 and 367. Further, if my honourable friend examines the provisions about appeals he will realize that all his apprehensions about the Chief Executive Officer, being given great and arbitrary powers, are misplaced. He also forgot that this control is not to be exercised by the Chief Executive Officer independently, as the building by-laws are to be framed by the Corporation itself. I would refer him to clause 388. He will find therein that the Corporation has to make by-laws as to what sites should be approved and for what purposes. It is only subject to these by-laws that the Chief Executive Officer has to work.

My honourable friend must also realize that there is another provision in this Bill which does not exist in the present Municipal Act. You know that a person has to make a building application first to the Executive Officer who may refuse to sanction it for specific reasons or may accept it. If he accepts well and good. But if he refuses, the person has got a right to go to the local Government or the Commissioner as the case may be. (*An honourable member* : But not to a civil court.) There is a provision for appeal to civil court also. Sub-clause (3) of clause 273 provides an appeal to the District and Sessions Judge of Lahore and under section 366 to the High Court. What we are barring is the interference by the subordinate courts.

Rai Bahadur Lala Gopal Das : Is it your point that the distressed person should either go to you direct or to the High Court and not to intermediate courts?

Minister for Public Works : Yes. I am prepared to give reasons for that clause, but I do not want to go into details. But if the honourable member wishes I shall have no objection to give him the reasons. He must know that building control is a difficult matter and it requires expert knowledge and experience. Therefore, we have tried to vest this power in the District and Sessions Judge of Lahore. If the honourable member refers to the Karachi Act there is a provision for appeal to the Judge of the Small Causes Court. But the Judge of Small Causes Court there is different from the Judge of Small Causes Court here. Our District and Sessions Judge corresponds to the Judge of Small Causes Court there. I may also point out that if you refer to conditions in England or any other country you will find that such interference by civil courts is not allowed in executive matters. But here we are providing for an appeal to the Commissioner and where the question of interpretation of by-law is concerned we are providing for appeal to the District and Sessions Judge and to the

High Court. So, I am now in a position to assert that so far as the interests of individuals are concerned, subject to the by-laws which are to be framed by the Corporation itself, they are as safe as they could be anywhere. But, of course care has to be taken to see that the individual does not benefit at the expense of the community. We cannot allow haphazard growth of Lahore. It must be according to a certain plan in the general interest of the city. That is what we are contemplating and I will assert that in other cases also we have made improvements in the Bill. Previously building applications could be held up indefinitely. But now if the Chief Executive Officer does not decide the application within one year the person concerned can go ahead with the building.

Sardar Sahib Sardar Santokh Singh : May I ask the Honourable Minister one question? Was not sixty days the period previously?

Minister for Public Works : This sixty days' period applies to cases where there is a town planning scheme. But for new areas where there is no town planning scheme approved, the period was originally indefinite, but now we have limited it to one year.

Thus, it will be observed that the present measure is an all-round improvement on the existing municipal practice. Town planning is a highly technical matter and many controversies may arise in connexion therewith and it is not therefore desirable that the courts should be allowed to interfere too much with the administration of building by-laws. We have to see that the municipal machinery is not clogged in its working. With these words I hope the House will be able to accept the new clause proposed.

Mr. Deputy Speaker : The question is—

That the new clause be taken into consideration.

The motion was carried.

Mr. Deputy Speaker : The question is—

That the new clause be added to the Bill.

The motion was carried.

New clause 364-A.

Parliamentary Secretary (Shaikh Faiz Muhammad) : I beg to move—

That leave be given to move the following new clause:—

“364-A. Save as otherwise expressly provided no injunction shall be granted by any civil court to interfere with the public duties of the Corporation, the Standing Committee or the Chief Executive Officer.”

The motion was carried.

Parliamentary Secretary : I beg to move—

That the new clause be taken into consideration.

The motion was carried.

Mr. Deputy Speaker : The question is—

That the new clause be added to the Bill.

The motion was carried.

Clause 262.

Parliamentary Private Secretary (Sayed Amjad Ali Shah): Sir, I have an amendment to clause 262. This clause as you know has already been passed, and I am sure that my friends opposite will not object to the amendment which I move.

Rai Bahadur Lala Gopal Das: Even if we do object, what does it matter?

Parliamentary Private Secretary: I beg to move—

That in sub-clause (2), line 3, for the word "any" occurring for the second time, the words "just and sufficient" be substituted.

The motion was carried.

Parliamentary Private Secretary (Sayed Amjad Ali Shah): I beg to move—

That in sub-clause (2), line 3, for the word "reason" the word "reasons" be substituted.

The motion was carried.

Parliamentary Private Secretary (Sayed Amjad Ali Shah): I beg to move—

That in sub-clause (2), lines 4-5, the words "which he deems to be just and sufficient" be deleted.

The motion was carried.

New clause 105-A.

Parliamentary Secretary (Sardar Bahadur Sardar Ujjal Singh): I beg to move—

That leave be given to move the following new clause—

That after clause 105, the following new clause be added:—

"105-A. (1) Notwithstanding anything contained in section 104, the Corporation may, if they think fit, by resolution direct that an allowance by way of discount not exceeding twenty per-

centage shall be made on the amount due from every person who pays the net amount due before such date as the Corporation shall prescribe:

Provided that the said allowance—

(a) shall not be made without the previous sanction in writing of the Provincial Government; and

(b) shall be made at the same rate to all persons entitled thereto.

(2) The Corporation may at any time revoke a resolution under this section.

The motion was carried.

Parliamentary Secretary: I beg to move—

That the new clause be taken into consideration.

The motion was carried.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: The question is —

That the new clause be added to the Bill.

The motion was carried

Preamble.

Mr. Deputy Speaker : The question is—

That the preamble be the preamble of the Bill.

The motion was carried.

Mr. Deputy Speaker : The question is—

That the title be the title of the Bill.

The motion was carried.

Mr. Deputy Speaker : Is it necessary to refer the Bill to the drafting-committee?

Minister for Public Works : I do not think it is necessary in view of the very few alterations made. There are only certain consequential amendments which, if the House so authorizes, I can move them straight-away. I move—

1. In clause 5, sub-clauses (39) to (56) should be re-numbered respectively as sub-clauses (38) to (55).
2. In clause 7—
 - (a) in sub-clause (1), paragraph (a)—
 - (i) in sub-paragraph (iv), the word “and” should be omitted; and
 - (ii) in sub-paragraph (v), after the word “administration”, the word “and” should be added.
 - (b) for paragraph (b), the following paragraph should be substituted, namely:—

“(b) The remaining Councillors of whom one shall be a member of a scheduled caste, one shall represent labour and two shall be women, shall be appointed by the Provincial Government.”
3. In clause 259, sub-clause (10) should be re-numbered as sub-clause (9).
4. In clause 305, in sub-clause (2), the words commencing “For” and ending “noises” should be re-numbered as sub-clause (3).
5. In clause 378, for the figures “1899” the figures “1940” should be substituted.
6. In clause 388—
 - (a) paragraph (50-A) should be re-numbered as paragraph 51;
 - (b) paragraphs 51 to 58 should be re-numbered respectively as paragraphs 52 to 59;
 - (c) in paragraph 54 (re-numbered as paragraph 55), the brackets and letter “(a)” should be omitted.
7. For the words “private street” or “private streets” wherever they occur, the word “street” or “streets”, as the case may be, should be substituted.
8. Clause 105-A should be re-numbered as clause 106.
9. Clauses 106 to 273 should be re-numbered respectively as clauses 107 to 274.
10. Clause 273-A should be re-numbered as clause 275.
11. Clauses 274 to 284 should be re-numbered respectively as clauses 276 to 286.
12. Clause 284-A should be re-numbered as clause 287.
13. Clauses 285—289 should be re-numbered respectively as clauses 288 to 302.
14. Clause 299-A should be re-numbered as clause 303.
15. Clauses 300 to 364 should be re-numbered respectively as clauses 304 to 368.
16. Clause 364-A should be re-numbered as clause 369.
17. Clauses 365 to 369 should be re-numbered respectively as clauses 370 to 374.
18. Clause 369-A should be re-numbered as clause 375.
19. Clauses 370 to 383 should be re-numbered respectively as clauses 376 to 389.
20. Clause 383-A should be re-numbered as clause 390.

[Minister for Public Works.]

21. Clause 383-B should be re-numbered as clause 391.
22. Clauses 384 to 414 should be re-numbered respectively as clauses 392 to 422.
23. In view of the re-numbering of clauses consequential changes should be made in the body of the Bill.

The motion was carried.

Minister for Public Works : I move—

That the City of Lahore Corporation Bill as amended be passed.

Mr. Deputy Speaker : Motion moved is—

That the City of Lahore Corporation Bill as amended be passed.

Sardar Sahib Sardar Santokh Singh (Eastern Towns, Sikh, Urban) :
 Sir, I rise to oppose this Bill. I oppose it because it is a most reactionary Bill and it is a negation of the principles of local self-government. The drafting of this Bill, as all of us are aware, was left to the ex-Administrator of Lahore Municipality, Mr. Macnabb, with whose administration Lahore citizens were so much dissatisfied. It has not been claimed on behalf of the compilers of the Bill that it has any originality. In fact what has been done is that almost all the reactionary provisions of the various Acts as prevalent in the various provinces in India, including the province of Punjab under the Punjab Municipal Act, have been got together and with a few changes which would make the Bill still more reactionary as compared with all the municipal Acts in India, a Bill has been brought forward. All the recent and progressive amendments of the Bombay and Karachi Acts which were introduced so recently as 1938, 1939 and 1940 have been entirely ignored by the compilers of this Bill. The Bombay Act which should have been taken as a model has been entirely overlooked by this Government. Some stress has been laid on the Madras Act from which most of the provisions have been copied and with regard to that Act, no other than the Decentralization Commission has the following to say :

The Madras municipality was remodelled by the local legislature in 1867, 1878 and 1894.

Most of the provisions in this Bill have been bodily copied from the Madras Act framed in the years that I have just mentioned. The Decentralization Commission further says that the peculiarity of the Madras Corporation was that the control of the local Government over it was far more stringent than the other presidency towns, and our Government as was to be expected of it, has copied most of the provisions bodily from that Act. The Decentralization Commission has recommended that all the presidency corporations should have as full powers as Bombay possesses. This was the recommendation of the Decentralization Commission and we had hopes that when bringing forward a measure of this kind in our legislature, the Local Government would have some regard for the recommendation that was made by that impartial and important commission. What do we find, however, in practice? Instead of giving more powers to the Lahore Corporation, instead of basing this Act, which is at present of course a Bill, on the recommendation made by that Commission, the local Government has taken away even those powers that were formerly enjoyed by the municipality and all that by sheer force of numbers. Our arguments were absolutely of no avail and no amendment of any consequence whatsoever has been accepted by this House. Even very innocent amendments to which no

exception could possibly be taken by any impartial person were brushed aside. Permission was not even given to take them into consideration. The measure as it comes out of this House after its second reading is only a half measure. It is not a complete thing in itself. Many important things have been left for the rule-making power of the Government, a thing which has not been done by any other legislature. Other provinces when enacting over these matters had all these things embodied in the Acts themselves. Here, Sir, most important provisions which should have been debated upon and discussed in this House and embodied in the Bill have been left over for the rule-making power of the Government. Even the election wards and the method of election have not been decided. In the other provinces detailed schedules were annexed to the Bill giving the boundaries and showing constituencies and the manner in which these representatives were to be returned to the Corporation, but here no such thing has been done. Even the most important matter in regard to the qualifications of the voters has been left for the rule-making power of the Government. The principal salient points of this Bill are first nominations. This matter has been dealt with at length in this House, but it has not changed the mind of the Government in the least. Examples were quoted from other Acts, instances one after another were brought out on the floor of this House showing that this obnoxious principle of nomination does not exist anywhere in this twentieth century. Corporations which were incorporated centuries back had some element of nomination on them, but as time went on all these nominations were done away with. The result has been, as we find it to-day, that in the Corporation of Karachi which in the words of the Honourable Minister for Public Works is a very successful corporation, no nomination whatsoever exists. Similarly, in the case of Bombay out of 117 councillors, only three ex-officio councillors are nominated, all others come by election. In Calcutta out of 98 only 8 councillors are nominated and I feel sure that even there, and at no distant date, this principle of nomination will be entirely done away with. It is only in this province that as much as 25 per cent nominations have been retained in the hands of the Government and when in this matter a very innocent amendment was brought forward by my honourable friend, Rai Bahadur Gopal Das, the essence of that amendment was that the nominations, if necessary, shall be made by Government to give adequate representation to minorities and to such interests as are unrepresented in the Corporation, that amendment was rejected. It was not allowed to be discussed even. When we proposed from this side of the House that if nominations are to be retained, although they must not be retained on this large scale as is provided in this Bill, it should be expressly laid down as to what those nominations will cover. We sent in an amendment from this side of the House that these nominations if they were really necessary may be applied to secure representation of labour and to secure representation of scheduled castes and to secure representation of only experts, but this Government in its wisdom and backed by numbers, would not even deem it fit to allow us to discuss it on the floor of this House. Permission was refused to discuss that and the Government went on its own way. Why? We all know that in making nominations they will not secure representation of any such people who are not represented on the Corporation. In making these nominations they will find places for their kith and kin or for those who sing their praises. Nominations will not be extended to any deserving

[S. S. S. Santokh Singh.]

ing section of the people. This is what we have seen so often in practice. Nominations in the case of scheduled castes will go to the tonga driver or gardener of some of the members of the ministerial party. As past experience tells us it is for this purpose that this element of nomination has been retained by this Government. It is this principle of nomination that makes this Bill most obnoxious. We on this side of the House have not been able to understand what peculiar conditions exist in this province and in this province alone that make these nominations very necessary. What I expected and very rightly expected was that since all other provinces have deemed it fit to do away with nominations, our Government will at least, if they cannot lead, follow the other provinces in this important and vital matter. But they want to retain this principle of nomination not to the extent of 25 per cent alone, as it existed under the Municipal Act, but they want still further to add to that, by backdoor methods. This has already been pointed out very frequently during the course of discussions on the floor of this House and I will not repeat these arguments over again. Efforts were made from this side of the House to increase the element of elected members on the Corporation. Amendments were sent in to that effect. Efforts were made to increase the representation of the scheduled castes and labour. Amendments were also sent in praying that some one from the Press be also taken on the Lahore Corporation, but all these recommendations were unceremoniously brushed aside by this Ministry. Efforts were made to secure more representation for trade and industry of the province. A very reasonable amendment was moved that instead of two seats being provided for trade and commerce, three seats may be provided to represent commerce and industry on this Corporation, but in vain. We told the Government that if there was a fear that through these three seats men of one particular community will be able to come in, the remedy lay in the hands of the Government and they could set that inequality right by means of nomination, but no heed was paid to any of these requests however reasonable, however fair they were.

Coming now to the Chief Executive Officer, we find that the Lahore Corporation will be a one man's show. So many

1 p.m.

powers have been given to the Chief Executive Officer and without proper safeguards that I feel and I am perfectly justified in saying that this Corporation of Lahore will be a one man's show. This has been done on the pretext that the executive functions of the Corporation are being separated from those of the deliberative side. The powers one after the other have been heaped on the Chief Executive Officer without any safeguard whatsoever. This Chief Executive Officer will certainly not be a subordinate officer of the Corporation; the Corporation will have no power, will have no hand in his appointment. As things stood so far, the Municipal Committees, under the Municipal Act, had the right, had the power to appoint their own Executive Officer, but this Corporation has been denied even this right. The Chief Executive Officer is to be appointed directly by the Government and without even consulting the Lahore Corporation. Even in such small matters, as the granting of leave to the Chief Executive Officer, it is the Government who can grant him leave. The Corporation is to have no hand even in the granting of leave to the Chief Executive Officer.

Now, Sir, my honourable friend the Minister has over and over again quoted the Bombay Act. How is this situation dealt with in Bombay? In Bombay the Secretary, his officers and immediate subordinates are not subordinate to the Chief Executive Officer. They are subordinate directly to the Standing Committee. The Chief Executive Officer in their case, does not count. The Corporation must have some powers over its servants or officers so that they may carry on the policy laid down by the Corporation. When the Corporation lays down a certain policy to be followed by its subordinates, it has been denied the right to see that the policy which has been laid down by it is being followed or not. The Chief Executive Officer may take it into his head to defy the Corporation, and I have no doubt that he will more often than not defy the Corporation, knowing as he does that the Corporation will not be able to set him right. His appointment, his leave, and removal is not in the hands of the Corporation. The Chief Executive Officer, if he is so minded, can do things in his own way and the Corporation as it will be constituted will not be able to lay its hand on him. To my mind, Sir, the Corporation as it is to be newly constituted will be no improvement whatsoever on the present administration. It will be as bad for the Lahore citizens as the present administration and the Administrator. It may be even worse.

In the matter of salary of the Chief Executive Officer a very big salary has been fixed. This Government on the one hand is taxing the people as harshly and as much as it can possibly do, even though those taxes are to fall on a particular section of people, on the other hand it is exceedingly generous to squander away the people's money. References have been made by the Honourable Minister to the Karachi Act and to the Acts of other Corporations bigger than the Lahore Corporation. Karachi Corporation is paying to its Chief Executive Officer a salary of only one thousand to one thousand and five hundred, whereas we will have to pay to our Chief Executive Officer a monthly salary not less than fifteen hundred rupees and not exceeding two thousand and five hundred rupees. I really do not see why the pay of the Chief Executive Officer should not be fixed on the same level as in Karachi. Though the pay in Karachi is much less, it cannot be said that the Karachi Corporation is not doing useful work. Karachi is the cleanest city and it is admitted on all hands that the Corporation there is functioning most smoothly. When able and efficient men can be found on a salary of between one thousand and one thousand and five hundred rupees, I for one fail to see any reason why difficulty should be experienced here to find a suitable man at that salary. Why fix such a high salary as between Rs. 1,500 and Rs. 2,500 besides allowances?

As to the powers that have been vested in the Chief Executive Officer, they are very vast indeed and bear no comparison to the powers that are vested in the Chief Executive Officers of other Corporations. In the case of Madras, even with their very reactionary Act, they have four Standing Committees to supervise and control the work of the Chief Executive Officer. They have a right to ask explanations of the Chief Executive Officer, but here even the Corporation itself cannot touch him. Unfortunately a statutory provision has been made here enabling the Chief Executive Officer to defy the express wishes of the Corporation, even in such a small matter as the production of files. As all are aware where the Corporation by majority

[S. S. S. Santokh Singh.]

decides to requisition a file from the Chief Executive Officer, he has been given the right to refuse the production of same and ask the Corporation to wait till the next meeting in the hope that in the meantime some pressure may be brought on some of the councillors to rescind from the position which they had taken up in the requisitioning of files. If the Corporation in its second meeting sticks to its former decision and again calls for files, even then the Chief Executive Officer has the right to refuse production. And then a Committee of three councillors will be set up to go into the matter to decide over the head of the Corporation whether or not the production of that document will be in the interest of the Corporation. I have not been able to understand why so much importance should be placed on a municipal document. In fact I cannot think of any reason why the Chief Executive Officer should be entitled to withhold any document once he has been asked by the Corporation to produce it. As things stand the Chief Executive Officer may give undue promotion to a subordinate, he may dismiss a subordinate, he may suspend a subordinate, he may do certain things which are not desirable and when the Corporation asks him to produce those files, he has the right to defy the Corporation and refuse to produce those files not for the first time alone, but also the second time when a small committee of three persons will be set up to finally decide the matter. What is the charm in this Corporation if it is not to be given any powers? What is the charm in name alone? Why not do away with this farce of a Corporation and continue to govern Lahore as this Government has been doing during the last five years or so? Why not govern through administrators? I have already said that the administration of Lahore, after this Corporation Act is enforced, will not in the least be better than what we have witnessed at the hands of the administrators. The Chief Executive Officer will be able to do everything in his own way. There will be nobody to check him, for he will be subordinate to none and certainly not to the Corporation. All that he has got to do is to keep the Minister of Public Works in good humour and so long as he is able to do that, the whole business is easy for him. He may put any number of obstacles, he may create any number of difficulties for the citizens of Lahore but so long as he is in the good books of the Government, nothing can hurt him and he will be able to go on his own way, have plain sailing and do what he thinks fit and necessary according to his whims for the administration of the civic affairs of the city. There will be nobody to open his lips against him, for every one will be subordinate to him. In the case of Bombay, as I have said, there is a salutary provision that the Secretary, his officers and his immediate subordinates are directly under the Standing Committee. They are not subordinates of the Chief Executive Officer, so that whenever there is any want of will on the part of the Executive Officer to carry on the policy, as laid down by the Corporation, that can be found and ascertained. The councillors will know how things are shaping in their own house and will be in a position to take steps to set those things right. But, as it is, the Chief Executive Officer will be all in all here. As I have said, this Corporation will be a one man's show. He will be in a position to engage and dismiss anybody. All appointments carrying a salary up to Rs. 200 will be made by him and likewise dismissals are also in his hands. So, who dare oppose the will of that strong man of the Cor-

poration in the appointment of whom the Corporation has no hand, in whose dismissal they have no hand and even in the routine matters of leave the Corporation has no hand? If one were to say that it would not be a Corporation but a subordinate office of the Ministry, a subordinate office of this Government, one would be fully justified in making that accusation against the Government. The way in which this Bill has been brought up and the way this has been passed by sheer force of numbers leads to no other conclusion. This gentleman will be your subordinate and your subordinate alone—I mean the Government's subordinate. He would not care a two-pence for the Corporation. He will be their overlord and not their subordinate, a thing which is hardly desirable under the present conditions.

In the matter of notifications—a very formal matter—that is, notifying return of successful candidates, this Government has taken into its hands powers to refuse notifying the names of successful candidates. I have not been able to find any reason why such a power should be assumed by the Government that they may, at their sweet will and without giving any reason whatsoever, refuse to notify the name of any successful candidate whom they may desire, according to their sweet will, to oust from the deliberations of the Corporation. Matters have come to light that during the regime of this Government, certain members were not notified for the simple reason that majority in a particular committee should be broken so that they may not be able to elect their Executive Officer with the requisite majority. Already certain provisions have been made in clause 12 of this Bill empowering the Government to remove certain people from the Corporation under certain given conditions. We have not raised any objection to that clause. I mean provisions contained in clause 12. What we object to is that there is no earthly reason why this Government, this party Government, should have in their hands power to refuse to notify the names of successful candidates. It is a matter which concerns the electorates to send whomsoever they like, to the Corporation. After the man has gone through all the stages of the election, after he has gone through all the agony and has been returned successful, this Government may, by one stroke of pen, say that they refuse to notify his election and that too without giving any reason whatsoever. What is most amusing is that even there it is laid down that this action of the Government will not be questioned in any court. Now I put it even to this Minister, how far is it fair? A man has gone through election, has spent money, has gone through all humiliations, all of us who have run elections know to our cost the trials that one has got to go through. After everything has been done and he comes out successful, this Government, without even being bound to give reasons, has the right to refuse to notify the election of that man and thereby oust him for all time to come from becoming a member of the body to which he is legally elected and above all, as I have said, the man has got no remedy against the decision of the Government. He cannot question that decision in any civil court. These are, Sir, some of the salient features of this Bill on which I have dwelt upon.

Rules are to be made by this Government in their executive capacity without their being brought before the Corporation. We do know what those rules will be. If I make bold to say, those rules will be framed with a view to increase their political prestige, with a view to strengthen their party position. I think I will not be far wrong in making that assertion.

[S. S. S. Santokh Singh.]

I hold the opinion that those rules will not be framed from the point of view of doing good to the people but with a view to doing good to their own party. Even in the matter of taxes, the Corporation is not left free. Mandatory orders have been issued that they shall go thus far and no more and no less. If a fixed taxation is to be dictated upon by this Government, I really wonder where was the necessity of constituting this Corporation at all. Why not continue to carry on as they have been doing? In the matter of rebates and exemptions, this Government has made provisions in the Bill which are niggardly. They have exempted houses with a rental value of five rupees whereas in other corporations, as was already pointed out houses carrying a rental value of fifteen and twenty rupees are exempted. In the matter of distress warrants also, the amendment that was moved not from our side but from their own side that the utensils and charpoys of poor men may not be touched under these warrants, was brushed aside. The proposal that the charpoy and utensils of a poor man under a distress warrant may not be touched was not accepted by this Government. In the matter of taxes the Honourable Premier gave a very express assurance that the corporation tax and other property taxes will not exceed twenty-five per cent. An amendment was brought in from this side of the House to give effect to the assurance of the Premier that the urban property tax and the corporation tax, both together, will not exceed 25 per cent. Even that amendment was rejected and we were told that the verbal assurance of the Premier was quite enough. If this Government really meant business and if they wanted to abide by the assurance of the Premier, I really see no reason why they should have refused to accept the amendment that was brought in from this side of the House, an amendment which only desired that the assurance expressly given by the Premier on the floor of the House be incorporated in the Bill. Even that amendment was not accepted. Then, Sir, another very reasonable amendment was brought in from this side of the House that whenever the Government wants to remove the Chief Executive Officer, it may do so only after making a reference to the Corporation. This thing is actually being done in Karachi. There is a provision in that Act to that effect. That was brought to the notice of this Government; but, no, they would not listen and it was all in vain. They insisted upon the provision that the Government and Government alone has the right to remove the Chief Executive Officer. I do not shut my eyes to the fact that there is a provision for removal of the Chief Executive Officer by a requisite majority of the Corporation but as I said before, that majority, with the present constitution of the Corporation will never be forthcoming. Then, again, even such an innocent amendment as the one brought in by my honourable sister, Begum Rashida Latif Baji, that the houses belonging to widows and minors in which they themselves live may be exempted from the payment of tax, was not accepted by this Government. Even there their *zid* prevailed and they said 'no', *nahin mante*. I believe I have brought home to all the impartial people sitting in this House that the provisions as they do exist in the present Bill are most reactionary. They bear no comparison to the provisions of other Corporations Acts. They are not only the most reactionary provisions clubbed together from various Acts of other provinces, but every possible effort has been made to make them worse. No executive power whatever has been left to the Corporation. Not only advice, but

orders have been imposed upon them saying that in certain matters they shall do this and they shall do that. The Government is exceeding its functions in making such orders on the Corporation. The Corporation should have been left free to decide their own policy, to decide what amenities are to be given to the citizens of Lahore and in what manner and in what way they are to govern their own civic affairs. But in all that, there will be a great amount of unnecessary interference. There have already been so many mandates that no freedom of thought is left to the Corporation. This Bill, as it has emerged after the second reading, is the negation of the principle of local self-government. That is why I oppose it.

Lala Sita Ram (Trade Union, Labour) (Urdu): Sir, it is a matter of great regret that we have to oppose this Bill even at this stage. I along with other honourable members on this side of the House, who have expressed their sense of dissatisfaction at this measure, fully realize that our speeches would serve no useful purpose because even the most reasonable and harmless amendments proposed by us have been rejected by the Government without any rhyme or reason. Strictly speaking the Government are intoxicated with power and any appeal that is made to them, falls on deaf ears. But, we too are accountable to our conscience and to our constituents whom we are here to represent. It is, therefore, our painful duty to oppose this Bill. Besides, it is incumbent upon us to give expression to our well-considered views on the subject and it is up to the Government to accept or reject them. However, I would refrain from repeating all those arguments which have already been advanced by my honourable friends in connexion with certain amendments. As a matter of fact I have no mind to traverse the same ground.

We all know and there is not the slightest doubt about it that the Government have been successful in getting this Bill passed through the first two stages by the sheer force of numbers and this comfortable majority at their back would certainly help them in bringing this measure on the statute book. But the fact remains that the moral victory belongs to us. (Hear, hear.) Because not only the independent members and members of the Opposition, but some members of the Government including some parliamentary secretaries also were given deaf ears when they put forward certain useful amendments to some provisions of this Bill. All this is proof definite that Government has ceased to listen to reason. They have utterly ignored the fact that the opinion of those honourable members who have been connected with the municipal affairs of Lahore, carries more weight than that of a host of others who do not know even the A B C of municipal administration, and with whose votes the Government is bent upon passing this Bill. Now, I would like to sum up a few objections demanding that this Bill should not be passed. Firstly, the main Opposition has been absent since the Bill was taken into consideration and it is not in the fitness of things that the Government should make a law on which the Opposition has not expressed its view. Secondly, it was suggested by this side of the House to the Government to circulate it for the purpose of eliciting public opinion thereon, but this suggestion was also turned down. Thirdly, even the Independent members could not take part in the deliberations of the select committee, as their request to increase by one their representation on that committee was not acceded to by the Government. Fourthly, the strangest

[L. Sita Ram.]

thing to be noted in this connection is that barring one or two all the members who were appointed to serve on the select committee came from the rural areas whose views on matters urban can never be the last word on the subject. In other words the fate of the citizens of Lahore was to be decided by persons hailing from villages. (Laughter.) It passes my comprehension how these people who know nothing even about the topography of Lahore, or the conditions prevailing there, could sit and deliberate over this measure. As a matter of fact we could not expect these gentlemen to do justice to, or remove defects from, and make improvements in the Lahore Corporation Bill. The fifth is the sad point that the Government did not accept any of the amendments which were moved by us and some of their own members which were calculated to remove some of the rigors of this Bill, with the result that the Bill has emerged from the clause-wise consideration stage no better than it was before.

Some of my honourable friends seem to be labouring under a serious misapprehension. They think that as the Bill relates to the city of Lahore only, therefore, the members belonging to other constituencies have nothing to do with it. That idea is entirely erroneous. The Bill under consideration involves matters of general principles and other members cannot ignore those principles. There has been, in this province, a movement going on for about 50 years to set up public institutions based on the true principles of democracy. This movement recently resulted in the present provincial autonomy and we came to have this responsible Government. But it is a thousand pities that this very democratic Government has proceeded to kill democracy by handing over the charge of the Corporation of Lahore to an official to be appointed by the Government. We were looking forward to *purna sawaraj*, that is, complete independence, but what we actually see is that whatever measure of self-government had already been granted to us is now being snatched away from us. Previously the affairs of Lahore used to be administered by the representatives of the public of Lahore, but now the public of Lahore will be ruled by a nominee of the Government. What a fate! The old Municipality of Lahore was superseded on the pretext that its members were inefficient. I have already refuted this statement during the discussion of the various amendments of this Bill, and I do not want to repeat my arguments. But even if we admit for the sake of argument that the elected members were not efficient, does it mean that the representatives of the public should be replaced by the nominees of the Government? You could elect another better set of people. One man's rule cannot be tolerated in any circumstances even though he may be very capable and efficient. After all democracy is not to be uprooted. The rule of one man is nothing but Hitlerism and that is what the whole world is fighting against. What is the British Empire fighting for, if not for democracy? It is passing strange that whereas in Europe, Hitlerism is dreaded, the same rule of one man is being introduced in the proposed Corporation of Lahore. The City of Lahore Corporation Bill will show it to the world that Indians are not fit for home rule or self-government. The 50 years' progress of self-government in the Punjab has now been suddenly checked by the Unionist Government. It has been laid down in the Bill that even if the Corporation consisting of 68 members wants to see a certain file, the Chief Executive Officer will have the power to refuse to show the

file to the councillors. Here comes the question of principle and I ask that this should be decided first. The question is: Is the Chief Executive Officer going to be a servant of the Corporation or its master? If he is to be a servant of the Corporation his duty should be to obey the Corporation and not to have overriding powers. May I ask as to why the chosen representatives of the public of Lahore are to be insulted in this way? Why are they to be distrusted by the Chief Executive Officer? If, on the other hand, he is the master and the councillors are his servants, then he must have confidence in them, because they are no ordinary servants, being the chosen representatives of eight lacs of people. Moreover, the said Executive Officer will have several other absolute powers with regard to the grant of contracts, and the question of making appointments. Another defect in this Bill is the nominated element which is against the very principle of democracy. Coming to the lines on which the Government will work and settle details of fixing the wards, etc., I may point out that these things had better not been left to the Government. I am afraid the Government may misuse this power. The correct thing to do was to make the wards and settle other details here in the House.

Now a word about the cry of the Government with regard to *status quo*. Viewing the census operations that are going on at present, I now understand better this cry of *status quo*. It is only to maintain this *status quo* of theirs that the Government is allowing one community to increase its population. I say, to allot seats according to the population strength is tantamount to the principle of "Might is right". The open injustice that has been going on in the recent census operations is extremely deplorable.

Mr. Deputy Speaker : The honourable member is not relevant.

Lala Sita Ram : I am relevant, Sir, in so far as the principle of allotting seats according to the voting strength *cum* population is concerned.

Mr. Deputy Speaker : The honourable member has a right to criticize only what is contained in the Bill.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : Cannot he say that powers should not be conferred upon people who have misbehaved in a most disgraceful manner so far as the census operations are concerned? This is relevant.

Mr. Deputy Speaker : That has no relevancy so far as the present motion is concerned.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : You may say whatever you like.

Lala Sita Ram : All I wanted to prove was that the foundation-stone of this edifice was wrong because the Government wanted to proceed on the principle of voting strength *cum* population. If fictitious entries are made in the census operations, certainly a great harm can be done to a certain community whom you have already trampled under foot. That is what I wanted to show. Now to proceed further. It has been argued by the honourable members sitting on the treasury benches that the representatives of the public proved inefficient in the old Municipality of Lahore and that they had communal wrangles. A reference to this communal discussion has been made by the Government in the statement of objects and reasons of the Bill. But it is fallacious to argue that the conflict of the members was due not on matters of principle, but to inefficiency on their part. May I inquire what safeguards are provided in this Bill to stop the

[L. Sita Ram.]

recurrence of such troubles as have been mentioned by the Government Benches? Will not the members of your Corporation be elected on communal basis? What guarantee is there that the magic wand of the Unionist Government will make the Corporation a house of quiet and no conflict? The only strange remedy that you have proposed is that you have handed over all powers to the Chief Executive Officer hoping that in the absence of any powers in the hands of the councillors the chances of difference of opinion leading to quarrels, etc., will be reduced. But the Chief Executive Officer will also be a human being and like all other human beings liable to err. Will your councillors take his orders lying down? Again, there will be no appeal against his orders. By the clause which you have passed to-day no civil court will be in a position to interfere with his orders and judgments. We know that an appeal lies against the orders of a civil court in the court of a district and sessions judge and the orders passed by a district and sessions judge can be reversed by the High Court on appeal or revision petition. Then there is the Federal Court or the Privy Council which hears appeals in some cases. But here you are giving all powers to a single man and his decisions will be final. In reality what you are aiming at is to maintain yourselves perpetually in power by all methods. You want to confer all powers on the Chief Executive Officer so that he may be in a position to do whatever you would like him to do without any interference from any other quarter. And this object can only be achieved by giving him uncontrolled powers and not placing over his head any other authority to whom he may be responsible.

Another matter which I want to refer to in my speech relates to the area which has been included within the Lahore municipal limits. Previously it was only 26 square miles but now it has been extended to 102 square miles. The reasons for extending the municipal area of Lahore are quite apparent. By the extension of the area you have brought in rural areas within the municipal limits so that the rural areas may benefit at the cost of the urban people. I can very well see through the game. The taxes will be paid by the urban people and the lion's share of these benefits will be shared by the rural people. In the villages you could not construct drains or make any sanitary arrangements on account of lack of funds. But by bringing in some rural area within the Lahore municipal limits, you are giving them a benefit for which they themselves cannot afford to pay. The funds will be raised by such means as house tax, etc., and these will be consumed by the rural population. It was said at the time of imposing house-tax that it would be realized only for the time the drainage scheme will remain under construction and that as soon as that scheme was completed its collection would be stopped. But now a mandatory clause has been incorporated in this Bill which makes this tax a perpetual liability on the people of Lahore. No option is given to the Corporation to stop its realization if they so like at any time. This reminds me of income-tax which was levied only as a temporary measure during the Afghan War, but now we find that it has become permanent. If the Government had made it compulsory for the proposed Corporation to impose it only for such period during which the drainage scheme remains under construction it would not have mattered much. But by using the word "shall" in place of "may" they have made the house-tax perpetual. Then, Sir, the honourable lady member

said that in June, 1936, a resolution was moved in the superseded Lahore Municipal Committee recommending the imposition of house-tax. In the face of this thing, how can we say that the representatives of the people of Lahore were not in favour of levying the said tax? I say that the matter relating to the resolution referred to by the Government benches was not what has been described by them.

Mr. Deputy Speaker : The honourable member is not relevant.

Lala Sita Ram : But, Sir, we have to find out how far the reference made by the Government Benches is correct. I want to show what the members of the old committee had done.

Mr. Deputy Speaker : Whatever the members of the old committee did has no relevancy to the matter under discussion.

Lala Sita Ram : Sir, I want to explain to the House what happened in 1936, and under what circumstances the resolution recommending house-tax was recorded, which point the Administrator has emphasized in season and out of season.

Mr. Deputy Speaker : Whatever the Administrator says has no relevancy.

Lala Sita Ram : I am referring to a resolution to which a reference was made by the Government Benches.

Mr. Deputy Speaker : I would request the honourable member to speak to the motion.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : Do you not think you are too meticulous?

Mr. Deputy Speaker : Not at all.

Lala Sita Ram : Now, Sir, the honourable lady member, Mrs. Shah Nawaz, has more than once emphasized this fact on the floor of the House that it were the lady members of the Lahore Municipal Committee who moved a resolution recommending the imposition of house-tax. This is far from the truth. The fact of the matter is that the resolution which was moved by a lady member related only to the insanitary conditions of Lahore and nothing was mentioned in it about the imposition of house-tax at all. In addition to it many other resolutions were moved by other members of the municipality, proposing several remedies by which conditions could be improved. Strictly speaking, that meeting was convened only for the purpose of considering the insanitary conditions of Lahore and not for any other purpose and it was only as a side talk that one of the members suggested that a house-tax be imposed to raise the necessary funds. If that meeting had been convened for the purpose of imposing the house-tax in particular, as has been alleged by her, then for the passing of such a resolution, two-thirds majority of the entire members of the municipality was absolutely essential. What actually happened was that Dr. Mrs. Shave moved a resolution for considering the sanitary conditions of Lahore and she suggested that a strong special sub-committee should be appointed to go into that matter and suggest remedies for bringing about better sanitary conditions in Lahore. In view of this I do not think that Begum Sahiba was in any way justified in saying that the proposal for imposing the house-tax originated with the lady members of the Lahore Municipal Committee.

Mr. Deputy Speaker : I would request the honourable member to give up this subject, because that is not at all relevant. The proceedings of that Committee are in no way relevant and if Begum Sahiba brought it in, you have no right to give a reply to that part of Begum Sahiba's speech. You are to confine your remarks to the present motion and you may say anything you like about what is contained in the Bill.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : I do not know if you were here when a reference was made to this matter by the Minister himself. A very strong argument was urged in favour of the tax on the ground that the Committee itself had passed resolutions imposing a house tax on the city of Lahore and this was pleaded as a justification for the measure which the Government has brought before the House, and here is an honourable member trying to point out that that statement was incorrect and the House was misled by the Minister or whosoever made reference to it, because the true facts in connection with it were not placed before the House. The true facts were that that resolution was in the first place *ultra vires* because it was passed by a meeting which was not called according to the rules. Only a special meeting of the Committee could have passed such a resolution. This matter came up casually in an ordinary meeting and a lady member got up and said that a house tax should be imposed in Lahore. There were others also who took part in it. So that a reference made to it in justification of the measure now brought forward by Government was misleading, and it is the right of the honourable member here to point out that the House was being misled, perhaps being deliberately misled, by the person who made a reference to that resolution, and therefore that misunderstanding should be removed. The honourable member is not going outside the proper sphere of the debate.

Mr. Deputy Speaker : The honourable member is going beyond the scope of the present motion. So far as the present motion is concerned, the honourable member has to confine his remarks to what is contained in the Bill. If anything was said on the other side, before this motion was taken up the honourable member has no right to give a reply to all that during the discussion of this motion.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : If you mean by what you have said that he should confine himself to what is contained in the Bill, does it mean that he should mention a provision of the Bill and not say anything in favour of or in opposition to that provision of the Bill? The Bill contains a provision for the imposition of house tax, and he is trying to say that the house-tax has been wrongly imposed and that this provision contained in the Bill is an improper one, at least in the form in which it has been put in the Bill, and he has a right to refer to everything which has the remotest bearing on it.

Mr. Deputy Speaker : The honourable member can criticise the provisions of the Bill.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : He is refuting the arguments given in support of the Bill. Has he not got the right to refute the arguments? There is a provision about house tax. Excuse me for saying it, but you are too meticulous and too technical and even on technical grounds I submit that you are not correct.

Mr. Deputy Speaker : My only point is that the proceedings of the Committee need not be brought in.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : Unless they have a relevancy.

Mr. Deputy Speaker : The honourable member may proceed.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : The honourable member was referring to the proceedings of the old Committee, and he was referring to the argument of the Minister in connection with it.

Lala Sita Ram : My submission is that Government have advanced this argument more than once on the floor of the House as well as outside it that the house-tax has been imposed, because the members of the previous Lahore Municipal Committee had unanimously adopted a resolution recommending its imposition. In order to clear the doubts of my honourable friends opposite in regard to this matter, I would like to read out some extracts from the proceedings of the Lahore Municipal Committee of 5th June, 1936, I have already pointed out that the resolution which Dr. Mrs. Shave moved related only to the sanitary conditions of Lahore and she pointed out that some steps should be taken to remedy that state of affairs and for that purpose she suggested the setting up of a sub-committee which should go into that matter. In fact she or any other lady member did not say a word about the imposition of house-tax. Allow me to read out the proceedings of the said meeting.

The meeting to consider the sanitary conditions of Lahore and its suburbs was held precisely at 8 a.m. Dr. Mrs. Shave, on whose motion the Committee, in one of its previous meetings, had decided to fix up a special day for the exclusive consideration of the matter, having been called upon by the President to move her resolution, moved that a strong special sub-committee be appointed by this house to take up the cleaning up campaign for Lahore.

That was the resolution which was moved. Begum Shah Nawaz seconded that proposal and said—

The Municipality must do something to improve the very bad conditions prevailing in the town.

That was all what she said and she did not say a word with regard to the imposition of house-tax. At this stage, the President read out to the House a note which he had received on the subject from Mrs. Nanak Chand Pandit in which she had dealt with several remedial measures for adoption by the House. Then I rose to welcome the proposal for the formation of a special sub-committee. Here is what the proceedings say :—

Lala Sita Ram welcomed the proposal for the formation of a sub-committee to suggest practical steps wherewithal to improve the existing sanitary conditions. The committee should also make determined efforts to root out the prevalent causes of the present day conditions. By dealing with individual cases with a stern hand and refusing to interfere with disciplinary action taken against the delinquents the Committee will be putting a premium against the irregular ways of the working of the staff which very largely contributes to the laxity of control and the resultant inefficiency of service.

Afterwards Dr. Dilawar Ali Shah stood up and opposed this suggestion for the appointment of a sub-committee :

He thought that sub-committee never did anything and that the reference of a question to a sub-committee was little better than shelving it. The real question for consideration was the provision of adequate funds. Unless sufficient funds were forthcoming, there could be no improvement worth the name. Under the circumstances the house should consider the question of exploring avenues for increasing its existing resources of income rather than waste its breath over the formation of a sub-committee.

[L. Sita Ram.]

Then Lala Guranditta Mal emphasised the need for educating the public. He explained reasons why the sanitary conditions of Lahore were so bad. He moved his resolution which is as follows:—

(a) To improve the sanitation of Lahore this House requests the Government to grant a loan of Rs. 50 lakhs without interest for the completion of the sewerage scheme to be paid back by the Municipality in instalments of Rs. 2 lakhs a year.

(b) It is further resolved that the health sub-committee should at once look into the question of insufficiency of the conservancy staff and the supervising staff for the new abadis.

Then, Lala Devi Chand Khanna moved the following amendment to the proposal of Lala Guranditta Mal;

In case the Government should not accede to grant a loan without interest the Committee should be permitted to borrow the required sum at the lowest rate of interest.

The committee notes with regret that Government is resuming possession of mostly all Nazul lands vesting in the committee and is either leasing them or selling them in small plots and thus doing away with the few open spaces serving as lungs to the town and giving income to the committee, and resolves that the Government be requested not to take possession of any such lands from the committee."

Lala Guranditta Mal accepted the amendment proposed by Lala Devi Chand Khanna to his resolution. Mr. E. Few suggested that the Government should be asked to give the committee an expert who should be entrusted with the task of planning a "clean up campaign". At this later stage one of the members, Mian Feroze-ud-Din Ahmed, moved the following resolution:

In view of the fact that the population of Lahore and its suburbs has increased by double or even more, and in the same proportion our areas have also developed, and the present resources of income, being the same as 30 years back and being insufficient, it is hereby resolved that a house-tax be imposed without any delay to improve the sanitation of Lahore as suggested by the Government previously. The mover explained that unless a house-tax was imposed the committee would not be able to achieve the object of improving the existing insanitary conditions of the town. He further pointed out that increase in revenue was necessary to meet the liabilities for the repayment of the proposed loan and to strengthen the sanitary staff.

Lala Guranditta Mal moved an amendment—

Now these are the words on which I want to lay great emphasis—

Lala Guranditta Mal moved an amendment to the proposal of Mian Feroze-ud-Din Ahmad, which the latter accepted, that the Government be requested to make over the income which it is to receive from the Entertainment Tax.

All the proposals were put to the House one by one. The proposal of Dr. Mrs. Shave for the formation of a strong sub-committee to take up the question of improving sanitary conditions in Lahore having been adopted by the House unanimously, Mr. G. Reeves Brown, Mr. Muhammad Azim Khan, Dr. Shuja Ullah, Lala Hari Chand, and Dr. Mrs. Shave were nominated by the House as members of the said sub-committee. Dr. Mrs. Shave was nominated as convener of the sub-committee. Mr. E. Few withdrew his proposal in favour of Dr. Mrs. Shave on the assurance that the sub-committee appointed would, if it thought necessary, secure the services of such an expert.

The proposal of Lala Guranditta Mal Kapur, as amended by Lala Devi Chand Khanna, was next taken up and passed by the House unanimously.

That was also passed unanimously. Then:

The proposal of Mian Feroze-ud-Din Ahmad as amended by Lala Guranditta Mal was also declared to have been unanimously passed by the House.

So these, Mr. Deputy Speaker, are some of the extracts from the proceedings of the Lahore Municipality relevant to the point which I wanted to clarify. The main discussion was about the sanitary conditions prevailing in the city, and the paucity of funds was the main obstacle in the way of making any improvements. To augment the municipal revenues many proposals were put forward in side-talks, of which one was about the house-tax. It is not correct to say that a definite proposal recommending the imposition of a house-tax was discussed by the municipal committee. The honourable members who tried to impress upon the House that it was so, probably lost sight of the fact that such a momentous decision regarding the imposition of a house-tax must have the approval of at least two-thirds members of the municipal committee in their special meeting to be convened for the specific purpose. Anyhow, let us examine both the positions. If, as it is said, the resolution was passed by the members, why should the Government blame the members saying that they were not for the house-tax which was a much needed tax? If, on the other hand, the proposal was just by way of a suggestion arising out of the side-talk, why should the Administrator say it to the public, who agitate against this house-tax, that he is not the person responsible for the imposition of this tax and he is simply carrying out a resolution of the old committee whose members were chosen by the public themselves? It is a pity that the Government and the Administrator are very cleverly pursuing the policy of "the heads we win, the tails you lose".

Whatever the case, my submission is that the imposition of a house-tax besides being unjustifiable is utterly useless. The defects or the failings of the municipal administration of Lahore according to the Dobson Committee were mostly manifest 'inside the city walls' and the sewerage scheme, for defraying the cost of which this tax was being imposed, cannot remove them. This scheme is practicable only in the area outside the city walls where conditions are far better than those existing in most of the towns of the province. In short, the scheme is neither practicable in nor is it going to benefit the area where it is most needed. A house-tax would have had justification only if its proceeds were to be expended to improve the deplorable sanitary conditions of the city proper, Gowalmandi or Mozang. But when the civil station area alone is to derive benefit from it this tax seems to be basically unjust and useless. As I have already submitted, even if it is assumed that the levy of this tax was essential, it should have been levied to the extent that the exigencies of the sewerage scheme demanded. To keep it as a permanent tax is in no way justifiable. It should have been left to the corporation, to continue or discontinue this tax after the completion of the scheme.

What I want to make clear by these submissions is that the Corporation Bill which has been brought forward by the Government is in no way a solution of the deplorable conditions existing in the city of Lahore. The reasons why it signally fails to improve matters were given by me at the time of the circulation motion and with your permission I would repeat them for further elucidation of my contention. One of the main defects is the continuance of separate electorates. I am afraid this measure will not only result, as is obvious, in the elections being held community-wise

[L. Sita Ram.]

but will also engender class-wise elections, thus worsening the situation still further. The second reason is the paucity of funds. The limits of Lahore Municipality have already increased 4 or 5 times and are still being increased, but the income is not proportionate to the expenditure. The total proceeds of the House-tax will be utilised for at least 6 or 7 years in defraying the cost of the sewerage scheme. Thus it would become extremely difficult for the Corporation to provide amenities like sanitation and good roads to the rural areas that are being included in Lahore. As compared with Lahore, the conditions in these villages are no better than those in primitive countries and thus a lot of money will be required to provide drainage, good roads, and other amenities there. The representatives of these areas will make persistent demands and the result will be that the same noisy state of affairs will have to be faced by the Corporation which was the cause of the downfall of the old Municipal Committee.

These are some of the basic matters that ought to have been borne in mind while framing this new law. Last but not least, is the point that Government wishes not to bring the Corporation into existence at once. It appears that the real intention of the Government is quite different from what they are trying to make us believe. They do not propose to enforce this Bill for another two or three years lest they should lose the power in their hand. To achieve this end the war is the handiest excuse or else they will find some other pretext to keep the city under the thumb of a dictator called the Administrator. The municipal affairs of Lahore have been in the hands of the Administrator for the last five years and the people of Lahore are groaning under his rule or misrule. The same Administrator has now prepared this Bill and given all the powers to the Chief Executive Officer because he knows that this high office will be filled by himself or some other officer of his ilk. The Government may or may not realize this, but the public does and is wise enough to see through the game. In the end I must assert with all the emphasis at my command that this Bill is a glaring negation of local self-government and, therefore, I strongly oppose the motion for its passage, even at this last stage.

Begum Rashida Latif Baji (Inner Lahore, Muslim Women, Urban) (Urdu): Sir, it is now five years since the Lahore Municipality was superseded and the present Government has been in office for four years. During this long period the public of Lahore has on various occasions passed resolutions protesting against the continuance of the present state of affairs. The representatives of Lahore in this House have urged upon the Government the necessity of resuscitating the Municipal Committee by asking so many questions. The newspapers, English, as well as Urdu, have also devoted their columns to drawing the attention of the Government to this question. And what is the result of all these efforts?—This Corporation Bill which is being read for a third time to-day. Even in respect of this Bill I am in full agreement with the opinion of Lala Sita Ram that the Government will take two or three years to enforce it and thus it will go on trampling under foot the wishes of the public for six or seven years.

Now turning to the Bill, it has been repeated over and over again that it has been framed on the model of the Karachi Act. But if you look at clause 7 you will find that a large proportion of the total of 68 councillors

will be nominated by the Government although there is no nominated councillor in the Karachi Corporation. They have done away with the nominated element by amending the Act. I moved an amendment in order to get this nominated element eliminated. While moving that amendment I drew attention to the constitution of this House, where all the members are elected and the work is going on satisfactorily. In view of this fact I asked why nominated element was considered necessary in the Corporation proposed to be set up at the headquarters of the province. They pooh-poohed and rejected my amendment. But I assure them that when the Debates on this Bill are read by the future generations they will bless my soul and feel that a woman had the courage to put forward a proposal which was in conformity with democratic principles. This is the age of democracy, but the Ministers of our democratic Government are striking at the very root of democracy by their attitude. They should remember that although they have spurned our amendments yet when this Bill goes up to His Excellency the Governor he will send it back with the recommendation that the nominated element may be eliminated. His nation is fighting for democracy, and, therefore, he is sure to take up cudgels in support of democratic principles. So far as the nomination of women is concerned; I make bold to say that if the Honourable Minister nominates me to fill one of the seats reserved for them I will flatly refuse to accept the offer. In reality these nominated seats are being created for incapable and worthless people. I must call these people worthless because they do not enjoy as much confidence and respect of the public as would ensure their return through elections. These people will be henchmen of the Government and shall have to dance to its tune.

Then the Government has played another trick. Clause 9 provides that if the Government refuses to notify in the official Gazette the name of any elected councillor its decision shall be final and shall not be called in question in any court of law. I moved an amendment to this provision also, because if it is left as it is only the favourites of the Government will have the courage to seek election. Others will be deterred by the thought that even if they are elected the Government will disqualify them and they will not have the right to seek redress in any court. May I ask whether this is what you mean by justice and democracy? (*Interruption.*) Yes, I need not take any more time of the House. When so many amendments moved by us have been summarily rejected this speech cannot be expected to prove of any avail. Since the Congress Party has withdrawn there is no opposition worth the name in this House. Anyway, there are two groups of members in the House. One group consists of those who do not use their brains and cast their votes according to the biddings of the Government. Majority of the members belongs to this group. The other group consists of a few members who keep public interest in view and offer useful suggestions to the Government. I belong to this group and I always try to tender the best advice to the Government. Although on the one hand I am a public servant yet on the other I do not want to uproot the Government. But I deem it my duty to give expression to what I feel. Sir, you might have observed the fate which even my innocent amendments have met. One of my amendments aimed that an elected councillor of the Corporation if disqualified by the Government should be entitled to seek help from the court.

[Begum Rashida Latif Baji.]

But it was not accepted by the Government. Just imagine when the Government leaving the councillors to play the part of figureheads would take powers of all kinds in its hands, how would we be able to acquit ourselves and earn good name in the eyes of the coming generations ! The Minister in charge should note that coming generations would curse him and they would be surprised to read the proceedings of this House and bemoan his undemocratic act in these days of democracy. Then I made a request asking the Government to decrease the nominated element in the name of justice and not to put this blot on the fair name of the province, but my voice proved futile, rather a resounding echo in wilderness. And the Government did what they wished to do. Again I say that the provision about nominations would remain a black mark on the fair name of the Punjab. (*Interruptions.*) Now the Parliamentary Secretary is interrupting me saying that I am repeating my points as I have already dealt with them. I may tell him that this is the most important point which not only I am stressing upon but the whole province is raising hue and cry against. It is being said by the Government that they have provided nominated element preponderantly in the Corporation only for the sake of the poor. Let me ask them whether we have not poor people in this House. Are there not Harijans present here ? Are we all Nawabs sitting in this House ? Besides that, I am here coming in *burqa*. Therefore again I appeal to the Government to remove this black mark which they have put on the face of the province and to do away with this great defect and drawback. It is very funny that in this connection they make references to the Corporations of other provinces. May I ask them to pick up the Madras Corporation Act and tell me if there is any provision for nomination there ? As regards the Bombay Corporation I may tell them that out of 117 seats three are reserved for ex-officio members and so far as the Karachi Corporation is concerned to which references are repeatedly made by the Honourable Minister, you will be surprised to know that there is no nomination at all. This being the position I fail to understand the reason as to how a thing which is useful for other provinces can be regarded as useless for the Lahore Corporation.

As you are aware, Sir, many amendments had been tabled to this Bill and the charge brought against it by the Government was that it was done more for opposition sake. I assure the Honourable Minister in charge that that is absolutely incorrect. I do not think he is oblivious of the fact that with every amendment tabled by me there was one by Sayed Amjad Ali Shah to the same effect. Now let me tell him as to why he did so. As my honourable brother Sayed Amjad Ali is a good citizen of Lahore and being well aware of its deplorable conditions he feels the hardships and troubles of the people of Lahore and with that feeling he sent in numerous amendments to this measure. There is no doubt about it that he showed much courage by sending in notices of amendments but his office of Parliamentary Secretaryship proved an obstacle in his way and he withdrew some of them and some he did not like to move. Now let me ask the Government, what does it prove ? It proves that our amendments were justified. (*Interruptions.*) As I have already submitted Amjad Ali sent in amendments for the simple reason that he belongs to Lahore and is not a citizen of Shahpur and Dera Ismail Khan. Granting that I sent in amendments out of mere opposition

as the Government blame me, so far as the amendments sent in by my honourable brother Sayed Amjad Ali are concerned, what will they have to say about them? Why did he send in numerous amendments? It shows that I did not table my amendments for opposition sake but they were correct and based on truth and it was the bounden duty of the Government to have accepted them as they were constructive and were not intended for mere opposition. But in this regard the attitude of the Government was very disgusting and Mian Abdul Aziz was perfectly right in saying that the Government should have fixed a board on their benches with an inscription on it saying "amendments not accepted". If certain members having amendments in their names do not move them and the moved ones are not accepted by the Government, then why should the House bother? I believe he was justified in saying so and that was why he considered it useless to send in any amendment to this Bill.

One of my amendments was that out of 68 councillors ten should be women. But the Government did not care to give ears to this request of mine. Now I would like to make this point more clear by referring to the speech of the Honourable Member Lala Sita Ram who read out the proceedings of the Lahore Municipal Committee and stated that it were only the female members of the committee who first of all felt the miserable condition of the Lahore City and asked the committee to improve them. In this connection it would not be out of place to mention that woman is by nature an organiser and her home is just like a dominion in which she rules as she likes and let me also point out that a woman is capable of doing and actually does all the work singlehanded that the six Ministers here do. *(Hear, hear from the Opposition.)* She is a Minister for Revenue and Minister for Finance at the same time. In the first instance being a Minister for Revenue she receives the income of her husband the source of which may be his employment or rent of his buildings or lands as the case may be and by keeping in view the income and expenditure of her house she prepares a budget and controls the finances in a most appropriate manner. Now take the development. She gets her children educated. She thinks as to which line would suit them. And she makes them inclined towards academic education or industries as the case may be and above all she does her best to better the standard of their living. As regards the portfolio of Law and Order, she gives punishment to her children, gives a slap to one of them and also gives rewards to some of them for their truthful behaviour. In this way she keeps law and order within the four walls of her house and as regards local self-government I would say she is all in all in this respect. *(Laughter.)* To understand household affairs and to look after the health of her children and sanitation of her house is her first work to do. It is now crystal clear that a woman looks after the home, keeps law and order, controls finances, is in charge of development and looks after sanitation singlehanded. It means that the work done by these six ministers is done by her singlehanded. In view of these facts I again claim and I assure the Government that the Corporation will not be a success unless and until considerable number of seats are provided for women therein. First of all the Government should provide seats in the Corporation for women and then see what a brilliant result would be forthcoming. I am ready to assert this much that if the Government appoint 68 women as councillors then we belonging

[Begum Rashida Latif Baji.]

to the fair-sex would be able to redress all the complaints of the Lahore people within a period of ten years. (*Hear, hear.*) (*Interruptions from the Honourable Minister for Development.*) I do not understand why the Honourable Minister for Development is feeling uneasy and interrupting me again and again. However, I would submit that another important amendment was sent in by me and that was to the effect that women should be given the right of franchise as men have got. When a woman can fight elections for the Legislative Assembly why should she be deprived of this right so far as elections to municipal committees are concerned. Here I may tell you that women do not want any favour in this respect. They are, as a matter of fact, capable of fighting elections even against their brethren. As you are aware a lady member of this House, Shrimati Shanno Devi, got her seat in this House after having fought the elections against a male candidate. My submission, therefore, is that the Government should consider this point at the time of framing rules and my second submission in this respect is that as the Government have provided four seats for women in the Corporation two women would come by election and two by nomination. As two ladies taken by nomination would be dumb (*Laughter*) we should not consider them and it means that out of 68 councillors only two seats would be given to ladies. It may be said by the Government that nomination is for weak and poor women who cannot seek election. But to day I am prepared to put down names of those two women, on a piece of paper, who would be nominated by the Government in future and the Government may keep that piece of paper in a box under lock and key and when nomination is made they can see it and I am cent per cent sure that my anticipation would come out true. At present I do not wish to name them but later on when the time comes the Government is welcome to see whether poor and weak women have been nominated on the Corporation. No, it will not be done. I am sure it is a false hope and the Government now want to deceive us. Anyhow I appeal to the Government that both of the nominated women should be lady doctors and none else. If they are not prepared to accept even this innocent suggestion, then I cannot help saying that I have serious doubts about the *bona fides* of the Government. I rather think that their intentions are quite different from their professions. (*An honourable member:* From which community the lady doctors suggested by her, should be nominated?) This matter admits of no difficulty. One lady doctor may be taken from the Hindus and the other from the Muslims.

Then my submission is that I do not consider house-tax as an undesirable thing, because I am fully aware of the fact that the drainage scheme has been launched and funds are urgently needed for its completion. But this does not mean that there should be no end to the levy of this tax. There ought to be some limit to the realisation of house-tax. We must have an estimate of the amount required for this purpose so that we may be in a position to terminate this tax after a certain period when the need for which it was imposed no longer exists. But instead of taking up this course a provision has been made in the Bill that property tax of not less than 10 per cent of the valuation shall be imposed by the Corporation. This is the height of iniquity and injustice. In this connection I had suggested an amendment that the tax should not be more than 10 per cent. But this amendment was rejected unceremoniously. We have no knowledge of

the intentions of the Government. If they so desire they can increase this tax to the extent of 20 to 25 per cent. As the Chief Executive Officer would be their own nominee, they can command him to raise the tax to any higher level they like. Hence I fail to understand how these gentlemen became ardent well-wishers and champions of the cause of Lahore citizens. Do they mean that we, who are the elected representatives of the people of Lahore, have no sympathy for our constituents? Do they think that the amendments and other suggestions put forward by us, go counter to the best interests of the citizens of Lahore? Their attitude reminds me of a Punjabi adage which aptly applies to the Government :

ان قالوں دیجلی دئی پھیر لگن

(cheers).

I would, therefore, submit with all the emphasis at my command that whatever amendments we suggest, we do so in the best interests of the public. But it is a thousand pities that we are refused even the leave to move our amendments. When it is quite open to them to throw out or accept the amendments, they should at least have the courtesy to allow us to move them so that we may be able to state the justification for their incorporation in the Bill and also convince them as to how far their inclusion would prove beneficial. Their blank refusal to grant leave to move our amendments gives an inkling of the intentions of the Government. They think that whatever they do is absolutely correct. But we do entertain apprehensions about their sincerity of purpose. If, Sir, you would peruse the amendments which were proposed by me, you would find that all without exception had been suggested in the best interests of the public. One amendment was to the effect that all houses belonging to widows or minor children in which they themselves live or which bring income sufficient for their own living shall be exempted from the payment of tax. Another was that those houses, the rent of which did not exceed Rs. 15 should be declared immune from the tax. This amendment made our Parliamentary Secretary Mir Maqbool Mahmood very uneasy and at once brought him on his legs. He made an eloquent speech and stated that by this amendment I would be dealing a severe blow to the poor people. He said that I was fettering the discretion of the Government because section 181 empowered them to exempt the poor people from the payment of this tax on grounds of poverty. He further on remarked that under the said section the Corporation could exempt any respectable person of low means the rental value of whose house was Rs. 50 per mensem. It is possible that there may be such a provision. But my amendment was concerned with that clause which specifically laid down that all lands and houses, the rental value of which did not exceed Rs. 5 per mensem would be immune from the payment of house tax. Again, when I knew full well that in the City of Lahore the rent of even small houses in which the accommodation consisted of only two or three rooms, was never less than Rs. 15 per mensem. I was certainly within my rights to get the said section amended to the effect that the rent should be put at Rs. 15 instead of at Rs. 5. But the Parliamentary Secretary, adept as he is, advanced his arguments in such a manner that he gave quite a different colour to what I wanted to convey. However, what I want to drive at is that it behoved

[Begum Rashida Latif Baji.]

the Government to accept some of the amendments put forward by the representatives of Lahore. It is regrettable that they did not grant leave to Sayed Amjad Ali Shah to move his amendments.

Mr. Deputy Speaker : The honourable lady member is again and again repeating the same arguments.

Begum Rashida Latif Baji : Sir, these people are so wooden hearted that they remain unmoved even if I repeat this argument hundred times. (Laughter.) I hold them in great esteem, otherwise I am reminded of a well-known Punjabi proverb which applies to the situation.

زندے اکے روئے اکھان ا کھوڑے

(Renewed laughter.)

I would tell the Government over and over again that the representatives of Lahore are not the enemies of their city. They do not want to convert it into a hell. They also strongly desire to bring about the betterment of the metropolis. If the Government felt it inconvenient to accept all the amendments put forward by us, they should have at least accepted a few of them as a gesture of good will, so that the Bill which is passing through the final stage would have been purged of many a defect. In that case we would certainly have congratulated the Honourable Minister for Public Works. I may also point out that the absence of Parliamentary Secretaries from the House at this time and the reluctance on the part of the majority of the honourable members to speak about the Bill at this stage, amply shows that this measure is not a blessing. I am rather of the opinion that the Bill is neither itself a good thing nor is it a good copy of other Acts. (An honourable member: Copy of which Act?) I am referring to the Karachi Act. As a matter of fact if it had been rightly copied from the Karachi Act, I would have offered no opposition, because in that Act the element of nomination has been done away with. However, I have no mind to take much time of the House and I would appeal to the Government that they should lose no time to remove the hardships of the people of Lahore, who are suffering from them owing to the supersession of the Lahore Municipality for a pretty long time. Now this Bill has almost passed through all the stages and it would be in the fitness of things if the Government enforced it in the next four or five months. With these words, I close my remarks. (Cheers.)

Sayed Amjad Ali Shah (Ferozepore East, Muhammadan, Rural) : I am glad to hear the last sentence of my honourable friend, the lady member, who, as I understand, has not opposed the motion. She supported this Bill although she has found certain faults in it. I rise to congratulate the Honourable Minister of Public Works for bringing in a legislation which will end the present regime of the Municipality of Lahore. I had expected the same welcome from my friend Lala Sita Ram who has time and again complained of the present state of affairs of Lahore Municipality and I thought that he would have without even saying a word, supported this Bill so that the present difficulty, through which the people of Lahore are passing, should end and we may have a Corporation. My friends have some difference of opinion with the Minister in charge and with this side of the House. They think that enough power has not been given to the Corporation. They think

that more power, than is necessary, has been given to the Chief Executive Officer. They consider the provision of nomination a little anti-self-government, and, furthermore, they think that the house-tax is much too high. All these arguments which my friends advanced can be met from this side of the House equally effectively. My friend the Minister of Public Works can say the reason why we have given a certain amount of power to the Chief Executive Officer is that this blue-eyed child—the Lahore Municipality—has rather misbehaved itself in the past. If you look at the history of Lahore Municipality, you will find that from the early days it has had limited power which, as time went on, increased and only five years ago it had quite a lot of self-government which, I am sorry to say, they did not use to the best advantage. My friend the Honourable Minister of Public Works thinks that if this child, which started to walk could not walk but fell in the first pit which came in its way then it should be made to walk by means of supports. With that point of view one may have some difference. My friends on the opposite benches may think that once you make a mistake it is not necessary that you will make it again. I for one, where Self-Government is concerned, would say that if one makes a mistake, he can always learn by mistake. It is not necessary that you should curtail or reduce the powers. But let them have more powers so that they may know how to use them. That, of course, as I have said, is a matter of opinion and no one can say that the Minister in charge was not sincere. That will not be a correct accusation. In this country of ours—and I may call it unfortunate country and wretched country,—one always hears the arguments like the one advanced by my honourable friend Lala Sita Ram on the third reading of the Corporation Bill and he complained of the census. What has the census got to do with this Corporation? The census is merely counting of heads. (*Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang*: Miscounting of heads.) You may think so. If the red heads get up and say that they have been counted wrongly and the black heads have been counted more than they ought to have been counted then where is this controversy going to lead us? The second point made by my honourable friend was that the nominated element provided in this Bill is more than necessary. Here, again, the Honourable Minister can very easily justify this.

Lala Sita Ram: May I request the honourable member to express his own opinion. We will hear the opinion of the Honourable Minister afterwards when he speaks.

Sayed Amjad Ali Shah: Does my honourable friend contend that I should speak only when I want to give my own opinion? I would say a word with regard to nominations. As we all know, this House is an elected body and the Ministry which is governing this province is also elected as the Ministers are appointed by the majority of this House. If the Minister in charge of this Bill selects the members of the Corporation or nominates the members of the Corporation, then, he being an elected member, being an elected representative of the elected members of this province, surely has the same amount of confidence in the masses as anyone else.

Begum Rashida Latif Baji: Then why not nominate all the Councilors? I have understood the honourable member to say that the present Ministry is truly representative of the public and therefore the persons

[Begum Rashida Latif Baji.]

nominated by it will also be representatives of the public. Then why bother about elections? Have nominations straightaway.

Sayed Amjad Ali Shah : Sir, I need not answer the lady member because there are people who are advocates of direct election and there are others who are advocates of indirect elections and we have not yet decided which way is better. I was discussing the question of nominations. The Honourable Minister is cautious, and if I may say so, meticulously cautious because he wants to avoid the recurrence of what happened five years ago. He wants to have a certain element in the Corporation which may be suitable and steady and he hopes that this element will run the Corporation smoothly if the elected are inclined to do so otherwise. Then, my honourable friend, Lala Sita Ram went on to say, "Look here, Lahore is extending and we have included hundreds of villages in Lahore and we have extended the area from 26 square miles to 102 square miles." If he had taken the trouble of finding out what has been the increase of population of Lahore, then he would not have advanced the argument which he has already advanced. As far as I am aware—and I speak subject to correction—I am told that, according to the present census the population of Lahore is over 9 lakhs. In 1911 the population of Lahore was $1\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs; in 1921 it was $2\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs, in 1931 it was $4\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs and now it is double. What does my honourable friend suggest as to where this huge population should be made to live? Surely, he does not mean to suggest that we should build skyscrapers as the Americans have to do for want of space and so we should live in congested slums thereby endangering our own life. The beauty of a modern town and a great city like Lahore with this big population is that it should have big parks and big airy lungs and it should have vast areas which are free from buildings. Then my honourable friend complained about the house-tax and said that the Government has made it obligatory on the part of the Corporation to levy house-tax and not only to levy house-tax but also to fix its minimum. He also said that if the Government intended to levy this house-tax, they ought to have confined it to the period during which the drainage scheme was being carried out and after that money had been repaid to the Government for the loan which they advanced for the drainage scheme, the house-tax ought to have been abolished. That is true. That can be one way of thinking. I am afraid I cannot agree with him because I want this city of Lahore to be second to none in India. If my honourable friend would see Bombay and Calcutta and even Karachi, he would find that we are far behind those modern towns, of course, I will not compare it with New Delhi because New Delhi has had an Imperial subsidy which we can never dream of. Then, my honourable lady friend said that she wanted more women members on the Corporation. I have every sympathy with this cause and I would like myself to see more than five ladies in this House. She supported her demand by giving the argument that a lady in her own house is the finance minister, the home minister, the minister in charge of industries and so on. I may very humbly say that it may be so, but it can only be so where the husband is a minor and is under court of wards: otherwise the husband is the "pater-familias" and he is the person who directs his house. We have been discussing this Bill for a few weeks now and I am glad that we have reached the last stage when it will be passed. I hope

my honourable friend, the Minister of Public Works, will do all that is necessary to have the rules made as quickly as he can. I would request him to very kindly listen to a few remarks which I have to make in this connection.

We have been told that this Corporation Bill is in many ways the same as that of Karachi, Bombay and Calcutta. Sir, I do not agree with him. We have given the Chief Executive Officer much more powers than have been given to him in the other Corporations (*Lala Sita Ram*: Now these are your own views.) We have given these powers in the hope that these powers will not be misused. I hope that the Minister in charge will very kindly see that they are used well and not used as the present municipal committee or the Administrator is using. Lastly, I would urge on him one thing more before I sit down and it is this that the drainage scheme when it is finished and the Government has received back the money paid by them, they would appoint some expert to draw out a plan for the utilisation of the money received in the shape of house-tax, because this will be a substantial sum and one would not like it to be wasted in a haphazard manner and would like to see that a plan is made and that every year a certain part of that plan is brought into being. With these words, Sir, I support the Bill.

Mian Muhammad Nurullah (Lyallpur, Muhammadan, Rural): Sir, I would be very brief. I also oppose this Bill, in the form in which it is going to be passed. I do not want to give long arguments as the matter has been thrashed out thoroughly by our friend, the Leader of the Opposition here, and other speakers who ably dealt with all the points on which I need not go over again. I feel strongly on a few matters but do not feel fit enough to-day and would just say a few words. My first point is that the position given to the Mayor, the standing committee or the Corporation in this Bill is a secondary position as compared with the position given to the Chief Executive Officer who would be thrust upon them as overlord. Probably the present Ministry is accustomed to such things; being all elected members they are always guided by certain powers over them and similarly they also feel that there should be some power over the elected councillors to stabilize things. This is a point on which I want to lay emphasis because it is a negation of local self-government and the principles laid down by the authors of the reforms as well as the famous resolution of Lord Ripon, the then Viceroy. At best the position given to the Corporation is that of a "Soukan" to that of the Chief Executive Officer who would not be their servant. This would lead to a very great friction and possibly later on to the supersession of the newly elected Corporation. As you will remember I gave one amendment to the Honourable Speaker when he was here and this morning it was pointed out that it was a ridicule and nothing else. That was not so. Ridicule is far from my mind. I honestly believe that this Bill is a very retrograde one and is the greatest ridicule of the principles of local self-government, certainly more than I can possibly ridicule the party by putting in this amendment to the long title. What was my amendment?—"an Act to authorise the Unionist ministry to appoint a Chief Executive Officer for Lahore, arm him with the powers of a dictator and then support and protect him from the vagaries of a sham Corporation of Lahore." I do not think I need say anything further.

Chaudhri Jalal-ud-Din Amber (West Central Punjab, Indian Christian) (*Urdu*): Sir, I have risen to oppose this Bill in its present form. I have been trying to find out why such a Bill was brought in by the Government. I have not been able to find out the reasons therefor. At the most what I have been able to guess in this respect is that the Government is perhaps trying to teach us to act according to the saying of some *Rishi*—

بن مائے ہوا ملین اور مانگے لم نہ پھینک

Perhaps they want to impress upon us the truth of the aforesaid saying! They want to tell us that we should not ask for anything and that whatever they would consider good for us will be bestowed upon us. To-day the people of Lahore demand that a good corporation may be established in Lahore but the Government is turning a deaf ear to their demand. The Ministerial Benches instead of giving them food are offering them a stone. The other day they gave jagirs unasked. All honourable members who had their sons in the army got jagirs. But now we want food and they are offering stone instead. Now I want to illustrate that the stone they are offering to us in place of food is not an ordinary stone made of sand and water.

In the first place, the principle of nomination has been introduced in this Bill to which strong objection has been taken by my honourable friends sitting here. I do not think that it is necessary

3 p.m.

for me to repeat all those arguments which they have advanced. However I would like to say a few words in this connection. During the course of discussion on this Bill a very novel argument was advanced by my honourable friends opposite in support of the provision for nominations. They remarked that as this Assembly or Cabinet which was framing this constitution for the Lahore Corporation was an elected body, therefore no objection could be raised against the element of nominations. This attitude of my friends has reminded me of an old adage :

پسندی یا دیگران پسند

They want to inflict

a thing on the residents of Lahore which they do not like for themselves. I wonder how my honourable friends opposite dare say that as compared to the members elected by the residents of Lahore those nominated by Government or by this House would be quite suitable. This argument is absurd on the face of it.

Then Government have reserved to themselves certain very comprehensive powers. For instance, they can refuse to notify the election of any councillor or remove any person from office even though he may be properly elected. This is a thing which does not exist anywhere else in the world. Not a single Government in the world have reserved to themselves such a comprehensive power. That is not all. The honourable members are aware of the fact that under the provisions of this measure a standing committee will be appointed from amongst the councillors. Its function will be to frame the policy and pass resolutions. Beyond that it has not been given any powers at all. As a matter of fact, it will be nothing more than a puppet body and it will have no power worth the name. For practical purposes it will be a non-entity.

Besides, many important matters in regard to which definite provisions should have been embodied in the measure itself have been left to the rule-making powers of Government. It appears that Government like the

wrestlers of olden days who kept the fourteenth trick secret from their pupils, want to leave them to their rule-making power so that they should be in a position to make their control complete on the Lahore Corporation. So far the rules have not been made public. Nobody knows as to how they will be made and as to what form they will take. I think it is highly unfair for the Government to keep this House in the dark in regard to the framing of rules.

Now Sir, there is yet another noteworthy feature of the Bill and that is that the appointment and removal of the Chief Executive Officer has been placed beyond the scope of the Corporation. I do not want to repeat the arguments which have been advanced against it by other honourable members but there is one thing which I would like to enquire from the Honourable Minister. The honourable members are aware of the fact that the policy of the Corporation will be framed by the Standing Committee or the Corporation and it will be the business of the Chief Executive Officer to carry out that policy. But I ask as to who will see whether the Chief Executive Officer is carrying out his duties properly or not. The Corporation shall have no power to question his authority because he will not be responsible to it. He will be appointed by the Government and he will be responsible to Government alone. Under these circumstances who will see whether he is carrying into effect all the resolutions passed by the Corporation properly or not? Who will supervise his work? Practically no light has been thrown on this matter at all.

Then again a great deal has been said about the imposition of the house-tax. But all our protests have fallen on flat ears. As a matter of fact it will be a perpetual tax which will continue to cause trouble to the Lahore citizens. On the top of all these things the Corporation shall not have any power to appoint or to remove any of its servants. The Chief Executive Officer has been empowered to make appointments up to Rs. 200. Naturally most of the appointments will be made by him because generally the servants of the Corporation will be drawing less than Rs. 200 by way of salaries. The result will be that he will become all in all. The standing committee has been empowered to make a few appointments only. Probably their number will not be more than three or four. They will be those servants who will be very highly paid. I ask, what is the need of setting up a Corporation like this which has not been given any power at all?

Now all these objectionable provisions have been put together in this measure and it is being offered to the residents of Lahore so that they should take it and be satisfied. I do not think that a Corporation of this nature will be anything more than a puppet body. After going through its constitution no one can say that it will be a good Corporation. It appears that Government want to set up this Corporation so that it should play to their tune and be always ready to carry out their behests. As I have already pointed out I do not want to go into these matters at length and I would conclude my speech by reciting a few verses. They are as follows:—

ظاہر و باطن بہ لاہور کاروباریشن۔

ہر کسب و کار میں لاہوری کاروباریشن
 کہہ دی ۛ افواہ کا نامی پوشن

[Ch. Jalal-ud-Din Amber.]

جے سر پر ہے تھوڑی فامی دیشن
 نہیں دیوے ہے ایسی ارگنائزیشن
 چاہے ریچہ و جیسے قلدہ
 وہ نہ کر تری ہو رائے زانی
 نہادین تہہ کو بھی اک فاج یسا
 یہی ہے اب صمم دل میں تھا

Lala Harnam Das (Lyallpur-Jhang, General, Reserved Seat, Rural) (Urdu): Mr. Deputy Speaker, I rise to say a few words on behalf of the depressed classes in connection with this Bill. At the time when autonomy had not yet been introduced in this province we the members of the depressed classes were of the opinion that with its advent we would also become as free as other communities. But, unfortunately all those dreams have been dashed to the ground and the result is quite the opposite of what we had thought. So far as the Bill now under consideration is concerned, it appears that as long as the speed with which political liberty is being granted to different classes remains as it is and as long as the attitude of my honourable friends on the Treasury Benches towards the depressed classes remains the same, we cannot hope to attain freedom even in seven 'yugs'. Three yugs have already passed and the fourth is about to end. At this pace another three yugs will also go by without anything being done for the depressed classes.

Anyway, Sir, out of a total number of 68 councillors only one will be an achhut. Even in providing this one seat the Government seems to think that they have done a great favour to our community, but I on behalf of my community offer this seat to the Government in charity. (*Hear, hear.*) A worthless thing is of no use to us and, therefore, it would be better for my friends to take this seat also and give it to one of their own men.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: The honourable member is not speaking to the motion.

Lala Harnam Das: My honourable friends do not realise that the city of Lahore is a fit place to live in because of the efforts of the members of the depressed classes. Had not they been here my friends would have kept to their own native places, like Mianwali, Shahpur or Campbellpur, and would not have felt the need of coming over to Lahore. Two years ago, in the city of Lahore, my achhut brethren had to raise their voice against the difficulties and troubles that faced them and it resulted in a general strike. The poor do not possess any great power but whenever they make use of the little that they have, our democratic Government puts them behind the prison bars. If those who have the power were to act in a just manner all clashes and tussels between the state and the people would disappear. But my friends instead of conceding to the poor their rights throw them in gaols by the thousands.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: The honourable member is not relevant.

Lala Harnam Das : Sir, I am coming to the point under discussion. I was just submitting that thousands of people were rotting in jails simply because the Government does not do justice. If they were to act in fairness and justice no hue and cry would be raised. Injustice is being done to us because we are poor, and on account of our empty stomachs we have to raise our voice. May I know what my honourable friends have done for us? Now if achhuts are not given proper representation even in the Corporation what would be their condition? My friends who think that the depressed classes have been given adequate representation by one seat having been allotted to them can realise the extent to which representation should be granted to them only if they have to do the work of sweepers even for one day. I would like to sound a note of warning here that if the just demands of the depressed classes who are responsible for making Lahore a fit place to live in are not granted they would be forced to make use of the powers that they possess and which even the most powerful Government cannot face. My honourable friends would have understood the implication of my warning. If they have not I would, with the leave of the Chair, like to explain where the power of the achhuts lies. When they refuse to clean your lavatories you will—

Mr. Deputy Speaker : The honourable member is requested to speak to the motion.

Lala Harnam Das : Sir, I was only reviewing the conditions which I am afraid would be created with the coming into existence of the Corporation. I want to warn my friends beforehand that in order to avoid such a situation they should accept the reasonable demands of the depressed classes. The voice of the poor down-trodden people must be heard. It is not proper for the Government to put the socialists, communists and congressmen in jails because they ask you to redress the grievances of the poor and to provide for their bread.

Mr. Deputy Speaker : The honourable member is repeating the same thing over and over again.

Lala Harnam Das : All right sir, I now take another point. My friends have vested all the powers of the Corporation in the Chief Executive Officer. There is no power in this province which can call for an answer from him. I know why such wide powers are being given to him. It is because my friends intend to appoint some relation of a Minister or some protege of theirs in that place who would dance to their tune and will get a fat salary for his reward. Some of my achhut brethren on the Government benches have also said that they are in favour of nomination. I would like to tell them that all of us achhut members who have been elected to the provincial legislature try to acquit ourselves of our duty to represent our constituents, but when an achhut is nominated to the Corporation he would in actual fact represent the Honourable Minister and not the depressed classes. I have nothing more to say in regard to nominations than that slaves are forced by their mentality to keep others in bondage. That is the reason why in this democratic age our friends of the Unionist Government insist upon the principle of nomination.

With these words I oppose the Bill.

Mrs. J. A. Shah Nawaz (Parliamentary Secretary) (*Urdu*): Sir, I do not intend to take much time of the House and shall, therefore, confine my speech to a few brief remarks. First of all I must congratulate the Honourable Minister of Public Works on this happy occasion. Four years have elapsed and at last the day has come when this Bill is going to be passed and placed on the Statute Book. At the same time I would request and pray that after the Bill has become an Act, the Government should take the earliest opportunity to enforce it. The people of Lahore are anxious to see the Corporation working without any further delay so that the municipal affairs may be administered by their own representatives.

Now turning to the remarks made by certain honourable members I would first take up the question of the constitution of the Corporation. No doubt, on principle, I am as much opposed to nominations as any other member of the House and I make no secret of this opinion of mine. But as regards the question as to why nominated element is sought to be retained in the Corporation when there are no nominated members in this Assembly, my reply is that it is for the first time in the history of the province that we are setting up a Corporation with the deliberative and executive functions separate from each other, it is therefore necessary to have in the Corporation some persons who have had experience of the work which the Corporation will be called upon to perform. I hope that a good many of the elected members will possess that experience and ability, but there is also the likelihood of such people not being returned in sufficient numbers. In that case if the Government has some seats at its disposal, suitable persons can be nominated to fill them. Thus it is in the interests of a good administration that in the first few years this power of nomination should be given to the Government. Then there are certain special interests which must be represented on the Corporation; that is another important reason for the retention of the nominated element.

Another honourable member was pleased to remark that the Standing Committee has been given no powers worth the name and that, therefore, it will be a mere farce. But I would request him to read the Bill more carefully. All questions of policy and administration will be decided by the Corporation, and the Standing Committee and the Chief Executive Officer will have to give effect to those decisions and carry out the orders of your representatives. As regards the objections that the Corporation or the Standing Committee will have no say in the matter of appointment or removal of the Chief Executive Officer and, therefore, he will not consider himself a servant of the Corporation, I am one of those who think that the appointment of the Chief Executive Officer should be in the hands of the Corporation. But, unfortunately, our past experience of the Lahore Municipal Committee has been so disappointing that I feel it would be better, at least for the time being, to leave this appointment in the hands of your popular Government. In the old committee we failed to appoint an executive officer. The requisite majority was not forthcoming in any meeting held for the purpose. Not only that, we even failed to elect two members to the Lahore Improvement Trust. There were also certain incidents of which the less said the better. For instance, a certain secretary whom all of us used to describe as an angel was once on the verge of tears on account of the insults hurled at him by

some members in a meeting of the Committee. But as I have said it is not desirable to dilate on such unfortunate incidents. Suffice it to say that in my opinion it would be better if the Chief Executive Officer is for the present appointed by the Government.

As regards the objection in respect of the files not being open to examination by the councillors, I would again submit that if my honourable friends read the Bill more carefully they will find that in one way or another all the files will be available to the Corporation for examination. Then there is the question of the powers given to the Chief Executive Officer under this Bill. I am again prepared to admit that they appear to be very wide, but I am also of the opinion that in the first instance it was desirable to give him these powers. When the Corporation comes into being, I hope my honourable friend who has criticised them so profusely and others like them will be elected and they will find the measure working satisfactorily. If it is found later on that certain amendments are needed, this House will be there to make them. No measure can be expected to be perfect and free from flaws, but you can always remove the flaws in the light of your experience of the working of the measure.

Sir, I am grateful to the Honourable Minister for accepting our request and reserving two elected and two nominated seats for women. May I request him to give municipal franchise to women in municipal areas so that they may have a say in the election of their representatives? I find that certain things were said in my absence which I wish had not been said. You know that your sisters can prove very useful and helpful in the administration of the municipal affairs of the city and it is but meet and proper that they get the right to vote as has been given to them in the Assembly elections.

I was pained to hear that one of my old colleagues of the Lahore Municipal Committee had said that the proposal for levying the house-tax did not come from women members of the Committee. It was a regrettable misstatement of facts and if he reads the proceedings of the Committee carefully he will be convinced of the truth of my contention. However, I do not want to quarrel about this point. Whoever may have been responsible, the proposal itself was good and sound. I have asked my able colleagues several times during the passage of this Bill whether they believe that a tax of this type is necessary in order to improve the conditions and they have said that some such tax is needed. Therefore, I would advise my honourable brothers to desist from and dissociate themselves with the uncalled for and harmful agitation that is being carried on with their approval and under their patronage. As regards the Bill itself, I must request my honourable brothers to face realities. They have been opposing it tooth and nail. Now that this measure is being passed it belongs not to one party, but to the whole House and as such deserves their blessings and support. They should now forget the past and tend this child of theirs with the greatest care so that the civic life of Lahore may again become a thing to be proud of (Hear, hear). With these remarks I support the motion for the passage of the Bill.

Sayed Mohy-ud-Din Lal Badshah (Attock South, Muhammadan, Rural) (Urdu): Sir, I only wish to make a few observations with regard to a fundamental principle on which a structure of law can be built up. Although the proposed Bill seems to be correct in the present form, strictly speaking, there are certain defects in it as my honourable sister has just now pointed out. I am also of the opinion that it would not be proper to pass this Bill in the present form when the defects can be easily removed. Besides, to pass the proposed Bill in the present form without its defects being removed is nothing but to waste money amounting to lakhs of rupees. If my honourable sister had said that there was neither any defect in the Bill nor was there any necessity of making any change in it at any time it would have been a different thing. But she has admitted that certain defects are present in the Bill.

Mrs. J. A. Shah Nawaz: What I said was that defects coming to light when the Bill is working will be removed.

Sayed Mohy-ud-Din Lal Badshah: The second point to which I want to draw your attention is this. We are breathing in a democratic age and every house is resounding with the echo of democracy. I do not see any reason why the Government should introduce nomination at the expense of democracy while the latter is being liked by every sensible person in this world. I must, therefore, say that I am at a loss to understand this logic. It goes without saying that the majority comprising of nominated people has never been and shall never be looked upon with favour. My submission is that the powers taken by the Government in their hands regarding the Lahore Corporation are unlimited and unfettered and to crown all, the Government have retained the power of employing an Executive Officer in their own hands, and so far as the powers of the Executive Officer are concerned they have made him all in all so much so that the councillors of the Corporation will neither be able to remove him even with the majority of votes nor to punish him for his wrongs. I must submit that to deprive the councillors of their powers in this way seems no justice at all. How is it that on the one hand powers more than sufficient in every matter have been given to the Executive Officer and on the other the councillors have been consoled with mere nominal powers only as if the Corporation would be a toy in the hands of the Executive Officer who would play with it according to his sweet will and may break it any moment he likes?

Under the circumstances, the proposed Corporation Bill does not seem better and more reasonable measure and as it is being passed in the present form and the Government have not removed its defects, I regard it as an unsatisfactory and a defective Bill.

With these few words, Sir, I strongly oppose this Bill.

Minister for Public Works (The Honourable Malik Khizar Hayat Tiwana): Sir, this House can well congratulate itself on the businesslike manner and the practical way in which it has dealt with this Bill. We have had Sir to deal with this Bill which is, I think, the longest and the bulkiest piece of legislation that has come up before a legislative House since the legislatures were instituted in this country. Excepting few Acts, like the Criminal Procedure Code and the Indian Penal Code, which were enacted in old days, when there were no legislatures, this Bill is the longest

and the bulkiest piece of legislation. And Sir at one time I thought that we will be discussing this Bill for months, but I consider myself most lucky that the House has been very reasonable in dealing with the various amendments and they have passed those portions of the Bill that were non-controversial without moving any amendments. Certain complaints were made that those clauses were disposed of within a record time and without any criticism. But I do not think that the criticism was justified, because, as you know, Sir, I came to an agreement with my honourable friends opposite, that the non-controversial portions of the Bill might be passed without discussion and that we should concentrate on the controversial clauses only. It was in pursuance of that agreement that we were able to get this Bill passed in such a short time and saved public money and the House unnecessary sittings. Sir, in this connection, I would like to thank my honourable friends opposite and particularly the Leader of the Opposition for his co-operation and support throughout the passage of this Bill. It is a pity that we did not have the advantage of our friends of the Congress benches, because I would have liked to get this Bill passed when they were here in order to benefit by their advice and criticism. I am sure that even now we have taken due care to see that this Bill is as perfect a piece of legislation as we could make it, of course, there might be some drawbacks; but defects there are in every human legislation.

Next, I would like to deal with some points raised during the course of the debate that has been going on over this Bill, and which I have heard with great attention. The arguments advanced are those that were discussed at length when each amendment came before the House. They are not new. So, I would not like to traverse the same ground over again and leave most of that criticism alone, as these arguments have been amply answered by me when I was replying to those amendments. The honourable the Leader of the Opposition started his arguments by reading a lengthy quotation from the Commission of 1884. Whatever that fine body might have thought and said in 1884, it is out of date to-day. Since then the theory of Government has greatly changed and I would not say more. Things have changed to such an extent that we have now to look ahead and plan Government for the future on totally different lines. What we now want is an efficient and good Government. And we should not be carried away by slogans or old theories.

The main difficulty that has been experienced during the course of discussion over this Bill is that honourable members repeatedly get confused with the plan of the Municipal Act and compare it with the Corporation Bill. The plan of the Corporation Bill is totally different. In the Corporation Bill the executive has been separated from that of the deliberative side of the Corporation. The reasons for this are well-known. When we had executive and deliberative functions combined, the result was what we experienced in the last Lahore Municipal Committee. The honourable members would recall that in the Statement of Objects and Reasons of this Bill, I have made it plain that three municipal authorities will be charged with carrying out the provisions of the Corporation Act. First, the Corporation, second the Standing Committee, and third the Chief

[Minister for Public Works.]

Executive Officer. In other words, the Corporation will have certain control but not unlimited control. It will have full budgetary control. It will also control entirely the framing of by-laws. The Standing Committee will exercise certain control over services and appointments. The Standing Committee is the executive body to carry on work on behalf of the Corporation. The Chief Executive Officer is to carry out the executive side of the work. It has been said, "who will check his work?" The work will be checked and controlled by the Standing Committee and the Corporation and over and above that there will be the check of the provincial Government responsible to this House. Is that not adequate check? Honourable members still think in old terms that the control of the Government is not the control of the people. But this is not the case now, ours is a popular and representative Government. There will be very effective control and I do not see any reason how arbitrary powers can be exercised by the Chief Executive Officer.

Then, Sir, the honourable member in one and the same breath went on to say: "Why should this Government appoint the Chief Executive Officer, when other Corporations are not doing it?" When this matter was under discussion, I made it plain that in two Corporations at least, the Chief Executive Officer is appointed by the provincial Governments. In the other two Corporations, the Chief Executive Officer is appointed subject to the approval of the local Government, which virtually means that there also he is appointed by the provincial Government. So, you can see that in all the four Corporations at present in existence in India, the appointment of the Chief Executive Officer, or you may call him Commissioner or by any other name, rests with the provincial Government. So, it is not a case where we have departed from that principle in any way. I may mention that when they amended the Bombay Corporation Act, the Congress Government was in office. Hundreds of amendments were tabled and moved to various clauses of the Bill; but this particular clause, relating to the appointment of the Chief Executive Officer by Government, was not touched and not a single amendment was moved with regard to this clause. I say this on the authority of the Parliamentary Secretary of the Congress Government who was in charge of the Bill that not a single amendment was moved to this clause in the Bombay Legislature. I have not seen the proceedings myself. I am speaking subject to correction. And as the honourable members opposite have not contradicted me, I assume that that portion of my information is correct; that is why no change was made in this provision. It is most advisable that the Executive Officer should be able to carry on his duties without any fear or favour and that he should not depend for the security of his service on any party. That is the reason why the provincial Government should appoint this officer. It is within the control and power of the Corporation to remove him. He is liable to be removed by the Corporation. This has not been realized by the honourable members opposite that this very Chief Executive Officer can be removed if they have got five-eighths majority against him. The Government would appoint the Chief Executive Officer subject to removal by the Corporation. The power of removal is there. In other Corporations no trouble has arisen on account of the Chief Executive Officer not being responsible to the Corporation.

Then, Sir, the honourable member went on in similar strain, and said "Why is this power of fixing wards being taken over under the rule-making section?" As you are aware, Sir, it is the same under the present Municipal Act. We have done nothing new. We want to keep the same state of affairs under the Corporation Act also. We cannot fix the ward boundaries permanently. We will have to change them according to circumstances. We cannot amend the Act every time. It is to avoid that difficulty that we have left this to the rule-making power of the provincial Government. The honourable members will have ample opportunities to agitate on that point on the floor of this House, if any defective wards are framed. We find that the Government of India Act has got the constituencies mentioned in the Schedule attached to it. The result has been that great difficulty has been experienced. If some change is needed in respect of constituencies mentioned in that schedule no such change can be effected unless we go back to Parliament for the necessary amendment. It is to avoid that difficulty that we were forced to stick to the rule-making powers.

Nominations were brought in once again. I am not, as I have said an advocate of the theory of nominations *versus* elections. I would neither maintain that nomination is a better mode of selection nor would I say that it is worse. What I say is that where election is not possible, nominations made by a Government responsible to this House—a Government constituted by the majority party in this House—nominations made by them are as good as indirect elections. Why are nominations necessary? Because we cannot by any other method yet known give due representation to the minorities and interests such as labour, Indian Christians, Europeans, Women and so on and so forth. I said that this Corporation as any other local body wants a certain amount of stable element with experience, people who have settled in the town and have experience and brains but are not prepared to spend money and face elections. There are in Lahore a large number of engineers, doctors, lawyers and others whose experience and ability can be made available to the city in which they live by nomination. If we force them to face the elections, the result will be that they will not spend money and we will lose their valuable advice.

Begum Rashida Latif Baji (Urdu): Sir, may I, through you, ask the Honourable Minister to assure the House that no persons except doctors and engineers will be nominated to the Corporation?

Minister for Public Works: I said that that is one important category. I also mentioned other minorities that would require representation on this Corporation. The difficulty is that elected members—I am not saying anything against the system of election—in these local bodies are not bold enough to face the realities. They would not tax the people and the result is that without money nothing can be done.

Begum Rashida Latif Baji: What is the use of such men?

Minister for Public Works: In this connection there is the history of Lahore house-tax to which reference has been made by various speakers here. We know that since the year 1907 there were plans of sewerage scheme. These were passed on by the President of one time to the President of the other time, by the officers of one time to the

[Minister for Public Works.]

officers of the other time, but nothing happened because funds were not forthcoming. Eventually, the last superseded Municipal Committee, before it was actually superseded, passed a resolution that the house-tax should be levied to raise funds for the scheme; but they did not have the courage to put that resolution into practice and if they had been in office, they would not have been able to impose the tax. To-day we have heard from the honourable member, who represents labour of Lahore, that even that resolution had not been passed and he quoted chapter and verse in his favour. So there is nothing that can be said in favour of that Committee for if that Committee did not pass even that resolution, then the only little creditable thing that they, I thought had done, does not exist and they stand all the more condemned and were all the more deserving of supersession. However, that is a story of the past with which I am not concerned to-day. It was further said that adequate representation has not been given to trade and commerce of the city. At present there is no seat reserved for special commercial interests. We have reserved two seats at least and we know that a larger number representing these will be able to come through general electorates and some may find place through nomination. So, it cannot be said that they have not been given their due share.

Rai Bahadur Mukand Lal Puri : Would the Honourable Minister let the House know as to when he expects the new Corporation to come into existence? He, being in charge of local self-Government, ought to know when it will come into existence.

Minister for Public Works : I will try to answer that question later on. Then the honourable member went on to say that the Administrator defies the present Government. I do not know which instance he was referring to. If he was referring to the particular instance of the building scheme, then he should know that under the Municipal Act, as at present worded, any scheme before it is modified, has got to be referred back to the Municipal Committee and in this case the Administrator happens to be in the footsteps of the Municipal Committee, so he is technically working for the Municipal Committee. In future the Government will have the power to amend those schemes without referring them back. (*Interruptions.*)

The honourable member representing labour went further and said that the powers of elected members are being curtailed. That is not the intention at all. We are here to see that their due rights are not trampled upon by the executive, but surely they cannot be given such liberty that may degenerate into licence. A representative government has got two responsibilities; to safeguard the rights of individual citizens and to safeguard general public interests so that the tax payers' money is not wasted as it has been wasted in the past by certain so-called elected representatives. That is the responsibility which this Government is charged with as representing the majority party in this House. The honourable member then asked, "what would be the description of various constituencies and wards and what would be the mode of elections?" The policy of the present Government on the subject is pretty clear. We are followers of *status quo*. So, it will be *status quo* as regards the question of electorates.

Similarly, as far as the wards are concerned, they will be formed according to the existing policy and in accord with the well-known formula of voting strength-cum-population. The communities will get their right share and any inequality resulting therefrom will be set right by nomination as far as possible. Then the honourable member went on and said that the limits of the town have been extended and that has been done to help a particular community. That was far from our object. No one community lives in any area. Limits have been extended to a particular radius and all communities live therein. If one community, by any chance, is numerically little more than the other, that we cannot help. Why did we have to extend the limits? The reasons are well known and have been discussed on the floor of the House. We found that complete building control could not be exercised. We found that sufficient octroi was not being realised and people had adopted means of defrauding the municipal authorities and escaping from the payment of their due share of taxation. That is the reason why we had to extend the limits. The same member, as if he were a champion of these villagers, went on to say that these villagers will suffer. He did not mention how, but he had certainly become a representative and well-wisher of these villagers. He might call himself a representative of labour; but knowing his views, may I ask since when he has become a representative of these villagers? Have these villagers complained? On the contrary we find that these villagers are to gain. They had to pay for all the goods that they brought to the city of Lahore. Now they are protected and they do not have to pay that octroi. They would not get all the facilities, I admit, that are available to the central portions of Lahore city. But they will have better amenities now than what they were getting before. They were getting ordinary

4. p. m. district board amenities before and now these will be improved. We shall arrange for water-supply and later on roads will be provided and other amenities will follow as the circumstances allow.

Mian Abdul Aziz : In the next century.

Minister for Public Works : Not at all. My honourable friend will see these things in the near future within his lifetime. I am not talking of distant future. (*An honourable member :* Are you referring to yourself?) I am referring to him. May he live long. Then, Sir, the same honourable member went on to attack the sewerage scheme. In this connection I would not like to take much time of the House. It is a pity that we have got people here in this House to-day, who can even attack a scheme like the sewerage scheme without which a modern city cannot exist. It is too late in the day to criticise it. The work has progressed sufficiently and we hope to see a cleaner Lahore before long. Then, one of the schedule caste members, while speaking about the sewerage scheme asked, what would happen to the services of his community or to his brethren of the schedule caste? I admit that this community performs very essential service for the society. Without their assistance, I dare say, other communities will be put to great difficulty. We know it, and, therefore, we have the greatest regard for the services of this community to every city or I would say, to mankind. But there are certain inhumane methods in performing that service and it is up to us to see that those are removed.

[Minister for Public Works.]

That the sewerage scheme is intended to do. It would, I think, be the greatest boon to that community. They will no longer carry on their heads or touch with their hands the night-soil. There would be a water-bound system. He should have thanked the Government for this instead of criticising the sewerage scheme. His community would benefit the most by this scheme. They will not go out of employment because they will have other miscellaneous services in connection with this sewerage scheme. As to their representation, I am at one with him that whatever their population entitles them to they should get their due share by nomination. I cannot agree to give their due share by election. A method can be devised by which their true representatives can be returned. When that question was under discussion, the representative of this very class in this House pointed out the difficulty they would be experiencing if they were allowed to have elected representatives. I will try to nominate the true representatives of that community, but I dare say that they will not be the ones that the honourable member has in view. But we will give representation to that community all right.

Rai Bahadur Mukand Lal Puri : I hope they will be the residents of Lahore.

Minister for Public Works : Yes, very much so. Complaints have been made that the house tax has been levied and that it is very high. I have had the occasion to say this during the course of the discussion of an amendment and now also I repeat it that I consider that the city of Lahore is the most lightly taxed city in the whole of India. The reason is obvious. The citizens of Lahore have so far lived on indirect taxation and that taxation has been paid by the humble members of the schedule castes as well as the richest people at the same level, because it is more or less an indirect tax, that is, octroi tax on eatables and therefore, there has been no taxation worth the name so far. Now, in modern days, if they want all the amenities of a modern city — and they compare their city with London, Paris and other modern European cities — where the money is to come from? Money cannot come from outside and as the money cannot come from anywhere else, it has got to come from the citizens of Lahore. So, we have to levy a light tax on the citizens of Lahore for that purpose. I do not think that it can be grudged. It was also said that the tax is perpetual. Every other tax is perpetual. Land revenue is perpetual. The district board local cess is perpetual. But the Local Government has got the power, if it so desires or if it is found necessary that the taxation should be remitted in entirety, to do so. But I think it will be an evil day when things take such a turn. As long as I am in charge of local self-government department, I have no intention to give up that taxation. What I feel is that if this tax had been levied long ago, we would have a different Lahore to-day. That tax was shirked and we have to levy it now. It should continue as long as any Corporation is in existence. Without money, as my honourable friend, Sayed Amjad Ali Shah, pointed out, no improvement can be effected. Then, Sir, another criticism was made that the Honourable Premier made a statement here that the tax would not go beyond a certain limit but that we did not accept an amendment to that effect. That question has already been discussed on the floor of the

House when the Honourable Premier gave that assurance, and we must live up to that assurance and there is no need of putting it in the statute. Why should we have it in the statute? All the circumstances were taken into consideration and the top limit has been fixed. We are concerned here only with the levy of taxation in Lahore and at present the highest incidence of taxation will not go beyond 4 per cent and when the full rates are in force nowhere in Lahore would the incidence of taxation be more than 8 per cent. The Honourable Premier has fixed 25 per cent as the top limit of the municipal tax as well as the urban property tax. I do not think there is any need to fix a top limit by statute when the Premier has promised it already.

It was also said that we have taken power under this Act for refusal to notify the elected members. Far from it is the case. Those honourable members who have even cursorily glanced at the Bill would concede that the power has only been taken under exceptional circumstances and that was to cover the lacuna in the last Act that the sitting members of outgoing municipality could not be debarred from standing for election even if they were found guilty of embezzlement or of other offences. It is to prevent such an undesirable element coming in again that we have taken this power. I can assure the House that it will be used only in exceptional circumstances; otherwise, there is no idea of stopping ordinarily elected members from being notified. We will only do so in those cases where the guilt has been proved and the member concerned will be informed beforehand that he need not seek election, otherwise his election will not be notified.

The honourable lady member went on and said that widows and minors have not been exempted. Ample exemptions have been given. We have also given power to the Corporation not to exempt only the orphans and widows, but, as the honourable members are well aware, any poor person who will be declared as such by the Corporation, will be exempted. But who will decide this category of poor persons? It will be for the Corporation, the elected members of the city, to decide such cases. We have given them ample power. The honourable lady member talks about widows and minors. But what about other poor people? Widows and minors may not be poor at all. There may be wealthy widows living in luxurious circumstances.

Begum Rashida Latif Baji : It appears that the Honourable Minister has not studied my amendment. I did not urge the cause of any rich widow. What I wanted was that the poor widows should be exempted from the operation of house-tax. It is an ill luck that the Honourable Minister does not try to understand our point of view.

Minister for Public Works : After hearing the interruption of the honourable lady member I cannot but repeat the same sentence that I was saying. We have given ample powers to the Corporation to exempt all categories of poor people. I do not believe that a widow because she happens to lose her husband should be called necessarily poor: she might be a wealthy lady. Similarly, a minor might get a legacy of lakhs and there is no reason why that minor should not pay. This argument has been trotted out on the floor of the House so often and we know its force. What we want is to exempt really poor people whether they are minors and widows or not. That is the intention. I hope the Corporation will exempt the poor from any undue burden of taxation.

[Minister for Public Works.]

Then I would like briefly to deal with the point raised by Sayed Amjad Ali Shah. He expressed the hope that the same conditions will not prevail in Lahore as at present. I do not know whether he referred to the present administration or to the deeds of omission and commission of the last municipal committee.

Rai Bahadur Mukand Lal Puri : Present administration.

Minister for Public Works : If any more information is wanted about the doings of the present administration then this is not the occasion for it. If any honourable member opposite wants any information during the course of the general discussion of the budget I shall be delighted to give all the information that I possess as to how things have improved and what improvement the authorities hope to carry out in the near future.

Rai Bahadur Mukand Lal Puri : Whose duty is it to look after the manholes? A manhole has been missing in front of my house for the last two months. Is it the duty of the Government to get it set right or of the Administrator in charge?

Minister : The honourable member knows that it must be the duty of some employee of the municipal committee to look after that manhole. If the honourable member has got any grievance I do not think that the third reading of the City of Lahore Corporation Bill can in any way make it relevant. The cover of that manhole will be provided near the house of the honourable member—

Rai Bahadur Mukand Lal Puri : The manhole has been missing for the last two months and it has not been put right.

Minister : If the manhole is missing in front of the honourable member's house I am sure due notice will be taken and it will be set right before the honourable member tumbles into it. The Honourable the Christian representative is fond of generally finishing his speeches with a verse. One of the verses meant that the servants of the Corporation will dance to the tune of the Government. Well, I dare say in that connection that every employee of the Government has got, subject to rules and regulations, to carry out the behests of the Government and must dance to the tune of the Government to that extent, and every employee unless he is prepared to suffer the consequences of indiscipline he must carry out the orders of the Government. These orders are not of the Government; they are the orders of the people as long as we command the confidence of the majority party in this House (*applause*). You should not make any complaint on that score. The honourable member himself was a Government servant and perhaps he has been doing this dancing exercise himself (*laughter*) and he has not yet forgotten how pleasant the dance was. He has not only confined it to himself but he has passed that heritage on so that the paying profession may not be lost (*laughter*). One of the honourable members referred to the recent strike and I would not like to refer to that as it is not relevant. They know what good treatment we have meted out to our employees generally. We have every intention to look after the employees of the municipal committee or the Corporation. We want to keep favouritism and nepotism out of the Corporation and that is why we have given

powers to the Chief Executive Officer to appoint certain servants up to a fixed salary, and beyond that they would be appointed by Standing Committee or the Corporation. Then I come to the criticism of my honourable friend Sayed Lal Badshah. I fail to understand what was actually the motive behind his criticism. He made certain points but as he is not here I will pass them over.

Mian Abdul Aziz : He does not know much of Lahore.

Minister for Public Works : Yes, I think so. It has been said we do not know as to what amount of money we are going to get from the house-tax and how this money is going to be spent. I will not take the time of the House by repeating what I said on another occasion on the amendments, that the cost of the sewerage scheme is going eventually to be 2,44,44,160 out of which we are carrying out the first part only which will cost 90 lakhs. For financing this scheme we will get by house-tax about Rs. 9 lakhs : for the present only half rates are imposed and we will get about 4½ lakhs. The entire money collected through the house-tax is earmarked for this scheme and if there is any surplus that will be spent on the general amenities of Lahore. As far as we can see it will be for long years to come earmarked for this scheme exclusively. If there is no taxation laid down the result will be that, as honourable members know, they will have to face the difficulty at the time of elections as they will be asked to remit this taxation. If they do so there will be no money to pay the Government loan and to carry out the scheme. It is essential that this taxation should be laid down in the statute and placed beyond doubt so that the honourable members who seek elections can go to their constituencies and say we are unable to remit this taxation because it exists in the Act itself, otherwise there will be great difficulty. If there is a surplus there is no need for complaining : later on remissions can be given in suitable cases. We are not restricting their discretion : they can spend on anything they like. Let me assure the honourable members that the incidence of taxation in Lahore will be still very light compared with similar other municipalities. In Lahore the rate will be one rupee per head and when full rates are enforced it will be Rs. 2 per head and if we remit this tax we will not have any funds left for improvement. For the present we are levying this rate of tax. If the members of the Corporation want more money they can increase it. If more funds are not wanted then this tax will remain where it is to-day.

Before concluding I would like to say one word. The honourable lady representative of Lahore said that the Corporation should be brought into existence as speedily as possible. This is not feasible as certain amount of time must be taken for framing the rules and setting the machinery in motion. That is unavoidable and we must have this time.

Mian Abdul Aziz : Another two or three years ?

Minister : Similarly the exigencies of the war cannot be foreseen or got over ; it is something beyond our control. As I cannot foresee the exigencies of the war I cannot fix time limit ; but as soon as circumstances permit we will bring the Corporation into being.

Lala Sita Ram : Within what period ?

Minister for Public Works : I am not a prophet and cannot lay down the period ; it is very difficult to do so.

Sardar Sahib Sardar Santokh Singh : Can the Honourable Minister give any approximate idea when the Corporation will come into being ?

Minister : I have no intention of making wild guesses. I can only say that we have no intention, unless forced by circumstances, to delay the coming into existence of the Corporation.

One word before I conclude my remarks. I can assure honourable members that though I and some of the honourable members on this side belong to villages and in that strict sense are not residents of Lahore, still Lahore is not a city belonging only to the individuals residing therein. It is the pride of the whole province and every Punjabi is equally interested. I would therefore say that with the best of intentions we have framed this constitution ; any human-made constitution may be imperfect, but it is as good a constitution as exists any where ; it will be for the representatives of Lahore to see that they live up to our hopes and make this great city worthy of the capital of this great province. With these words I once again commend my motion for the acceptance of the House.

Mr. Deputy Speaker : The question is—

That the City of Lahore Corporation Bill as amended be passed.

The Assembly divided : Ayes 40, Noes 15.

AYES.

Abdul Haye, The Honourable Mian.
Abdul Rahim, Chaudhri (Gurdaspur).
Ali Akbar, Chaudhri.
Amjad Ali Shah, Sayed.
Chhotu Ram, The Honourable Chaudhri Sir.
Faiz Muhammad, Shaikh.
Faqir Hussain Khan, Chaudhri.
Farman Ali Khan, Subedar-Major Raja.
Fazal Din, Khan Sahib Chaudhri.
Fazal Karim Bakhsh, Mian.
Ghazanfar Ali Khan, Raja.
Ghulam Rasul, Chaudhri.
Hans Raj, Bhagat.
Indar Singh, Sardar.
Karamat Ali, Shaikh.
Khizar Hayat Tiwana, The Honourable Malik.
Kishan Das, Seth.
Manohar Lal, The Honourable Sir.
Muhammad Akram Khan, Khan Bahadur Raja.
Muhammad Faiyaz Ali Khan, Nawabzada.
Muhammad Sarfraz Khan, Chaudhri.

Muhammad Shafi Ali Khan, Khan Sahib Chaudhri.
Muhammad Yasin Khan, Chaudhri.
Mushtaq Ahmad Gurmani, Khan Bahadur Mian.
Nawazish Ali Shah, Sayed.
Pir Muhammad, Khan Sahib Chaudhri.
Pohop Singh, Rao.
Prem Singh, Chaudhri.
Ram Sarup, Chaudhri.
Ranpat Singh, Chaudhri.
Ripudaman Singh, Rai Sahib Thakur.
Roberts, Sir William.
Sahib Dad Khan, Khan Sahib Chaudhri.
Shah Nawaz, Mrs. J. A.
Singha, Diwan Bahadur S. P.
Sumer Singh, Chaudhri.
Suraj Mal, Rai Sahib Chaudhri.
Talib Hussain Khan, Khan.
Tikka Ram, Chaudhri.
Ujjal Singh, Sardar Bahadur Sardar.

NOES.

Abdul Aziz Mian.	Muhammad Nurullah, Mian.
Barkat Ali, Malik.	Muhammad Wilayat Hussain Jee-
Faqir Chand, Chaudhri.	lani, Makhdumzada Haji Sayed.
Jalal-ud-Din Amber, Chaudhri.	Mukand Lal Puri, Rai Bahadur Mr.
Jugal Kishore, Chaudhri.	Mula Singh, Sardar.
Lal Singh, Sardar.	Santokh Singh, Sardar Sahib Sar-
Muhammad Abdul Rahman Khan,	dar.
Chaudhri.	Sita Ram, Lala.
Muhammad Hussain, Sardar.	Uttam Singh Dugal, Sardar.

The Assembly then adjourned till 12 noon, on Thursday, 6th March, 1941.

1911

1911年1月1日 星期日
1911年1月2日 星期一
1911年1月3日 星期二

1911年1月4日 星期三

1911年1月5日 星期四

1911年1月6日 星期五



1911年1月7日 星期六

1911年1月8日 星期日

1911

PUNJAB LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

SEVENTH SESSION OF THE FIRST PUNJAB LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

Thursday, 6th March, 1941.

The Assembly met in the Assembly Chamber at 12 noon of the clock. Mr. Speaker occupied the chair amidst cheers.

STARRED QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

COMMUNIST LITERATURE.

***7297. Pandit Shri Ram Sharma :** Will the Honourable Premier pleased to state—

- (a) the extent of communist literature in the forms of posters, hand-bills, pamphlets etc., seized by the Government since the out-break of war ;
- (b) the number and names of arrested persons in this connection ;
- (c) the number and names of workers believed to be communists arrested so far and those absconding yet ;
- (d) whether the Government has got a list of the workers in the Punjab who are styled as communists in the police diary ?

Parliamentary Secretary (Mir Maqbool Mahmood) : (a) Considerable quantities of communist literature have been seized. It is not in the public interest to give details ;

(b) Thirty-nine ; it is not in the public interest to give names ;

(c) and (d). It is not clear what exactly is meant by these parts of the question ; subversive activities are of course recorded.

ESTIMATED COST OF METAL RAILINGS FOR PUBLIC GALLERIES IN THE ASSEMBLY CHAMBER.

***7423. Pandit Shri Ram Sharma :** Will the Honourable Minister for Public Works be pleased to state—

- (a) the estimated cost of the work of substituting metal railings for the masonry work in the public galleries in the Assembly Chamber ;
- (b) the estimated cost of the clock intended to be put on the fore-front of the Assembly buildings ?

Parliamentary Secretary (Sardar Bahadur Sardar Ujjal Singh) :
(a) Rs. 5,100.

[S. B. S. Ujjal Singh]

(b) The provision of a clock tower was originally considered and estimated to cost Rs. 1,00,000. It is regretted the actual cost of the clock itself is not known.

COLOURIZATION OF ARTIFICIAL GHI.

***7256. Pandit Shri Ram Sharma :** Will the Honourable Minister of Education be pleased to state whether the Government have proposed any colour to be mixed with the artificial ghi; if so, its nature and proportion in which it is proposed to mix it with the artificial ghi?

The Honourable Mian Abdul Haye : The honourable member's attention is invited to notification No. 4274-M.-40/39147, dated the 2nd October 1940, a copy of which is laid on the table.

Medical Department.

The 2nd October, 1940.

No. 4274-M.-40/39147.—The following draft of an amendment which the Governor of the Punjab proposes to make in exercise of the powers conferred by section 22 of the Punjab Pure Food Act, 1929, to the rules published with Punjab Government notification No. 32454, dated the 5th November, 1930, as subsequently amended, is published for the information of persons likely to be affected thereby. The draft will be taken into consideration on or after the 1st December, 1940, together with any objections or suggestions which may be received in respect thereof before that date :—

DRAFT AMENDMENT.

The following shall be inserted as rule 23-B :—

“23-B. No artificial ghi shall be sold or offered or exposed for sale, or kept in possession for the purpose of sale, unless it is coloured with Oil Orange E (Benzene-Az.=B-Napthol), in such degree as to give the following colour values on Lovibond Tinto-meter :—

Yellow	..	..	..	..	..	Net less than 30.
Red	..	..	..	..	..	” ” ” 32 ”.

Punjab Government notification No. 3778-M.-40/35780, dated the 3rd September, 1940, is hereby cancelled.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE OF SARDAR KARTAR SINGH.

Mr. Speaker : I have to read out to the Assembly the following application received from Sardar Kartar Singh, Member of the Assembly for permission to be absent from the Assembly. The application reads as follows :—

Kindly grant me leave from the Legislative Assembly for one year and oblige.

The question is—

That the permission asked for be granted.

The motion was carried.

BUDGET—GENERAL DISCUSSION.

Mr. Speaker : The House will now proceed to discuss the budget.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang (West Lahore Division, General, Rural): I suppose I must begin by extending the usual compliments to the Finance Department. They really deserve the compliments and thanks

of this House for having placed the accounts of the province before it. Much credit is due to the staff who undergo very hard labour in preparing such big accounts; great credit is again due to the Finance Secretary for writing an excellent memorandum, and last but not least great credit is due to the Honourable Finance Minister for giving us an excellent summary of the memorandum.

Having said this, I shall just before I deal with another point, make one suggestion to the Government and that is with respect to the day which is devoted to the reading out of the Finance Minister's speech. I have always wondered, not only under this Government but also during the time of the previous Government, why this occasion is treated as such a ceremonious occasion. If we calculate, I think about Rs. 5,000 of the House are spent for the day when this speech is read before the House and if the Government is anxious to save every penny to the province, I think either this ceremony could be dispensed with or some other work may also be done on that day. After all it is a printed speech. It can be taken as read and copies of it can be distributed. If it is to be read, the whole day should not be dedicated to it. I have calculated that it would save more than a lakh and a half of funded capital to the province if this ceremony is discontinued. This amount can go towards the relief of the poor peasantry. It is for Government to consider it or not to consider it. They borrow money at 3 or 4 per cent and Rs. 5,000 would represent interest on funded capital of one and a half lakhs of rupees, which is not a small figure for a poor province like ours. It is just in passing that I have made this remark. Probably this is the tradition and it is being kept up, although I do not see why we should not depart from this tradition in future and save so much money for the province.

Having said this, I would submit that the Budget which has been presented to us, howsoever ably it might have been prepared, does not meet with the approval of the province. The Punjab Press has declared its mind very clearly. Although the Honourable Minister has been complimented on the preparation of this Budget so far as the contents of the Budget are concerned yet so far as the question of any bold scheme or any planning or any big projects for the advancement of the province are concerned, the Budget has been considered by the whole province as disappointing. I think I cannot give a better proof of this disappointment than by reading what the "Tribune" itself which cannot be accused of any want of sympathy for the Government as such has said and with your permission I shall just read out a few remarks from the leading article of the "Tribune" published on the 28th of February:—

"A Finance Minister has in a very large measure to follow and cannot by himself make the policy of the Government of which he is a member, unless he happens also to be the head of the Government and the leader of the predominant party in the Legislature."

That saves the face of the Honourable Finance Minister, because he cannot be blamed if there is any defect in the proposals formulated in the Budget.

"In the present case one has only to compare the Finance Minister's successive budget speeches with the speeches made by him outside the Legislature and untrammelled by the limitations imposed on him by his official position, to see the distance that divides the two. Of the ideas, views, and aspirations of Sir Manohar Lal as an economist we can form some idea from the admirable speech with which he opened the proceedings of the Indian Economic Conference at Dacca in 1936."

[Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang.]

I myself complimented him on that speech, when he was kind enough to send me a copy of his address.

"In that speech he not only put in a strong and energetic plea for planned economy but dwelt with eloquence and fervour on the necessity of the State making it its special business to develop industries. 'Our excessive dependence on agriculture,' he said, 'and our poor industrial development have caused deplorable distress.'"

Sir Manohar Lal, as quoted by the *Tribune*, went on to say—

"The limits of revenue from land have long been reached. All hope of improvement must then rest on customs and income, which depend directly on industry and trade. The development of industry and trade, therefore, is necessary to keep our finances in balance and is absolutely essential if even urgent programmes of national advance are to be carried out". More recently, in fact, only a few days ago, Sir Manohar Lal put forward a similarly impassioned plea for rapid and thorough industrialisation of the country, while presiding over the Silver Jubilee celebrations of the History and Economics Association in the Fergusson College at Poona. "It was through industrialisation alone", said Sir Manohar Lal, "that India could escape the curse of poverty as well as defencelessness. If we are not prepared to put forth our best efforts and more rapidly in the matter of industrialization, especially heavy industries, and if we do not do it in time but remain slow in the matter, we shall never be on firm legs."

These are excellent sentiments and most eloquently delivered. But what do we find when we come to the actual state of affairs? We find from the budget that the provision for the industrialization of the Punjab has been enhanced only by about 2½ lakhs. When this Government came into existence we expected that now that they were not trammelled by a Finance Minister who could not be expected to feel as keenly for the industrialization of the province as a Punjabi would, this Government would do something substantial for the advancement of industry in this province. The ministers under diarchy had no control over finances. Finance was a reserved subject and therefore howsoever anxious they might have been to spend larger sums on the development of industry, their hands were tied. For every penny they wanted they had to depend upon the foreign minister who was not responsible to the legislature and was not accountable to the province at all. My honourable friend who was a minister under diarchy would know as he was also in charge of industry and would bear me out—sometimes the ministers were refused even petty sums by the Finance Department on one pretext or another. I would not impute motives even to foreign finance ministers. They did their duty according to their lights, but we could not expect that anything very substantial would be done by them. But now that the Finance Department is in the hands of a Punjabi and the Government entirely consists of Punjabis and is responsible entirely to the legislature, we expected that something really substantial would be done for the advancement of industry. But what do we find during the period even of this ministry? In 1938-39 the total income of the province was 11.17 lakhs and the provision for industry was 19.4 lakhs. In the following year the income was 11.69 lakhs, that is, there was an increase of 52 lakhs, but the provision for industry was 18.8 lakhs, that is nearly one lakh less than the provision in the previous year. It is inexplicable that even when there was an increase of 52 lakhs in the income, the provision for industry should have been still further reduced by one lakh. Then we come to the following year 1940-41, when the

income went up by a crore of rupees, that is, it rose from 11.69 lakhs to 12.68 lakhs. What was the provision for industry?—20.8 lakhs, that is, it was just one lakh above what it was in 1938-39 and 2 lakhs more than what it was in 1939-40. Then, Sir, we come to the year under discussion. In this year the provision has been raised by 2½ lakhs as new expenditure. The income estimated is 12.60 lakhs and the provision for industry, although the income over the last but one year has risen by nearly a crore of rupees, has risen only by a paltry sum of 2½ lakhs. If you were to strike a percentage of the provision for industry to the total income of the province, you will find that it is not more than 1½ per cent. or in other words, not more than one pice in a rupee. Now to have a speech or speeches, like the one to which I have referred and then to find that the honourable gentleman's Government is providing for industry only one pice in a rupee out of the total income of the province is, to say the least, most disappointing and discouraging. We find, Sir, and it was said with a great flourish of eloquence that provision for beneficent departments has been raised by about 21 lakhs and since this Government assumed office the provision for beneficent departments has been raised by 51 lakhs but the provision for industry out of this amount is comparatively very disappointing. The share of industry out of these 51 lakhs is only 3 lakhs. Twenty-three lakhs have been spent on agriculture and co-operation including veterinary. On these three departments 23 lakhs more have been provided and 2½ lakhs have been provided for industry. Now considering that the Honourable Finance Minister had pointed out that the salvation of our country does not lie in agriculture but it lies in industrialization, one would have naturally expected that he would persuade his Government or at least try to persuade his Government to make a better allotment for the improvement of industry. Now what is this 2½ lakhs? If I am not mistaken—and the honourable minister in charge would correct me, I shall feel very grateful if he can correct me—even this 2½ lakhs is mostly a continuation of the previous year's new expenditure. It is called new expenditure technically because it has not been placed on the permanent list and a good deal of it is sanctioned from year to year and every year it is called new expenditure. Then, Sir, there is another aspect of the question and that is this. We do not find any reference either in the memorandum or anywhere else to any big scheme that the Government might contemplate taking in hand.

I do not mean to say that what little they have done is not useful. Even if they had spent half an anna that would have been useful to the extent of half an anna. The question is whether the industrial needs of this province are going to be satisfied with an additional grant of 2½ lakhs. And even that 2½ lakhs is to be spent on some demonstration parties and on a sort of research work in fibres and some research work in oils which is already being done by this Government. The new thing which I think is the only new thing of any importance found in the Memorandum, is the opening of a Girls Industrial School in Multan. A very good thing in itself and I do not decry it, but we certainly expected much more than merely an industrial school for girls at Multan. When the State Aid to Industries Act was passed we expected that every use would be made of that Act and liberal allotments would be made for the advancement of

[Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang.]

various purposes which are enumerated in that Act, but the province is still in the dark, at least I am not aware whether any big scheme has been financed under that Act or any very large loan has been advanced for the setting up of a new industry or whether the Government itself has set up any big thing which might do credit to the industrial position of this province. In fact we expected that the Government would not confine its labours for the industrial advancement of this province only to the things and to the funds at their disposal out of the current revenues, but would have the boldness even to borrow for this purpose and advance the industrial status of this province by advancing the borrowed money on good security to people who might be relied upon to make a good use of that money, or, if they were not prepared to advance any loans to anybody, by setting up some schemes of their own. In other countries crores and crores of rupees are spent on subsidizing industries and advancement of industries in other ways and in setting up model factories in order to demonstrate to the reluctant industrialists who are afraid to risk their money that such and such industry can be made paying. When these model or demonstration factories are made paying, then they are made over to the public on terms and conditions which these Governments may approve of, with the result that where the public at large are naturally reluctant to take any risks, the risk factor is either entirely removed or it is minimized and the investing public then are more prepared and more willing to advance money for the development of new industries. No such thing has been done in this province. Out of these 2½ lakhs, I think there is an addition from industrial institutions to the income of the province to the extent of Rs. 77,000 so that if this is deducted the additional grant for industries would be reduced by these Rs. 77,000. My friend has just pointed out to me that the receipts from Industries Department amount to about 8 lakhs and if these 8 lakhs were taken into account the net expenditure on the industrial development of this province would come to about 14 lakhs which is a drop in the ocean and can never be expected to bring about the industrial regeneration of this province. This is so far as industries are concerned. Then we come to education. We find that 7 lakhs more are going to be spent on education. This is a very good thing, even 7 lakhs are welcome. It comes to about half an anna per head of the population of this province and you can very well imagine what half an anna per head on the education of this province can achieve. When the Compulsory Primary Education Bill was brought forward by the Honourable Minister for Education, I pointed out that the local bodies would never undertake any additional expenditure for giving compulsory education and that if the Government really wanted that there should be compulsory education the Government must take the matter in their own hands, otherwise the purpose of giving compulsory education, even primary education, in this province would be frustrated. What is this 7 lakhs going to be spent for? We are told that one degree college would be opened in Hoshiarpur and another perhaps in Rohtak. Rohtak perhaps does need a degree college, because, so far as I am aware, there is none in the whole of that ilaqa, but I do not understand the wisdom or the necessity of opening a degree college at Hoshiarpur. There is a degree college at

Hoshiarpur already in existence which is doing useful work. In fact some time ago, when the idea of the Government became known that a degree college was going to be opened at Hoshiarpur, I received protests from people of Hoshiarpur that this was going to be utter waste of money. It is like saddling a horse which is already saddled. It is only the privilege of some very big unthinking aristocrats, but not of a business like Government. I therefore think that the money that would be spent on a degree college at Hoshiarpur would be sheer waste. On a matter of policy also, you might be aware, I have several times expressed the opinion that what we want in this province is not high arts education. What we want is technical and professional education, and it would do no harm to the province, perhaps it would do good, considering the unemployed educated youths, it would perhaps do a lot of good to the province, if higher education in arts was restricted instead of being extended and the money saved thereby were to be invested in starting technical and professional educational institutions. We had the case of Shahpur College before us. That has been the subject of common talk and discussion in this House also from time to time. Shahpur has a degree college but the number of scholars there is not even as much as in one section of one class in most of the colleges at Lahore and yet thousands and thousands of rupees are being spent on this college every year. Perhaps it would be more economical if all these students were given stipends of Rs. 10 and Rs. 15 each to enable them to receive their education in Lahore instead of spending thousands and thousands on the staff which is not pulling its weight and which is not being utilized to its full capacity. If a professor can teach one hundred or fifty students, it is no use employing him wholetime for teaching half a dozen scholars. In the same way there are other colleges run by Government which can be closed, viz., in places where there are other colleges, and money thus saved can either be devoted to the education of women or to industrial and professional education.

If the Honourable the Finance Minister is really anxious, and I am sure he is judging from the speeches he has made outside, to industrialize the province in the quickest possible time, every penny should be saved from other departments that can be saved and should be spent in the spread of technical and professional education. He would agree with me that for the industrialization of a country, expert knowledge, skilled labour and professional efficiency are absolutely necessary. And these things can only be imparted in technical and professional colleges. You know, Sir, the state of unemployment in this country. So far as I am aware and so far as this practical side of the education is concerned, every year hundreds and hundreds are added to the list of the unemployed. Graduates come out from Government Colleges as well as from private colleges every year. They cannot find any jobs at all. They keep worrying Government officials, they keep worrying private commercial and industrial people for jobs and jobs are not forthcoming. When people come to me, I tell them, "I have no room for a B. A. or an M. A. I want fitters, I want Assistant Engineers, I want men who possess skill, technical skill". I may be able to secure a job for such men but it is impossible to secure a job even for a first class M. A. since he can be accommodated only in some school as a teacher. It is therefore a cruel waste of money to spend it on education which does very little good to our youths. It adds to the list of the unemployed. One crore

[Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang.]

and sixty-seven lakhs of rupees are going to be spent on arts education of this province. About 1 crore and 60 lakhs are spent every year. Imagine, Sir, how a number of first class technical colleges or call them technical schools can be run on a fraction of that money. There are some people who think that high education is very good. It liberalizes the people's mind, it refines and polishes them and so on. I entirely agree with them. But necessity should come first and luxury or polish or refinement should come later. If you cannot fill your belly, you cannot think of powder and puffs and such other things. Therefore, my submission is that so far as this aspect of the budget is concerned, it is again disappointing.

One word about the Hydro-Electric Department. I am not going to deal with this department at length. My other honourable friends will deal with this department in their own turn. There is a very sad note in the Honourable Finance Minister's speech about the Hydro-Electric Department and with your permission I shall just refer to it. On page 15 he says :—

“ The disparity has increased to over Rs. 22 lakhs.”

That is the loss which the province is incurring this year on the Hydro-Electric Department. The disparity between the interest paid and net income is 17½ lakhs. I think the Honourable the Finance Minister could have gone a little further and he could have brought in the amount reserved for depreciation. The amount reserved for depreciation is 11 lakhs and 21 thousands rupees. The total investment in this scheme is 7 crores and 12 lakhs as pointed out in the Memorandum of the learned Finance Secretary. The rate of depreciation according to this figure comes to about 1½ per cent. Now, I at least do not know of any commercial concern or industrial concern where depreciation is 1½ per cent on the total blocked capital of the concern, that is, inclusive of buildings and machinery. One and a half per cent, in one word, is too low. Ordinarily the depreciation which is allowed to industrial concerns by the Income-Tax Department is at the rate of 6½ per cent and since the new scheme of Income-Tax has been introduced, the rate of depreciation on electrical machinery and all machinery used in industrial concerns, I think, has been raised to a much higher figure. And where any concern works double shifts or treble shifts, even greater amount of depreciation is allowed. If on 7 crores and 11 lakhs depreciation was to be allowed at 6½ per cent, it would come very nearly to 44 lakhs, but if we take the depreciation on buildings, which is usually at the rate of 2½ per cent, even then the amount of depreciation would be very much higher than 11 lakhs and 21 thousands rupees. So that the loss to the province would be much more than 22 lakhs. I was one of those persons, who opposed this scheme when the Honourable Minister for Development, Rao Bahadur Chaudhri Sir Chhotu Ram was in charge of the scheme. I had the temerity to point out that the scheme would be a failure, that it would cost too much, that the cost of production would be very high and that there would be no time at which any net profit from this concern might be expected and I appealed to the Honourable Minister in charge of the Department at that time to drop the scheme. My speeches are there and I was supported in this matter by another member of the Council. But what reply did we get from the Honourable Minister ?

We raised this protest at a stage when practically nothing had been done. The reply which the Honourable Minister gave was, "We cannot go back now. We have already spent 50 thousand rupees on the scheme and so on and so forth". I would have abandoned the scheme even if we had spent a crore of rupees. Unfortunately when it fell to my lot to administer this scheme, more than 4 crores had already been spent on it and going back was more difficult than going over and there was no choice left but to go ahead. What was done was this that inspite of the protests of the House large orders were placed with the firms outside before I took over. I am not glad that my prophecy has turned out correct. I am in fact extremely sorry.

It pains me to find that with the best efforts of the Government the scheme has not paid. On the other hand the industrialists of this Province are also concerned in this matter. In order that industry may develop in this province, it is absolutely necessary that there should be cheap power available. We have not been favoured by Providence in this respect as England is favoured in its coal supplies or even Bengal and parts of Bihar are favoured so far as the coal supplies are concerned or as Japan and Sweden are favoured by Providence so far as facilities for the generation of hydro-electricity are concerned. We have little coal in this province and we could depend only on hydro-electricity for cheap power to develop our industry in this province. Unfortunately the cost of production is high. I believe it is more than eight pies. (*An honourable member*: 9 pies). The cost of generation, as was calculated in my time, was 8·14 pies. As more money has since been spent and as the Honourable Minister has pointed out we have been able to generate only 16,500 kilowatts instead of 36,000 kilowatts as we expected, the cost of generation has certainly gone very high. That is a matter of great concern to all those who are interested in industry and the Honourable Minister of Development as well as the Honourable Minister of Finance must really be set furiously to thinking how to retrieve this unfortunate position. It is really a great tragedy so far as this great scheme of this province is concerned. Nobody is to blame. It is no use now to dig up old things, what has been done has been done, and without blaming the sponsors of this scheme or those who encouraged it at the beginning, I think effort should be made now to minimise the evil which has resulted from the failure of expectations which were then raised. We pointed out at the time that the Subera Scheme, as it was called, would be more paying and any amount of electricity could be generated from the falls of the canal at Madhopur. In about ten miles from the headworks to the bridge on the road which goes to Pathankote, there are a number of falls which could have been put together and any amount of electricity could have been generated at a cost which would have been only a small fraction of the amount which has been spent on this scheme but we were gagged and nobody listened to us. I know one Finance Minister at the time said, "Oh, if a channel is built there, the crops would suffer". I pointed out at the time that the crops would not suffer simply because water would be taken from the canal and put in the other channel and then brought to the canal. It would not lose its irrigational efficacy or any other property. But as Providence willed it, the Subera Scheme was rejected and this scheme was taken in hand. Even now I would respectfully submit to the Government that it is still worthwhile considering

[Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang.]

whether the old scheme cannot be revived. If I am not mistaken, the estimated cost was not even a crore of rupees and the amount of electricity expected to be generated was much more than 36,000 kilowatts. There is a big book on the subject—unfortunately I cannot lay my hands on it just now—which came into my hands several years ago. It was written by Mr. Mool Chand Sharma who was a member of the Irrigation Service of the Punjab and almost every word that that poor man said at the time has come out true, and it would do good to the Government if they could get hold of that book now and asked their experts to go through it and see whether this loss could not be made up by a supplementary scheme. I do not know whether they have considered the feasibility or not of the second and third stages of the Mandi Scheme. If the second and third stages, as was originally contemplated, could be set up, the cost of production would be certainly very much reduced because the tunnel is already there, the pipes which bring water down from the top of the hill to the power house are there, the overhead expenses would be the same so that the cost of the second and third stages would certainly be very much less. I hope they are doing something in this respect because the industrialists of this province cannot afford to buy electricity at the rates at which it is being supplied to them. Many are suffering heavy losses and their biggest bill is the electricity bill. About a lakh of rupees or more I know are paid by one concern alone although it has made no profits so far and that is because the rate at which electricity is sold to them from the Mandi Scheme is very high. In a scheme in Madras the cost of generation, I think, is one pie per unit and there electricity can be supplied at two pies or so per unit. It would certainly go a great way in encouraging the development of industry if power could be supplied at this rate. If the scheme which was suggested long long ago is really found to be profitable then I am sure the Government will be in a position to supplement their supply and sell it at a much cheaper rate and then they will see how industry develops in this province.

Then I come to the three-fold policy which the Honourable Minister has laid down in his speech, that is, at page 21. The three-fold policy is described by him in this way :—

“ Another approach to our review is to consider the direction of policy during this period. I can only refer to the outstanding features: (i) In the forefront stands steady increase in beneficent expenditure. This expenditure has steadily risen from Rs. 3.08 lakhs in 1937-38 to Rs. 3.59 lakhs in 1941-42, i.e., a rise of Rs. 51 lakhs in spite of the heavy burden of famine and now of both famine and war”.

So far as this is concerned, no one can find fault. It is a good thing. The only quarrel that those interested in industry can have is, as I have just now stated, that very little of this amount of increase of Rs. 51 lakhs has gone to the development of industry so dear to the heart of the Honourable Finance Minister. The difficulty is, as was pointed out by a writer in the *Tribune*, that the Honourable Finance Minister is not the master of the policy of the Government. The policy, as he pointed out, is that of the Honourable Premier and Chaudhri Sir Chhotu Ram. After having given some arguments he says,—

“ This budget is disappointing but that is no reflection on the Finance Minister”.

Certainly not. It is not a reflection on the Finance Minister for he is not to be blamed for its defects.

"Finance is follower of policy which in the Punjab is the policy of Sir Sikander and Sir Chhotu Ram. Sir Manohar Lal has in fact made the best of the bad job".

Certainly, so far as the presentation of lucid revenue account is concerned.

"If there is little imagination in the financial proposals it is because the Unionists do not possess constructive and imaginative mind".

It is, therefore, not the Finance Minister who is to blame for this. It is the Government which, according to this writer, is lacking in imagination and in the breadth of vision, otherwise the industrial condition of this province would have been different. The second aspect of the policy is the provision of a further amount for the police to maintain law and order. So far as this matter is concerned, everyone would appreciate the anxiety of the Honourable Finance Minister in the maintenance of law and order in this province. He can be sure of the whole-hearted co-operation of other sensible Punjabees so far as maintenance of law and order and peace in this province is concerned. We are prepared to go to any length for maintaining law and order in this province because we know that people, who are not physically strong and who are not used to prey upon other people, must have peace and strain every nerve for the maintenance of law and order. You will thus see that so far as law and order are concerned there has been an increase during 20 years of about 34 lakhs so far as this province is concerned, and since this Government assumed charge, the provision for police has gone up by 17 lakhs. This is one aspect of it. This provision has been made against an evil and is a commendable thing and we fully appreciate it. But the fact that such a necessity should have arisen is a deplorable thing and I shall have to say something about it in connection with another matter to which I would come presently. The misfortune of the whole thing is that the expenditure goes on increasing. Now, take, even the General Administration. General Administration was only 97 lakhs in 1921-22, that is, 20 years ago this province could be very well administered with 97 lakhs of rupees. What does the Honourable Finance Minister or the Government propose to spend this year on General Administration? One crore and 21 lakhs, an increase of 24 lakhs on General Administration. There is a complaint that the Government has been rather too liberal in giving extensions to certain officers and that the number of officers has been increased and considering that salaries had already been increased the cost of administration has gone up during the last 20 years from 97 lakhs to 1 crore and 21 lakhs. Of course, this Government is not to blame for the whole of this rise. They are only concerned in the rise from 1 crore and 9 lakhs to 1 crore and 21 lakhs as they have put up the cost of general administration by 12 lakhs. The cost of police has also been considerably put up. The expenditure on law and order used to be only 1 crore and 92 lakhs 20 years ago and it is 2 crores and 26 lakhs now; and when they took over charge it was 2 crores 10 lakhs and now it is 2 crores 26 lakhs. There is another thing which I may say in passing and which would be of interest to my agricultural friends and I would request them to take a very

[Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang.]

careful note of what I am going to tell them. Twenty years ago the expenditure of this province was 10 crores and 69 lakhs but the expenditure of this province now is 12 crores and 56 lakhs. It has gone up by about 2 crores. The present Government is not responsible for the whole of this amount. They started with 10 crores and 71 lakhs and now it is 12 crores 56 lakhs. You can just see that it is nearly 2 crores more than it used to be. The income has also risen no doubt. The income 20 years ago was 8 crores and 64 lakhs and now it is 12 crores and 60 lakhs. It has gone up by nearly 4 crores in these 20 years. One could have easily expected that with the rise of 4 crores in the income, some substantial relief would be given to poor agriculturists either by this Government or by the Government whom this Government has succeeded. I do not intend to convey that they have no sympathy and I am not discussing this point. I am driving at another point which these gentlemen may kindly have patience to hear. These gentlemen started with tax after tax in the hope and on the assurance that some relief would be given to the poor agriculturists, that is, a certain class of land revenue payers might be exempted from the payment of land revenue or at least might be assessed at a lower figure, to bring about, according to the present Government, a more equitable distribution of taxation on all classes of this province. I told them and I tell them now that nothing of this kind would happen, and as the income increases the expenditure would also increase in other directions. Whereas the income was 8 crores and 64 lakhs and it has increased by 4 crores now, the expenditure has also increased by 4 crores and that expenditure does not include the exemption of any class of land revenue payers. It may include certain amounts which have been remitted, it may include some such items incurred or spent for the relief or temporary, casual and occasional relief of the agriculturists, but not a penny—and I speak subject to correction—has been applied either by this Government or by the previous Government so far in the exemption of the poor land revenue payer from the payment of land revenue. I tell you that even if 4 crores more are added to the income of this province, gradually the expenditure in other directions will go on increasing and nothing would be left for giving relief of the kind which my honourable friends have been led to expect and hope for. That was the object I had in my mind in bringing these figures to the notice of those honourable gentlemen. I am not blaming them, I am not blaming the previous Government. When the income increases the expenditure also increases. If your salary increases, and you are not sufficiently prudent you may not lay by something for the rainy day and may say 'All right, let me buy this, let me buy that, let me have some good clothes, let me have good furniture' and so on. You may thus be spending your salary in other directions. What do we find in this budget? The Honourable Finance Minister has included 10 lakhs as the expected income from the two taxes which have recently been imposed upon urban people, I mean, the urban immovable property tax and the sale of goods tax. That sum of 10 lakhs has also gone in this general expenditure. It would have been something if these 10 lakhs had been laid aside as a sort of reserve for giving relief to the very poor agriculturists who are paying 8 annas, 10 annas or one rupee and find it difficult to pay when there are hail-storms, locusts, etc., and their crops are destroyed or something else

happens. That would have been a different thing. As I said, *khoo de mittee khoo* and that is a very wise saying.....

مان کولون ہیجلی پیسے کتنی

(Minister for Development :

لکھی ممبر (مان) کولون - کہ لوٹا ہے

The Honourable Minister has learnt it from the lady member who used it about the ministers the other day. I am not claiming that I am a better well wisher of the agriculturists than my honourable friend. I take my hat off to him that he is a most devoted well-wisher of the poor agriculturists. I am prepared to admit that but it does not mean that I am precluded from pointing out that even he has not succeeded in giving them the relief which the poor agriculturists very much need and which he is anxious to give them, because every additional income that comes is merged in the usual general expenditure. I will give you another instance. What did we get from the other taxes, the tobacco tax and the entertainment tax and all that ? About 14 lakhs or more. Where has that gone ? That also has merged in the general expenditure. It would be no reply to this part of my argument to say, 'Well we have done something for the province'. I am prepared to admit that. That money has not been taken away by the Ministers to their own houses. It has been spent on the province. The question is on what ? It is a question of the relative importance of the heads on which you spent that amount. If the solicitude which the Minister and his friends have been exhibiting from time to time about the very poor agriculturists was real we expected that at least that money which was taken in taxes from the urban people on the pretence that it would be devoted to the relieving of the poor agriculturists, would be used for that purpose. It is not being used for that purpose : it is being used in opening a degree college in Hoshiarpur, where already a college exists, and a part of it was wasted on a college at Shahpur where there is no necessity. It is being spent on such other things which can be dispensed with. This is the point which I wanted to make out. His third policy was irrigation and so on. Irrigation is a useful thing I admit : but for this irrigation the Punjab would have been a prey occasionally to famine. We bow to the wisdom of the people who conceived the idea of cutting out canals from the rivers of the Punjab, and all honour is due to them who have succeeded in making the soil of the Punjab grow two blades where one grew before or perhaps none grew before : all honour to them. But how far does it meet the great aspirations which the honourable Finance Minister expressed in his speeches that the salvation of a country lies in industrialization and not in mere agriculture ? The agriculturist produces food for himself and for others. In as much as he produces food for others he is a labourer : in one sense everybody is a labourer, he is at the best a producer of the raw material and sells that at a dirt cheap price to the foreign capitalist. I shall give you just one instance. Your cotton goes from the Punjab to Lancashire it is converted into cloth, say, muslin which all of you are proud to tie on your heads as turbans. It is your cotton. How much do you get for your kapas and cotton ? You give sometimes ten seers of kapas for a rupee. One turban does not weight more than half a pao or three chattaks and you have to

[Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang.]

pay 5, 6 or 7 rupees according to the quality of the muslin which may be calculated to give a better look to your 'turras'. If all your cotton could be consumed in this province you would have got your 'turras' much cheaper and all your cotton clothes much cheaper and you would have got much more money for your cotton than you are getting now. Agriculture, therefore, is not a great solution, not the solution of the poverty of a country. Several years ago one of the Finance Ministers of this province when he was talking on the question of industry said that agriculture was a great industry and added then 'there is horse breeding'. I am not inventing. If you look up the reports of the debates of the Punjab Legislative Council you will find these very words. Is this Government also going to tell us that agriculture is the greatest industry and therefore you are spending all our money on agriculture? Are you going to tell us that horse breeding is a great industry? Are you going to tell us that the bulls of Dhanni and Hissar, buffalos of Rohtak, cows from Montgomery form the best industry? Certainly they are good animals. I have seen the buffaloes of Rohtak they are the best, the bulls of Dhanni are splendid and so are the horses and mares of Shahpur. Quite true, but are you going to bring about the regeneration of the province by breeding cows and buffaloes only? Ask your own Finance Minister's genuine views. I have no doubt that if he had the power he would have spent heaps of money on the development of industry in this province instead of concentrating merely on the produce of raw material for the use of the foreign exploiter at dirt cheap prices. No one can be so foolish as to say that you should not have irrigation, but the Finance Minister himself has been insisting that the salvation of a country lies in industrialization.

Then I come to the question of policy, not of the Finance Minister as adumbrated by him in his speech but to the general policy followed by the Government. I would ask for patience from my honourable friends when I am dealing with this subject because in spite of all care I may be treading on the tender corns of some members of the Government: I do not intend to give offence to any one but I have to do my duty. In one word what I am going to discuss is the policy which the Government have followed both in this House and outside this House and which has given so much offence to 50 per cent of the population of this province. When this Government assumed charge we all expected that now that provincial autonomy had come into this province and the Premier had given an assurance of justice and fairness to all parties and to all communities in this province, the Punjab would be the happiest land in this country, if not in the world. We would have been most happy if this Government had fulfilled our expectation. We would have been in a position to tell the white bureaucrat—I hope my white friends will excuse me—"Now our brothers are ruling our province: we are happier and far more contented, that we are getting much more justice than we used to get under you. Our self-respect has been restored and our self-confidence has been enhanced and we can hold our heads up as almost a free and independent people". We all could have done that. And I can assure you that these expectations were genuine because the gentleman who was at the head of the

Government was popular with the people and was expected to continue in the same way as he conducted himself during his previous career. But my friends would excuse me if I tell them that those hopes have been belied. They have been entirely falsified. Instead of contentment there is discontent, at least among fifty per cent of the population of this province. Instead of fair deal and justice being accorded to every one the complaint is that the policy now followed by the Government both in this House and outside is not one of equal treatment to all classes and communities. The Government is extremely partial to one section of the population and is extremely hostile to another. The non-Muslim press of this province is full of complaints. Article after article is written in almost every non-Muslim paper complaining against the high-handed policy, unjust and biased communal policy of this Government. That communal policy has exhibited itself in two forms. In the first place the Government is according most unjust and unfair treatment to the non-agricultural classes of this province and secondly,—

Mr. Speaker : May I invite the attention of the honourable member to rule 181 which says :—

The Assembly shall be at liberty to discuss the budget as a whole or any question of principle involved therein.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : What I am going to say is absolutely within the realm of relevancy. The first thing that I am going to say is this that the Honourable Ministers have been going out and preaching a doctrine which has created a poisonous atmosphere in this province, and this, mind you, at public expense provided for their travelling allowance in the budget. They have been touring about at public expense and preaching one sided doctrines. I may for the information of the House read out what they have been preaching. In the first place they have been telling the people again and again with the greatest possible emphasis that now there is zamindara Government in the Punjab and that five of the Ministers are zamindars and that the sixth, though he is not a zamindar is their *Talethu* or underling. I am very sorry that I have used this word, but I am only bringing out the truth. One of the Ministers has been going about at public expense provided by the very same Finance Minister and telling the people that one of their colleagues is only their underling ; the Government now entirely consists of zamindars.

Mir Maqbool Mahmood : I rise on a point of order. If the honourable member has any objection to the statements of any particular minister, the constitutional way open to him is to move a substantive motion against him and not to bring in such controversial matters in the course of a speech on the general budget.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : This is what they have been telling the people. I shall give a few specimens. On the 15th July 1937 the Honourable Sir Chhotu Ram said in one of his speeches, 'this is the Government of zamindars'. Again he called the Opposition as 'mad dogs'.

Mr. Speaker : How is that relevant ?

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : What I want to convey is that these Ministers cannot be trusted to utilize this budget to the good of the province. When the time comes to discuss the travelling allowance of these Ministers we shall have to say more on this subject. This gentleman again says 'The Congress consists of banias'. He does not want any pleasant relations to exist between the Congress and non-Congress people. On the 8th November at Nawanshahr in the Hoshirpaur district this redoubtable Chaudhri Chhotu Ram said 'Do not read newspapers. Boycott them. They mislead you. They do propaganda work for the banyas'.

Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan : Will the honourable member please say whether the quotations he is now giving are from the speeches delivered during the present financial year or during the past five years ?

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : I have already answered that question. He said, 'Do not read newspapers. Boycott them. They mislead you. They do propaganda work for banias. If you read them ignore all that is written against our party. God save us from these newspapers. They are a curse'. Again he said, 'The power is yours. The Raj is yours. You must maintain it at all costs. Beware of the wolves in the lambs' clothes. They want to shave you closely' and so on. On another occasion he said, 'These newspapers all belong to the non-agriculturists and so do not trust them'. On the 10th August he said.—'Now it is your raj in the Punjab.... I am a Jat and so I am your brother.... In the markets these commission agents are looting you'. Again he says, 'These people defraud you of 6½ annas out of one rupee'. Then on the 18th August at Talianwala in Jhelum district he said, 'The Unionist Government wants to check the "zulm" of the sahuکار..... This party has not got two faces like the Congress.... There is a heaven of difference between the word and the action of a congressman'. Again he refers to newspapers and says 'The bania-ridden newspapers of the province regard you as their enemies. The Congress loves the banias and no one else. The sahuکار will be wiped away from the Punjab'. On another occasion he says 'These people are so busy with their dishonesty that they even do not feel hungry, but I have prepared a "chooran" for these *be-imans*. They will feel hungry, but only when their money goes back to the pockets of the rightful persons'. 'The lalas are now like a cricket from whose mouth the bee has been snatched. Now the Government wants to see that those who were down before should be up now..... let those who feel jealous cry and weep..... the power is in the hands of the zamindar now'. On the 17th September at Gujjarkhan he said, 'The Raj is yours, O! Zamindars! So Do not trust the sahuکار..... if you snatch the bone from a dog's mouth even he would be furious'. On the 18th September at Campbellore he said,—

'The Congress is a concern of the banias and the karars'.

Agrarian questions have been now given over to Deputy Commissioners for adjudication because in the judiciary there are so many relatives of these *beiman* sahuکار and it is not free from danger to allow them to do this work.

This is the kind of work that these gentleman have been doing going about in the province at public expense. I may point out that in nine months the Honourable Minister, in the very first year of his ministry, spent Rs. 5,200 of public money on this propaganda, and all the Ministers

put together spent about Rs. 15, 000 besides about Rs. 8,000 spent on the railway carriages reserved for them, and this is the sermon, the hymn of hate that the honourable gentleman was preaching as well as some of his colleagues at the expense of the province.

The quotations that I have given are not from the speeches of a two-penny half-penny tub-thumper in the Hyde Park in London or from the speeches of a two-penny half-penny *kisan* who might be haranguing a crowd in a *darra* in a village. These are quotations from the speeches of an Honourable Minister of the Punjab, responsible to the Legislature, and he had the temerity to make these speeches because he knew that he had a majority in the House and that there was nobody to bring him to book or to place any check upon him. His other friends have also been behaving more or less in the same manner, but I need not give any quotations from the speeches of his other colleagues, though the other colleagues including even the Premier, have been guilty of making such speeches and I think quotations from his speeches are no less rabid than the quotations which I have read out to the House. (*An honourable member*: Question). The Honourable Premier proceeds to a *kisan* Conference in Lyallpur. I would like to be corrected if I am mistaken. He addresses the conference. His address is printed at public expense. Rupees nine hundred and ninety-six and some annas were spent on his address and a number of copies, I think 2,000 copies in English, 4,000 in Gurmukhi and 10,000 copies in Urdu were published at the expense of the province, the total cost coming to Rs. 996-4-0. The Honourable Finance Minister must have granted that amount because every item is presumed to have been sanctioned by the Finance Department. If it is wrong, I shall have no hesitation whatsoever in withdrawing this. I am giving these gentleman a chance to remove wrong impressions, if they consider them to be wrong, and they should really be grateful to me for what I have already said and what I am going to say in connection with certain other matters, because that would give them an opportunity to clear their position. Lest there should be any mistake, I have got the figures and I shall refer this House to the figures of the travelling allowances which the Honourable Ministers of this Government earned in this virtuous and holy crusade against the so-called *be-iman* banias of this province. I may remark here that later on questions were put as regards how much travelling allowance was earned by Chaudhri Sir Chhotu Ram and other Honourable Ministers, and the Parliamentary Secretary, I think it was Mir Maqbool Mahmood or may be some other Secretary gave no answer or stated that it was not in public interest to reply to the question. Anyhow by some mistake this answer must have been given on a previous occasion and I am relying on the figures probably given in answer to a question. This is the travelling allowance that they drew from April 1937 to 1st January 1938. The Premier drew a very small amount of Rs. 1,210-14-0, the Revenue Minister drew Rs. 2,823-1-0, the Development Minister Rs. 5,206-10-0 and the Finance Minister drew Rs. 2,354-12-0. I am sure he did not earn this travelling allowance by preaching against the zamindars and defending the cause of the banias (*laughter*). I think he would have been perfectly justified if he had done that, but I think he is much too sensible to have done any such thing at public expense. Perhaps he has been visiting jails in certain places. Then the Public Works Minister

[Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang.]

earned Rs. 2,286-18-0 and the Education Minister Rs. 3,413-8-0. He of course has many schools to visit. Besides this about Rs. 8,000 were spent on railway carriages, etc. In nine months this money was spent out of public funds. What has been the result of these preachings? That is very relevant both for this budget as well as for the budget which is still in force. A question was put on the floor of this House and was answered, if I am not mistaken, by Sardar Ujjal Singh, from which it will appear that the result of this propaganda has been a deplorable increase in crime in this province. (*Laughter from the ministerial benches*). My friends may laugh at this, but let them take it from me that a very high placed officer told me in confidence—I will not mention his name—that somebody told him that one of the Honourable Ministers—it is not difficult to guess who he was—had gone to a certain district, and there may be other three murders in this district after he leaves the district. It is no use laughing at such a thing. What has happened? Violent crime has increased since this Government came into existence. In 1936 there were only 898 murders. In 1937 they rose to 983, in 1938 to 1,041 and in 1939 the number rose to 1,133. That is in four years the number of murders rose by some 400, that is every year there was an increase in the number of murders by 100.

Then take dacoities. There were 84 in 1936, 97 in 1937, 92 in 1938 and 149 in 1939, and I have not the slightest doubt that this number would increase very much, if the reports in the press are not entirely wrong, during 1940. Then take robberies. Their number rose from 452 in 1936, to 481 in 1937, to 567 in 1938 and to 674 in 1939. Burglaries increased from 13,426 in 1936 to 14,044 in 1937, 15,621 in 1938 and 16,727 in 1939 and Heaven knows what their number would be in 1940 and 1941. It may be that with the transfer of law and order to the hands of the Indians this crime might have somewhat increased even otherwise. But these are the facts which tell their own tale.

Mrs. J. A. Shah Nawaz : Is that a nationalist speaking?

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : Wait a minute, madam. I am referring to what your Parliamentary Secretary was pleased to say the other day that crime had also increased in the United Provinces where the Congress Government was in power. That is why I am saying this. There is nothing anti-national in it. Zamindars now know that their brothers are at the helm of affairs and therefore they can break the law with impunity.

سیان بھائی کو تول اب در کاے کا

Mrs. J. A. Shah Nawaz : This is what Sir Michael O'Dwyer said.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : Your position as a lady should not permit you to interrupt me because when I am answering I may, even with my best efforts, not be so soft as I should be towards a lady. I am quite prepared to be interrupted. There are so many brothers of yours to interrupt me. If you think that they are now a washout you can take up cudgels on their behalf.

Then, Sir, look at the riots. In 1936 there were 854 riots; in 1937, 960; in 1938, 1,158. Unfortunately I have not got further figures. Then what is more deplorable is that there were many instances of assaults on

bailiffs who went out to execute decrees of sahu-kars and the total cognisable offences rose from 59,569 in 1986 to 59,140 in 1988. Now what has been the result of this? One of the results of this has been that zamindars have been emboldened by the idea, by the consciousness that the Punjab is now being ruled by their brethren and therefore they need not have much fear, so and so will approach them, so and so who did so much for so and so during election will do this much and so on (*interruption*). The Ministers might not do anything, they might not listen to anybody, but I am referring to the mentality which has been created by this propaganda. Another unfortunate result has been that it has also emboldened the majority community as a whole. I am very loth to say this but this is also a fact. The consciousness that the Punjab is now being ruled not only by a zamindara Government but by a Muslim Government or by a Government which is headed by a Muslim whose policy prevails, has also emboldened the majority community in this province and I have a number of instances reported to me of the high-handedness of the members of the majority community over the members of the minority communities. (*Interruption*). If my honourable friends say that they are misreported, then it means that no paper in this province is reliable because they are reported in the press. *Voices from Government Benches* "The Press is utterly unreliable". That may be the view of this Government but I think that with all their faults and defects, and who is there without defects, they are not utterly unreliable and the Government may take it that there are at least some who are more reliable than the members of the Government itself. I give instances to give an opportunity to the honourable doubting Thomas sitting on that side to resolve his doubts whether what I have said is correct or not. What happened at Minan (Niam) in Hoshiarpur district? What happened at Chakwal? In Minan (Niam) Bishen Mal and his wife were nearly murdered and any thing but justice was done and in Chakwal a Sikh woman was abducted and nothing was done. In Sargodha there were excesses committed on the Sikhs in village Katta Misra. In Bhera interference was made with *arti* in a temple. In Mandi Bahuddin and in the neighbourhood several Sikhs were killed and even investigation was not properly made according to my report. It is open to you to contradict. In Jandiala Sher Khan a Sikh killed a chicken according to his own religious views and he was taken to task and big riots followed. This Sikh had killed a chicken in order to entertain a guest. (*Interruption*). This was the reason given. You can verify it. Then in Rawalpindi a Hindu was killed in broad day light. The accused was being taken in a tonga to the police station, when a number of Muslims rescued the accused and nothing was done thereafter. No action was taken. You can send for the records. I am not stating them from my personal knowledge. These things have been reported to me and as I said a minute before the Premier came in, this is giving you an opportunity to remove public grievance on this point, to remove misunderstandings.

Minister for Public Works : You are not giving any names.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : I have got the names and other particulars also and the Police department would know what has happened and the honourable Minister in charge must know.

[Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang.]

What happened at Ala is well known. Guru Granth Sahib was burnt and the Granthi was murdered. The case was being tried by the magistrate and when the accused was on the point of being committed, orders were issued by this Government for the withdrawal of the case. Is it or is it not a fact? If it was so, nothing could be more scandalous. They interfered with the trial.

Premier : Wrong.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : If it is wrong state it on the floor of the House. This is what my report says. The case was being tried by the committing magistrate. The accused were on the point of being committed. Then orders went, presumably from the Government and the case was withdrawn against the murderers of a Sikh in Ala or in the neighbourhood, whose body was thrown in a canal.

In Kabirwala again the law was broken as also in Kot Bhai Than Singh. I do not want to exacerbate the feelings of Muslims and Sikhs. But I am told those people were deprived of the use of water in the Nallah which they had been using for generations. They were given no protection whatsoever. In Talagang there was interference with the Sikh procession on the occasion of Guru Gobind Singh's birthday. Then in Ambala the procession taken out by the Sikhs on Guru Nanak's birthday was stopped near the mosque. Again some excesses were committed by the majority community in Pind Dadan Khan and in Rawalpindi. There were several cases of cow slaughter within the municipal limits against rules. At many places beef was thrown into the houses of Hindus and into their temples. Copies of Granth Sahib were burnt.

Mir Maqbool Mahmood : On a point of order. An honourable member can make reference to quotations only if he makes himself responsible for their accuracy and I submit that he has himself said that he is not sure how far they are true. In fairness to the House he should make himself sure and he should take the responsibility before he can expect the Government to take notice of these.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : I believe them to be correct.

Mir Maqbool Mahmood : Do you take the responsibility?

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : What responsibility?

Mir Maqbool Mahmood : I was submitting that if the honourable member takes the responsibility, he is certainly entitled to state them—

Mr. Speaker : Will the honourable Parliamentary Secretary please refer to rules on the subject? What he is referring to relates to questions and not to speeches.

Mir Maqbool Mahmood : He is referring to certain points that have already been dealt with and disposed of in regular questions and answers on the floor of the House. Can he now raise those questions without stating facts? It is not giving the Government a chance to reply. He should give details.

Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan : I would request the honourable member not to read these facts too rapidly. Will he kindly repeat what he said about Pind Dadan Khan?

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : If the honourable member belongs to Pind Dadan Khan and if he is a truthful witness, he will certainly support what I am saying. All I said about Pind Dadan Khan was that the members of the majority community committed excesses on members of the minority community. If he wants details, I have got details and I am prepared to give them. In fairness to the House, however, I am cutting short my speech very much, otherwise I have got dates and years of everything. I have got all these before me in this solemn document in which everything is given. I am not speaking from memory or at random like some of the honourable members on that side of the House. I am speaking from the book and I believe the instances to which I have referred to be correct. Beyond that I cannot go and I am not required to go under any rule or law in force. (*Interruption by Khawaja Ghulam Samad*). I was telling you that, copies of Granth Sahib were burnt, in Agrora in tahsil Phalia, in Dipalpur in Montgomery in Darowal in district Sialkot, in Alla district Gujrat and Gurdwaras were burnt in Dhok Nawan Lok in Gujrat district and in Alla probably more than once and images from Hindu temples were thrown out at least in two places in Tanda, probably in Hoshiarpur district and in Eminabad I believe in Gujranwala district. In Lalwani in Tahsil Pindi Gheb of the Attock District, the wife of one Jai Ram was burnt alive and according to my report no action was taken.

Premier : There is no such place in Pindi Gheb.

Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan : These are most irresponsible statements.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : Certainly not.

Mr. Speaker : Every member of this House is expected to state what he knows or believes to be correct. No member is or can be expected to inquire into every matter personally and then make a statement in the House. All I expect every honourable member to do is to state facts, which he knows or believes to be true. Will the honourable member please quote the rule under which I can ask a member to state only those facts which have been verified by him to be correct?

Premier : Supposing I get up and say that so many Muslims have been murdered in such and such a place. Would you not ask me to give the dates and places of the occurrence? The honourable member has not given any date or place and has stated things which when they go to the press will give a very erroneous impression.

Mr. Speaker : I have made it clear that no honourable member should state facts which he does not know or believe to be correct.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : I have got information supplied to me by responsible people and in this document which I hold in my hand there are so many instances quoted, though I have only given a few. This instance of Lalwani is given at no. 83. It reads—

At Lalwani, Tahsil Pindi Gheb, the Muslims burnt the house of Ganga Singh and Jai Ram. The wife of the latter was burnt alive inside the house. The panic-stricken Hindus left the place in terror. Yet the authorities took no action to restore confidence and punish the offenders.

Can it be said that the honourable gentleman in charge of this Department is entirely ignorant of a place like Lalwani when the names of persons who were oppressed were also given. It may be that the Honourable Premier

[Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang.]

does not know the place, but how can he say that I am not correct. It is to save the time of the House that I am not giving details. I am only mentioning them as illustrations, and I can give the details and if the Honourable Minister wants it from me, I can supply him with all the particulars provided that he promises me to take some action on instances which may be proved to his satisfaction. I do not want anything more than that.

Premier : There are hundreds of cases which are daily dealt with in courts.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : That was just to save the time of the House.

Sayed Mohy-ud-Din Lal Badshah : I strongly repudiate this charge. No such incident happened in this ilaqa.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : I shall be certainly very happy if any of these instances turns out to be incorrect. (*Voices :* They are all incorrect). I am not prepared to accept this wholesale denial made without making any enquiry. 'All, all', that is speaking without responsibility. Now I was telling you what the Honourable Ministers have been doing outside this House and what the reactions were to their propaganda during their regime. Now let me tell you a little about what they have been doing in this House and what they are likely to do and for which they are being paid and their salaries are provided in this Budget with all their staff and paraphernalia. I shall only give you a few instances of what they have been doing in this House. In the first place no private Bills with one or two exceptions, have been allowed to be introduced in this House. Even leave was not granted. That was the case with scores and scores of private Bills brought forward with very good intentions and yet none of them, except one or two, was allowed to be moved. Against that, the official Bills came to this House like hail-storm. It is in fact impossible even to give their exact number without reference to the records. Their number has been so large. I think never during the past history of the Punjab and not only of the Punjab, I can make bold to say in the history of any other province in India, has the legislative activity of the Ministers been so great as the legislative activities of our present Government. I am not going just now into the merits or demerits of those Bills. That will come later on. I am only pointing out what a cascade and avalanche of legislation was hurled on the heads of the members of this House. Sir, you are fully aware with what haste, indecent haste, these Bills were rushed through the House. I do not know whether they were contemplating lest they should be precluded from bringing in such measures by anything that might happen in future. They are the best judges of that. As a rule these Bills were not circulated, there may be some exception, but I cannot recall any. Then all motions for circulation without really any exception were rejected. Even the days fixed for non-official Bills were appropriated for Government business. On many occasions even sitting hours were extended after suspending the rules. Sometimes motions were made by the Premier at the spur of the moment and were passed by this House for non-stop sittings.

Mr. Speaker : If any motions were not carried out and were rejected by the House, it was the decision of the House. The decision of the House cannot be criticised.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : I am not criticising the decision of the House. I am simply pointing out to you the grievances which the minorities of this province have against the majority, including the Government and I may say including the representatives of the majority community in this House.

Mr. Speaker : What principle of the budget is the honourable member discussing ?

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : Large amounts of money has been spent on passing these Bills. Travelling allowance is paid to the honourable members who come to attend this House. The Ministers who attend the meetings of this House also receive salaries. I am pointing out the grievances which we have against this Government, and if we cannot do this even, what is the use of this House ? I am going to explain to the House—

Mir Maqbool Mahmood : On a point of order, Sir. I will invite the attention of the honourable member to Rule 68(5). He cannot reflect on any determination of the House.

Mr. Speaker : Rule 68(5) runs as follows : —

A member while speaking shall not speak against or reflect on any determination of the Assembly, except when he is moving to rescind the same.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : I am going to state certain facts. I am not going to condemn them just now. I am not precluded from pointing out what this House has done.

Mr. Speaker : The honourable member should not discuss the previous budgets.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : My submission is that this budget is not different from the previous budgets. This budget provides money for those measures which were passed by this House. This House has a right to point out that this money is going to be spent in an objectionable way. To prove that the past practice of this House, and the policy that this House as well as this Government is following is most detrimental to the interests of the minorities. I can certainly criticise the Government in this respect. It is pointed out that this was done with the consent of the House. It was done by the Government with the support of this House, because the Government has that majority. But I think I would be failing in my duty if I did not point out that this Government has been abusing that majority, which is at its back. Therefore I am entitled to refer to what Government has been doing by utilizing that majority which they have at their back. I was going to finish this matter in a moment.

Mr. Speaker : Which principle of the budget is the Honourable member now discussing ?

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : The Honourable Minister pointed out the policy of the Government. He gave 8 instances ; and I am going to give more instances. That is all. He did not exhaust the instances.

[Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang.]

of the policy of the Government. He only took three Departments, that is, Beneficent Department, Police Department and Irrigation Department. He did not exhaust the list. I am trying to give you more instances of the policy of the Government. The policy of the Government, which injures us. He has referred to the policy for which he wants to take credit, and I am trying to point out that the policy which he is pursuing is detrimental and ruinous to the community that we unfortunately represent here. This is the position.

Now, I am going to discuss something else which reflects upon the policy of this Government. Another aspect of their policy has been a crusade, a cruel crusade, a relentless crusade against one section of the population of this province, namely the non-agriculturists of this province, and particularly out of the non-agriculturists, the people engaged in trade and commerce and industrial pursuits and in moneylending business. I am not going to criticise here the various measures that they have passed but I think I am entitled to point out in passing how they have pursued this relentless policy to the detriment of the non-agricultural classes of this province. They destroyed their moneylending by Money-lenders Act; they also destroyed their existing debts by the Relief of Indebtedness Act and they took away valuable property from them by means of the so-called Benami Act, which you have seen has been knocked down by the High Court.

Mr. Speaker : The honourable member should not reflect on any determination of the House.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : Am I not entitled to refer to these Acts when discussing the Government's policy?

Mr. Speaker : The honourable member should not speak against or reflect on any determination of the Assembly.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : Can I not ask the Government to reconsider or rescind them and to revise their policy? I am not just now casting any reflection upon any measure passed by this House. I am perfectly right in referring to them. I will tackle the matter from another point. I think I can question the policy of the Government and can discuss it in another way. I can say that so many Acts, passed by them here in this House, have proved or are likely to prove most detrimental to the interest of a class of the people in this province.

Mr. Speaker : That is a reflection against the Acts passed by this House.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : Even the Government revises its Acts and amends them.

Mr. Speaker : The honourable member may move motions to rescind or repeal those Acts.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : I am trying to point out what the result of the policy followed by the Government and the majority at its back has been in the Province and what consequences are likely to ensue from the policy which has hitherto been followed and in this respect. I am

addressing the whole House. I ask them indirectly—even directly I shall ask them—to revise their position. I come to them as a member of this House and as a resident of this Province interested in a certain class of people and I think, I submit with all humility and respect, that I am entitled to point out to them that what they have done in this House, though they had every right to do it, has proved injurious. I am not reflecting on them if you will kindly consider for a moment.

I shall take it this way that the result has been very unfortunate inasmuch as moneylending business is gone, their trade is gone, their existing debts have been destroyed because no property belonging to agriculturists can be attached or sold and no agriculturist debtor can be arrested, therefore, practically all means of realisation of debts have been taken away and that class of people is now in a starving condition. Then, what little lands they possessed have also been taken away from them under the Benami Act and under the Restitution of Mortgaged Lands Act and certain other Acts. I have also the right to tell them that under certain other Acts the trade and commerce of this Province is bound to suffer because in the markets there will be control of ignorant people who do not understand anything.

Mr. Speaker : May I read a sentence from page 323 of May's Parliamentary Practice ? It is :—

Disrespectful or abusive mention of a statute would seem to be partly open to the same objections as improper language applied to Parliament itself; for it imputes discredit to the legislature which passed it, and has a tendency to bring the law into contempt; though the necessity of the repeal of a law justifies, as an argument for that course, its condemnation in debate.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : I shall not go out by one hundredth of an inch of the principle laid down in this dictum. I shall say that perhaps—I am prepared to grant this—they passed these Acts with the best of intentions. I am now asking them to look at the effect that these Acts are having on this Province and I am, therefore, pointing out to them that it is necessary that there should be a searching of the hearts, that they should revise their one-sided policy and that the harm that has already been done, according to my opinion, and is likely to be done, in my opinion, should be prevented and amends should be made for the loss which has already been caused by them. I was pointing out that trade and commerce is being hampered under the Markets Acts because the persons who would control the markets would be those persons who would be entirely ignorant of the principles of trade and they are likely to throw all sorts of obstructions in the way of business. In the same way take the case of Sales of Goods Act, take the case of Trade Employees Act. I have received letters from outside, telephones from outside saying, "Oh, we are hampered, we do not know what to do, our season is very short and so on." Only day before yesterday I received a telephone from Simla from a person who is probably the Secretary of the Merchants' Association there. He said that their season is short, their time is cut short by this Act and thus their business will be ruined and in Simla business is already dull. Yesterday a man came to me with a copy of the Trade Employees Act. He said "I cannot understand this. Does it mean that it would apply in the case of certain persons and certain shops where no employees are kept." I respectfully submit

[Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang.]

to all these gentlemen including the Government that these laws have proved most detrimental to the interests of trading classes and ultimately for the Province. I have another ground also which I can urge for reference to these things. I say that one class of people in this Province are on the brink of ruin, if they have not already been ruined, and it is the duty of this Government to help them and to save them from further ruin just as it is the duty of this Government to see that the poor agriculturist is helped and he is not allowed to go under. It is the duty of this Government to see also that the people living in towns and urban areas and people engaged in trade and business do not go under. They are already, as I have said, on the brink of ruin and if no relief is given to them either by the revision of these laws or in some other ways, there would be abject misery in the towns such as has never been seen in the villages of the Punjab. This is my reason for referring to these things. I ask all these honourable members whether they have not had time enough to consider what the effect of these provisions would be, that no lawyers would be allowed to appear in certain cases, that civil courts will have no jurisdiction in certain cases, the powers of the conciliation boards have been enhanced to inordinate limits, the powers of the panchayats have been enhanced to considerable limits, and knowing the condition of villagers, knowing the party feeling, the party faction in villages, have they not yet had time to consider that the effect of these provisions has been deleterious and detrimental to the interests of all parties concerned? If they are fair minded, I am sure they will agree that time has come for going back a step and for revising various measures which have been passed in such a great hurry having been rushed through this House without any ceremony whatsoever. This is my object and I hope that these honourable gentlemen if they have not given any thought to these matters before, would calmly and dispassionately sit down and just think over the consequences of the various laws which they have helped this Government to pass—laws which may be called absolutely discriminatory class measures.

We have another grievance and that is as regards the policy of answering questions in the Assembly. When the whole Province is ringing with cries that the policy the Honourable Premier is pursuing is communal and the policy that this Government is pursuing is communal or one-sided, as favouring one class at the cost of the other, questions are not allowed to be put on the floor of the House on the ground that they relate to communal matters. It is no doubt true that these questions are sometimes answered by post. They are sent to the homes of the members but the Government must realise that by refusing to answer such questions on the floor of the House, they deprive the members of the right of putting supplementary questions and of getting matters cleared up. This is another grievance which members on this side of the House have and people at large feel. As regards other questions also sometimes the attitude adopted is that of silence and no answer is given. Sometimes the plea is public interest. Sometimes no ground is given at all and sometimes even the thumb is shown. You might have noticed on one or two occasions that one of the Ministers has been making frequent use of his thumb instead of his tongue for answering questions in this House (*laughter*). Certainly a procedure of this kind cannot inspire confidence. This is the grievance which I am

trying to convey to the Honourable Ministers who are in charge of the affairs of this House. Then I come to one or two other very important points.

I may tell you that it is not a pleasure to me to discuss these things. Not only is it a physical strain on me but it is a mental strain also. I know what those gentlemen will say. But I have a duty to discharge. Whether it is liked or not liked by them I have to do my duty. The whole province, so far as Hindus and Sikhs of this province are concerned, is crying over the policy which this Government is following and I have to do my duty towards them. When these grievances appear in the Press, it is often hinted that nobody talks of these things in the Assembly and the members are not doing their duty in not bringing these grievances to the notice of the Government. I think I have said nothing which may give offence to any gentleman. (*Minister for Development* : Go on with your speech.) I thank them for the liberality and generosity the Honourable Ministers are showing and for the patience they are promising to show.

The other grievance of the minorities in this province is that their cultural rights are being infringed. I shall give you some instances of this grievance which have been placed before me. I have got the material before me and I am giving you a very brief summary of what has been supplied to me. The first question in connection with it is the question of language. The other day, when the Primary Education Bill was before the House, the Honourable Minister in charge of Education was pleased to say that the language question was not an important question in the Punjab or that it was not a live question. He said something to that effect. I hope that since then his eyes have been opened as hundreds, if not thousands, of meetings have been held all over the province protesting against the policy adopted by this Government so far as the language question is concerned. The Honourable Minister, when he was speaking on that Bill, said that the medium of instruction in this province was Urdu. Naturally he was of the opinion that the medium of instruction in this province would remain Urdu and would always continue to be Urdu. Questions were raised whether the Government would be prepared to make a provision for the teaching of Hindi and Gurmukhi in the recognised schools if a particular number of scholars wanted to read either Gurmukhi or Hindi. An amendment was moved on that point and it was rejected. Speeches had to be made objecting to the whole clause but all were rejected. Since then the province has been ringing with this question, voices have been raised from a thousand platforms and numberless letters and reports have appeared in the Hindu and Sikh press regarding the meetings which have been held to protest against the policy of the Government in this respect—and against the declaration made by the Honourable Minister for Education. The point of the grievance is that as in other provinces, like United Provinces, Bihar, Central Provinces and even Madras, where Muslim population or rather, I should say, the population anxious or desirous to learn Urdu, is very small, the Governments of those provinces have made a provision for the teaching of Urdu in schools where a particular number of boys, i.e., 8, 9 or 10 were anxious to be taught in Urdu, the Punjab Hindus and Sikhs should have the same concession. If it is a concession at all it should be extended to them without any restriction whatsoever. My submission is that it is

[Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang.]

not a concession but it is a right of minorities like Hindus and Sikhs who are not negligible minorities in this province to have their children taught in any language which it pleases them to adopt as the medium of instruction. In Europe, one of the most fundamental things, which those who sit down and adjudicate upon the rights of a minority as against a majority, consider is the protection of the language of the minority. In Switzerland, there are three kinds of people. There are German Swiss, French Swiss and Italian Swiss and all these three languages are recognised. In the Legislative House, a member has the right to address the House in any language he likes, whether in German, in French or in Italian. In French Switzerland, they learn French. In German Switzerland they are taught in German and in places on the border of Italy, they learn Italian without any distinction or discrimination. The Hindus and the Sikhs of the Punjab want that they should be treated in the same manner. It is injustice and unfairness on the part of the Government to deny this right to the minorities in this Province. The injustice is so glaring, as compared with other provinces, that it requires no argument to bring home either to the Honourable Minister or the honourable members of this House that the claims of the Hindus and Sikhs in this respect are absolutely just and they should be recognised. What has been the policy of the Government? Before this Government came into power, in the Education Code, of which I think, the last edition is that of 1917, three languages are recognised as equally legitimate media of instruction, namely, Urdu, Hindi and Gurmukhi, and schools are at liberty to impart education through any of these media and children are at liberty to adopt any one of them. Why should the provisions of that Code be ignored? Why should there be any departure from them at all? I am quite prepared to take a charitable view of the declaration made by the Honourable Minister for Education. It is just possible that he made that declaration rather too hastily or without giving any serious thought to what he was going to say or it may be that he was not fully aware of the provisions in the Education Code; otherwise I cannot understand how any just and reasonable man could deny this right to any section of the population. But that is not the only thing. Even after this question was raised, representations were addressed to the Government and deputations waited upon the Honourable Premier and I am very sorry to say that the replies given by the Honourable Premier, with whom I believe, was sitting the Honourable Minister of Education also, were such as could not be found satisfactory by the parties concerned. After the Hindus and Sikhs had seen the Honourable Premier, a statement was made which appeared at first to be somewhat satisfactory as far as it went, viz., that the Government was prepared to recognise Hindi and Gurmukhi as legitimate and proper media of instruction. It was reported in the papers, and in fact, in the statement which was issued by a very important educationalist of this province, I think, L. Diwan Chand, president of the D. A. V. College managing committee, it was stated that the Premier during the course of the interview had been pleased to say that the declaration made by the Honourable Minister for Education was not binding on the Government, that it was the declaration of the Premier himself which laid down the policy of the Government and not any declaration made by the Honourable Minister for Education. I do not know the details.

I was not in the deputation. I was asked to join it, but I considered it utterly useless to join it. I told those people that nothing would come out of this deputation, as the Premier would tell them something which they would find very difficult to understand and which he would find very difficult to explain clearly.

This was the report published by one of them. Soon after, another deputation waited on him, viz. one consisting of Muhammadans and he told them something which the Hindus and Sikhs considered to be somewhat opposed to what they had been told. The position remains still in doubt. Questions have been tabled. I do not know if they would be answered or have been answered; at least not to my knowledge, to explain the position. The explanation that the Hindus and Sikhs of this province want is this. Will the schools adopting Hindi or Gurmukhi as the medium of instruction be recognised in the same way as those schools which have Urdu as the medium of instruction, and that recognition would not be refused to any schools with Hindi or Gurmukhi as the medium simply on the ground that its medium of instruction is either Hindi or Gurmukhi. This is one point. The other point on which they want clarification is whether this Government is prepared to follow the practice in vogue in other provinces that in schools controlled by local bodies or by the Government, if a particular number of scholars want to be instructed through the medium of Hindi or Gurmukhi, they would be allowed to receive instruction in Hindi or Gurmukhi as they may desire. These are very fundamental points on which a declaration of policy is required to be made. On this point a formula was propounded by the Honourable the Premier. That formula is *status quo*. What is this *status quo*? Many people do not understand this *status quo*. We have heard of *status quo ante bellum* but there is no *bellum* in this case so far. The Honourable Premier wanted to convey the deputation that things would continue to remain as they were before this Government came into power. If he does not mean this well I cannot understand what the Honourable Premier can mean. Even from this point of view the Code of 1917 is there. There is no reason why any departure should be made from the provisions of that Code. One step further. Even if the district board or municipal schools are at present not imparting instruction in Hindi or Gurmukhi, is there any reason why they should be precluded from doing so if the people within their jurisdiction want it? Is there any reason, I ask the Honourable Minister for Education, why, for instance, in the district of Rohtak, where the population is predominantly Hindu, the district board, which is also predominantly Hindu, should be precluded from teaching Hindi even in those schools where it is not taught at present. Take the case of Kangra, where the population is mostly Hindu. Is there any reason why if the children want to be taught in Hindi they should be precluded from learning Hindi in the district board schools. The same should be the case with the municipal committees; but unfortunately the Premier was pleased to say that in the case of those schools where Hindi or Gurmukhi is not being taught at present applications will have to be made and the Government will consider every application on its own merits. I ask, Sir, did the Government of Bihar or Madras lay down any such thing with respect to Urdu? Is there any reason why a concession should be shown to 5 per cent of the

[Dr. Sir Gokal Chand Narang.]

Muslim population and that concession should not be shown to 45 or 46 per cent of the Hindu and Sikh population? Can it be justified on the ground of *status quo*? Then, again, has the Government confined itself in other respects to *status quo*? If they had confined themselves to *status quo* none of these precious Bills would have been brought forward and none of these Acts would have been on the statute book to day. They have absolutely demolished *status quo* in its head in other respects, and they want to plead *status quo* so far as the question of Hindi and Gurmukhi is concerned. The world outside will judge whether there is any justice or fairness left in this Government so far as its policy with respect to the language or medium of instruction is concerned. I leave it to the world outside to judge and the world is judging. You must be aware of what Sir Muhammad Yaqub an Ex-Member of the Viceroy's Council was pleased to say the other day about the Punjab Government. His remarks have appeared in the papers, in the Tribune at least, and the Government cannot be unaware what credit they are now gaining outside. There is no doubt that some favourable impression was created by some of the speeches of the Premier when he said that no single community can rule in the Punjab and there will be no Pakistan, Khalistan or Hindustan here. The doings of the Punjab Government were hidden behind a smoke screen of such speeches from the gaze of the outside world, but that smoke screen is now being lifted. It is being blown away by the cries of the people whose cup of patience has become full. They are now raising a hue and cry against the doings of the Punjab Government. They are tearing the veil and exposing the rabid communal policy of the Punjab Government in its naked ugliness which had been hidden by the smoke screen of sweet speeches. What does the Tribune say about the Premier. I think the Tribune is not inimical to the Premier at all: in any case he cannot say that the editor of the Tribune has any grudge against him. I just want to read out a few lines from what it has said about Sir Sikander Hyat-Khan. The editor of Tribune was gracious enough to take notice of a speech which I made a few days ago and while discussing that speech in its issue of the 4th of March was pleased to say:

In any case the public must judge Sir Sikander Hyat-Khan by his own professions and practice and not by press reports. Those professions and that practice are condemnable enough in more respects than one. Sir Gokal Chand Narang was on firm and unassailable ground in his scathing condemnation of the ultra-communal policy of the present Punjab Government as being utterly and fundamentally inconsistent with Sir Sikander Hyat-Khan's non-communal professions.

Speeches are sometimes made against Pakistan and sometimes it is said that no single community can rule in the Punjab and that the three communities will rule here and that it will be the rule not of the Muslims, not of the Sikhs or the Hindus but of the Punjabis. People do not believe that it is so, they have only to look at the policy of recruitment to the services and have come to the conclusion which has been embodied in these words of the learned editor of the Tribune. This is what has happened. If there was not ample reason there would be no grievance. I firmly believe that the grievance is well founded. I will give a few instances how this communal policy of the Punjab Government has acted in this province. It is most unfortunate. I thought that with the coming of provincial

autonomy all this wretched communalism will disappear, but our masters have done us grave injustice. The greatest wrong has been done by Great Britain to India in basing the constitution on communal electorates and by reservation of seats on a communal basis. We can never pardon Great Britain and the British Parliament, and others who had any hand in framing this constitution, for doing this great wrong to a helpless country like India. However I thought that our Government would rise above this trick and treachery and that the Governments in this country would show that India could rise above communalism which this constitution has thrust upon it and that they would wash it away by ruling justly and fairly. Unfortunately, however, they have played into their hands and they have taken advantage of the mischief which the constitution had made possible. They have run the Government on entirely class lines. It is our great misfortune—I am sorry I have to mourn the fate of my country on the floor of this House—that we have been placed in this unfortunate and wretched predicament from which God alone or the wisdom, large-heartedness, and patriotism of those who are in power alone can extricate us.

Now to point out to you that the grievances of the people are just and genuine and not simply got up for the purpose of agitation or some extraneous purpose I shall with your permission give a few instances. I was just now dealing with the language question. I referred to the declaration of the Minister. Not only was this declaration made on the floor of this House, but insidious efforts are being made by him to crush Hindi and Gurmukhi in this province. There is a certain rule recently made after this Government came into power, that if a boy takes up Hindi or Gurmukhi as his first language, that is, his important language which he can take only after he has been at school for six years then he must answer all his question papers in that language only, that is, Hindi or Gurmukhi. (*Minister for Education* : This is only to encourage the two languages.) This is really encouragement ! I suppose the Honourable Minister has spoken with his tongue in his mouth, or may be he does not understand what I am talking about or has no knowledge of the matter. What I want to point out is this. A boy to begin with has to learn Urdu up to the seventh class. Thereafter, being a Hindu or a Sikh he wants to learn Hindi or Gurmukhi as the case may be. So in the seventh class he takes up Hindi or Gurmukhi. Now in his middle school examination or in his higher school examination he has to answer his papers not in Urdu which he has been learning for the past six years but in Hindi or Gurmukhi. The Honourable Minister wants to encourage Hindi and Gurmukhi by asking the boys to answer question papers of mathematics, history and geography in Hindi or Gurmukhi. The result of this encouragement has been that the number of scholars taking Hindi and Gurmukhi has gone down because the knowledge of Hindi or Gurmukhi which they acquire during this short period is very limited and they find it difficult to answer the papers in those languages. Simply because they desire to learn a little Hindi or Gurmukhi in their schools, they are made to learn these languages with a vengeance as it were by enforcing this rule against them ? The result is that boys who have been learning Urdu for six or seven years cannot all of a sudden begin to answer the question papers of mathematics, history or geography in Hindi or Gurmukhi which they have learnt only for a few months. If my honourable friend

[Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang.]

challenges this statement of mine I am prepared to give him figures. His attempt to encourage Hindi or Gurmukhi has debarred many boys from taking up any of these languages. The number of boys taking up any of these languages has actually gone down. If the Honourable Minister cares to make enquiries he will find that my statement is cent per cent correct on this point.

Minister for Education : Do you want that circular to be cancelled or withdrawn ?

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : You ask your educationists and they will tell you better than I can.

Another way in which the Honourable Minister is encouraging Hindi and Gurmukhi is this. If a boy wants to change from Urdu to Hindi or Gurmukhi, he has to obtain the premission of the Director of Public Instruction. Supposing a boy of the seventh class wants to take up Hindi he has to put in an application to his headmaster who in his turn will pass it on to the district inspector of schools, who will then forward it to the Assistant Inspector, Deputy Inspector and Inspector and the Assistant Director of Public Instruction who in his turn will put it up for the orders of the Director of Public Instruction. Thus six months or more will have elapsed before the Director of Public Instruction accords his sanction to the change. In the meantime what is the poor boy to do ? He can neither take up Hindi nor can he continue Urdu because he does not know what will be the orders of the Director of Public Instruction. This is the second method by which the Minister encourages the study of Hindi and Gurmukhi in this province !

There is still another way in which he is encouraging Hindi. He started, or at any rate he stimulated the campaign of adult education. I think for a long time and perhaps even now all the primers that he has got prepared are in Urdu. None of them is in Hindi or Gurmukhi. Apparently it looks so absurd that I would like the Honourable Minister to correct me if I am wrong.

Minister for Education : They are printed in all the three languages, though the demand for Hindi or Gurmukhi primers is very small.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : Very well. Again, in the Education Report for 1937-38 quotations from which have been placed in my hands, I find there is a reference to there being three languages in the province. The report says that efforts are being made to remove this multiplicity which means another encouragement to Hindi or Gurmukhi ! I am sure the Honourable Minister is not going to abolish Urdu in this province to give place to any of these languages.

Minister for Education : There is no mention of the medium of instruction in the Education Code. It has never been.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : The Honourable Minister can send for the report of 1937-38 and see it for himself. The University Committee that was appointed and of which Sir George Anderson was the President went into the question and recommended that the elasticity which is now in existence in the Punjab with respect to the medium of instruction should

be continued. In spite of that, an indication has been given in the report that simplicity would be evolved out of this multiplicity which would mean abolition of that elasticity so far as the medium of instruction is concerned.

There is still another way in which the Honourable Minister wants to encourage Hindi and Gurmukhi. One of the points of reference to the Syllabus Committee was the medium of instruction. The Honourable Minister thought that this Committee would recommend Hindi and Gurmukhi also. So he withdrew this question from the points of reference to that Committee and kept it into his own hands.

Minister for Education : The question of medium of instruction was not referred to that Committee.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : What was withdrawn from the jurisdiction of this Committee ? (*Minister for Education :* Nothing.) Oh, then it was reserved to himself by the Honourable Minister. It comes to the same thing. Now we come to other facts. In the Hissar district there were a number of Hindi schools, twelve of them have been closed. Perhaps some member from the Hissar district will bear me out. (*Chaudhri Suraj Mal :* They are discouraging Hindi). Here is a member of the Unionist Party supporting me in what I have stated. They are discouraging Hindi in the Hissar district and one step that they have taken is that twelve schools where Hindi was taught were closed because the grant-in-aid was withdrawn from them.

On the 17th of March, 1939, at Sirsa, which is in the district of Hissar, the then Muslim Inspector of Schools told a deputation which waited on him that if Hindi was given up as the medium of instruction, then the schools would be recognised and perhaps a grant-in-aid would also be given. These are some of the ways in which Hindi and Gurmukhi are being encouraged in this province, and I have no doubt that taking their cue from the Government the local bodies where our people are in minority, would adopt the same line of action as is being adopted by the Department of Education under the present Minister of Education.

The next point in connection with this is the matter of processions. I will not go into details. I have got so many instances where Hindu processions were stopped in spite of the fact that Hindu processions used to be taken through those routes. I know that if there is any immediate danger of the breach of the peace, it may be necessary to stop a procession whether it is a Hindu procession, or a Sikh procession or a Muslim procession. But where Government is convinced that these people have a right to take out the procession and to take it out by a certain route, and they have been doing so for the last fifty years or a hundred years, and if then the Government yields or the local officers yield because the other community objects to it, then my submission is that Government comes in for blame. If the Government or the local officers are afraid either of one community or of the other and a large number of members of any particular community have a right which they have been exercising since a long time, then if they yield to the other community my submission is that they are guilty of injustice, they are guilty of the infringement of the cultural right of the community, whichever it may

[Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang.]

be, whether it is Hindu, Sikh or Muhammadan. But unfortunately what has been done is this that whereas the processions of the Hindus and Sikhs have been stopped and have been prohibited from taking the route which they have been following in the past, Muslim processions have been allowed to go although they have never been taken out and allowed to go by a route that they have never taken before even if they used to be in existence before. This is the grievance. I have a number of instances. There is the Arya Samaj Nagar Kirtan procession at Faridabad which was prohibited, then the procession of Bath Yatra at Panipat, the Dhup Dishmi Anant Chaudas procession at Panipat, then the processions at Kabirwala, at Multan, Talagang and at Chakwal, all of which were prohibited. Then the Shahidi Jatha procession was stopped at Lahore but the Khaksar procession was allowed to proceed.

Sir, I do not want to revive a question which has at least apparently and for some time received its quietus, but discrimination will strike any impartial observer. On the one side we have this policy and on the other side what is it? A muslim organisation launches out threats to Government and the Government sends its emissaries to them to make peace with them. Not only this, it has the armed members of that organisation to mount guard at the door of one of the Parliamentary Secretaries in the Secretariat building, here in this very building! The Leader of the Opposition, Dr. Gopi Chand went to see that Parliamentary Secretary on Assembly business and he is stopped by the armed guard who apparently had no right to enter the premises of this House. He is stopped from going into the room of the Parliamentary Secretary, because one of their leaders was closetted with the Parliamentary Secretary at the time. These instances speak for themselves. When this question was raised, the Parliamentary Secretary told the Leader of the Opposition that that gentleman had come to consult him about some Bill. We kept quiet. How can we contradict? But the House knows what it meant. I remember the proceedings of a divorce case in England. Two people of different sexes were found confined in a room and they pleaded innocence. The Judge said, certainly you were not saying your prayers there behind closed doors! He might have been consulting the Parliamentary Secretary about a Shariat Bill. But the world knows what he was discussing with him and the official organ of that organisation came out with the gist of the conference which he had had with the Parliamentary Secretary deputed by Government for the purpose. This brings the difference how different communities are treated by this Government into bold relief.

I come to the question which is really for the Sikhs but I know that they have a great grievance on one particular point—how they should eat their meat, how they should eat their chickens or their quails or their goats or their sheep. I have given one instance how a man was taken to task for killing a chicken in Jandiala Sher Khan in a particular manner in which his community generally kills an animal which they want to eat. They have their grievance. They are strong enough to stand for themselves and to safeguard their rights and they really do not stand in need of any advocacy on my part to plead their cause here. As a Punjabi, however, I am strongly of the opinion that each community should have its

rights and no community should be deprived of its rights and no interference should be made with its culture simply on the ground of difference in religion or on the ground that it is in a minority or in a helpless condition. In fact other communities should help them in securing and enjoying their rights and most of all the majority community should come forward with liberal help to do justice to those whom justice is not being done by the Government.

Then I come to the question of services and this is the sore point which touches not only the people outside, but the personnel of the services themselves. So far as this matter is concerned, you would probably remember that in 1937, I think it was in the month of July, a special meeting of the Assembly was convened and was attended by His late Highness the Maharaja of Patiala. I am referring to this to show that there was such a meeting, otherwise I am not going to bring in Patiala or anybody else. At that meeting the Honourable Premier was pleased to declare that he would call God to witness that he had done nothing to show any undue favour to one community at the expense of the rights of any other community, so far as the question of appointments was concerned. To do him justice, I may say that he might have been right till then, though I know one or two instances which might point to the contrary even during his previous career but to do him justice and to be absolutely fair to him, I may say that at the time he made this statement he might have been absolutely sincere and it might be correct that till then, barring a lapse here and there, he had kept up to that principle. I wish he had continued to be the same Sikander that he was in 1937, but unfortunately things are different from what they were in 1937, and I have no doubt that if God to whom the Honourable Minister for Education looked up the other day, were called as a witness, His deposition would go against the Honourable Premier so far as this matter is concerned. He will not exonerate the Honourable Premier from the charge of communalism which has been brought against him in such clear terms by the Editor of the Tribune in the quotation which I have just read out. It may be that he is not entirely responsible for what is going on in other departments, but *ex-hypothesi* their responsibility is joint and it has been admitted that all Ministers are equally responsible for the actions of the Government.

The Premier is *a fortiori* more responsible because he is not only jointly responsible for what is being done, but because he is at the head of the affairs and his word means law, as I take it, to the rest of the cabinet. Unfortunately the non-agricultural classes have no representation in the cabinet as such. There is no doubt there is a non-agriculturist Minister, but he himself announced through the press that he was not there as the representative of the non-agricultural classes. The Tribune supported him or perhaps quoted what he said—I am not clear on that point. But the thing appeared in the Tribune, that the Honourable Minister's defence was that he was returned by a joint constituency, namely, the University constituency and that he was not in the cabinet as the representative of the non-agriculturist classes of the province. I hope I am not doing him any injustice at all. If that is so (although this militates against the declaration which the Honourable Premier made in February, 1937, that he was taking a representative

[Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang.]

of the non-agriculturists) then it means that no one in the cabinet is prepared to take the responsibility for the non-agricultural classes. In other words, non-agricultural classes go unrepresented so far as the cabinet is concerned. I am not discussing personalities at all. But for this declaration, we would all consider him to be the representative of the non-agricultural classes in the cabinet, relying upon the declaration of the Premier. But after that declaration by the minister concerned, the non-agriculturists now rightly feel that they are unrepresented in the cabinet. Their case is, therefore, going by default. There have been no signs, so far as the public at large at least so far as the non-agriculturists at large, are concerned, there have been no signs that any body has taken up the cause of the non-agriculturists or has intervened on their behalf, and it was really foolish to expect such a thing in face of the facts that five of the Honourable Ministers are agriculturists and the sixth has disclaimed his position a representative of the non-agricultural classes and has given himself out as the representative of all classes of the country. This may be a good position to take up from a certain point of view. It is certainly very generous and very patriotic and national. I admire it and appreciate it. I am only stating a fact that whereas the five ministers declare wherever they go, "here we are, the servants of the zamindars, we are for the zamindars and at the service of the zamindars and the rule is that of the zamindars", there is no one to raise his voice on behalf of the poor non-agriculturists in the counsels of the Government where important decisions are taken against them. I am only stating that bare fact. To come to concrete instances, recently the Government decided that the distribution of services among the various classes in this province would be 50 per cent muslims and 50 per cent non-muslims. Out of the non-muslims 30 per cent would go to the Hindus and others and 20 per cent. would go to the Sikhs. Again, I speak subject to correction and if there is any mistake I would be very grateful for the correction. Out of this I understand $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent are to be reserved for members of the scheduled classes. It is a very good thing. I do not grudge it. I would not mind even if 10 per cent of the seats in the services go to the members of the scheduled classes if they can be found fit to carry on the duties of any particular post. Two and a half per cent. go to the Christians, if suitable Christians can be found to carry on the duties. This leaves 25 per cent and then there is a further rule promulgated, I understand, by this Government, that 60 per cent, of the posts should go to the agriculturists. Sixty per cent of 25 per cent would mean 15 per cent which would go to the agriculturists and 10 per cent go to the non-agriculturists, so that leaving the members of the scheduled classes aside for the moment, out of 100 posts that may fall vacant, ten posts only will go to the Hindus of non-agricultural classes. Only 10 per cent of the seats out of 100 go to non-agricultural Hindus. Now there is another principle which is being followed by this Government and that is supported by instances. It is this. Where a post was held by a Muslim it must go to a Muslim. They say it is a Muslim post. And where a post was held by a non-Muslim it must go to a Muslim because it was held by a non-Muslim so far and so it must now be held by a Muslim, so that the principle that the Government follows is, "heads we win and tails you lose." Some posts must go to Muslims because they were Muslim posts and others must go to the Muslims because

they were formerly held by non-Muslims ! If you go into details you will find this almost cent per cent correct. Instances are glaring and they can be placed before you. Again even this proportion is not kept in view so far as fresh recruitment is concerned, I give you instances.

So far as the Public Works Department is concerned four advertisements appeared in the *Tribune*. One advertisement No. 6280 appeared in the *Tribune*, dated the 25th of August, 1939, about the Irrigation Department Service Class II. Who is representing this Department in the absence of the Revenue Minister ? (Minister for Public Works : Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan). Then I would ask Raja Sahib whether it is not correct that in that advertisement it was announced that fifteen officers were required, out of whom 14 must be Muslims and one belonging to the Depressed Classes and Hindus *nil* and Sikhs and others *nil* though I would not say Hindus *nil*, because I consider the depressed classes as Hindus, so that I would say that against 14 Muslims, there was only one Hindu of the Scheduled Castes. Then another advertisement appeared No. 38 B in the *Tribune*, dated the 5th of August, 1940, in which the services of one Muslim were requisitioned and of nobody else. Another advertisement No. 148 B appeared in the *Tribune*, dated 19th January, 1940, from the Public Health Circle. One Muslim was wanted and nobody else. Then another advertisement No. 766 B appeared in the *Tribune*, dated 22nd March, 1940 about the Buildings and Roads Branch about four permanent posts in Class I, four Muslims and Hindus and others *nil*. Another advertisement appeared in the *Tribune*, dated 22nd March, No. 767 B about temporary posts in the Buildings and Roads Muslims 5, Sikhs 2, Hindus and others *nil*. This would show that even that principle is not being kept in view so far as recruitment is concerned. I know the answer which the Honourable Minister would give and that would be in the Public Works Department both Irrigation and Buildings and Roads, there is a preponderance of Hindus already and therefore only Muslims were taken and in one instance two Sikhs and in one instance one member of the Scheduled Castes was taken. It may be a plausible answer, but it loses all its force when we find that that principle has not been adhered to so far as other departments are concerned.

Minister for Public Works : There are other reasons. I shall tell you those.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : If they are convincing I shall bow to you. My honourable friend mentioned Police. Even in the case of Police to which my honourable friend behind me has referred, although there is an overwhelming preponderance of Muslims in the Police, from the 1st of April, 1937, up to January, 1938, 608 Muslims were recruited against 305 Hindus. I am grateful even for these 305, whoever be responsible for it deserves my thanks, but I am only trying to point out that the principle has not been followed here.

Minister : What category ?

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : I cannot say off hand. I have got details and if you want them I shall give you. It must be the lower ranks otherwise they cannot be so many hundreds in the upper ranks. I am

[Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang.]

thankful for the 305 recruited, but I was trying to make the point that the principle that a certain department was already overstaffed with members of one community has not been applied to other Departments. Therefore that answer, if that is the only answer, would not hold water. Now, sir there is another thing which is made a grievance of and that is this that if they cannot find a competent Muslim, in the Punjab, they import them from outside and if they cannot find one from outside, they keep the post vacant. The Hindus, therefore, legitimately think that this is a policy of great injustice and a policy which in English is described, though not very respectfully, as the policy of a dog in the manger. *Na khawange na khandewan ge*. If you cannot find a competent Muslim in this province, you import one from outside and if you cannot find one even from outside you keep the post open. I give you one glaring instance of this. A professor was required in the MacLagan Engineering College. I believe it is under Malik Sahib. My information is that three men were recommended by the Public Service Commission. Out of these three a Muslim was chosen but luckily he got a better job elsewhere and therefore did not join. The next man was a Hindu and he was not taken. The case was sent back, but no Muslim could be found to fill the job. The post was then kept vacant for ten months. These are such concrete instances and you can verify them. No Muslim was then even after ten months found. What happened? Even then no Hindu was taken out of the men recommended by the Public Service Commission. The post was advertised again so that some Muslim might be found in some corner of the country. Let us next take up the case of Forest Rangers. The other day this matter came up in the form of a supplementary question and I want the Honourable Minister for Development to listen to it. I put supplementary questions to him. You remember the case, sir. It was advertised in the *Tribune* of the 27th September, 1940, that certain posts of forest rangers were vacant and applications were invited and people were asked to purchase printed copies of applications and attach with their applications certificates from Civil Surgeons. About 380 applicants came. They were invited by the Conservator of Forests for interview on the 14th of October, 1940. Only Muslims were interviewed and the Hindus and Sikhs were told to present themselves on the following day that is the 15th. When they came on the 15th October, it was announced to them on behalf of the Conservator of Forests that all the non-agriculturist Hindus and Sikhs should go away as the Conservator of Forests was not interviewing any non-agriculturist Sikh or Hindu. The poor fellows went away. Some member brought this matter up in the House and I happened to be present and I put supplementary questions to the Honourable Minister and the Honourable Minister admitted the facts and said that a mistake had been made. He had warned the Conservator of Forests not to invite applications from non-agriculturist Hindus or Sikhs and it was against his instructions that the Conservator of Forests had invited applications from non-agriculturists. Then I asked him whether he had taken any action in the matter and he said that he had asked for the explanation of the Conservator. I do not know whether any explanation has so far reached him or not. Then I asked him, and this is the crucial point, why he had issued such instructions and whether he issued

these instructions before or after the applications had been invited. He told me that he had issued these instructions because already there were too many non-agriculturists in the Forest Rangers cadre. Am I right?

Minister for Development : Yes.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : The Honourable Minister confirms what I have stated and says that the statement of facts given by me is correct.

Now, Sir, let us assume that the Honourable Minister was right. If he is right then my objection would be that the principle on which Hindus are kept out of this Department is not being followed in other departments where Muslims or agriculturists are already in a majority. The fact, however, is that the Honourable Minister was absolutely wrong when he said that there were more non-agriculturist forest rangers in the Punjab Service. Now, for his information I would tell him.

The Honourable Chaudhri Sir Chhotu Ram : "Over represented", that was the expression used by me.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : But the Honourable Minister was absolutely wrong and the most charitable view is that he was mistaken and did not make the statement deliberately.

The Honourable Chaudhri Sir Chhotu Ram : I made that statement deliberately on the basis of figures before me.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : You made that statement deliberately, it was not true.

Now, Sir, I have got this pink pamphlet for 1940, which is published by the Government every year. Here among the forest rangers, the number of notified agriculturists is 54·7 per cent. In the whole department the percentage of agriculturists is 71·7 per cent. (*An Honourable member :* How many Hindu agriculturists?) This I do not know. Now, Sir, let us go a little further. If in a department the percentage of agriculturists is already 71·7 per cent. (*An Honourable member :* There are so many chaprasies.) No, non-agriculturist Hindu is to be taken in that department although the department is already monopolised by agriculturists. Where are the Hindu non-agriculturists to go? Only agriculturists are being taken although already there are 71·7 per cent agriculturists (*Honourable member :* There are Chaprasies also.) Certainly these rangers are not chaprasies nor are Deputy Rangers of whom 68·2 are agriculturists. Non-agriculturists form the bulk of educated classes. They must not be driven out. Out of a hundred 71 seats are occupied by agriculturists already, still the remaining 29 must be divided between agriculturists and non-agriculturists. Instead taking their share from the Muslim agriculturists, the Hindu agriculturists want it from Hindu non-agriculturists because they are weak :

نزلہ پر عضو ضعیف

It is the weaker limb that is attacked by disease. (*Interruptions.*) Why don't you claim your share from the loot, which Muslim agriculturists are having in such profusion. This is the point, which my honourable Hindu Jat friends cannot see. They are afraid of Muslims (*An honourable member :* We are not afraid of anybody.) Then claim your own share.

[Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang.]

Then, Sir, we come to the listed posts. Now, according to my information, there are 7 listed posts, and out of these 7 posts, 6 were occupied by Muslims and only 1 by a Hindu. In the P. C. S. Extraordinary, the Hindus in 1937 were 48.1 per cent and in 1940 they came down to 27.6 percent.

Mrs. J. A. Shah Nawaz : What about I. F. S. ?

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : In the I. F. S. the recruitment is made by competition and it is rather difficult for the lady member's brothers to get in. To-morrow you will ask how many Muslims are there in Roorkee. In Roorkee, you know there is Mathematics !

Mir Maqbool Mahmood : Is the honourable member advocating that the promotions should be made on communal representation ?

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : I do not want any communalism whatsoever. It should be banished to-day, this minute. I shall be the happiest man if it is abolished. What are you talking of promotion ? I want communalism to go root and branch. That is why I am taking the time of the House. I want to cleanse your minds of communalism. Abolish communalism to-day. There should be no communalism in any institution, in any local body, in any legislature. You ask me whether I want communalism.

Minister for Education : Nor in the medium of instruction.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : It is a matter of religion with them. The Honourable Minister thinks that he has achieved a great thing by making this remark, communalism in the medium of instruction. To-morrow you would say that there should be no difference in the matter of diet. Supposing I eat *moong ki dal* and you eat meat, then you would want me also to eat meat. What about the mode of prayers, would you want me to pray as you. What a silly remark the Honourable Minister of Education has made.

Mr. Speaker : The word " silly " is unparliamentary. I, therefore request the honourable member to withdraw it.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : Sir, I withdraw it.

My mind has been clean and I hope my honourable friend's mind is also clean. So far as P. C. S. Extraordinary service is concerned, in 1937 Hindus were 48.1 and in 1940 they came down to 27.6.

Do only Hindus retire in this service ? Now see how the Muslims fared. In 1937 Muslims were 31.7 per cent and in 1940 they became 50 per cent in spite of casualties. (*Hear, hear*). Great honour to the Muslim Premier and Syed Amjad Ali Shah, his Parliamentary Private Secretary ! (*Laughter.*) Sir, let me point out in passing that we were aware of these things during the last four years. As time went on we kept watching but certain things prevented us from ventilating them publicly on the floor of the House. We knew from experience that if a person is criticised for his communal bias, he is likely to become a hero and the state of affairs becomes worse. We would not have raised this point but now things have come to such a pass that further silence would have been criminal. Agriculturists were 31.8 per cent and now they are 57.7 per cent. I hope it will gladden my friends

here. Now take the case of revenue assistants. The Hindus were 6 in 1937—these are very important posts—and now they are 2 in the whole Province. Muslims were 14 and now they are 19. Let us take the case of extra assistant commissioners. The Muslims from 1937 to 1940 have come to occupy 52 seats out of 99 and Hindus 21. In other cadres also the Muslims preponderate. Then take the case of Police. That is really a notorious instance very often repeated here. The other day when I came in I found the Honourable Premier answering the argument of my honourable friend Rai Bahadur Mr. Mukand Lal Puri with a pink book in his hand and was trying to point out that in particular ranks Hindus had more than their share. I just want to point out that this is not correct. Let us first of all take the superintendents. In 1937 there were 8 Muslim superintendents of Police. In 1940 they were 11. Hindus were 3 in 1937 and now they are 2, that is, only 7 per cent in the cadre of superintendents of Police. Take the case of Deputy Superintendents of Police. In 1937 Muslims were 43.7 and now they are 48.2. Hindus were 20 per cent in 1937 and now they are 17.2 per centum. There is decrease among the Hindus and there is increase among the Muslims. Then there is another thing to be remembered and that is this. Here again the outside public are not in a position to judge. Among the inspectors and sub-inspectors many of the Hindus are highly educated men and they are entrusted with prosecution work. They work in courts as prosecuting sub-inspectors or prosecuting inspectors being B. A., LL.Bs. or M. A., LL.Bs., and administrative work is mainly entrusted to Muslim deputy superintendents of police, Inspectors and sub-inspectors. Most of the Hindu deputy superintendents of police are working in the prosecution line while an overwhelming majority of Muslims in the general lines. Then I would reproduce the table to you. In 1937 there were 2 Muslims and there were 5 Hindus. They were only 3 in 1939 and now they are 4. Still they are below the 1937 figure. Among the inspectors the Hindus certainly have a good proportion, I am glad to say, but it must be taken subject to this that they are entrusted with prosecution work and the administrative work is not made over to them. The great difference is visible when we come down to head constables and constables. Among head constables there are 63.9 per cent Muslims while Hindus are 25.2 and among the constables Muslims are 73.1 per cent and Hindus are only 18.8 per cent. In the clerical staff the Hindus have higher percentage than the Muslims but it does not mean that they are extra posts. A separate table is given for the clerks but they are constables working as clerks in the offices and so on. So, on the whole, you will see that in the Police Department there is a great preponderance of Muslims.

(At this stage Mr. Speaker left the chair and it was occupied by Mr. Deputy Speaker).

As we come to other departments we find still more interesting figures. Take the Law Department. In the Law Department the Muslims increased by 10 per cent during these four years and Hindus were reduced by 17 per cent. The Advocate-General is a Muslim, the Assistant Advocate-General is a Muslim, the Assistant Legal Remembrancer is a Muslim.

Mir Maqbool Mahmood : The Assistant Legal Remembrancer is not a Muslim. Basant Krishan is not a Muslim.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : Thank you for appointing him since ten days. He was appointed perhaps last month. I would like this correction to be made that since the last one month or so the job of Assistant

[Dr. Sir Gokul, Chand Narang.]

Advocate-General has been given to a Hindu and the whole Hindu community would get up and bow in 'gratitude' to the honourable Parliamentary Secretary and his boss for showing this 'great kindness' to that community.

Then we come to the Education Department. There are a few very important posts in the Education Department.

Minister for Public Works : All are important.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : I agree even a chaprasi is important. Then it means that all important posts are held by the Muslims. I will not speak of the attempts which are being made to Muslimise the University. The University is something sacred and I shall leave it aside, but I shall take the Department as such. One instance will show you which way the wind is blowing. The Assistant Director of Public Instruction, I think, is still a Hindu. I think he went on leave and it was necessary to appoint a Muslim in his place. The gentleman on whom the Government had its eye was not eligible on account of age and I understand—and again speak subject to correction—the rules were reframed and he was placed in that position.

Khan Bahadur Mian Mushtaq Ahmed Gurmani : This is incorrect.

There are no rules prescribing any age limit for the post of Assistant Director of Public Instruction.

— — — — —

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : Mudei sust aur gawah chust.

Minister for Education : There is no minimum of age prescribed. Your information is wrong. (*Interruption*).

Mr. Deputy Speaker : I would request the honourable member to address the Chair.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : Now, Sir, the Inspector of Training Institution is a Mohammadan. The Inspector of Vernacular Education is a Muslim and probably not a Punjabee, I am not sure. The Registrar of departmental examinations is a Muslim.

Minister for Education : The Inspector of Training Institution is not a Muslim.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : Since when ?

Minister for Education : This place has been occupied by Mr. Bhanot for several years.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : Mr. Bhanot has been appointed now.

Minister for Education : No.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : All right. In the other branches of education there has been an allround increase in the personnel of Muslims and an allround decrease in the personnel of Hindus, and the Honourable Minister may note, for instance, in the P. E. S., Class I, there has been an increase of 3 per cent, in the P. E. S. Class II there has been an increase of

BUDGET—GENERAL DISCUSSION.

2·3 per cent and in class II, Women, there has been an increase of 6·2 per cent and in the S. E. S. Anglo-Vernacular, there has been an increase of 3·5 per cent; while Hindus have decreased allround up to 3·47 per cent. Again, take the case of other posts, superintendents and head clerks. In 1937, the Muslims were already in the percentage of 52·5, but now the percentage has arisen to 58·2.

Khan Bahadur Mian Mushtaq Ahmad Gurmani : Are all the posts of assistants and superintendents in all departments key posts or only those referred to by the honourable member? If all the posts are taken into account the Muslims are under represented.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : My honourable friend, the Parliamentary Secretary of some Minister, I do not know whose, refers to key posts. I give him some of the key posts held by the Muslims, and a series of articles appeared in the Vernacular press pointing out seriatim the key posts held by the Muslims to the exclusion of the Hindus. (*An honourable member :* What is a key post?) If my honourable friend waits he will know. In that category will come the Advocate-General; the Director of Public Information the Superintendent of Press Branch; Press Adviser to the Government; the Superintendent of Census; Vice-Chancellor of the University; Director of Land Records; Director of Industries; Secretary, Electricity; Chief Engineer; Secretary, Lahore Improvement Trust; Speaker of the Legislative Assembly—he also comes in that category—and various others.

Khan Bahadur Mian Mushtaq Ahmad Gurmani : My honourable friend who is posing as a Leader of some non-existent party was referring to the posts of superintendents and assistants, but he has not given us the figures with regard to these posts. He is now referring to a different category.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : Take the case of deputy commissioners. Hindus used to be 6, now they are only 4 against 11 Muslims. Take the Agricultural Department, the Department of my honourable friend over there. Take the case of Deputy Directors, there are 6 Muslims, 1 Sikh and no Hindu. I must preface my remarks by saying that the figures that have been supplied to me are sometime up to 1939 and sometime up to 1940. There might have been changes during the last one week, two weeks or a few weeks. But these changes cannot be very revolutionary. The figures that I am giving are either cent per cent correct or almost cent per cent correct, making reservation for the changes that may have been made from time to time (*Interruptions*) and they keep on going and coming. But on the whole the figures that I am giving are cent per cent correct. Take the Extra Assistant Directors. There are 15 Muslims, 1 Hindu and 8 Sikhs. Take the technical establishment. There are 45 Muslims, 20 Hindus and 12 Sikhs.

Khan Bahadur Mian Mushtaq Ahmad Gurmani : The honourable member has spoken for 3½ hours. Does the rule of guillotine not apply in his case?

Mr. Deputy Speaker : The time taken up by the honourable member will be deducted from the time of the Opposition.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : We do not mind this. Take the Co-operative Department. Among the Assistant Registrars.....

Minister for Development : Why not take the Deputy Registrar ?

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : I do not know about the Deputy Registrar. I am not concealing anything. I am speaking from the notes which have been supplied to me.

Mr. Deputy Sepeaker : I would request the honourable member to address the Chair, so that there may not be too much of interruptions.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : I shall address the Reporter ! Among the Assistant Registrars, there were 47.6 per cent Muslims in 1937 and now they are 52.2 per cent in 1940, and Hindus were 39.9 per cent in 1937, they are 21.7 now. In the entire cadre also the Muslims are more than 50 per cent and sometimes as high as 72 per cent for example, among the Industrial Inspectors, the Muslims are 72 per cent ; I do not know since when the Muslims have developed an industrial bent of mind ! In the Rural Reconstruction Department, in 1937 Muslims were already 66.8 per cent and Hindus were 20 per cent. Now the Muslims are 20 per cent and the Hindus have fallen to 12 per cent from 20 per cent. Take the case of Panchayat Officers. The Muslims are 80 per cent, Hindus 29 per cent and out of them only 2 are non-agriculturists. (*Minister for Development :* Too many). The honourable Minister for Development has been pleased to remark that even these two are too many ! Out of 30 Debt Conciliation Boards 22 have Muslim charimen and only 8 chairmen are Hindus and Sikhs. Take the case of the Information Bureau. It was created in 1924. The Director ever since has been a Muslim and no Hindu has ever been considered either competent or trustworthy to be placed in charge of this department. The first of them was Nawab Muzaffar Khan, the second was Sheikh Fazal Elahi and the third is Syed Nur Muhammad. At present its establishment is 61 per cent Muslim. Take the case of the Government Printing Department. There is no Hindu in any superior grade. There are two Europeans, 2 Muslims, one Christian and no Hindu. In the other staff 67.6 per cent are Muslims and 25 per cent Hindus. This grievance is a fairly old one. I know several representations were addressed to the Revenue Minister who was in charge. I think even a deputation of the employees of the Government Press waited on the Revenue Minister, but their grievance seems to have been left unredressed. Now the question of the Government Press reminds me of the press in general, what the attitude of the Government has been towards the press and whether their policy has not been discriminating. Now this matter can be discussed under various heads, for instance in respect of demanding securities. I think securities have been demanded more from the Hindu and Sikh papers than from the Muslim papers although some of the Muslim papers have written most rabid and inflammatory articles. Then the second aspect is the forfeiture of securities. More securities have been forfeited of the Hindus and Sikhs than of the Muslims. Thirdly in respect of patronage, giving advertisements. Advertisements are mostly monopolised by the Muslim papers or the Jat Gazette, and Pandit Shri Ram Sharma has always been making very serious grievance of it. Advertisements are given to the Muslim papers so far as conciliation boards are concerned although the parties may

have no opportunity to read any of these papers. Certain Hindu papers have been entirely debarred from Government advertisements. I think in this category will come the most influential Hindu papers like the Pratap and the Milap. In another respect too much discrimination is shown. Government purchases some copies of certain newspapers. This patronage is also shown to the Muslims. Then take the case of local self-government. I am not perfectly sure what is the exact number of the executive officers. I believe their number is round about 22, and if I am not mistaken there are not more than two or three Hindus out of the total number, and this matter reflects a certain amount of discredit on the Government in this respect also because with hardly an exception all the appointments are made by the Government. In addition to these executive officers who are preponderatingly Muslims, the Inspector of Local Bodies is also a Muslim and the Election Officer is also a Muslim. A correction has been handed over to me and it is this that a correction may be made that out of 28 chairmen of the conciliation boards, 20 are Muslims and among them only one is a retired Sub-Judge, which means that the rest are probably Chaudhris (*laughter*) who rule with a "mucea" a fisticuff as the Minister is pointing out, and not with brain. "Dang" or lathi is the only thing that can be expected from these chairmen and not justice. I would remind the House of what I said at one of the sessions of the Assembly at Simla with respect to the working of these conciliation boards when I pointed out that most of them were ignorant, many of them were biased, many were corrupt or atleast some of them were corrupt and that the whole administration of justice by them was nothing but a farce. The mere fact that 'sahukars' also go and file their applications before the conciliation boards cannot give them a certificate either of competency or of justice or impartiality. These poor people go to the conciliation boards knowing that under the existing law they cannot recover practically anything from their debtors and they are anxious to save the court fee and go to the conciliation boards to get rid at least of the consciousness—a useless consciousness—that they have so much of debts outstanding to their credit. These conciliation boards have not proved an unmixed blessing to the persons and over and above that the most significant thing is this that the bulk of the money-lenders in this province are Hindus and Sikhs and the bulk of debtors are Muslims. There is, therefore, a great scope for partiality to the debtors and injustice to the sahukars. Instances are numerous. When I made that statement in the House in a session at Simla I was challenged whether I was prepared to take the responsibility for the statement which I then made. I got up and said that I was prepared to take the responsibility. Not only this but in the very place where those members of the conciliation board sat against whom there were serious complaints which were brought to the notice of the House, I made a declaration that I stood by the statement which I made in the House and was prepared to take the consequences. No one had the courage to challenge the statement which I made, and make even now and ask anybody to challenge the statement that these conciliation boards have not acted justly and fairly in many cases towards the money-lenders and they have played a great part in reducing the assets whatever they were worth of the money-lenders in this province and in some cases wiped out the debts entirely. They naturally take their cue from the Government and from the speeches of the Honourable Ministers because they go out and preach to the people.

[Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang.]

they are out to destroy the bania and help the zamindar of the province in removing their burden of debt. The Honourable Premier acclaimed here with a great flourish of eloquence and apparently with great pride that he had wiped out crores and crores of debts of the zamindars and released their lands which the sahu-kars had taken. Before I sit down I must express my thanks to Mr. Speaker and to you also, Mr. Deputy Speaker, for having allowed me the latitude in respect of time. I felt it my duty to go into all these matters, but I may tell you that it was not a pleasure to me. I have been in the position of a complainant and not of a reckless critic who says things merely for the sake of saying something. There is a clamour in the province against the high-handed policy of the Government, against the communal policy of the Government, against the excesses which have been committed by the majority party in the province against the minorities and against all sorts of wrongs which have been done to the non-agriculturists most of whom are Hindus ever since the present Government came into power. If I have said anything which might have given offence to any honourable member I assure you that I am very sorry for it. If I have used any word which is not palatable or is offensive to anybody it would be a great pleasure to me to withdraw it even at this stage. But I hope they will agree that it was necessary to voice the feelings of the community or rather the communities concerned on the floor of this House. I have done my duty as best as I could though I do not claim that I have been very successful in my advocacy or in putting their case as well as somebody else might have done ; but I have done what I could and I expect that the Government and the honourable members of this House would give serious thought to what I have said. It is just possible that the figures given by me may here and there be incorrect, but the explanation for it is lapse of time. At the time the figures were compiled they must have been absolutely correct. That explanation should be sufficient where there is divergence between the figures given by me and the figures as they may exist at present. In any case, whatever it is, it is before you, and I think even the Government would appreciate this attempt on my part as it would give them an opportunity to justify themselves before the two communities whom they have apparently given great offence. If that offence has been given unknowingly or if those two communities are mistaken in thinking that injustice has been done to them, Government should welcome this opportunity to explain to them that no injustice has been done and that what has been said or what they have been led to believe is the result of misunderstanding or misconception. With these words I thank the honourable members who in spite of interruptions here and there, which I do not mind, have listened to me with so much patience.

Sardar Bahadur Sardar Gurbachan Singh (Jullundur West, Sikh, Rural) : I wish to make a few general observations with no other object than to direct attention to some of the vital problems, on which the peace and prosperity of the province depends. The Budget offers an opportunity to pass under review the achievements of the year that is gone and to frame a programme for the coming year. A friendly exchange of the views, I feel, serves a useful purpose. There can be no question that the available income of the province has been used with care, beneficent departments

have had their full share, and our Finance Minister has earned congratulations of the House. There is, however, another aspect, which the House should not lose sight of. The Budget of a country is the Chart of its prosperity and poverty and it must be confessed that there is an indication of a steady increase in the income of the province showing that our national resources are under rapid development. Perhaps our energetic Development Minister would give some indication of the new industries that have come into being in the last year or two. I need hardly say that if we wish to modernise our province we must develop our resources so that our rapidly increasing population may secure a decent living, and the Government may be able to build better villages. This is an age of speed and the pace of a bullock cart is out of keeping with the new times. We need further development of facilities of irrigation for tracts which are still unprotected. We must make arrangements to conserve our water supplies, if we are to save the growing crops from starvation, which threatens them, as our rivers are running very low in winter. We must take measures to arrest the rapid fall of water level in the districts of Jullundur and Hoshiarpur and that without any further delay. Year after year I have drawn attention to the disaster which is threatening this heavily-populated area. Four wonderful budgets of the wonderful Finance Minister have already come before the House and this may be the last before we are thrown into the whirlwind of fresh elections; but in neither of them there is any adequate provision to relieve the sufferings of this industrious population which has been clamouring for help. The Honourable Premier and other Ministers when visiting these districts have given assurances that Government was ready to take measures to prevent this disaster, but nothing has so far been done. Last year in the course of the general discussion of the Budget the Honourable Revenue Minister was pleased to say—

We are not unmindful of what is happening to Jullundur and Hoshiarpur districts. My friends ought to remember that we started investigations and drew out a scheme for meeting this difficulty. The rough estimates that have been prepared come to about one crore and fourteen lakhs and you will have a canal which will give a discharge—these are rough figures—of about 2,23 cusecs. I am talking of the new canal which will run through Phillaur and Nakodar tahsils and then another branch of this canal would run through Bain and pass through or round about Jullundur.

He further on says—

The probability is that we should be able to build this canal to irrigate this part and provide necessary water for the raising of the water level in the wells within a period of about 18 months.

Twelve months out of these 18 months have passed and yet we see no signs of any provision in the Budget for this canal. Now I ask you, Sir, is it right and proper that the Government should spend crores on new and sparsely-inhabited lands and do nothing to help areas which are suffering because rivers that protected it or, in other words, helped to keep the water table up, have been diverted? Then, again, we need increased attention in the introduction of a higher yielding crops, and a more intimate connection between the Agriculture and Irrigation Departments than obtain at present. I have heard it said that the officers of the Irrigation Department take no interest in studying the village problems and it has become something of a tradition with them to leave all enquiries unanswered. Why should not

[S. B. S. Gurbachan Singh.]

Sub-Divisional Officers, Executive Engineers and other superior officers seek opportunities to meet the consumers, and discuss the various problems of water requirements of crops.

It is not in splendid isolation that the public servants can serve the public that pays them. The old traditions must die and make way for a continuous consultation and co-operation, and I trust that our Government will draw the attention of all its officers to the need of keeping in touch with the public, and to have more and better co-ordination between the different departments. In this year of grace short staple cotton is finding no market. Could the House be told what action Government is taking to find new uses for this cotton and to encourage growing long staple cottons? Development of industry offers the only solution of the poverty problem, of growing unemployment and of increasing population. Industry can only take root, if the growth of capital is fostered, investment encouraged and profit secured.

We need cheap motive power and it would be interesting to know the share which industry employs, from the output of the Mandi Hydro-Electric Scheme. I was very glad indeed to read the address of the Honourable Minister for Public Works delivered at the opening of the Engineering Conference, in which he has recognised the need of cheap electricity for the development of industry. The capital cost of the Mandi Hydro-Electric Scheme has been very high and it is of little use to dwell on what cannot be remedied. I was rather astonished to hear Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang criticising this scheme. He said that disparity between the interest paid and the profits was very great and the scheme was top-heavy and uneconomical. When he was the Minister in charge of this portfolio, I brought to his notice the hydro-electric scheme of our neighbouring provinces and showed him facts and figures that in the United Provinces the cost per mile of a transmission line of 1,100 kilowatts was Rs. 1,500 for which our department here spent Rs. 5,000. Similarly 1,100 kilowatt transformer which the United Provinces Government could get for Rs. 800 our Government got for Rs. 6,000 or 7,000 and you remember the answer that you gave; "you can have a horse for Rs. 5,000 and a *tatoo* for Rs. 25. When such heavy expenditure was going on in your own time, at least you should not have criticised this scheme, because the department was then dealing in Arabs.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : Your father-in-Law Sir Jogindra Singh was in charge.

Sardar Bahadur Sardar Gurbachan Singh : May be, but still at that time you were controlling the department, and these facts were brought to your notice and nothing was done during the six long years of your regime. The Government should, however, write off the capital and provide electricity at specially low rates, if it is its earnest desire to help industrial development.

Could our popular Minister tell us, how long it will take for network of grid system to spread between Lahore to Ludhraia? We urgently need a well-considered five years plan of industrial development. Planned economy is the order of the day everywhere.

I cannot pass on without asking for continuous improvement and expansion of our road system, and here again it is a matter of congratulations to the Minister for Public Works that he has not forgotten the needs of zamindars in this direction. Allow me to refer to his address at the Engineering Conference. That is what he said :—

Here also we turn our eyes to our engineers, who, conscious of the heavy cost of metalling, may be able to suggest how unmetalled roads which provide important links can be kept in a condition fit for the requirements of modern traffic at a minimum cost. It is primarily these communications the improvement of which is desired by the cultivator which are the backbone of the province.

I hope the Honourable Minister will not stop at that, but see that his wishes are carried into action.

In conclusion, I would draw the serious attention of the House to the fact that our Empire is engaged in a grim struggle of life and death, and it is our duty to take our full share in defending the Empire, and preparing ourselves to defend our hearths and homes. We have no time to waste, and we must concentrate our energies in winning the war, by raising new armies and establishing factories for the production of war material. I can speak with some pride that my community has been and will remain the Gate Keepers of India. Times are out of joint and a new world is in the making. Let us therefore seek and find ways of restoring harmony and replenishing stocks of goodwill in this hour of peril which have been drained dry. If we are to live, we must stand united without any distinction of class or creed, race or religion. In the end I earnestly request the Government to liquidate the unfortunate Sargodha incident, and close the language controversy by adopting Roman Script as Turkey has done.

Khan Bahadur Captain Malik Muzaffar Khan (Mianwali South Muhammadan, Rural), (*Urdu*) : Sir, I congratulate the Honourable Minister for Finance for the hard work he and the staff under him have put in in preparing such a lucid budget as has been presented to the House. His ability is known not only in this honourable House, but all over the province. He and his colleagues who helped him in preparing this Budget amply deserve our thanks. But I must ventilate my grievances and place the difficulties of my district before the House. My grievances do not relate to this Budget alone. I have been crying for the needs of my district and specially for Bhakkar tehsil (my constituency) for the last four years, but the Government have never cared to remove them. Government knows that my district stands first in two things that is poverty and loyalty. But notwithstanding its poverty it has always taken a very prominent part in helping the Government. During the last four years this district has suffered heavily on account of the failures of gram crops, and its sufferings have always been brought to the notice of the Government. But the Government have always turned a deaf ear to our requests. They have never done anything to afford relief to the people of Mianwali district. Notwithstanding this treatment this district has been so loyal as to contribute Rs. 1,60,000 towards different war funds. We the residents of Mianwali have placed everything at the disposal of the Government to help them in the successful prosecution of the war. In addition to the war fund we have also given about four or five lakhs of rupees as war loans. (A voice : how much have you contributed). If you insist on finding out what I have

[K. B. Capt. Malik Muzaffar Khan.]

contributed personally I will tell you that I have given Rs. 8,500 as a contribution towards the war fund and for the period the war continues income of about 5,000 kanals of land. (*Hear, hear*). I may tell the Government that so far as the war fund is concerned my district was previously ninth on the list and at present it stands in the province 11th. And as regards the Rawalpindi Division my district stands first. But in spite of all this the Government have never done anything to help the poor zamindars of my district. In most parts of the district the system of land revenue is fluctuating but in some portion of the Thal Ilqa in the Bhakar tehsil and in a few villages of Mianwali tehsil, it is fixed. This Ilqa has considerably helped the Government by contributing towards war funds and war loans. They amply deserve help but the Government have never given them any remissions in land revenue. In all the other districts Government have been spending a lot sometimes by starting test works to help the famine-stricken areas and sometimes by granting remissions etc., but no remission to my district. Taccavi loans have been due from the zamindars of Mianwali district for the last four or five years. They are not able to pay them off. The Government knows that the gram crop has failed since four years. Their attention was invited to this fact by putting in an application requesting that the taccavi loans may be written off. But instead of writing off those loans the Government have appointed extra naib-tahsildars to recover it. The poor zamindars are being harassed and harshly treated by them under instruction from the Deputy Commissioner and Revenue Assistant. As the poor people cannot afford to pay, the best thing would be to put them in the jail. I request the Government to write off their taccavi loans and so long as this matter is not finally decided, the recovery should be suspended.

Always stress has been laid in this House on the necessity of starting cottage industries in the province. But I find that instead of starting cottage industries in my district the Government are trying to stop even those that at present exist there. In my district there was a Weaving Party who used to travel from place to place in the district training people in the art weaving. Now, that party has been transferred from there to some other district. I requested the Director of Industries not to transfer the said Weaving Party but in vain. Sir, I wanted to mention one thing later but I will now mention it immediately lest the Honourable Minister who is present in the House at this moment may not also leave the Chamber like his other colleagues. It is this that at the time of the discussion on the Budget last year I brought a few facts to the notice of the Honourable Ministers. The Minister for Public Works told me that he had noted all my grievances in his note book and told me that steps will be taken to remove them. But almost a year has elapsed and nothing has been done in that behalf. I hope that my grievances will not be forgotten this year too. Even now they are not listening to what I am submitting. Perhaps he thinks I am talking rot because they think that we zamindars cannot leave the Honourable Sir Sikander Hyat-Khan. But the Honourable Ministers must remember that it is the zamindar members who are their backbone and it is their duty that they should pay attention to their legitimate grievances.

Sir, I have forgotten to say one very important thing in respect of the granting of taccavi loans to the agriculturists. The honourable members are aware of the fact that taccavi loans are granted for three purposes only. They are granted for the buying of seeds, for the purchase of agricultural implements and lastly for the sinking of wells and for effecting improvements in the soil. So far as the last kind of taccavi loans are concerned in no case they are remitted by Government. The other day a friend of mine from my own constituency came to see me and pointed out that the lands and wells of three or four poor agriculturists, who secured taccavi loans from Government but on account of the failure of their crops had not been able to pay up their debts in time, were being sold by public auction so as to realize the sums due from them. It is a matter of great regret that instead of coming to the help of such zamindars, who on account of unavoidable circumstances fail to pay their debts, Government actually deprive them of their lands and wells for ever. I think the best course for the Government would be to take the lands of such zamindars on mustajiri so that they should be able to get their lands back after 9 or 10 years or so by paying up their debts. This is a very important matter and I hope the Government would give their serious consideration to it.

There is yet another very important matter which I wanted to take up at the end but as the time left at my disposal is very short, I would, therefore, like to deal with it just now. It is with respect to the Thal Project that I want to say a few words. It was something like 50 or 60 years ago when the idea for the construction of this project was mooted for the first time. It was then pointed out that with this canal the people of Mianwali District and Muzaffargarh district would benefit a great deal. Now the zamindars who had been anxiously waiting for this project were very much pleased when the Government actually started work on it. But as ill luck would have it, on account of the mischief mongering of one man, Hitler, war broke out between Germany on the one hand and England on the other. The result has been that the work on this project has been suspended. I do admit that war has created many difficulties in the way of the completion of this project but that is not any valid excuse for altogether stopping work on it. In fact no amount of reasoning can convince us that Government had been well advised in taking that step. The Honourable Finance Minister referred to this project in his budget speech and was pleased to observe that the work on it would proceed slowly. Let me point out that the language which he had used in this respect is not very clear and we do know for certain whether the work would continue on this project or not? It may or may not. On our part we think that if Government have a mind to continue work on this project they can secure necessary funds very easily. The Hydro-Electric Scheme on which crores of rupees were incurred is now running at a loss. But Government are continuing it and they have not given it up even though it is a dead loss to the province. It is a pity that Government cannot get a few crores of rupees for the completion of a scheme which would, not only benefit the poor zamindars but also the Government would stand to gain by it. Moreover we find that after every six months many new posts are created on which thousands and lakhs of rupees are incurred yearly. Funds are forthcoming for the promotion of industry in the province and for extension of the present irrigation

[K. B. Capt. Malik Muzaffar Khān.]

systems. But money becomes scarce for the people of Mianwali and Muzaffargarh districts. I ask how far this attitude of Government is justified? This is a matter to which careful consideration should be given by the Government. If they think that both the branches of this project cannot be completed let them get one of them completed first and they can take up the other afterwards. I do not think Government is justified in suspending work on this project especially when we see that after the outbreak of war they have not reduced any post and no reduction has been effected in the salaries of the Government servants. In fact in no way efforts have been made to effect economies in the expenses of administration. All the works of Government are being carried on and money is available for them. In view of these things I fail to understand how Government are unable to find money for this beneficial project. If they cannot procure Rs. 10 lakhs let them spend only five lakhs of rupees on this scheme so that some work should be continued to be done in connection with this project. But it is no argument to say that no money is available. If Government have not got any money they can float a loan for the purpose. In fact they can do so provided they have the will to do it.

Now I pass on to another matter. My honourable friend Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang during the course of his speech to-day criticised the working of the conciliation boards. Let me tell him that there is one Conciliation board at tahsil Bhakkar also. So far as it is concerned it has done very useful work and all the communities are satisfied with its working. I would strongly urge upon the Honourable Minister in charge to appoint similar boards throughout my district. If on account of some reasons he cannot agree to this suggestion I would specially request him to at least extend the jurisdiction of Bhakkar Conciliation Board to Mianwali tahsil as well. Besides, I may submit that at present the Conciliation boards are permitted to hear cases worth Rs. 10,000. I would suggest that this limit should be raised to Rs. 20,000. These boards are doing very useful work and I do not think anybody can have any objection against their working.

As regard the peace of the district, it is a matter of great satisfaction that police arrangements in my district are good. It has literally put an end to the atrocities of the dacoits. (A voice : What about the recovery of unlicensed firearms ?) So far as that matter is concerned thousands of unlicensed firearms have been recovered from the people and have been deposited with Government. It is no exaggeration to say that the Deputy Commissioner and the Superintendent of Police of the District Mianwali have done excellent work and are carrying on the administration wonderfully well.

At this stage the Assembly adjourned till 2-30 p. m. on Friday, 7th March, 1941.

PUNJAB LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

SEVENTH SESSION OF THE FIRST PUNJAB LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

Friday, 7th March, 1941.

The Assembly met in the Assembly Chamber, at 2-30 p.m. Mr. Speaker in the Chair.

STARRED QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

MAINTENANCE ALLOWANCE FOR COMRADE MANGAT RAM.

***7416. Pandit Shri Ram Sharma :** Will the Honourable Premier be pleased to state—

- (a) whether it is a fact that Comrade Mangat Ram Vatsa is being detained under the Defence of India Rules ;
- (b) the offence for which he was arrested ;
- (c) whether he has applied and whether he has been granted any allowance for the maintenance of his family which is said to be in a very distressing condition, if not, why not ?

Parliamentary Secretary (Mir Maqbool Mahmood) : (a) Yes.

(b) for acting in a manner prejudicial to public order ;

(c) *First part.*—No.

Second part.—The provisions of the law under which he has been arrested do not enjoin the payment of allowances.

CANDIDATE ZILLADARS.

***7599. Chaudhri Faqir Chand :** Will the Honourable Minister of Revenue be pleased to state—

- (a) the total number of candidate zilladars at present excluding those placed on probation in November, 1940, and the number of those among them not so far placed on probation ;
- (b) how many permanent vacancies of zilladars have occurred since November, 1940, either by death or by retirement ;
- (c) whether it is a fact that some of the senior candidates on the list referred to in (a) above have not been appointed against the vacancies ; if so, why ;
- (d) the number and the names of the candidates on the list who have been officiating continuously for one year or over ;

[Ch. Faqir Chand.]

- (e) whether it is a fact that some senior candidate Zilladars have not been retained in continuous service while juniors have been given an opportunity to continue much to the detriment of the senior candidates in the matter of their seniority; if so, why and what steps are intended to be taken to safeguard the interests of those thus overlooked?

Parliamentary Secretary (Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan): (a) 52. none of them has been appointed permanent on probation.

(b) Six.

(c) Yes, as the appointments are filled up once a year.

(d) Four; it is not the practice to give names in answer to questions of this kind.

(e) Yes. Candidates are posted to Circles for training and they remain attached to those circles until their turn for appointment to the permanent Establishment arrives.

They are appointed as officiating Zilladars by the Superintending Engineers in leave or temporary vacancies. It often happens that a junior candidate officiates as a Zilladar in one Circle while a senior candidate in another Circle does not. This does not effect their seniority as appointments to the permanent establishment are made in the order of seniority as shown on the Combined List of Candidates attached to all Circles.

DESTRUCTION OF NATURAL SOURCES OF WATER SUPPLY TO VILLAGE DANDOT, DISTRICT JHELUM.

***7601. Khan Bahadur Raja Muhammad Akram Khan:** Will the Honourable Minister of Revenue be pleased to state whether it is a fact that owing to colliery operations by the North-Western Railway in village Dandot between the years 1880 to 1911 natural water springs used by the villagers of the area were destroyed and tanks to hold rain water were damaged; if so, whether any effort was ever made by the Punjab Government to restore or repair these natural sources of water supply to the above-mentioned villagers, and, if so, when and with what result; if not, whether the present Government intends to do anything in the matter?

Parliamentary Secretary (Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan): When the colliery was started at Dandot in 1886 the water supply at the village consisted of two tanks and the Upper and Lower Uehli streams. These were soon affected by mining operations as the tanks leaked into the mine and the springs were diverted into the shafts. The North-Western Railway provided a fresh supply through two stand-pipes supplying about eleven hundred gallons daily and a cistern with an unlimited supply; and as long ago as 1908 the villagers themselves were disposed to admit that the quality and quantity of the water supply to the village had been improved since the colliery started. Their complaint was that the supply was not sufficiently accessible. The North-Western Railway has ceased mining operations at Dandot and the Dalmia Cement, Limited, who now hold a mining lease in this area have constructed a reservoir served by

two taps which are open for public use day and night. The daily discharge of this reservoir is some fifty thousand gallons which is more than adequate for a village with a population of 3,500 people. The company has also provided a parda bath for ladies and another for men. The supply in the reservoir is supplemented by two ponds which collect rain water.

In these circumstances Government do not consider that there is any necessity for their intervention.

RADIO SETS FOR VILLAGE UPLIFT.

***7600. Sardar Lal Singh :** Will the Honourable Minister of Development be pleased to state—

- (a) the number of radio sets which were installed out of funds from Provincial revenues in the various villages of the Punjab during 1938, 1939 and 1940 for village uplift ;
- (b) whether it is a fact that the number of such radio sets has now been decreased ; if so, why ?

Parliamentary Secretary (Chaudhri Tikka Ram) : (a) None.

(b) Does not arise.

IMPOSITION OF PROFESSIONAL TAX BY THE DISTRICT BOARD, GURGAON.

***7418. Pandit Shri Ram Sharma :** Will the Honourable Minister of Public Works be pleased to state whether the Government has given its approval to the imposition of Professional Tax, recently proposed by the District Board, Gurgaon ?

Parliamentary Secretary (Sardar Bahadur Sardar Ujjal Singh) The tax was imposed in 1938. No proposal in respect of the tax has been received by Government during the last six months.

POLICE ENCOUNTER WITH ABSCONDERS IN ROHTAK DISTRICT.

***7419. Pandit Shri Ram Sharma :** Will the Honourable Minister of Public Works be pleased to state—

- (a) the details in brief of the recent encounter between the Police party and the absconders Sher Singh and Ram Sarup in the village Bindava, district Rohtak, and the result of the inquiry held into it and that of the cases arising out of it ;
- (b) the brief details of the encounter between the absconder Hari Singh and another party of outlaws in which Hari Singh was wounded and caught ?

Parliamentary Secretary (Sardar Bahadur Sardar Ujjal Singh) : (a) On the 26th April, 1939, information was received that Sher Singh and Ram Sarup, proclaimed offenders, were present in a hut in village Nidhana, Police Station Mehm, district Rohtak. A Police party headed by Sub-Inspector Kabir Husain of the Hissar district reached the spot at about 12-30 p.m. The Sub-Inspector asked the outlaws to surrender but they immediately opened fire on the police party. They then slipped out

[S. B. S. Ujjal Singh.]

of the hut into middle of herd of cattle, but this manoeuvre was seen by the Police who fired on them injuring slightly Ram Sarup who bolted back to the hut. The second outlaw Sher Singh who was also wounded could not get back to the hut so he took up a position on the ground. Shots were again exchanged between the police and the dacoits. The police party was then reinforced from Rohtak by Mr. Tyler, Deputy Superintendent of Police, who placed himself in charge of the operations. During the ensuing operations one of the dacoits Sher Singh was killed and Ram Sarup shot himself to avoid capture.

The Additional District Magistrate held an enquiry into the episode. He held that the firing by the police was entirely justified.

(b) A party of the zamindars consisting of Surat Singh, Dayanand, Lambardar, Shamsi, Nigahiya and Phula Jat, of Garwal when on their way to village Mahra on the 26th August, 1940, encountered two dangerous outlaws Hari Singh and Amir Singh accompanied by one Chandgi of Nidhana. The outlaws opened fire on the party who returned it wounding Hari Singh. Surat Singh's party then retired through the fields. The police were called in and the Deputy Superintendent of Police proceeded immediately to the spot and found Hari Singh wounded at village Bawar. The case is still under investigation.

MAINTENANCE OF SCHOOLS BY LOCAL BODIES WITH HINDI OR GURMUKHI AS MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION.

***7598. Rai Bahadur Mukand Lal Puri:** Will the Honourable Minister of Education be pleased to state—

- (a) the names of the District Boards and Municipal Committees in the Punjab which are at present maintaining schools with *Hindi* or *Gurmukhi* as medium of instruction;
- (b) the names of the schools separately (both primary and middle) maintained by these local bodies where (i) *Hindi* is the sole medium of instruction; (ii) *Punjabi* is the sole medium of instruction and (iii) *Hindi* or *Punjabi* are alternative media of instruction with *Urdu*?

The Honourable Mian Abdul Haye: I regret that the answer to this question is not ready.

SUPPLEMENTARY STATEMENT OF EXPENDITURE AUTHENTICATED BY GOVERNOR.

Minister for Finance: Sir, as required by section 81 of the Government of India Act, 1935, I lay on the table the supplementary statement of expenditure (second instalment) for the year 1940-41 authenticated by His Excellency the Governor:—

As required by section 81 of the Government of India Act, 1935, I hereby authenticate the following supplementary statement of expenditure for the financial year 1940-41, which specifies:—

- (a) the supplementary grants (second instalment) made by the Punjab Legislative Assembly in its Session held in March, 1941, and

SUPPLEMENTARY STATEMENT OF EXPENDITURE AUTHENTICATED 209
BY GOVERNOR.

(b) the sums required to meet the expenditure charged on the revenues of the Province."

Supplementary Statement.

Grant No.	Major head of account.	Supplementary grants made by the Punjab Legislative Assembly.	Sums required to meet expenditure charged on the revenue of the province.	Total.
		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1	7—Land Revenue	32,880	..	32,880
2	8—Provincial Excise	27,020	..	27,020
4	10—Forests	1,38,980	..	1,38,980
6	12—Charges on account of Motor Vehicles Acts.	..	3,320	3,320
8	Charges on Irrigation Establishment	2,30,900	—	2,30,900
..	22—Interest on Debt and Other Obligations.	..	11,76,300	11,76,300
10	25—General Administration ..	21,000	..	21,000
11	27—Administration of Justice ..	..	1,790	1,790
13	29—Police	13,80,010	..	13,80,010
17	38—Medical	62,700	..	62,700
19	40—Agriculture	21,190	..	21,190
20	41—Veterinary .. ..	..	210	210
25	XLI—Receipts from Electricity Schemes— <i>Deduct</i> Working Expenses (Other than Establishment).	1,59,000	..	1,59,000
30	55—Superannuation Allowances and Pensions.	37,800	84,500	1,22,300
31	83—Payments of Commuted Value of Pensions.	..	1,11,700	1,11,700
32	56—Stationery and Printing ..	72,720	..	72,720
33	57—Miscellaneous	17,03,920	..	17,03,920
34	Advances not bearing interest—Advances repayable.	1,07,200	..	1,07,200
9	68—Construction of Irrigation ..	10	..	10
21	42—Co-operation	10	..	10

Grant No.	Major head of account.	Supplementary grants made by the Punjab Legislative Assembly.	Sums required to meet expenditure charged on the revenues of the Province.	Total.
		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
23	50—Civil Works	10	..	10
24	Charges on Public Works Department, Buildings and Roads Establishment.	10	..	10
27	81—Capital Account of Civil Works outside the Revenue Accounts.	10	..	10
35	Loans to Municipalities and advances to cultivators.	10	..	10

LAHORE :

H. D. CRAIK,

*The 5th March, 1941.**Governor of the Punjab.*

BUDGET—GENERAL DISCUSSION.

Khan Bahadur Captain Malik Muzaffar Khan (Mianwali South, Muhammadan, Rural) (*Urdu*): Sir, when the Assembly rose yesterday, I was submitting that the Debt Conciliation Board in the Mianwali district has jurisdiction in the Bhakkar tahsil only and that it will be better if the Mianwali tahsil is also included in the jurisdiction of the same board as there will be no extra expenditure because the same board will work in both the tahsils. There are instances in the Province. In Jhelum district the Board was working in one tahsil Chakwal alone where recently two more tahsils, i.e., Jhelum and Pind Dadan Khan, have been added to the jurisdiction of the same board. I request that the same method may be adopted in respect of my district and the Bhakkar Board be allowed to decide the cases of Mianwali tahsil also, if not Isakhel at present.

Then, sir, it is within the knowledge of the Government that there are a good many Government Rakhs in the Mianwali district and about one-third of the land in these Rakhs is given for temporary cultivation to the gentry and ex-military men. That is a very useful method which benefits both the Government and the people. Now the Bhakkar tahsil is inhabited by very poor people. Darya Khan and a good many other villages of this tahsil are situated on the river bank and on account of the river changing its course the people of some ten or twelve villages have been deprived of their lands. They have nothing to fall back upon. I

would, therefore, request the Honourable Minister in charge to sanction some more land for temporary cultivation to these poor people of my constituency in Rakh Piplan, Rakh Bhakkra, Rakh Kalur Kot, Rakh Van Bhachran, etc., so that they may be able to keep body and soul together. This arrangement will bring some revenue to the Government also. I make another request that the village Musiwali in zail Piplan has been washed away by river action. The people of that village have neither houses to live in nor even a marla of land to cultivate. They are too poor to purchase any land elsewhere. I would, therefore, earnestly request the Government to grant them some land in Chak Sarkar, so that they may build houses for themselves. The honourable members of this House can realise the pitiable condition of these poor homeless people. It is necessary to hold immediate enquiries and do the needful in the matter.

Then I have to make a request in respect of the posts of inspectors and sub-inspectors created under the new taxation Acts. A good many of these posts have been already filled but it is very unfortunate that the poor people of my far off district have not been favoured with any one of them even though they possessed the requisite qualifications. Similarly 15 vacancies have been filled in the Department of Industries.....

Minister for Development : No.

Khan Bahadur Captain Malik Muzaffar Khan : All right sir if the posts have not been filled I will request you to give to my district its due share. Let me make it clear that I am not asking for these posts for any particular community. On the contrary, I want that all the communities in my district should receive their due share.

In the end I express my gratitude to the Honourable Minister of Public Works for having expedited the construction of the road between Khushab and Mianwali, and thus satisfying a long-felt need. But I must say one word in this connection. There is an order authorising the contractors to dig earth from the lands of the zamindars lying on either side of the land acquired for the road in question. The owners of those lands have been ordered not to refuse the contractors to dig the earth and informed that the question of compensation will be decided later on. My submission is that this is a wrong method. After the contractors have dug the earth and the road is complete they will be the masters of the situation and in a position to pay annas 12 or Re. 1 per cubic foot or whatever they wish. I would, therefore, request that the Chief Engineer should settle with the zamindars concerned the question of compensation before and not after the earth has been dug and used.

I hope that the Government will not forget my request and I trust that my submission will be considered favourably. With these words, sir, I resume my seat.

Sardar Bahadur Sardar Ujjal Singh (Western Towns, Sikh, Urban) : Sir, the sound financial position of the Punjab during the period of stewardship of Sir Manohar Lal has excited the envy of other provinces and has raised to a high pitch the credit of this Province in the financial world. (*Hear, hear.*) We can, therefore, feel rightly proud of the stability of our finances and of the ability of the Honourable Finance Minister and

[S. B. S. Ujjal Singh.]

the Financial Secretary. No assessment of our budgetary position is of greater value than that made by an unbiased critic. The Honourable Finance Member to the Government of India, while remarking about the budget of the Punjab, said that Sir Manohar Lal had shown great practical administrative capacity. What greater tribute could be paid to Sir Manohar Lal than that paid in such simple words by Sir Jeremy Raisman. When other provinces are facing deficits, our Government has been able to produce a surplus budget in spite of setting apart huge amounts for beneficent activities. It is for this reason that a 'wayfarer' has been compelled to remark about the Punjab in the *Roy's Weekly* in these words :—

Cannot the Finance Minister of Bengal take a leaf out of the Punjab ?

(*Hear, hear.*) For a proper appreciation of the financial position I should like to compare the figures of the pre-autonomy year, that is, 1936-37 with the budgetary period of 1941-42. Let me compare first the expenditure on what are known as beneficent departments. In 1936-37 the total expenditure on beneficent departments was 287 lakhs. In 1941-42 it stands at 359 lakhs, that is, 72 lakhs more. If, however, we include expenditure on civil works, which is equally a beneficent activity, as a greater portion under this head is spent on roads, then the expenditure on beneficent departments in 1941-42 stands at 471 lakhs, that is, 83 lakhs more than it was in 1936-37. And this amount has been spent during the years when the Government has had to make provisions to the extent of 7 crores for remissions and suspensions and nearly 3 crores for famine relief. This is not a mean achievement. I would like to say a few words on the provisions for industry. I entirely agree with Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang that economic salvation of the country lies in its industrial development. No country, which depends mainly on agriculture, can banish poverty or unemployment unless it builds a net-work of industries and converts raw materials into finished products. Japan, for example, was an agriculturist country and thirty or forty years ago, the Japanese depended more on agriculture, as we do to-day, but during this period of thirty or forty years they have built up industries with the result that they are now one of the leading industrialist countries of the world. We must, however, realise that the powers of the local Government or provincial Government are limited in this respect. The most important factors which play a great part towards industrialisation of the country are beyond the control of the Provincial Government. In every country the fiscal policy of that country has played a much greater part than any other factor, in developing industries. Take for example our own country. Our sugar industry or steel industry would not have been developed but for the protection given by the imposition of import duty. Take again the question of railway freight or the monetary policy which also have a great bearing on the development of industries and which are beyond the control of a Provincial Government. What the Provincial Government can do is to make provision for technical and industrial education, industrial research, industrial survey, providing demonstration factories, subsidies to small industries, loans at reasonable rates of interest and other encouragements such as guaranteeing a minimum return for some years. Let us see how the expenditure in the Budget under the head

'Industries' compares with the pre-autonomy year, that is, 1936-37. In that year the expenditure on 'Industries' was 14·7 lakhs while to-day, that is, in the Budget of 1941-42 it stands at 22·2 lakhs.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : You should also mention the income of the Government in various years, otherwise the comparison will be misleading.

Sardar Bahadur Sardar Ujjal Singh : I am comparing the expenditure side which alone indicates the efforts made by Government towards encouraging industrial development. There is an increase of 50 per cent in the expenditure over the figures of 1936-37. In 1940-41, that is, the current year, I believe seven thousand rupees have been sanctioned or paid in subsidies and Rs. 20,000 in the hire-purchase system and Rs. 1,35,000 by way of loans. The industrial survey of the Punjab is in progress, the Punjab Stores Department is working; the industrial laboratory has been brought on a permanent basis and money is being put in the industrial research work. The Shahdara demonstration factory is working successfully and more model factories would have been started but for the unfortunate experience of the Government in the case of the Shahdara tannery and the sugar factory at Sonapat. I quite concede that this is not enough and that Government should try to do more. War has afforded great opportunity for accelerating the pace of our industries. The Punjab is already supplying a large number of recruits for the army, so the Punjab should not lag behind in supplying war materials also. The best way to help the industries is to provide capital for new concerns at a low rate of interest and to guarantee a minimum return to a company which undertakes to start new industry. I am sorry to find that no application has so far been sanctioned for guaranteeing a minimum return. There must be good grounds on which those applications were rejected. But the fact remains that so far no application has been sanctioned for guaranteeing a minimum return.

I now come to the Hydro-Electric Scheme, about which my honourable friend, Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang, had a good deal to say. This scheme has been rightly described as a white elephant of the Punjab but the honourable members must realize that this was a legacy of the previous Government. I have had the privilege of serving on the Hydro-Electric Enquiry Committee which was set up in 1929. That Committee was presided over by a well-known business magnate, Sir Chuni Lal Mohta. We had on that Committee two technical experts, one of whom was Major Howard, a man of great experience in the Hydro-Electric works and possessing great ability. That committee went through the whole question thoroughly. I believe I am not giving away any secrets when I say that if the Government had not incurred an expenditure of more than a crore of rupees, that enquiry committee would have in all probability, recommended the abandonment of that scheme. But as it so happened before that committee thought of that question the Government had already spent or was committed to an expenditure of well over 2 crores of rupees. Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang criticised the amount of depreciation allowance and said that it was too low. But my honourable friend is not correct there. The amount of depreciation has been calculated in

[S. B. S. Ujjal Singh.]

accordance with the system suggested by the Hydro-Electric Enquiry Committee. Perhaps, my honourable friend forgets or overlooks the fact that in such works there are certain items, like the head-works, tunnel, etc., which do not depreciate and in the words of the experts these hydraulic works appreciate with time if properly maintained. I can quote from the committee's report that dams, etc., if properly maintained tend to appreciate in value rather than depreciate."

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang: *Khuda ke siwa aur koi nahin janta.*

Sardar Bahadur Sardar Ujjal Singh: I think my honourable friend should well trust the experts, unbiased experts and disinterested experts. As a matter of fact, the committee pointed out that depreciation allowed was liberal. The point for consideration is how to make the best of a bad job. It is a fact that this hydro-electric scheme is not paying and the cost of generation is over 8 pies per unit which is unheard of in the case of any hydro-electric scheme in the world. If we raise our tariff, we will be doing a disservice to the country, and will be retarding the growth of industries. The other steps that we should take into consideration are how to increase its revenue. The enquiry committee also suggested that the hydro-electric authorities will have to put up a thermal plant in order to supplement the electrical energy during winter when the discharge of Uhl river falls. I understand that the Government contemplated to put up a steam plant, but on account of war that proposal had to be postponed for the present. The second suggestion involves the closing of the catchment area of the Uhl river against grazing, etc., and provide a scheme for reafforestation. I have been informed that forest experts think that if the catchment area of the Uhl river is preserved then the supply of water in the Uhl river will be increased by 5 times, that is, from 100 cusecs to 500 cusecs. Even if the supply of the Uhl river is doubled, i.e., if it becomes 200 cusecs, it will be a tremendous gain to the province. I would bring this point for the serious consideration of the Government.

I would like to make one observation which concerns the Departments of Agriculture, land revenue and irrigation. The appearance of *thur* in the canal irrigated areas is causing great anxiety. The *thur* area is on the increase. The result is that crops suffer from various diseases and the land in some cases, becomes unfit for cultivation altogether. My honourable friends know that the American cotton crop last season suffered very badly in the Lower Bari Doab Colony and other colonies from a disease known as *tirak* and the loss to the cultivator calculated in rupees is tremendous. No effective remedy has so far been found. It has been observed that adequate water supply at proper time is the only saving factor. Unfortunately, the supply of water in the rivers has fallen since last year. But in spite of this the Government has been selling *baqaya* lands and extending irrigation without a corresponding increase in the supply of water. Water shortage starts from the beginning of September and lasts throughout the winter and when in September and

October cotton crops need water most, the water is not available with the result that crops are damaged by diseases or suffer for lack of water supply.

This is a matter which I think the Government will take into consideration. This menace of *thar* requires to be checked immediately. I am aware of the fact that the Reclamation Department is tackling this problem. I hope that this work of the Reclamation Department will extend throughout the Punjab. Sir, we are passing through critical times. War is quite close to our doors and no one can foresee the results of this gigantic struggle. One thing is certain that if we Indians throw our full weight on the side of those who are fighting for justice and human liberty with faith and confidence, however long the ordeal may be, victory is sure to attend our efforts. We are required to concentrate our energies as one people and we will not be able to do so unless we cease fighting with one another. We may have our grievances but let us not exaggerate those grievances and try to worsen the situation. We should all have a sense of proportion. Let the majority and the minorities realise that there can be no lasting peace in this province unless we respect one another's feelings and appreciate one another's point of view. When Providence has cast our lot together why not try to live peacefully and harmoniously. The Punjab would be a happy land only if we cultivate the spirit of toleration and good will. I do hope time is not distant when we shall all act and behave as true Punjabies. (*Applause.*)

Sardar Jagjit Singh Mann : Sir, may I know if you are going to fix any time limit?

Mr. Speaker : The honourable members remember, I presume, that I expressed my willingness yesterday to fix time for speeches, but that my suggestion was not accepted.

Sardar Jagjit Singh Mann : If you will put it again to the House you might get support from it.

Chaudhri Sumer Singh (South East Gurgaon, General, Rural) (*Urdu*): Sir, I hasten to offer my congratulations to the Honourable Finance Minister for presenting such a lucid budget. But before I proceed with my speech I would like to give a categorical reply to some of the points raised by honourable friend Dr. Narang. The main attack made by the honourable Doctor in his long speech was that the number of crimes in the Punjab had increased enormously. My honourable friend conveniently forgot that the population of the province, too, had increased proportionately. There is nothing alarming or startling if a few more crimes have been committed with the increase in population. This is according to Law of Nature. Besides, I may tell him that the acute unemployment prevailing in the province is responsible for the increase in crimes. Democracy is also to a great extent responsible for the increase in the number of crimes, because the masses do not understand its significance due to illiteracy among them. Another cause stated by the honourable Dr. Narang was that the increase in lawlessness was due to the province being saddled with a Muslim Government. This statement is far from truth and is not borne out by facts. The fact is that we have a Unionist Ministry functioning in the Punjab and all parties or rather

[Ch. Sumer Singh.]

the communities are duly represented on it, so there is no question of a Muslim Government ruling in this province. I make bold to declare on the floor of this House that if this Government were not a Unionist Government and only a Muslim Government, our place would have been on the Opposition Benches. We are with this Government on the basis of economic programme laid down as the programme of Unionist Party. So long as the same is continued to be observed by the Government, the latter will have our fullest support. If there is the least departure from the Unionist programme; we would not hesitate from crossing the floor. (*Hear, hear.*) I, therefore, hold the opinion that my honourable friend's allegation is absolutely uncalled for. This Government is doing its level best to maintain law and order and check lawlessness in the province. I submit that this remark of my honourable friend that crime is on the increase because Punjab is being governed by a Muslim Government is entirely unfounded.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : I never said that.

Chaudhri Sumer Singh : Well, sir, if you peruse the speech of my honourable friend from end to end, you will find that the burden of his song is that we have the Muslim Ministry instead of a Unionist Ministry and that owing to the misrule of the former the crimes have increased in the province by leaps and bounds.

Then, sir, he has tried to throw an apple of discord among the Unionist party. He has endeavoured to estrange the Sikhs from the Government by citing half truths and distorted facts. For instance he said that the Sikhs were not allowed to take out their processions and were prevented from taking meat in a particular way; that the majority community, i.e., the Muslims committed excesses over them; that the Government treated them callously; that at certain places Sikhs were murdered and so forth. It is a thousand pities that my honourable friend quoted certain facts and figures which he never cared to verify. He is a responsible member of this House. He ought to have attempted to find out the correctness of the figures cited by him. It pains me to find that a person no less than Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang himself has tried to create bad blood among different communities by making certain remarks which have no foundation at all.

Then he made an attempt to dub the Government as steeped in rabid communalism. This is just like pot calling the kettle black. Now let me expose his communal mindedness. During the tenure of his minister-ship he gave a large number of posts to non-agriculturist Hindus, not even to Sikhs or agriculturist Hindus, what to speak of Muslims. (*Hear, hear.*)

The fact is that the Hindus residing at Lahore or near about consider themselves as the sole *Thekedars* of the interests of the Hindus of the Punjab. (*Laughter.*) They have ignored the rights of others for the last 80 or 90 years, they have been holding all the posts from top to bottom and gave no chance to agriculturists. The result was that the Muslims, Hindu agriculturists, and the Sikhs were greatly agitated at this attitude and the question of the agriculturists and non-agriculturists came to the

forefront. Previously the Sikhs were with the Hindus but as the *Thekedars* of Hindus did not treat them fairly so they asserted their separate entity and demanded their due share in the services. This is how these *Thekedars* of Hindus were responsible for the separation of Sikhs from the Hindus. Later on they followed the same policy with the Hindu statutory agriculturists, who seeing that they are being gradually crushed have begun to claim separate rights. If this policy continues, it will not be long before the Hindus will also lose the Hindu agriculturists. The *Thekedars* of Hinduism at Lahore are responsible for compelling different communities or groups to remain in water tight compartments and they sowed the seeds of dissensions among them.

Then I would like to relate an incident which will amply throw light as to how far the information got by my honourable friend Dr. Narang is removed from truth and correctness. He received a letter from Ballabhgarh to the effect that in Aurangabad certain *Mahajans* were beaten for not bringing their shops to the schools in connection with the visit of a settlement officer, who camped in the school field. In the letter the responsibility was thrown on myself, Chaudhri Sumer Singh, for all that happened there. When the learned Doctor enquired from me as to how far this was true, I simply expressed my ignorance and amazement besides resentment at this wholly false allegation. I assured him that I had absolutely no hand in the matter. It is crystal clear that other facts quoted by my honourable friend must be of this nature, that is, lacking in confirmation. Then I had to make another submission and that is this.

Another flimsy information of this nature was made to the effect that 30 or 40 Hindus had been killed at Punchana at the time of Tazia procession. This town is in my constituency and I, fearing the adjournment motion, went to the place. But when I happened to go there, I found that minor injuries had been received by some persons while not a single person had died or got serious injury. That is how absolutely false rumours are set up by rabid communalists in this province. I do not want to defend the Government. All I want is that misunderstandings should not be created by giving currency to unconfirmed reports of communal tensions. Only those facts should be mentioned which are true and then the Government may be taken to task, if proper action is not taken, otherwise it is no good blaming the Government for no fault of hers. But false charges should not be brought forward simply in order to blackmail the Government. If legitimate grievances are ventilated on the floor of the House or outside it, we are prepared to approach the Government to do the needful in that behalf. But we cannot be a party to any false allegation.

Besides, I too have a grievance against the Government inasmuch as it has failed to act on the assurance that it had given at the time of passing the Colourisation of Artificial Ghee Act. The assurance was to the effect that the said measures would be made applicable to whole of the Punjab. But such a long time has passed since then and yet this Act has not been enforced in the whole of the Punjab. If the Government really wants to save the Punjabis from the detrimental effects

[Ch. Sumer Singh.]

of Banaspati ghee on their health, it should immediately proceed to issue the necessary notification and enforce this Act throughout the Punjab. If the Honourable Premier is anxious to see that the Punjabi soldiers should maintain their excellent standard of health and bravery, it is imperative for him to see that the Punjabis do not ruin their health by unknowingly using Banaspati ghee. I know as well as any body else knows that our Premier is very proud of the health of the Punjabi soldiers and every one of us ought to be proud of the same. But I would request him to adopt ways and means to improve the health of the Punjabis by enforcing the Colourisation of Artificial Ghee Act in the entire length and breadth of the Punjab. The greatest need of the hour is that absolutely pure milk and ghee should be made available to every son and daughter of the Punjabis. No adulteration of foods should be allowed to go unpunished. It should be the primary duty of the Government to see that unadulterated foodstuffs are available to all Punjabis. The Punjabis are strong and stout on account of the use of milk, *lassi*, and pure ghee otherwise they would have been as the people of South India.

I may also invite the special attention of the Government to section 80 of the Tenancy Act according to which a substantial relief can be given to the poor non-occupancy tenants. But it is a thousand pities that Collectors do not give the benefit of this section to the tenants. Their rent is not remitted or suspended by the Collectors as section 80 of the said Act permits them to do when land revenue is suspended or remitted. I wonder why they do not exercise this power in favour of the tenants. I happened once to invite the attention of a Collector of Gurgaon to this fact. But he retorted that the word used in the section is 'may' and not "shall". That is the spirit in which this section is taken by the Collectors in the Punjab. After all when this section gives a Collector the power to remit or suspend rents of the poor tenants, why should a Collector always use this discretion against the interests of the tenants and never use it in their favour? I would request the Government to see that this section is acted upon by the Revenue Officers in favour of the poor tenants to give them due relief as contemplated by the remission or suspension of land revenue to the Zamindars. That is, the relief ought to pass to the poor tenants.

There is yet another grievance that I have against the Government and which I want to state here. The need of economy has several times been pointed out to the Government. But it has not cut down its expenditure to the extent to which it was possible for it to do. For instance heavy allowances and special pays are still given by the present Government to various servants of the Crown. I wonder why these special allowances and pays are given at all. Either the Government fixes inadequate salaries in the beginning and then proceeds to compensate the officers for their low salaries, or the salaries are quite adequate but additional sums are given to officers in the shape of special pays and allowances. If the former position is correct the Government is to blame for inadequate salaries, and if the latter position is correct then the Government is guilty of wasting public money in an irresponsible manner. Why should

the funds of the public be squandered away so mercilessly ? Here is the Civil List in my hands and I can quote some instances of special pays from it. The Deputy Inspector of Prisons, Punjab's monthly salary is 1,700 rupees. But he gets another sum of seven hundred rupees as allowances and special pay. Is it fair to give additional money to already high salaried officials ? Then take the case of Director of Industries who also gets special pay and allowances to the tune of Rs. 600 in addition to his high salary of Rs. 680. (*An honourable member* : What is the name of that Director of Industries ?) I do not mind who that Director is. I object only to the payment of special pays and allowances and not to the individuals and their communities.

Mr. Speaker : According to the list given to me by the whip of the party to which the honourable member belongs, his time is up.

Chaudhri Sumer Singh : I was going to mention the case of Professors in the King Edward Medical College, Lahore, who received quite high salaries in addition to various facilities like the permission to carry on private practice. In spite of all this, they too are given special pays and allowances over and above their monthly salaries. If the Government wishes to cut down the expenditure of the administration, it can easily do so by removing such special pays and allowances that I have mentioned. (*Hear, hear.*) There is a book of about 125 pages. This contains the list of persons who are drawing allowances and special pays.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : I should like to offer a word of personal explanation as the honourable member mentioned my name particularly. He said that I mentioned things in the Assembly without making enquiries. He gave an instance about himself in which he said that I had received a letter about him that he had done something wrong. At the same time he said that I asked him whether it was correct and he told me that it was all wrong. That shows that I had taken the precaution of ascertaining the facts and that when he denied the truth I gave him the benefit of doubt. (*Laughter.*)

Mr. Speaker : Minister for Public Works.

Sardar Ajit Singh : Sir, the Minister will have ample time to speak. What I would suggest is that we should also be given a chance to speak on this occasion.

Mr. Speaker : I am afraid I shall have to give the whole of to-day to the members of the Unionist Party. Yesterday I tried to fix the duration of speeches ; but my suggestion was opposed by the whole House. One honourable member, Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang, spoke for about four hours. Therefore, after making allowance for the time that shall have to be given to the Honourable Finance Minister to wind up the debate, the remaining time shall have to be given to the Unionist Party. This will be in accordance with the practice of the House.

Lala Sita Ram : We all submit to your ruling. But I would suggest that one more day be allotted for the general discussion of the budget.

Mr. Speaker : That is in the power of His Excellency the Governor, and not in my power or in the power of the House.

Lala Sita Ram : We can certainly request His Excellency through you, Sir, to give one more day for the purpose and happily we have one vacant Saturday, which may be devoted to it without upsetting the fixed programme.

Minister for Public Works (The Honourable Malik Khizar Hayat Tiwana): It is customary for honourable members opposite to criticise the policy of Government during the general discussions, but the speech we heard for four hours yesterday was somewhat of a different nature. The honourable member who spoke on behalf of the Opposition did not confine his remarks to the general policy of Government only, but at a later stage he began to speak in a strain which was entirely communal. In fact it was not Gokul Chand Narang, the nationalist speaking, it was as he is now at this period of his age, a rank communalist speaking and he tried to see in every action of the Government communalism where none existed. In fact he was looking at things with a jaundiced eye.

I would first of all take up the general criticism which he made against this party. So far as the question of our being communal is concerned, he will get better replies from more competent persons on the Treasury Benches so I do not think I need give a detailed reply. Can this Party which commands the confidence of all communities be termed communal? If it were so communal as it has been painted, then we would have long lost the confidence of this Party consisting of all communities. We might have a rural bias, we might have certain economic theories which might not be agreeable to the honourable members opposite, but we are not communal in any sense of the word. Therefore this point need not be stressed any more.

I would first of all like to take up the departments with which I am officially concerned and would deal with the criticism advanced by the honourable member. I propose to take them up in the same order in which he dealt with them. First of all he took up police. He complained that the expenditure on police had increased. He pointed out that there was an increase of 16 lakhs over the last figure and a still greater increase if the figures of twenty years ago were taken into consideration. One honourable member has already replied to it and said that the population is much larger to-day than it was then. Canal colonies have come into being. Tracts which were entirely uninhabited are now flourishing, and of course the population has increased immensely. The last census showed an increase of 14 per cent. This one might show more. The figures have yet to come out. But everyone knows that with the prosperity of the province the population has been on the increase. Therefore increase in police expenditure is absolutely necessary as it must follow an increase in population.

Then I would come to crime figures. Increase in crime is due to many reasons and it is very difficult to say what is exactly the reason for this increase in crime. During recent years the increase in crime has not been confined only to the Punjab. We find it more or less the same in other provinces as well. May be it is due to economic causes. May be it is due to the war situation and the prevailing state of affairs. May be it is

due to some other factors, but I would say that there has been an increase everywhere. The honourable Dr. Sahib attributed it to the passing of law and order into Indian hands.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : No. I said it might be said that part of it was due to that, but it was mainly due to the poisonous propaganda carried on by the Punjab Ministers all round.

Minister for Public Works : In the Punjab it might be according to him due to the Unionist Ministers, but it was when he was talking of a similar increase in the other provinces that he did not spare the Congress regime and remarked that it was due to the passing of law and order into Indian hands. If that be his view, I do not think I need give a reply. That view stands self-condemned to-day. It is a very highly unpatriotic view. What is there in an Englishman that he is able to enforce law and order better than an Indian? I cannot see the reasoning. If that is the case and Indians are not capable of looking after law and order, why talk of Purana Swaraj? These sentiments are useless, if we cannot even maintain law and order; and if we are incapable of managing provincial Government we can never be free. (*An honourable member :* If we cannot manage the Corporation, how can we manage law and order?) I will come to that. After that he went on and said that an officer told him that a particular Minister's visit to a certain place resulted in three murders.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : I said, it might result.

Minister : The visit of a Minister never resulted in any murder, so I need not say anything on that subject. He might be thinking of his own visits. Perhaps I cannot say.

After that he went on to complain of the representation of Muslims in the police. He admitted however that in the higher ranks of the police Hindus were fairly well represented. I therefore to save time need not discuss that point, and I would take up the lower ranks of the police. Let us take the head constables and the constables. When we took over on the 1st of April, 1937, the percentage of representation of Muslim among constables was 78·1, it has now gone down to 70·5. The percentage of head constables at that time was 66·5, now it is 63·5. Assistant sub-inspectors—the representation of Muslims was 65 per cent in 1937, it has come down to 59. So this decrease in Muslim representation is gradually going on. We are not responsible for the recruitment of the lower ranks of the police. Men are recruited by the Superintendents of Police, assistant sub-inspectors; head constables and constables are all recruited by police officers.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : May I ask the Honourable Minister whether the Government is not responsible for the recruitment of police constables because they are recruited by the Superintendents?

Minister : In the constitutional sense we are, and therefore I was going to point out that this appreciation in the share of non-Muslims all along the line and a decrease in the Muslim representation of policemen in the lower ranks is a positive proof of this policy that Government wants.

[Minister for Public Works.]

to give a fair representation to all minorities. Take the case of the Sikhs particularly. Since we took over on the 1st of April, 1937, their representation has increased all along the line. The percentage of Sikh constables on the 1st April, 1937, was 8.1, to-day it is 10.8. Head constables—their representation was 9.7, it is now 11.1 per cent. Assistant sub-inspectors—they were 14 per cent, they are 17 per cent to-day. So I want you to see that there has been a gradual increase in the representation of non-Muslim element in the police. There is a corresponding decrease in the Muslim element.

Then the honourable member asked, "why is this expenditure necessary"? He knows fully well that the modern methods of police investigation are different from the old methods. He knows that there are quick modes of transport, and communications now are far better in the Punjab and help the criminal. He knows that supervision is better now and crimes which were not recorded before are recorded now. These are the reasons for the increase. Increase of population is an additional reason. Then he went on to say as if the criminal himself was communal-minded. He asked as to why certain dacoities or crimes had been committed in certain houses. The criminal has no scruples. He goes where he gets the best return and where there is least resistance. That is why particular persons go and commit offences in houses of certain classes far more than in others. I do not think that the criminal has any communal outlook or communal mind. Whatever his other defects might be, this is an outlook which the criminal does not possess. It is more confined to the politician than to anybody else in the country. My honourable friend then quoted certain instances of murders and dacoities. Unfortunately he gave neither the names nor the dates and so we have not been able to trace the details. If he gives us the particulars we will be able to look into those cases. But these cases have always been put in courts, I presume that if they fail it may be because there is not sufficient proof or the courts did not consider that those persons were guilty.

Then I take up the question of executive officers. As you know, no communal quotas are fixed in the case of the executive officers as they are municipal servants. In municipalities no quotas have been laid down for services and therefore these services go according to the decisions of those municipalities. It so happens that one community is in majority in one municipality and therefore the services of that body are recruited more from the majority community. Therefore with regard to these services we have not been able to lay down any formula. This was the case even in my honourable friend's time. The executive officer being a municipal servant, they are appointed according to the nature of the municipality concerned. The honourable member who also knows that there is a formula that if the president of the municipality happens to be of one community, the executive officer should generally belong to another community. That was the principle laid down sometime ago and I hope he knows it. These appointments have been made according to these principles. Then he said that he gave 50-50 per cent representation to all the classes. But the figures show that he appointed 4 Muslims and 8 Hindus.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : Wrong. Name them.

Minister for Public Works : I have got the list here. It will take time but if the honourable member wants he can see it.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : Read out.

Minister: Ambala ..	.. Bakhshi Raghbir Das.
Rupar ..	.. Chaudhri Abdullah Khan.
Ludhiana ..	.. Chaudhri Farzand Ali followed by Sardar Sahib Sardar Sant Singh.
Kasur ..	.. Lieutenant Abdullah Khan.
Khem Karan ..	.. M. Obaidullah Khan.
Sialkot ..	.. Rai Sahib Lala Nathu Ram followed by Mr. H. W. Han- rahan, P.C.S.
Jalalpur Jattan ..	.. Dr. D. R. Mehta.
Jhang-Maghiana ..	.. Sardar Hakim Singh.
Multan ..	.. Chaudhri Roshan Lal.
Lahore ..	.. Rai Bahadur Lala Shankar Das Luthra.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : No one at Amritsar ?

Minister : He was probably appointed by the committee.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : Is it ?

Minister : Yes.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : Second time ?

Minister : Both times the appointment was made by the committee.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : What was the total number ?

Minister : I am not going to waste the time of the House to oblige my honourable friend any more.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : It is entirely wrong. Let us have all the names. He was probably an inspector of local bodies, not an executive officer. What about Khem Karan. You have also omitted Sialkot. They were Muslims.

Minister : If you want to see the list you may do so. I have read out everything.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : What is the use of omitting facts ?

Mr. Speaker : I cannot allow a running commentary.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : Don't you think it is my right to point out that what the Honourable Minister has read is wrong ?

Mr. Speaker : If he makes a mistake, he may be corrected with the permission of the Chair.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : Then am I permitted to say that the list he has read out is wrong ?

Mr. Speaker : That may be done now or at a later stage.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : He has omitted three Muslims.

Minister for Public Works : Excluding administrators and executive officers, in superseded municipal committees and four appointments of executive officers made on the recommendations of committees and only validated by Government, ten appointments were made by me and leaving aside the superseded municipalities, etc., enumerated above, six Muslims have been appointed including 3 P.C.S. officers and 4 non-Muslims including 2 P.C.S. officers. There are yet six vacancies to be filled. Though the communal quota is not fixed yet available vacancies will be filled as far as possible with due regard for the rights of all. No communal quota has been laid down for executive officers yet, and we try that there should be a fair representation of various interests. But the nature of the towns varies. We have also to see that the president and the executive officers belong to different communities. If it so happens that Hindus happen to be presidents in larger number of cities, then naturally this circumstance is bound to be reflected in the appointment of the executive officers and we can control these posts subject to the above considerations.

I now come to the inspectors of local bodies. The Honourable Doctor Sahib said that a great number had been appointed from amongst the Muslims. I suppose he remembers that there are five divisions and five inspectors of local bodies have been appointed. Mark these words, Sir. In Ambala a Hindu was appointed; Jullundur, a Sikh; Lahore, Muslim; Rawalpindi, Muslim; and Multan, a non-Muslim—an Indian Christian. So there are 2 Muslims to 3 non-Muslims. Is that not a fair representation given to non-Muslims?

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : Quite fair, so far as this is concerned, if it is a fact.

Minister : Then comes the municipal elections officer, the previous officer was a Hindu, and after that the present incumbent is a Muslim and so there is now taken together a representation of 3 Muslims to 3 non-Muslims in the local self-Government Department. That is a fair representation.

Then my honourable friend criticised the appointment of panchayat officers. There again he was entirely wrong and highly misinformed. The trouble is that he never applies his mind to facts. He comes up in the evening, makes a speech and then disappears. Last time he did the same thing. He gave wrong information and went away. Now at present there are only two divisional inspectors, one a Hindu and the other a Sikh. The posts are to go to Muslims, but appointments have not yet been made. There is no ground to complain on this point. Then I take the panchayat officers. Nineteen are Muslims; 10 Hindus, 7 Sikhs and one from Scheduled castes were appointed giving a percentage of 51 Muslims, 27 Hindus, 18.9 Sikhs and 2.7 Scheduled castes.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : How many non-agriculturists?

Minister : We cannot have a fraction of a man. We cannot divide the human being into two but short of this the distribution is as fair as it is humanly possible.

I then come to assistant panchayat officers. Muslims 62 ; Hindus 30 ; Sikh 19 ; Scheduled castes 4 ; Indian Christian 1. That gives a percentage of Muslims 52·5 ; Hindus 25 ; Sikhs 16 ; Scheduled castes 8·5 ; Indian Christian 1. There are yet some posts to be filled and a little disparity that may have occurred is because some people resign and there are some vacancies otherwise. When these are filled up they will reveal the exact proportions fixed.

Now the honourable Dr. Sahib asks how many are non-agriculturists.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : Hindu non-agriculturists.

Minister for Public Works : Yesterday the honourable member was the champion of the Hindus when he was making his speech, but to-day when I have given him the figures, he has suddenly become a champion of a section of Hindus (*hear, hear*). We select people according to merits and according to their aptitude for the work subject of course to the communal quotas fixed. If a man is more suited to village life, naturally he gets preference over others who have not that aptitude. Doctor Sahib is to-day bisecting the Hindu community to suit his ends.

Now I come to the Buildings and Roads Branch of the Public Works Department. The honourable member referred to certain advertisements in the *Tribune* and asked why Muslims alone were recruited for these posts. I will quote the figures. Our Buildings and Roads cadre at present stands at 13 old I.S.E. officers none of whom happens at present to be a Muslim. But this is a different matter altogether. They are there. But when we are constituting a new service we have to take into consideration these factors. There are 38 posts in all and we had divided these posts exactly accordingly to the communal formula. What happened was that there were certain people available in the service of the Department who were temporary sub-divisional officers. We had to select from them and some from outside from the open market and we went and divided these posts according to the formula and naturally we did not like that the people who were already in the service of the Government and who had good records of service should be left out. Therefore we selected them also. Ten Hindus were found suitable within the Department and they were taken, so were two others, three Muslims and two Sikhs. Seventeen in all, that is 14 non-Muslims against 3 Muslims. That was the reason why a large number of Muslims had to be taken from outside by recruitment through the Public Service Commission. The Honourable Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang conveniently forgot this. Four temporary posts and four permanent posts were filled through the Public Service Commission in which Muslims were given preference. Yet Muslims get in this new service only 41·4 per cent, Hindus 34·5, others 6·9 and Sikhs 7·2. In spite of this recruitment which has been done according to the proportions laid down, Muslims have a deficiency of 8·6 and Sikhs of 2·8 and Hindus have an excess of 9·5 and others an excess of 1·9. This would reveal that the communal quota fixed for services by Government has been followed exactly to its arithmetical correctness. Then I come to the other instance quoted by the honourable Dr. Narang. He quoted the case of the Public Health Circle and asked why the post had been advertised for a Muslim. There are at present 12 posts in all out of which

[Minister for Public Works.]

only one is held by a Muslim. Therefore when we had to recruit a permanent man against that cadre we had no other way and this was in accordance with the block system laid down, but to import a Muslim. The block starts with a Muslim and even otherwise my honourable friends would concede that when there was not even a single Muslim left in the Department even the solitary Muslim having been transferred since the first post should go to a Muslim. That is why we advertised it like that, and I hope there was nothing wrong about that. Then he went on and said that a particular post had been advertised in the MacLagan Engineering College and asked why it had been reserved for a Muslim. May I give him the communal percentages in the college? It is 12 non-Muslims against 4 Muslims. This is the percentage of the various communities and we wanted that a lecturer for Electricity be appointed. The Electricity Department suggested the name of a Muslim. But a little after suggesting his name they found that they could not spare him and that was why the delay occurred in filling up the post. He was not spared and the result was that a Hindu Demonstrator is carrying on the work. That is why we had to delay the decision because the post was reserved for a Muslim. We according to the mandate of the party are bound to give a place that is due to a Muslim to a Muslim and similarly to non-Muslims what is due to non-Muslims.

Now I come to the Hydro-Electric Department, because a lot of criticism was levelled against this Department by honourable members opposite. I crave the indulgence of the Chair for two or three minutes. During the course of the discussion, the honourable Dr. Sir Dokul Chand Narang criticised the Hydro-Electric Department at length. I am sorry I have not got the time to reply to all what he said. I will just mention a few salient facts. The scheme as you know, Sir, was in the charge of the honourable Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang himself and he knows all the details, so I need not go over those facts again. Suffice it for me to say that the Government launched this scheme at that time. It is a white elephant as it has been described. But it is a legacy and we cannot look a gift horse in the mouth. We have to make the best of it. Somehow or other public money has been spent on the top of a Mandi Hill. We have been informed by our experts that there are enormous difficulties involved in the completion of the second and third stages of the scheme because of silting problem which is a serious trouble and for which there is no suitable remedy known. Besides, the cost on these stages would be out of all proportion to the energy to be produced. Guided by the advice that we have at present we have decided to abandon temporarily the idea of going ahead with the second and the third stage of the scheme because it would not be paying and from the engineering point of view also it is extremely improbable that it would be a success, because of silting problem not having been visualised at the time when the scheme was conceived. The Tunnels and all the works have been built to cope with all the three stages of the whole scheme. Now to complete the remaining stages will mean enormous cost. We can only make the best use of the existing water supply in the Uhl River the amount of which was miscalculated. We have now to see how we can get over this difficulty. The scheme has already been explained by the Parliamentary Secretary and we intend installing a thermal

plant to cope with the low water supply period and supplement the energy during that gap.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : Where are you going to put it up.

Minister for Public Works : We propose to have it here in the plains at Lahore, so that when the Uhl water supply is low we can generate power from that plant, and get the maximum benefit out of the scheme. The closing of the catchment area is also under consideration, as explained by Sardar Bahadur Sardar Ujjal Singh. We will take up all suggestions and will try to increase the water supply of the Uhl river. We hope that in the long run we will be able to make the whole scheme pay and get some benefit out of it. It will then not be a drain on the province and we may get up to 2 per cent as profit but this will be at a distant date. One point more. The working expenses were criticised. It was said that there was an increase. Actually there is no increase. There is an improvement of 1·66 lakhs in income. The change in figures is due to the change in the accounting system. The Auditor-General has ruled that the money received in the year should be shown in that year. That is why it is so and there is difference. The depreciation has been accounted for as was recommended by an expert committee. The honourable Dr. Sahib may have seen that committee's report. It was presided over by Sir Chuni Lal. He laid down that on the main scheme there should be a depreciation of 1·5 and on distribution 2·54. That is exactly what we are following. It is a bad legacy but every effort is being made to turn the present loss into a profit and we hope that with better luck it will be possible to achieve this objective.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : Wish you all luck.

Minister : I thank Dr. Sahib for wishing me luck and I hope he will also come in a better frame of mind to this House and not be a rank communalist as he has tried to be during the course of this discussion to-day. (*Hear, hear.*)

Premier (The Honourable Major Sir Sikander Hyat-Khan) : Sir, I think I would be failing in my duty if I did not on my own behalf as well as on behalf of the Ministerial Benches, offer my warmest congratulations to my brilliant colleague the Finance Minister. (*Hear, hear.*) He has, year in and year out ever since Provincial Autonomy came into force in this province, produced a Budget which each year surpasses his previous Budgets and his last efforts, I am sure every reasonable and just person will admit, is better than any other Budget produced in this country. (*Hear, hear.*) His name, Sir, will go down in the History of this difficult initial stage of our constitution as one of the greatest Finance Ministers. By some people he has been rightly termed a wizard. His wizardry is not due to any supernatural power, but to his intellectual attainments and knowledge and great administrative and financial capacity. (*Hear, hear.*) I think I am voicing the feelings of every one of us in this House in congratulating him on the very well-deserved honour which has been conferred on him. (*Hear, hear.*) So far as I am concerned, I have not only the greatest regard for him, as he is my personal friend, but I can assure every one of you in this House that I

[Premier.]

have the greatest confidence in him (*Hear, hear*) and I can say for my colleagues that they have the greatest confidence in his sagacity and in his custodianship of the finances of this province. Sir, I do not think he stands in need of any tribute or praise from us ; the mere fact, that my honourable friend Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang, who has argued this House for nearly four hours yesterday, could not find a single flaw in the Budget, is enough testimony and tribute to the great skill, courage, confidence and economic experience of my colleague to the Finance Minister. (*Hear, hear.*) My honourable friend Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang had to leave the budget alone, absolutely alone, in the general discussion and roamed into the communal field. And there cannot be a bigger tribute than that of my Honourable colleague's capacity of producing such a Budget and for his custodianship of the finances of this province.

Now, sir, I do not think that the House would expect me to traverse the whole field which my honourable friend Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang traversed yesterday, nor would they expect me I am certain to do so, in the spirit in which he traversed it, but I shall try to meet very briefly some of the criticisms which he made and also to nail the lies to the counter, which passed down his lips, without any warrant or reason. Some of the criticisms have been answered by my Honourable colleague the Minister for Public Works.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : Sir, I strongly protest against the use of the word "lies". Is this Parliamentary ? (*Cries of order, order and interruptions.*)

Premier : Sir, I said nothing objectionable. I simply used an idiom, "to nail the lies to the counter." I am going to nail the lies, the mis-statements of facts that have been uttered from another part of the House, to the counter, because it is my duty to remove any doubt or misgivings that have been raised and which are unwarranted, untenable, unjust and unfair.

Mr. Speaker : The Honourable Premier should not have used the word "lies."

Premier : Sir, I simply remarked that I am going to nail the lies to the counter. In the general discussion yesterday mis-statements were made by my honourable friend Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang, and it is my duty to show to the House that some of the statements, indeed practically every one of them, were absolutely unwarranted, untenable and incorrect. My Honourable colleague, the Minister for Public Works, has already given statistics with regard to the Police Department and I hope my honourable friend the Doctor Sahib, when he is in a calmer moment, will dispassionately consider and ponder those figures and revise his opinion of the present Government. Unfortunately, Sir, it is not possible for me to disabuse Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang's mind. The biggest crime of this Government, and of this Ministry is that Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang is not one of us. (*Hear, hear.*)

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : Oh, it is from you ! I thought Maqbool would say that.

Premier : Sir, I plead guilty to that charge and I will quote the well-known saying :—

Neki barbad, gunah lazim.

It was not possible for me to take him into the Cabinet. And I was sure that he would take this in a sportsmanlike manner, just like my honourable friend over here, the Finance Minister, who, when he went out of office, took it in a sportsmanlike spirit, not a word of protest came from him. He did not indulge in any unfair and unwarranted criticism of the Government. When the new constitution came, Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang was left out of the Cabinet and since then he has started vitriolic and poisonous insinuations against Government and has not ceased to criticise the Ministry in season and out of season not because there is any truth or substance in his complaints but merely for the sake of abusing this Government. And I think that, if he puts his hand to his heart, he will have to admit that he is largely responsible for creating bitterness that exists in this province and for which he has blamed this Government.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : If he has the meanness to say that, I can't help it. (*Cries of order, order.*)

Mr. Speaker : The honourable member should not make insinuations.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : Have you not heard what he said ? He said that I have been criticising this Government unfairly because I was not taken into the Cabinet. It is nothing but meanness. (*Cries of order, order.*) They are cheap jibes.

Premier : I shall be failing, Sir, in my duty if I do not—

Mr. Speaker : The Honourable Premier should not have made the insinuation he has made.

Premier : Sir, he has been abusing this Ministry without any reason or warrant, unjustly and unfairly, for the last 4 years, because he was not appointed a Minister.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : It is nothing but meanness, meanness combined with stupidity.

Premier : I have said that is my own crime. I have admitted my crime, if any, *vis-a-vis* my honourable friend Dr. Sir Gokul Chand

4 p.m. Narang, in that it was not possible for me to include him in the Cabinet although he knows perfectly well that I was instrumental in getting him in the Cabinet in 1932, and he should have had at least the courtesy of giving me credit of what I did, but here "*Neki barbad gunah lazim*"

نکی بارباد گناہ لازم aptly applies. And that *gunah* was that I was then a member of the Government where I could advise, but here under the present constitution it is not only my personal whim or my personal likes or dislikes which made him unable to come in but there are other members in the Cabinet.....

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : What is the relevancy of this if it is not imputation ?

Mr. Speaker : Facts, which are not well established, should not be attributed to any member of this House.

Premier : I, as a constitutional Premier, have to abide by the wishes of the majority party in this House and I am glad that the majority has selected the right people for the right place. (*Hear, hear*) (*Loud applause*). If my honourable friend had any concern for the province, and for that matter for his own community, for which he professed so much enthusiasm and zeal yesterday, he would not have tried to throw all kinds of blame on the Government and the various Ministers. One of the charges that he made was that the present Ministry does not contain any non-agriculturist Minister. Let me assure him that we have got a representative of non-agriculturists in this Cabinet, but like any other Minister that non-agriculturist Minister is not there merely to safeguard the interests of non-agriculturists; according to the pledge which we have given and according to our conscience it is the duty of every one of the Ministers to safeguard the interests of every community. (*Loud applause*.)

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : Except non-agriculturists.

Premier : And so far as non-agriculturists are concerned, I will quote figures and then my honourable friend, I am sure, if he has any sense of justice and fairplay, will never open his lips again so far as the quota of non-agriculturists is concerned. I am almost certain of that. Let me briefly answer some of the criticism which he made with regard to the proportion of communities in various appointments. He has already had his reply with regard to the Police department. Now let me give him some facts and figures with regard to Provincial Civil Service. In accusing the Government he said that in the listed appointments and in the selection grade I, being responsible for making appointments as a member of the Government, had taken out every non-Muslim and had brought in Muslims. My honourable friend is aware, for he was a member of the Government, and if he is not aware, should be, that these appointments are made on merit both in the selection grade and for the listed posts and the procedure is this. We go through the list, and all the records are sent to the Public Services Commission, and the Public Services Commission recommend those whom they consider to be suitable for promotion to listed appointments and it is on the recommendation of the Public Services Commission that we make these appointments. Even so let me give him some figures. Here is the list of Deputy Commissioners when we took office in the year 1937. The list is community-wise. As I have said, these appointments are made on pure merit and they are selected on merit. When we took office in 1937 there was 1 Hindu in the list, 7 Muslims, 1 Sikh, and 1 'Others' on the Executive side and in the Judicial Branch there were 4 Hindus, 2 Muslims and 1 Sikh. That was in 1937. Let me give him the figures of July, 1940, which are the latest that I have got before me. There are at the moment 9 posts filled out of 10, out of these 4 are Muslims, 1 a Hindu, 3 Sikhs and 1 'Others'. This was in July, 1940.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : What was in January, 1940 ?

Premier : I am giving figures of 1937 when we took office and the latest figures thus showing what is the position now. Those people who

are appointed to listed posts are taken mostly from the selection grade. I will presently read out to you the list of selection grade posts also. Out of these 9 posts, 4 are Muslims, 1 Hindu, 3 Sikhs and 1 'Others'. It so happens that there are 3 Sikhs and only 4 Muslims instead of 7. Why? Because on the test of merit they were fit for these appointments. Let us take the figures from the list of selection grade appointments: On the 1st of July, 1940, there were 8 selection grade posts filled out of which 3 were Muslims, 3 Hindus and 2 Sikhs. Is that unfair? Is that unjust? Is that inequitable?

Mian Abdul Aziz : Then Muslims should grumble.

Premier : No, my honourable friend thinks that we are going to keep communal representation in posts which are filled by promotion. The present Government is not prepared to accept that proposition. We can only remove that disparity and injustice in fresh recruitment. You could not possibly in fairness, justice or equity merely promote a Hindu because he happens to be a Hindu although there may be a better Sikh or Muslim above him. It so happens that these numbers keep on changing according to the merits and according to the seniority of the people and, therefore, my honourable friend, if he had studied the Civil List carefully, would not have made those remarks which he did yesterday. I was merely pointing out to the House that so far as the present policy of the Government is concerned, it is that we have fixed communal proportions for each community for new recruitment but as regards promotions no favouritism or communal proportion is considered. The man who deserves it on merit must get promotion and that is the policy to which we propose to adhere. Let me give other figures which will interest my honourable friend. I might incidentally point out that out of these Hindus there is not a single agriculturist Hindu. They are all non-agriculturists. My honourable friend may note that. Let me give him some other figures. Amongst all the gazetted officers in the Provincial Civil Service in the whole of the Province,—in all the gazetted appointments of the Provincial Civil Service, Muslims are about 44 per cent—Hindus about 36 per cent, Sikhs about 19 per cent and amongst the Hindus the agriculturists are only about 9 per cent. The rest are non-agriculturist Hindus. Please make a note of that so that in future you may not make any unjust aspersions.

Chaudhri Sumer Singh (Urdu) : May I, with your permission, ask one question, ? Is it a fact that the Honourable Premier has given appointments to non-agriculturist Hindus at the expense of agriculturist Hindus?

Premier : Not a bit of it. These are the appointments which are existing. So far as the fresh appointments are concerned, there we must give due share to agriculturist Hindus. (*Hear, hear.*)

Chaudhri Sumer Singh : How is it that last year no agriculturist Hindu was appointed as an E. A. C. by direct nomination?

Premier (Urdu) : The thing is that many non-agriculturist Hindus had succeeded in the E. A. C. competition. That is why no agriculturist Hindu could be taken. But now we have evolved a new formula under which the rights of agriculturist Hindus would be safeguarded.

Chaudhri Sumer Singh : Is it a fact that the Public Service Commission recommended an agriculturist Hindu for nomination to the P. C. S. ?

Premier (Urdu) : No. My honourable friend's information is wrong.

Sardar Ajit Singh : On a point of order, sir. I want to bring this fact to the notice of the Government that owing to the absence of Sir Sundar Singh Majithia the interests of the Sikhs are not properly safeguarded. Would you take into consideration the rights of the Sikhs while dividing amongst yourselves.

Premier : My honourable friend was either not listening or if he was listening he could not understand me. I have said that the Sikhs get about 19 per cent compared with their population of 12·9 per cent. So far as Sikh interests are concerned, they are quite safe in our hands. *(Hear, hear.)*

Sardar Ajit Singh : There is an official report, dated the 1st January, 1940, in my possession. It shows that in all the 5 divisional offices of the Punjab there is not a single responsible post held by the Sikhs.

Premier (Urdu) : What posts is my honourable friend alluding to? Does he mean that no Sikhs are to be found in any division? *(Laughter.)*

Sardar Ajit Singh : I mean that not one single important post in any divisional office is being held by a Sikh.

Premier (Urdu) : My honourable friend is entirely mistaken. Sikhs are holding important posts.

Sardar Ajit Singh : What about the fresh recruitments?

Premier : So far as new recruitments are concerned, the Sikhs will get 20 per cent.

Sardar Ajit Singh : All these things exist on paper.

Premier : My honourable friend is either ignorant of the facts or he is too ignorant to understand me. I cannot help that. *(Interruptions.)*

Mr. Speaker : No interruptions please.

Premier : Let me give you one or two instances in one or two departments and my honourable friend will be interested in these figures. Let us take Civil Surgeons in the Punjab; Hindus have got 77·8 per cent and out of these 66 per cent are non-agriculturist Hindus. My honourable friend will please note. I do not think any further elaboration of these figures is required. If he wants further figures, I can give him several others. Take the case of Upper Subordinates in Irrigation Department, there are 75 per cent Hindus, practically all non-agriculturist Hindus, and yet my honourable friend's appetite has not been so far satisfied. Wherever there is disparity, we will try to remove it. But if I accept the suggestion of my honourable friend, then it would mean that for the next hundred years there will be no recruitment of non-agriculturist Hindus. If he says that "here there are too few Muslims and there are too few Hindus recruit them and disturb that proportion" that would be unjust and unfair and I am not prepared to do so. If I accept his suggestion it would

mean that non-agriculturist Hindus will not be recruited for the next 100 years. What we have laid down is an equitable formula and if you come to an agreement between the communities, we will be prepared to revise that formula. But I think that it is a fair formula with regard to fresh recruitments and we will adhere to it and only in time to come—perhaps it may be 15 years in one department and 20 years in another—this disparity will be removed and once it is removed my honourable friend will then not be accused by them for having got the lion's share, because eventually if we abide by that formula, the disparity must be removed without any violent upheaval which the suggestion that my honourable friend made yesterday would involve.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : The Honourable Premier was not present in the House. I never suggested anything.

Mr. Speaker : The honourable member has no right to stand up and make a speech without my permission.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : Shall I, with your permission, point out that I never advocated this formula ?

Mr. Speaker : I have not given permission.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : May I remove that impression ? I never suggested anything.

Premier : I think my honourable friend in fairness will admit that his aspersions on the Government were wholly irrelevant, unnecessary and unwarranted and that the fling which he had at the agriculturists was equally unjustified. I have given these facts and figures which speak for themselves and no further answer is necessary.

Now, I would take other points which he raised. He said something about processions. He said that the present Government had in several cases made departure from the *status quo* with regard to processions. I quite agree with him that there are many instances where departure has been made from the *status quo* in the interests of law and order and peace and tranquillity. In answer to questions with regard to processions in this very House I made it quite clear that those departures were only temporary and as soon as normal conditions were restored, we would go back to the *status quo*. It was never intended that the *status quo* should be departed from. It is only in the absence of any agreement between different communities that it happens. For instance, take the case of Rawalpindi. There the communities themselves sat down and decided that it would be least objectionable from the point of view of both the communities to take out the procession along a new route. At first there were people among both the communities who objected to the new route, because there are mischief-mongers and black sheeps in every community. They tried to exploit the decision of those two communities with the result that no procession was taken out. Eventually when they came to know the decision of their leaders, both the communities took out the procession along the new route. There has been no trouble since then and I hope there will be no recrudescence of the trouble in that city any more. There are one or two other places where the routes have been changed, for instance, Panipat. Sometimes it is necessary for the district authorities in the interests of law and order to make temporary changes.

[Premier.]

and they also make it quite clear to the processionists that this change is only temporary and that as soon as the emergency is passed, the *status quo* will again be restored. I am sure that on that score there is no real ground for any grievance or for any complaint on the part of my honourable friend.

Then, he mentioned figures about riots, which, of course, I never expected him to do, because I never thought that Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang would make such a mistake. He probably took the figures about the riots in connection with sections 142, 144, 147 of the Indian Penal Code. In answer to that I will also quote some figures. In the province there were some minor and major riots, fortunately fewer major riots, in the first six months of the new constitution; my honourable friend remembers there was the trouble at *Ala*, to which he referred, and at Amritsar and other places. These riots took place in the first six months of coming into power of this Government, when there was some lack of balance and everybody wanted to try to feel his strength. After that my honourable friends know that there were some bickerings going on on the occasion of *melas* or of communal processions but the police was successful in restoring the order without any loss of life or any serious injury. Those minor riots include those of boys quarrelling with each other and with a '*chabriwala*' and the other community coming to his rescue and the opposite community trying to get the better of them and so on. In 1937, there were 19 riots; in 1938 there were 18, in 1939 there were 9 and in 1940 there were 10, mostly minor incidents but including one or two major riots. I do not know wherefrom my honourable friend got the figure of 1,100. I believe his source of information was not correct. These are the exact figures, and unless it was merely wishful thinking I hope he will revise his opinion. My honourable friend was throughout trying to create an atmosphere where some other community will become a cat's paw, that is an old old game and an old story. I will come to that presently. Again he spoke about the Law Department. He said look at this unjust and nepotist government; they have got a Muslim Advocate-General and a Muslim Assistant Advocate-General. Someone interrupted him, and he said well you must have been consulted. My honourable friend must have forgotten that the last Advocate-General of this province was an eminent Hindu who is now a Judge of the High Court. He was the first Advocate-General. Is that injustice because on merits we thought that he was the best person and he was appointed? Does my honourable friend think that Government made a wrong appointment? I certainly do not think so. At that time we appointed an Assistant Advocate-General who was a Muslim, and with regard to his capacity and merits I think my honourable friends opposite are better judges: they are both lawyers and eminent lawyers and they know what his capacity was for this particular appointment. I need say no more about it but I may only add that he has been selected as the Chairman of the Income-tax Tribunal, the same Assistant Advocate-General whom the Government appointed. That is the story with regard to the Law Department. After that when that Advocate-General was elevated to the Bench we had to appoint another suitable person. We consulted the Judges of the High Court

and we came to the conclusion that the present Advocate-General, Mr. Sleem, was the best person. Will my honourable friend say that that was not the right or proper appointment? Then we appointed a Hindu as an Assistant-Advocate-General, and there again on the recommendation of the Chief Justice. After hearing these facts and figures my honourable friend should have the decency to say that he was wrong and was not only misinformed but was unfair to the incumbents of those posts. He then mentioned about the Public Prosecutors.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : I never said anything about that ; please do not put words in my mouth.

Premier : My honourable friend mentioned that the Law Department and Public Prosecutors may not be included in that but I think the figures will interest some of the members of the House. As I have said the same formula was adopted, but it will take considerable time before the disparity is removed. Here are the figures. In 1937 Muslims were 40 per cent and in 1940 they were 44·8 per cent. Hindus were 46·7 per cent in 1937 and now they are 34·5 per cent. Sikhs were 10 per cent in 1937 and now they are 17·2 per cent. That shows that so far as this Government is concerned they are scrupulously adhering to the formula with regard to the communal disparity. Muslims increased only by 5 per cent and that cannot be helped as it largely depends on the vacancies. I do not think I need go further so far as the services are concerned, but I think I have made it abundantly clear that the party which can genuinely complain against the inadequacy of government appointments—and that is inevitable as it depends on the number of vacancies which varies from department to department—and the communities by whom genuine complaints can be made are the agriculturists, Muslims, and Sikhs, and not by the community which my honourable friend represents (*hear, hear*). His attitude reminds me of the story which Nawab Muzaffar Khan related to me. A big and burly child was sitting on the chest of a puny little child belabouring him and crying. When people came round and asked “why are you crying : you are sitting on a puny little fellow and you are a big burly fellow?”—he said I am crying because when he gets up he will start belabouring me. (*Laughter*.) My honourable friend is thinking of 40 years hence when that disparity will be removed ; they keep on crying though getting their due share ; and his community will not have any extra loaves and fishes which they had usurped over and above their original share. That day is far off. Our communal formula will take several years before that situation will arise. He should not try to start ‘*wa wela*’ before ‘*marg*’. Then in the same irresponsible strain, if I may be permitted to say so, and with the same kind of pensive mood in which he lives he made vituperative remarks against government policy with regard to securities from the press. Here also his statement was highly coloured. I do not know where he got the figures, or whether that information was merely his own poison which made it impossible for him to see the facts and figures. Here are the exact figures. I am sure my honourable friend will change his opinion if he has been misinformed, and if it was deliberate then I cannot help him. In 1937 we took action against 3 Muslim papers, one Hindu paper and no Sikh paper. In 1938 we took action against one Muslim, seven Hindu and one other

[Premier.]

paper. In 1939 we took action against 5 Muslim, 4 Hindu and three Sikh papers and in 1940 we took action against 3 Muslim and one Sikh paper. Out of demands from Muslims four deposits only were made amounting to Rs. 3,500. Two refunds amounting to Rs. 2,500 have been made. The present Government also refunded one deposit of Rs. 3,000 which had been taken by the previous Government. Out of the twelve demands from Hindus eight were deposited amounting to Rs. 9,000 in 1938-39. Of this Rs. 4,500 has been refunded and in addition a refund of Rs. 1,000 was made of a deposit demanded by the previous Government. The four Sikh demands resulted in a deposit of Rs. 1,500 in 1939-40 of which there has been no refund so far. The total figure of demands forfeited since 1st April, 1937, is Rs. 7,000. A sum of Rs. 3,500 came from Muslim newspapers, Rs. 1,000 from Hindu newspapers and Rs. 2,500 from Sikh newspapers. Of this total Rs. 6,500 were forfeited in 1937 and Rs. 500 only in 1938. There has been no subsequent forfeitures against any newspapers. These are the exact figures and I hope that my honourable friend, if he has an iota of justice in him, will revise his views and express regret for his statement.

Then out of his usual imaginative mind he produced another grievance with regard to advertisements. He said that the Director of Information Bureau is a Mussalman, and that the present Government appointed a Mussalman deliberately so as to trample over the just rights of the Hindus. My honourable friend is perfectly aware that the Director of Information Bureau has been a Mussalman ever since 1925. But during the whole period of bureaucratic regime he never dared open his lips, because if he had done so he would have scotched himself. So he kept quiet.

Mian Abdul Aziz : The complaint of Muslims is that they are not given their proper share.

Premier : At present I am only replying to the complaints made by Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang. I will reply to the honourable member's complaint later. The honourable member, Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang, made no complaint in those days when the appointment was made without any reference to any other authority. But the appointment made by the present Government was made through the Public Services Commission. They advertised the post and it was thrown open to all communities. Several applications were received and as a result of open competitive examination the present incumbent was chosen. He has been filling this post with extreme credit and usefulness. He was selected by the Public Services Commission as he topped the list of candidates in the examination by several hundred marks. That is why he is there. But even if that appointment had rested entirely with me I can assure you that if the present Director of Information Bureau was available I would have had no hesitation in selecting him even without referring to the Public Services Commission; because he is a journalist of great reputation and a gentleman who gets on extremely well with his colleagues of the press. Now, the honourable member went on to say that this Government has been giving advertisements to Muslim newspapers and that because the Director of Information Bureau is a Muslim he naturally favours the Muslim press. It is nothing of the kind. Let me give some

figures which will open my friend's eyes unless he is blinded by prejudice. In 1940 when the present system of giving advertisements through a centralised organisation came into existence the four important Hindu papers got Rs. 16,000 for advertisements while the four Muslim papers got Rs. 11,000. In the face of these figures my honourable friend accuses this Government of favouring the Muslims.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : May I have figures about the circulation of the papers of the respective communities ?

Premier : My honourable friend may like to have these figures for the next budget session.

My honourable friend's next charge was that all the key appointments have been given to Muslims. If suitable Muslims were available I would not hesitate to appoint them to these posts, but fortunately from his point of view and unfortunately from the point of view of Muslims, suitable Muslims are not available for all these appointments. But as I have said these appointments or promotions are made on sheer considerations of merit and not community-wise. If a suitable Hindu is available he is appointed and if a suitable Sikh is available he is appointed. Similarly if the suitable candidate happens to be a Muslim I should not be expected to ignore his claims. Now, let me give a few instances of the posts which it has been our lot to fill. All these posts are filled on the recommendation of the Public Services Commission though the final authority making the appointment is the Government and I take full responsibility for making such appointments. The honourable member complained that in the Irrigation Department we advertised certain posts for Muslims only. That is perfectly true. It is because we have got a block system of recruitment for the Irrigation Department and it so happens that sometime we have to fill in some vacancies by Hindus and sometimes by Sikhs. *(An honourable member :* Is there any substance in the complaint that no Hindu post was advertised ?) If the honourable member will look for them he will find several instances. In the Irrigation Department we advertised for several posts and in accordance with the new formula the Hindus got their full quota, and the Sikhs theirs. But the Muslims were 17 short in the first selection. So we decided that these posts should be advertised again for Mussalmans only, because we wanted 17 Muslims to complete their quota. Is there anything wrong in this ? Does my honourable friend consider this unjust ?

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : Does it not militate against the formula that further recruitment of any community should not be stopped even to fill gaps ?

Premier : No. Let me explain to my honourable friend. I have told him why we had to advertise. Let me give him figures. Since 1937, we have been able to get 45 per cent Muslims only against 50 and therefore we had to advertise again and again to get their quota. We were able to get 31 per cent Hindus against 25 per cent and we were able to get 19 per cent Sikhs against their 20 per cent quota, and Others 5 per cent against their 5. There was only a small shortage in the Sikh proportion and a big shortage in the Muslim proportion and therefore we had to advertise again and again for Muslims only or for Sikhs only. What I

[Premier,]

did was that if after the second advertisement we could not find suitable Muslims, we filled the posts by others temporarily until we got suitable Muslims and when they were available then those temporary people were sent away and Muslims appointed. Is there anything unfair and unjust in that ?

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : Were not those posts kept vacant ?

Premier : No posts were kept vacant. They were filled temporarily until we got suitable Muslims and those non-Muslims who were appointed were sent away as soon as we got suitable Muslims. Similarly with regard to the Sikhs. We have filled two or three temporary posts because suitable Sikhs are not available. As soon as they are, then those temporary posts will be vacated by the present incumbents and the Sikhs will be appointed. I have given figures, but if my honourable friend wants further information, I shall be glad to give it. My difficulty is that in the Irrigation Branch we have not been able to get the full Muslim quota, and I still want 17 engineers, to fill their quota, and these posts are being temporarily filled so as to enable us to fill them by permanent incumbents when suitable Muslims are available.

Then my honourable friend said that all the important posts during the past few years have been filled by Muslims and he said that the criterion that the Government kept before them in making these appointments was that where there was a Muslim incumbent, it must be a Muslim to fill that post, and where a non-Muslim has been holding a post, he must be replaced by a Muslim. That was the proposition which my honourable friend put forward. I think that it reached the limit of unfairness and injustice. I am surprised at my own moderation in putting it so mildly. Let me mention a few posts which have been filled during the time of the present Government which might be termed as key posts. Take the Jails Department. A Hindu was appointed as head of department in place of a European. Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals—a Parsi gentleman of very eminent attainments was appointed in place of a European. Deputy Commissioner of Criminal Tribes—This post is reserved for a senior member of the Provincial Civil Service and a Hindu was appointed in place of a Muslim. Officiating Chief Engineer, Buildings and Roads Branch—In place of a European a very eminent Hindu Engineer has been appointed. Director of Land Records—A Provincial Service Muslim was appointed in place of a Muslim gentleman. There you make your selection out of men of outstanding merit and the Financial Commissioners recommended this particular gentleman and the Government accepted their recommendation. Director of Industries—About whom so much hue and cry was made in this House by my honourable friends, a Muslim has been appointed in place of a Hindu. Chief Engineer, Irrigation Branch—A Muslim in place of a European. Principal, Veterinary College is a Sikh in place of a European. Principal, Government College is again a Hindu in place of a European. These are the appointments which you might call important key posts made during the time of the present Government, and as I said they were made on merit. If you look at the Secretariat, you will find that we have selected the very best men for the

Secretariat, and subject to other things being equal, seniority is kept in view. If a suitable Muslim is available we get him, if a suitable Hindu is available we get him. In the Irrigation Branch and in other branches also the same principles are applied. My honourable friend, instead of congratulating the Government on their being able to put several eminent Indians in place of Europeans, tried to condemn this Government for Indianising these high posts. I have mentioned at least six posts to which Indians have been appointed in place of Europeans, because they on merit deserved them. There are only three posts, including one Chief Engineer, Irrigation Branch, where Muslims have been appointed, one in place of a Muslim, one in place of a European, and the third in place of a Hindu.

(At this stage Mr. Speaker left the Chair and Mr. Deputy Speaker occupied it.)

This is the record of inequity and injustice of this Government on which he based his whole case.

He then referred to several newspapers. I do not think I need refer to that controversy, because there are several things which newspapers have to do to increase their circulation, but I do hope in fairness, when I have quoted these figures, he will see that Government have been trying to do justice to every community and that we are trying to remove the disparity which unfortunately exists, as quickly as possible.

My honourable friend mentioned a case where a woman had been burnt alive by some one. I can assure him that if any such case had happened it was bound to come to my notice or to the notice of the authorities concerned. In these days even if there is a pin prick anywhere, I get sheaves of telegrams, and if an incident of that kind had happened, do you think it would have remained unknown to anybody, unknown to Government, to newspapers and even to my honourable friend till now? Somebody must have given him wrong information, as people are apt to, or it might have been some personal grudge or some such matter where they tried to blame somebody else for their own crime or offence. I can assure my honourable friend that the list that he gave is very vague and the names which he mentioned do not exist. I have talked to Pir Lal Badshah who represents that constituency, and he told me that he did not hear of any case of the burning alive of a woman in that part of the country. Naturally when you want to make an unjust attack, you cannot be specific, you can only be vague.

Then he also mentioned the Ala case, the withdrawal of which was ordered by Government. The facts are quite different from what my honourable friend has made out. The facts are these, that the body of a Nihang was found in the canal. An investigation was started by the police immediately, and I received a deputation which complained that the local police had not been able to trace the accused. I did not know at the time that the local police had already stated that it did not seem to be foul play but that it seemed to have been an accident. That is what the police told the authorities. The deputation asked me whether it would not be possible to entrust this enquiry to the Central Intelligence Agency. I at once ordered an enquiry by the C. I. D.

[Premier.]

In the meantime after the enquiry by the police, even though the Superintendent of Police thought that the case should be withdrawn, the District Magistrate ordered that the case should be put in court. In accordance with these orders, the police put the case in court. The C. I. D. went and made enquiries and came to exactly the same conclusion that there was no murder. There were no injuries on the body except that the two ears were found to have been cut off. They were possibly eaten by fish as the body was in the water for a long time. That was the result of their enquiry and they reported that there was no proof of any foul play and therefore the case had no foundation. The Superintendent of Police decided that he should withdraw the case. The District Magistrate again objected. The Superintendent of Police had naturally to refer the matter here and we said that if there was no case it would be most unjust and unfair to challan and if you challan there would be nothing but bitterness and the result would be the same as it is now. That is how it was withdrawn. We never ordered the withdrawal. The police themselves withdrew because there was no proof.

Sardar Sahib Sardar Santokh Singh : With the permission of the local Government ?

Premier : No. The District Magistrate has to give the permission not the local government. The local police, naturally, when they found that even the C. I. D. could not find any evidence, wanted to withdraw the case.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : Had evidence been recorded by the committing magistrate ?

Premier : Perhaps they had recorded the evidence of one or two witnesses.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : Is it not a fact that whole evidence had been finished ?

Premier : I am not sure.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : Did the Government issue orders for the withdrawal ?

Premier : No. As a matter of fact, the police asked for the withdrawal. They said that in these circumstances they could not do anything else. Government said that if there was no case and if the people were innocent, then it was not fair to proceed against them.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : You better make another enquiry.

Premier : Any number of enquiries will not satisfy my honourable friend and people of his mentality.

Khan Bahadur Nawab Fazl Ali : There are certain gentlemen from the locality present in this House who can state the real facts. It is strange that my honourable friend sitting here claims to know even the minutest details while the local members are not aware of anything to that effect.

Premier : Another accusation which my honourable friend has brought against us is this, that my address at Lyallpur was printed at

Government expense. That question was raised previously and my honourable friend's memory is short. He forgets these things. Somebody evidently reminded him again and told him something on the basis of which he has again brought this accusation. Now there were two parts of that address. One part related to nothing but bare facts regarding the legislations passed by the Assembly. The other part referred to party propaganda, showing what the party had done during that period. That portion relating to party propaganda was published at the expense of the party. The other portion which merely stated facts and the Acts of the Government was published at Government expense. There again we could have very fairly followed our neighbours, the Congress Government in the United Provinces and other provinces and made it a charge on the Government. But our conscience did not permit it. There the speeches of every Congressman, whether he is a member of the Government or not, is published by the Director of Information Bureau in Government publications or in pamphlets, speeches of Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru and others, for instance. But we thought that we could not possibly conscientiously emulate our friends in the Congress provinces in this matter, because party propaganda must be kept strictly apart from actual Government propaganda. (*An honourable member* : Say, 'I am sorry') My friend will not say it.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : I have no personal knowledge of it. If you send me a copy of it I shall see.

Premier : Then my honourable friend said that Ministers are doing propaganda and that is why crime has increased and he mentioned the instance of one high official who told him in confidence that as soon as the Minister left the district there would be more murders.

Minister for Public Works : He denied that.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : I said 'there might be murders'.

Premier : I can assure my honourable friend that if there was, in this or any other department, any such unbalanced state of attitude if I may so call it on the part of the officials, that has long ago disappeared. I know that every officer, whether he is a Hindu or a Muslim or a Sikh or a European, is trying to do his duty conscientiously. There may be exceptions here and there even now. But I have myself in several districts seen several officers and they are all, be they Hindu or Muslim, or Sikh or anybody else, doing their duty conscientiously, honestly and without favouritism. But speeches like that of my honourable friend make those men bitter because they do not know what kind of uncharitable and unwarranted aspersions may be cast on them in this House. During the last four years my honourable friend would remember the way in which many officers, officers of integrity, of established integrity and reputation have been treated in this House, and yet my honourable friend has the audacity to come forward and accuse this Government of not trying to do justice and of having an uneasy mind. The honest officer who is doing his duty conscientiously, without fear or favour, has got nothing to fear from this Government. It is only the dishonest officer who has to fear and you may rest assured that we will bring to book such an official if we get an opportunity.

Sardar Sahib Sardar Santokh Singh : May I enquire if the Honourable Premier approves of the speeches delivered by the Honourable Sir Chhotu Ram ?

Premier : So far as the speeches of Sir Chhotu Ram are concerned, there was one speech about which he himself expressed regret in this very House. But does my honourable friend think that these speeches which we have here are conducive to peace and tranquillity ? Let me give my honourable friend a few quotations.

Sardar Sahib Sardar Santokh Singh : I asked a simple question. I want to know what is your position with regard to the speeches delivered by the Honourable Sir Chhotu Ram.

Premier : If anybody makes any unjust aspersions on anybody he is unfair, unjust and dishonest. There are some who blame Sir Chhotu Ram, my colleagues and me for creating a bitter atmosphere. I have taken one or two extracts from the speeches of my honourable friend.

دلدار امت دزد - د بک چراغ ارد

Supporting the resolution at Amritsar with regard to the Money-lenders' Bill, a Bill which was passed by this House and which he has the audacity to condemn, supporting the resolution, he said :

If loans were refused the poor zamindars would themselves come and sit *dharna* at the residences of Ministers concerned when they will not be left in a position to pay their dues or provide for eventualities.

These are the kind of speeches which my honourable friend makes to restore communal harmony and tranquillity and peace in the province.

He presided over another Non-Agriculturists Conference which appointed a War Council, for the purpose of enforcing a boycott by non-agriculturists of all functions held in honour of the leaders of the Unionist Party. Is this political fairness and justice according to his criteria ? Earlier still he made his famous heroic declaration that he would not only give up his Knighthood (Sir) but would also lay down his head (*sar*) in resisting measures intended to do some justice to the zamindars. And then we all remember his famous speech when the present constitution was passed in which he said that he would not take the cup of milk poisoned by communalism and would not come here in this House, but he has been taking that cup, every day and every night and both Sir and *sar* are there. I wish him long life and a long enjoyment of both and wish him to continue here, but I wish that he would give a little respite to this Sir and would not make such statements in this House. I am afraid I have taken a great deal of the time of this House, but there are one or two other important matters to which I must refer. However it may be regretted, the trend of my honourable friend's speech throughout was to rouse Hindus and Sikhs against the Government, not by any fair means, not by fair political criticism, but merely by trying to rouse them into antagonism and hostility. Why ? Only because, as I have said, there are some people who use other people as their catspaws. Several friends have tried by intrigue inside this House and outside this House to dislodge this Government, but when they found that it was unshakable, and that these members here who represent the province would not be beguiled, would not be misled, would not be bribed, would not be coerced

5 p.m.

would not be threatened, would not be taken away from the path of righteousness which they have taken, then my honourable friend started trying to rouse others so that the peace and tranquillity of the province might be disturbed and *Bhus ko ag laga ke jamalo diwar par*. He knows that he would be sitting here in safety, while those people would be exposed to bloodshed and murder when once they are roused into action. He is trying to pose as the friend of the Sikhs and he took up the cudgels on behalf of the Sikhs but I should like to point out to him that these manoeuvres are not likely to succeed and are not likely to do any good to him or to those gentlemen whose friend he professes to be. If he thinks that he is going to incite them to break law and order, he must remember that he would be morally responsible himself for their crimes, because people who instigate others are equally liable as the people who actually commit the crimes, and I hope that he as an honourable citizen and as a member of this august Assembly, instead of trying to rouse their feelings on the basis of unwarranted and unjust grievances, as I have pointed out to-day by facts and figures, will, if he is honest, fair and just, now go and preach that the present Government is not unjust to any body and that they are going to do justice to all communities and all parties and to all sections and will say that "so far as I, Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang, am concerned hereafter I will not cast any unwarranted aspersions on the Government." If he takes up that attitude, I think he will be raising himself in the eyes of his colleagues and will be raising his political status, but if he still goes on making mischief, then I am afraid he will be doing no good to the province or his community or those people whose friendship he professes to have and on whose behalf he professes to have taken up cudgels here. The reason why I have made deliberate mention of this is because he touched on every one of those points which I saw in the press as having been passed in the Rurka Kalan Conference. He referred to every one of them and tried to justify those things and also to put a gloss or polish so as to *masala lagao* them. What were the points which were mentioned in that Conference and which my honourable friend here repeated with a great deal of exaggeration and embellishment? They are these. The supposed grievances of the Sikhs which were ventilated in that Conference and the resolution passed in the Roorka Kalan Conference were, first, the Primary Education Bill. They said that it was going to stop Punjabi and that it will ride rough shod over Sikh culture. That was one of their grievances. Now I have repeatedly on the floor of this House and outside on several occasions, and I hope to the satisfaction of the deputation that came to see me, made it quite clear that so far as the Primary Education Bill is concerned it has got nothing to do with the question of language. It will not in any way affect the present practice with regard to the medium of instruction in schools. I gave instances; there were in South-Eastern Punjab certain schools where Hindi was taught and there were certain schools where Urdu was taught and there were other schools in which French was taught and Bengali was taught and Telugu was taught. We have recognised these schools. Let me make quite clear what the *status quo* means. My honourable friend put that question. The *status quo* is this that if any local body wants to open a

[Premier.]

new school that body passes a resolution that they want to open so many schools. That resolution is sent by the district inspector to the divisional inspector and eventually to Government and then the Government decide whether the school is needed or not. If they come to the conclusion that there is a need for the school there, that a primary school of the local body should be there, because there is no private or Government institution, they decide that a school should be opened. Every local body has to adopt that procedure and the decision is eventually in the hands of the Government and as I said, in the South-Eastern Punjab where they decided that Hindi schools should be opened, Hindi schools were opened and where it was decided that Urdu schools should be opened, Urdu schools were opened. The other question which my honourable friend put to me was whether if a specified number of Hindu or Sikh boys asked for special facilities for instruction in Gurmukhi or Hindi, they would be provided with those facilities. In reply I say that that is not the existing practice. If my honourable friends want to put forward that request, they are at liberty to do so, we will consider it on its merits, but I can assure my honourable friends that apart from all other considerations, that is not the *status quo* and that has nothing to do with the *status quo*. I can assure my honourable friend that, apart from all other considerations, pure financial considerations will rule it out of court for the simple reason that if you have bilingual schools you must have two school masters and if you have trilingual schools, you must have three school masters. We are not able to have enough schools with only one medium of instruction, and yet you ask that schools with three languages be opened. How can you endorse such a proposition?

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : Do other provinces get any subvention from the Central Government for the teaching of Urdu in those provinces? If they are managing, why can you not?

Premier : Urdu was the medium of instruction in the United Provinces. My honourable friend is perhaps unaware of that. Urdu was the medium of instruction throughout the United Provinces but when the majority community came into power they started undermining Urdu and what is the result? Now you find Hindi and Urdu and in certain stages after certain classes you have to learn two languages.

In the United Provinces every student, whether Hindu or Muslim, has to learn Hindi after 5th or 6th class. That is the treatment meted out to the minority there. But here we adhere to the *status quo* and will continue to do so, until there is some sort of mutual understanding. In the Central Provinces in every *Madarsa* there are Hindi classes. I do not think that we should look to other provinces. Let us look to our own province. From the very beginning we decided that where such controversial questions were concerned, and in the absence of any mutual agreement between the communities, we must adhere to the *status quo*, provided of course that there is no hardship or at least no injustice by the majority or the tyranny of the majority over the minority. If my honourable friends remained content for such a long time with the existing condition, there is no reason why they should have any objection to it now.

The state of affairs was the same when Sir John Maynard was sitting here. My honourable friend did not dare to put forward that proposition then. But now when Sikander, one of his brethren is sitting here, he should not be spared, and he is trying to penalise and impeach the whole Government of being unfair to the minorities. This is not fair. It is most unfair.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : Sir, the Honourable Premier has put to me a question and I want to give him a reply. In the time of Sir John Maynard nobody said that Urdu was the only medium of instruction in the Punjab, as the Honourable Minister for Education has said.

Premier : My honourable friend is trying to confuse the issue. I made that point clear in my statement to the deputation. But my honourable friend has again brought in that matter. The position in the Punjab is the same as it was 5 years ago. (*An honourable member :* What about new schools?) The new schools would be allowed to be opened on merits. If the position for Hindus, Sikhs, and Muslims five years ago was good enough, why should it not be good enough for them to-day?

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : No.

Premier : Unless they come to some agreement to-day. Supposing the majority say that they would have nothing but Urdu, would it be fair on our part to accept that proposition? We have from the very beginning adopted the principle that where there is a conflict of opinion between communities, we must adhere to the *status quo*. What the position was in 1936, that would be the position to-day.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : It means that we shall be at the mercy of the Minister for Education.

Premier : If in 1936 the Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims were at the mercy of the then Minister, now they will remain at the mercy of this Minister.

Another point Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang raised was the question of Jhatka. I was really surprised that Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang should have stood up and said that we have done injustice to the Sikhs about Jhatka. I think I should answer that question. So far as this question is concerned, Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang has said that some concession has been granted to one particular community over another with regard to the slaughter of various animals for our food or for other purposes. I know that this question, until it is settled, will continue to cause trouble. So, we called a Unity Conference, and in this Conference the following resolution was passed unanimously. If you will allow me I will read it out :—

"No restrictions shall be imposed on the right of any community to slaughter or sacrifice any animal in any manner or to sell the meat of such animal provided that :—

- (a) where restrictions now exist on the slaughter or manner of slaughter (including Halal and Jhatka) of any animal, such slaughter shall be only permissible in a slaughter house provided for the purpose or any enclosed place not open to the public view,
- (b) that sale of meat (cooked or raw) shall be allowed only in premises especially licensed for the purpose with due regard to the reasonable susceptibilities of the residents of the locality concerned."

[Premier.]

My honourable friend knows perfectly well that this resolution was unanimously passed by all the representatives of all the communities, including my honourable friend and his community. Bhai Parmanand was there and Raja Narendra Nath, Sardar Tara Singh, Sardar Sampuran Singh, Maulana Zafar Ali Khan and Maulana Ghulam Bhik Nairang were also there. Every community was represented in the Conference and this resolution was unanimously passed.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : Was I also there ?

Minister for Public Works : If you would have been there there would have been no unanimous decision.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : What was the date of that Conference ?

Premier : It was held in September, 1937. Now, Sir, here is the resolution that was unanimously passed by every community and if my honourable friend thinks that we should ratify that resolution, then he should come forward. I will ask my Sikh friends also to support it. But he dare not, he wants to utilise this pretext, the grievances of the Sikhs. So far as this vexed question of Jhatka is concerned, I have said on the floor of this House on several occasions that so far as Muslims only are concerned, no Muslim will object to Jhatka or any other method of slaughtering animal provided they are allowed to slaughter all animals at all places.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : You are mixing one thing with the other.

Premier : But you are mixing everything together. Sir, so far as the question of Jhatka is concerned,.....

Sardar Lal Singh : Sir, I want to ask a question from the Honourable the Premier.

Mr. Deputy Speaker : If he gives way the honourable member may ask his question.

Sardar Lal Singh : Sir, he has given way. If this is the position, is the Honourable Premier ready to give the same facilities to jhatka, as are given to halal in Government institutions, like schools, police lines and jails ?

Premier : My honourable friend is again trying to be too clever. It will be impossible for me to satisfy him. I have told him that where there is not an agreement or settlement, we adhere to the position which existed in 1936 or before. We do not want to alter that position.

Sardar Lal Singh : You go back to any date. You are slipping back.

Premier : It is not a question of slipping back. There are only 2 per cent urban Sikhs while in rural centres nobody eats meat. This question is brought forward merely to create mischief. Nobody worries about those Sikhs until my honourable friends think it necessary to use them and exploit them to rouse the masses when they have got nothing else to do. What is Jhatka after all ? How many times does my honourable friend eat Jhatka every day ?

Sardar Lal Singh : Will the Honourable Premier tell us on the floor of the House if there is a single Sikh Unionist member sitting there who says that he is not for Jhatka and he will not allow people.....

Premier : Who says that ? (*Interruptions.*) Who says that the Sikh is not for Jhatka ?

Sardar Sahib Sardar Santokh Singh : Is it not a fact that when this Jhatka question was raised on the floor of the House, all the Sikh members, with the exception of one or two, voted for it ?

Premier : All members voted except one member whom I did not allow to vote because he was a member of the Government and I said that he should remain neutral although he was equally as strong on the point as any other member.

Sardar Sahib Sardar Santokh Singh : Has any regard been paid to their united wishes ?

Premier : Has regard been paid to the united wish of all the communities ? I have pointed out the resolution and you have not got the courage to support it because you say that if you do so the Hindus will come and boycott you! Are you prepared to say so ? You can answer it to-morrow. If my honourable friend is prepared to do so he can answer the question to-morrow.

Sardar Sahib Sardar Santokh Singh : Is it not a fact that the question is not of slaughtering of animals but the question is slaughter of the same animal in two different ways ?

Premier : The question is of slaughter in two different ways but it has not begun to exist from to-day. It exists from time immemorial. That is the trouble. (*Cheers.*) So far as I am concerned, I made it quite clear that on behalf of the Muslims I am prepared to give a guarantee again in this House that they will not object to the Sikhs slaughtering their animals in any way they like, but will they also support the demand of the Muslims or not ? (*Hear, hear.*) I put that question to Sardar Santokh Singh and Sardar Lal Singh. It is a question of slaughter of animals.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : He is trying to be too clever.

Premier : Let me assure my honourable friends that in the Punjab there are only 10 per cent who eat meat, and those 10 per cent also do not eat meat daily, even in the cities.

Sardar Lal Singh : Let there be 1 per cent but they have equal right to.....

Premier : They will continue to get equal right so long as we are here. They are getting the same equal right which they had in 1935.

Sardar Lal Singh : Why not more ?

Premier : Exactly, but you want more right and others also want more right and you must give them more right. That is what I say. I crave indulgence of the Leader of the Opposition. I am prepared, in order to put this controversy out of the way once for all, to sponsor that resolution in this House if my honourable friends opposite say that they will be prepared to support it. If they do the whole question would be settled and this controversy will be settled once for all. You can then eat

[Premier.]

halal, jhatka or whatever you like and wherever you like but my honourable friends must give me an undertaking that they will support me. If they give me that undertaking.....

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : Will you kindly send that over ?

Premier : I will give you not only that but several other things which will help you, after my speech. It will help you to canvass opinion. The other point raised was that the Unionist party is trampling on the Sikh rights and one of the things mentioned was services. I am surprised at this height of unfairness, that of all people the present Government should be accused of not doing justice to the Sikhs with regard to services. My honourable friends must remember that it was in 1932 for the first time that I evolved a formula for the Irrigation Department. I was then the Revenue Member and I evolved the formula in which I gave 17 per cent posts to Sikhs. And who was it who challenged and criticised that statement ? My honourable friend's party sitting there. Rai Bahadur Lala Gopal Das is not here. I can quote his questions in the Council and his speeches in the Council where he strongly criticised me for reserving a proportion in the Irrigation Branch. That was in 1932. (*Interruption.*) The honourable member then happened to be on these benches and he endorsed it. The formula was tried in another department. Sir Fazl-i-Hussain tried to fix the formula of 40 per cent and he was considered a rabid communalist and everybody tried to abuse him in the press and from the platform with the result that he really became a hero and my honourable friend is bold to say that I might also become a hero. He may be sure that I do not want to become a hero. I want to remain a humble servant of the people and so long as I can conscientiously serve them, that will be my reward. I do not at all want to become a hero. As soon as this Government took office, 20 per cent was fixed for Sikhs with a population of 12.9 per cent. Is it fair to bring a charge against this Government that they have not given the real proportion in the matter of services ? Did you ever get 20 per cent before under the previous regime, under the previous Government ? You had your own Minister in the previous Government also. You had prior to that, members in the Government, you had before that Sikhs recognised as a separate entity since 1901. Did any Government or did any party or did any official give you that undertaking ? No. The present Unionist Government gave 20 per cent at the expense of Muslims. (*Loud applause.*) I may not be here for very long for this is a thankless task. I have done my duty to the best of my ability but this is the reward which I will get. Nobody who is honest or just will be swayed by my honourable friend's harangue of yesterday, but he wanted to get publicity in the press. The speeches will go in the gutter press, and the less responsible press of the province will publish special items with big headlines. They will go throughout the province and people will think that they have been done injustice. All these figures which I have given will probably find room in those papers which are responsible and fair and in others they will be suppressed with the result that false notions will be created in his community against me, against my Government, for doing something which we have not done and of which no honest or just person can accuse us. Similarly, he tried

to rouse the feelings of the Sikhs. In view of the statement of his if there is any trouble before God and man my friend will be challenged as responsible for it. And I say again that if anything happens, before God and man my conscience will be clear. So far as services are concerned we have laid down that proportion and we are strictly adhering to it. I have been accused by Muslims of being weak. I am prepared to bear that abuse. I have been accused by my honourable friend of being unjust to my community. I am prepared to accept that. I have been accused by Sikh communalists of not doing justice to Sikhs, but I tell you that before God and in my own conscience I am clear and before God and man I am prepared to stand before a just tribunal, and prove to them that we have strictly adhered to the formula, which we adopted in fairness, in justice for the minority here at the expense of the majority community (*loud applause*) and if I am not here to-morrow, I can assure you that this formula will be the first thing to go, and I think that it would not be unfair if it is removed because the community which has only a majority of 6 per cent cannot afford to give any weightage to any community. But it was I who persuaded them inside this House and outside this House to give that weightage to the 12·9 per cent community so that it got 20 per cent and to-day it is called unfairness and injustice. Is there any sense of fairness or justice in not applauding that decision now and in trying instead to penalise the present Government? Blame me because I have given 20 per cent! That is the honesty and that is the fairness of those people. I can assure you that it is not going to do any good to those people who try to throw dust in the eyes of different communities, because you can fool some of the people all the time, you can fool all the people some of the time but you cannot fool all the people all the time. When the history of the present regime is written, I would be forgotten, my honourable friend, Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang will be no more, and several other members will be no more and then I am sure the province will realise that we have been just and fair before God and man in order to raise the status of this province. (*Hear, hear.*)

Now, Sir, before I conclude, let me refer to two more points. My honourable friend during the course of his remarks said that it was the treachery of the British Government and the British Parliament that they decided to impose communal electorates in this constitution. He said that it is the treachery of the British Government which we must undo. What would my honourable friend say about the treachery of those who torpedoed the resolution with regard to joint electorates which was unanimously supported by the Muslims and which was unanimously supported by the Hindus, and which two-third Sikhs had signed in 1932? Is that treachery or not? What would my honourable friend say about the persons who got that resolution torpedoed? It is not the treachery of the British Government. It is the treachery of those people, who for their own sordid and selfish motives torpedoed that resolution, which, if it had been passed, would have changed the whole history of this province. It was the Punjab which gave the lead again and it took me full 18 months to canvass my Muslim friends inside this House and outside this House including that greatest Muslim, Sir Fazl-i-Husain, who has been no staunch supporter of separate electorates. I collected facts and figures of constituencies to satisfy him and I told him that it would be fair to the

[Premier.]

Muslims and it would be fair to other communities also and after that I got his signatures. He was not a member of our Council. He endorsed that formula and it was signed by every single Muslim and by every single Hindu including my honourable friend sitting opposite. I think 11 or 13, out of 17 Sikhs, also signed it. It was decided at a party that it should be ratified the very next day in the Council at Simla. We went to bed happily thinking that this controversy would be killed and the communal boggy would be laid once for all in this province and that the Punjab would really give a lead to the rest of India, so that the new constitution may not be impaired by this communal rupture. But what happened? A meeting was held, as my honourable friend will remember, at the Grand Hotel, that night and somebody went and persuaded the Sikhs to torpedo that resolution, and that somebody was not a Sikh and that somebody was a signatory of that resolution. So, I think it is useless to blame the British Government for this treachery. It was the treachery of one of us, who was responsible for these separate electorates being imposed in this constitution. I think my honourable friend has a short memory, for if he had not a short memory, he would not blame the British Government for the treachery, but rather that person who torpedoed that resolution.

He again, like a sympathetic friend of zamindars that he is on such occasions, asked, what is happening to all this money, saying that the Finance Minister has put down 10 lakhs as the income from the new taxation measures and that the Finance Minister has not said a word about remissions and that no pie is going to be spent on remission. He asked what the Government was going to do with that money, as it was giving no remissions. My honourable friend again forgets that in spite of the fact that we have not been able to find any suitable method of giving permanent relief, yet as I said, we will eventually find a method which would be equitable and which would give the greatest amount of relief within our resources to the smaller tenants and proprietors in the province. We are devising a formula. But he forgets that this Government during this period of four years, out of a paltry revenue of 11 crores a year, had given indirect remission of no less than 10 crores of rupees (*hear, hear*) and it goes to the zamindars. That of course he very conveniently ignored. I may tell him that so far as poor zamindars are concerned, we are giving them relief, and so far as the poor urban classes are concerned we are going to give them relief also as we have given relief under the legislation with regard to attachment of their houses in lieu of debts to those whose assets do not exceed five thousand rupees. We have not confined our measures or our attention to the rural areas alone. But naturally our first responsibility was towards those poor rural classes who had been ignored for not only years but for centuries. But it does not mean that we do not feel equally strongly for our poor brethren in cities and towns. We had passed legislation and everywhere we have tried to include the poorer classes of non-agriculturists whether they live in cities or in rural areas and to give them relief. That is the policy of the Government from the very first day, and we want to give relief to the poor and backward classes whether they belong to cities or to rural

areas, and that policy will be continued. When we meet next year, as I hope we will, if my honourable friend, the Finance Minister, is able to increase the revenues by a few extra lakhs or crores, I can assure the House that all that money will be spent in giving relief in a way which will give real benefit to the rural areas and also give benefit to the trade and commerce of this province. My honourable friend has not paid attention to it. I think it would be possible to devise a formula which will give relief to those people and also give impetus to the trade and commerce of the province. When that time comes, I hope my honourable friend will congratulate the Government on something novel which would be in the interest of rural and urban areas. (*Hear, hear.*)

My honourable friend also tried to impeach this Government for omissions and commissions. But I am afraid that he did not mention what this Government has done and what we are trying to do. Is it a crime to eradicate usury, is it a crime to eradicate dishonesty, is it a crime to eradicate that misery and distress under which these rural masses and poor classes are suffering? If so, I plead guilty and every member on these benches pleads guilty. If that is a crime, we are going to commit that crime so long as we are here. My honourable friend naturally feels strongly about all taxation measures because he has some vested interest. If he sits down calmly, quietly and dispassionately and considers all these measures, when he also knows that such taxation exists in other parts of the world he will find that they are necessary to maintain the equilibrium in trade and commerce. They were not equally vehemently opposed by vested interests inside and outside Parliament. (*Interruptions.*) My honourable friend will also concede that similar taxation measures in this very country were also passed by Congress Governments without vehement opposition like that met here. After all, it means that they will have to pay a little more out of their pockets, and my honourable friend, Sayed Amjad Ali, will also have to pay a little more from his pocket which will help other poor people. If they are honest and if they are God-fearing people and if Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang is a God-fearing man—and he should become one if he is not—then I am sure he will in his heart of hearts feel that this Government has done something, not much but something to ameliorate that misery and that distress of our poor brethren on whom we have been living so far. I hope my honourable friend will look at it from that point of view. Take another aspect. All these measures in the long run will prove a panacea for the dangerous malady, a glimpse of which is already seen on the horizon; a strong clash between the two classes. We want to reduce it, and these measures, which you curse, might in the long run prove a blessing in disguise. Apart from these considerations, if for doing so this Government is accused of doing something heinous, I plead guilty to it and I am going to continue and repeat that heinous offence in order to ameliorate the condition of our poorer brothers whether they are in the cities or in the rural areas. Before I sit down, let me make an appeal again to my friends on both sides. We have noticed during the past few weeks that the spirit of bitterness has been on the increase. Is it good for the province, is it good for any individual, is it good for any class, is it good for any trade or profession? and if it is merely with regard to the division of loaves and fishes or if it

[Premier.]

is merely with regard to the division of the land on which we live, let us all of us be realistic. The world is now almost in the melting pot. We see a blaze in the west and that blaze is coming nearer and nearer. We thought that we had averted that danger by our achievements in Africa, but possibly the recent developments in the Balkans may, God forbid, prove that our victories in Africa have been frustrated. Who knows what is going to happen in the Balkans? If that blaze crosses the Bosphorus then that menace will come to the very door of India. I ask my honourable friends how, if we are fighting with each other, will we be in a position to ward off the aggressor who is almost at our very door? On our eastern gateway there is also a sinister menace; developments are taking place and anything might happen. At the moment you are secure in the belief that our fighting forces are there and that forces from other parts of the commonwealth are also there. Above all the invincible British navy is protecting us. There is a strong naval base at Singapore. But that is not all. If that conflagration spreads simultaneously in the west and in the east, we would have to put our resources and our man power to the utmost strain. It is the duty of everyone, if we want to live as free citizens to see that that danger is averted. It is no use talking about Pakistan, about Hindu Raj, it is no use telling the Sikhs that they should fly at my throat because my friend Dr. Gokul Chand has not been able to oust me from the ministry and that they should fight with the Muslims, merely because they cannot get any other ground to keep the people together. I think we should ignore all these facts and like true Punjabis shake hands and forget all our differences, political or otherwise, and stand shoulder to shoulder, to show to the rest of India that we can avert that danger which awaits our country and that the Punjab will be the saviour not only of this province but of India as a whole, and that we live up to our trust and our responsibilities to our constituents and to our God. (*Applause.*)

Minister for Development (The Honourable Chaudhri Sir Chhotu Ram): Sir, after the most brilliant and lucid speech of the Premier I do not wish to take very long. He has cleared almost every point that was raised by our main critic, Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang. I will try to be as calm and conciliatory as I can possibly be. I will not indulge in any strong or harsh language even with regard to the personal attacks which were directed against me by my friend. I will first take up the criticism which was offered at the slow pace of progress in the Department of Industries. I admit that we have not been able to spend the amount of money which I would wish to spend on the development and expansion of industries; but within the scope of our financial resources we have done something which might have received a word of appreciation even from Dr. Sir Gokul Chand. After all, he will remember that in the budget of 1936-37 when he himself was in charge of the Department of Industries the provision made did not exceed 14 lakhs. Now it stands at 22 lakhs. Proportionately speaking the increase is sufficient although I concede that—if funds had been available—we should have spent a good deal more.

May I just invite the attention of the House to a few items which we have attempted in this department. I will take these items one by one. It was the Unionist Government which for the first time founded a special fund for research. The next point to which I wish to draw the attention of the House is the establishment of a Provincial Stores Purchase Department. Nobody can question the usefulness of this department. For the development and expansion of industries we succeeded by setting up the department. The third point to which I may draw the attention of honourable members is that we instituted a provincial survey district-wise and industry-wise, and I think I may say with some pride that the Punjab is the first province which has set the ball rolling in this respect. The fourth point to which I may draw the attention of the House is that it was the Unionist Government which, for the first time, invited a very eminent economist to prepare a plan for the industrial development of the province. We specially invited Professor K. T. Shah for preparing a tentative plan of industrial development for the Punjab. He went into the question very carefully and submitted a report which has been printed and will soon be engaging the attention of the Government. The fifth point to which I may draw the attention of the House is the setting up of a marketing organisation. That again is a method in which industries can be helped a good deal if we are able to run this marketing organisation on sound lines. We have made a beginning and so far as reports go I can assure the House that this organisation is doing very useful work. The sixth point to which I may draw attention of the House relates to some very good institutions where we are making marked progress in the matter of practical industrialisation of the province. For instance, we have set up two very good spinning, weaving and carding centres for wool in the province. One is situated at Panipat and the other at Kulu. At Panipat we are doing very useful work and are providing a regular and increased wage for the ordinary blanket makers. We have already supplied to the Army Department as many as 60,000 blankets and have received another order for 120,000 which we are trying to execute at present. If we succeed in meeting this demand we may be able to secure even larger orders.

Then, again, the Central Workshop at Amritsar was expanded and turned out most of our requirements for the Haveli Project. Similarly we have turned a number of our industrial schools into training centres for technicians who are required in large numbers for the army. Lastly, I may draw the attention of honourable members to a resolution which was passed by this House not very long ago on the subject of the attitude which the Government should adopt towards industries in the province. That resolution recommended that Government should, either by itself or in combination with private capitalists, start large scale industries in the province at suitable centres. These seven or eight points ought to be sufficient to convince the House that so far as our financial resources permitted Government has been doing all that it could, and I can assure all concerned that Government will keep a very watchful eye on all means of industrial progress and will do its level best to promote the cause of industries as eagerly as any other practical-minded person.

Now, I will just explain certain figures to which attention has been drawn by Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang in dealing with the question of

[Minister for Development.]

appointments. In doing so I may be allowed to draw the attention of the House to certain figures which supply the back ground against which we have had to work. Now, the honourable member was very kind to make references to scheduled castes and to Hindu zamindars. Will he kindly listen to the position which is occupied by Hindu zamindars? I am going to give figures which are based on the consolidated list which was corrected up to 1st January 1939. I submitted a note based on those figures to the Honourable Premier to draw his attention to the meagre representation of Hindu zamindars, and am quoting from that note. In the executive line of the Provincial Civil Service Hindu zamindars were 24 as against 58 non-zamindars. In the Judicial Branch of that service Hindu zamindars were 4 as against 71 non-zamindars. In the High Court clerical establishment there was just one Hindu zamindar as against 95 Hindu non-zamindars. The administration of the High Court was guided for a large number of years by a very eminent Hindu. During all that period the High Court was not able to find more than one zamindar to serve in the clerical establishment, and even that one zamindar happens to be the son of a jamadar of one of the High Court Judges. In the subordinate offices of the High Court there are only 71 Hindu zamindars as against 518 non-zamindars.

Now, in the Forest Department, out of 11 Hindu Extra Assistant Conservators of Forests there are only two zamindars. Even in the clerical establishment of that department there are only 17 zamindars as against 86 non-zamindars.

Coming to the Veterinary Department, in the provincial service, Class I, there is only one Hindu zamindar as against 5 non-zamindars. In the Subordinate Veterinary Service there are 19 Hindu zamindars as against 96 non-zamindars. In the clerical establishment there are five zamindars as against 26 non-zamindars.

Now, let us come to the Revenue Department. Among Tahsildars, there are 18 zamindars as against 27 non-zamindars. There are 21 Hindu zamindars among naib-tahsildars as against 42 non-zamindars. Coming to subordinate staff, among the kanungoes, there are only 84 Hindu zamindars as against 196 non-zamindars. Among patwaris there are only 1,158 Hindu zamindars as against 2,679 non-zamindars.

In the Irrigation Department amongst zilladars there are 20 Hindu zamindars as against 39 non-zamindars. Among zaildar candidates there are 6 zamindars as against 14 non-zamindars. Among irrigation patwaris there are only 219 zamindars as against 1,154 non-zamindars.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : How many other zamindars ?

Minister for Development : I have not got those figures with me at present. (Laughter.) Evidently my honourable friend is in a jovial mood.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : You are going on wrong lines.

Minister for Development : Among munshis there are only 48 zamindars as against 215 non-zamindars. With this back ground present to my mind, on one occasion I reserved two posts of rangers which fell

to the Hindu share for zamindars. Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang felt very much annoyed at it and asked why I had reserved the entire share of the Hindus to agriculturists. I replied that Hindu and Sikh zamindars were under-represented while the non-zamindars were already over-represented in that branch and, that for that reason I reserved the entire share of Hindus and Sikhs for zamindars.

Now my friend says, why do you not speak of other zamindars?

I think he is right in putting that question. The zamindar

6 p.m.

share has gone mostly to Muslims which helps to conceal the inadequate representation of Hindu and Sikh zamindars. It is true that among Muslims the boot is on the other leg. Among Hindus it is the Hindu zamindar who has suffered and is very meagrely represented. Among Muslims it is the other way about. There among most branches non-agriculturists are not getting their proper share while agriculturists are getting more than their share. But in order to set those inequalities right I have started in my own departments to reserve a share for non-agriculturist Muslims, just as along Hindus I have been reserving a large share for Hindu zamindars, and among Sikhs a large share for Sikh zamindars. I have begun to reserve out of the Muslim share—a reasonable number of vacancies for non-agriculturists. I am not unaware of this aspect of this question, I follow these figures with great care and attention.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : So far as your departments are concerned, Hindu non-agriculturists should wash their hands.

Minister for Development : I have not said that, although in strict justice that could be done for a number of years.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : They should open shops or do something else instead of knocking at the door of Government for jobs.

Minister : Does my honourable friend think that Jats and Rajputs and Ahirs and Gujars and Sainis are not Hindus? Have they no right to have a place in the sun? What grievance can my friend have, if I reserve a descent share for Hindu zamindars? Hindus as such do not suffer. It is only non-zamindar Hindus who suffer some set-back. But they have been scoring all along the line so far. Now it is the turn of Hindu zamindars, and there is no reason why they should not have a little more than their share.

I would also draw the attention of Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang to the share of Muslims as against Hindus in certain departments. He was very critical of the Department of Agriculture. But he did not say a word about the Department of Co-operation.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : I did.

Minister : But not about the cadres where non-Muslims are over-represented. Not a word. In the Department of Co-operation there is only one Muslim Deputy Registrar who is an I. C. S. Officer. But an I. C. S. Deputy Registrar may be a European, or a Hindu or a Muslim. He is there because he is an I. C. S. Officer. Of course I had known for some time that Muslims were entirely unrepresented in that cadre. Therefore I selected an I. C. S. Officer who also happens to be a Muslim. With the exception of that solitary gentleman there is not one among

[Minister for Development.]

the Deputy Registrars who is a Muslim. Dr. Gokul Chand Narang never made any reference to this particular aspect of the Co-operative Department. He ran on to the Department of Agriculture.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : I did not refer to the Deputy Registrars, but I referred to Assistant Registrars, technical officers and others. I referred to their cadres in the Co-operative Department, but probably you did not take down notes. I can give you figures now, if you like.

Minister for Development : There have been some changes since. There were certainly 13 Muslims as against 7 Hindus and 4 Sikhs at one time.

In the Veterinary Department, there is one Muslim who is an Assistant Superintendent. Among Superintendents there are 3 Muslims, 4 Hindus, no Sikh, and 1 European. Among Deputy Superintendents, there are 8 Muslims, 6 Hindus and 8 Sikhs.

Now I will revert to the Co-operative Department. It is true that Doctor Sahib had made a reference to Industrial Sub-Inspectors in the Co-operative Department, because it was only there that he could find reasonable scope for criticism. There Muslims happened to be represented to the extent of 72·8 per cent. He said, what about Industrial Sub-Inspectors? He thought that there was no answer to that charge. But he did not know that I had already done something to mitigate that disproportion. There were six vacancies. I gave two to Muslims two to Hindus and two to Sikhs. Then again, Muslims were slightly over-represented in the cadre of Inspectors. The last batch consisted of 10 vacancies. I gave 4 posts to Muslims, 3 to Hindus and 3 to Sikhs. My friend said, what about non-agriculturists? I have made a special proposal for the creation of a post of Assistant Registrar for Co-operative Marketing which I am going to reserve for a Hindu non-agriculturist. When the demand has been passed by this House, I hope to be able to secure a really good non-agriculturist for that post, not because of any criticism in the Press, not because of any criticism by Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang or of any of his friends here, but because of the special nature of the duties connected with that post. A Hindu non-agriculturist will be best fitted for that particular job. I left a Sikh non-agriculturist out of account because Sikhs are already over-represented among Assistant Registrars. Therefore it cannot be said that I am ignoring non-agriculturists altogether. (*An honourable member :* A Greek gift.) I have my likes and dislikes and prejudices, some of them, perhaps strong. For instance, in the rural credit line I will not allow a non-agriculturist to come in. In the marketing section of the Co-operative movement or any other section, such as, the industrial section, I will allow a very reasonable share, even a generous share to non-agriculturists.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang had also referred to Debt Conciliation Boards, and like himself, while he made a reference to the number of Muslim Chairmen of these boards he did not say a word about the number of other members of these boards. It is true that out of the 28 Chairmen of these boards, 20 happen to be Muslims and there are only 4 Hindus and 4 Sikhs. But what about the number of members of these boards?

There are 39 Muslims, 33 Hindus and, I believe, 12 Sikhs. There are 45 non-Muslims against 39 Muslims.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : How many non-agriculturists ?

Minister for Development : How many non-agriculturists ? Without scrutinising figures he puts that question in the belief that the representation of non-agriculturists must be hopelessly small. Does he know that members of these boards are not according to the normal communal formula ? They are appointed as representing debtor and creditor classes. There is not a single board on which there is not a representative of non-agriculturist or money-lending interests. There is just one board in the Sheikhpura district where I appointed a gentleman who belongs to a statutory agricultural tribe as chairman of the board and as a representative of money-lending interests.

Rai Bahadur Mukand Lal Puri : Is he ?

Minister : My honourable friend will, perhaps, be surprised to hear that he was recommended by half a dozen non-agriculturists probably including Rai Bahadur Mukand Lal Puri himself.

Rai Bahadur Mukand Lal Puri : There are decent people among agriculturists also and I thought perhaps that he was a representative of the agriculturists.

Minister : Anyway there are as many as 28 representatives of money-lending interests on these boards. Perhaps my friends thought that there were only 2 or 3. I admit that appointments to these boards are not made on a communal basis, but on a class basis. Therefore, with the exception of one instance for which I have given a good enough explanation, I have been able to appoint one non-agriculturist as representing money-lending interests on each of these boards.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : Creditors' representatives to be always in a minority.

Minister : Does my honourable friend mean to suggest that even on these boards constituted by Chhotu Ram non-agriculturists should be in a majority ? (*Laughter.*)

Rai Bahadur Mukand Lal Puri : I am really sorry.

Minister : I cannot swallow that.

Rai Bahadur Mukand Lal Puri : How can partisans be judges in their own cause ?

Minister : Does Mr. Puri prefer to have banias to be judges in their own cause ?

Rai Bahadur Mukand Lal Puri : Not at all. Disinterested and impartial persons should only be appointed and not persons belonging to a class.

Minister : If banias can be tolerated as judges in their own cause, why not zamindars ?

Rai Bahadur Mukand Lal Puri : Quality.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : The Honourable Minister said, 'how can they expect that in the appointments made by Chaudhri Chhotu

[Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang.]

Ram there would be anywhere a majority of money-lenders ? We thought that even Chaudhri Sir Chhotu Ram might sometimes deviate into fairness.

Minister for Development : We are prepared to practise fairness. But Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang is determined never, never to deviate into sense.

Another criticism made by Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang was that members of these boards were dishonest, corrupt, ignorant and could not administer justice properly. He is entirely wrong and unfair as ever. A similar complaint was made in another quarter by Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang and people of his way of thinking. But when we confronted those quarters with a list of members and their qualifications they felt rather small. Except in very few cases where local officers have insisted upon men of moderate education being appointed, on other cogent grounds I have insisted in every single instance that these people should have a very good education and preferably some knowledge of law either as lawyers or as judicial officers, and wherever a man of moderate educational qualifications has been appointed, it has been done at the instance of local officers by whose recommendations Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang and his friends have learnt to lay a good deal of store.

Pir Akbar Ali (Fazilka, Muhammadan, Rural) (*Urdu*): Sir, I think I had better deviate from the usual practice of congratulating the Honourable Finance Minister on his brilliant achievement in presenting a surplus Budget in such a lucid manner. These are things which even the opposition had to admit and admire, and as the Arabic saying goes :

الفضل ما شهدت به الأعداء

(Greatness is that which is acknowledged even by one's opponents). Moreover the Honourable Minister does not stand in need of any encomiums or tributes from us. I would, therefore, directly revert to a few points to which I wish to draw the attention of the Government.

First of all the consolidation of holdings is subject to the control of two departments, viz., Co-operative and Revenue. There is a general complaint that the Revenue files are spoiled by the Co-operative Department, and now the appointment of a new officer has been found necessary in order to set things aright. My submission is that if this work is entrusted to the Revenue Department alone there will be no such trouble in future. Another point in this connection is that the work of Revenue patwaris has increased to a very great extent owing to election and Assembly question while the Irrigation patwaris have much less work as compared with them. The Revenue patwari has to prepare the electoral roll of Assembly and local bodies and has to do many other multifarious duties. I would, therefore, request that if this work is to be entrusted to the former they must get some allowance.

Now I turn to the working of the Special Enquiry Agency in connection with corruption. My submission is that this agency has so far reserved all its attention to higher officials while the smaller fry are playing the same havoc with the poor ignorant people. The Government should see that something is done to purge the lower officials of this evil.

After these general remarks let me take the case of my own district, Ferozepore. The volume containing the New Expenditure includes the following remarks about this district :

The Ferozepore district is without exception the most criminal in the province. During the last ten years (1930—1939 inclusive) the total number of cases reported (27,238), represented 1/8th of the provincial total. The criminal state of affairs is to be ascribed to the turbulent and lawless nature of the inhabitants, who consist largely of Jat Sikhs, and to the fact that the district touches no less than seven Indian States, three of which practically divide it into halves. It is thus liable to incursions by gangs of dangerous criminals from the States which in turn afford a refuge for the local criminals.

Then it has been said—

Past experience has shown that the normal strength of the Police force of the Ferozepore district is quite inadequate to meet the actual requirements of this notoriously criminal district.

Sir, further on the remedy for the eradication of crime has been suggested that the police staff should be increased by 71 persons. I believe, this is no remedy and I may point out to the Minister in charge that the crime has increased since this staff has been appointed in the Ferozepore district and with regard to this it has been given on page 96 that three years ago the number of murders was 74, last year the number rose to 115 and this year, you will be surprised to know that 148 murders are reported to have been committed in that ilaga. Does it not show that in spite of the additional staff of police the crime has been on the increase during the last years. I am perfectly confident and I think my honourable friends who see things in their true perspective would bear me out in saying that this remedy can never prove effective and fruitful unless a net of metalled roads is spread in the Ferozepore district and every police station is supplied with a telephone. Then it has been admitted by the Government that the Ferozepore district touches no less than 7 Indian States, and there are even two states situated within that district and local criminals generally find refuge in these neighbouring states. I am, however, constrained to remark that there is at present no metalled road connecting Ferozepore with Fazilka. I should, therefore, request the Government to take speedy action in redressing this grievance of the people and by doing so, I am perfectly confident as I have already submitted that the Government would be able to check crime in that district. Moreover it seems to be most reasonable that Fazilka being a big market of wool must be connected with the headquarters. Then, Sir, Jalalabad is on the same Fazilka-Ferozepore Road and there is a hospital at Jalalabad and therefore it is an additional ground for metalling Ferozepore-Fazilka Road. I may also point out that there is no *pacca* road from Fazilka to Malot, a distance of 30 miles. The jurisdiction of the Fazilka police station extends up to 24 miles on that road. It is, therefore, very necessary in the interests of the people of the district that a *pacca* road should be made between Fazilka and Malot. My second point is that Lambi police station came into existence in 1928 and no building for the police station has been provided there so far. And similarly there is no police station building at Ferozepore Cantonment though one lakh soldiers have arrived in the Cantonment very recently and how ridiculous it appears to be that there is no police station building there for such a big police station ! I, therefore, submit that a

[Pir Akbar Ali.]

suitable police station building should be provided at Cantonment. And as it is a well-known fact that in Moga and Fazilka population has much increased and with this reason in view also police force should be increased in these two places to combat the crime in those places. If the Government really desires that peaceful conditions should prevail in the district, when the neighbouring states afford a refuge for the local criminals which I do not doubt myself, they ought to understand that addition of police force by 71 persons only in the whole district will not produce favourable results at all, while police force is quite inadequate at no less than three important places of the district, namely, Fazilka, Moga and Ferozepore Cantonment. Under these circumstances, when extra armies are being received at Cantonment where theft of rifle and pistol is already so rife that it is to be dealt with effectively, how far can the Government be justified in expecting us to co-operate with them in eradicating crime from that district? May I, therefore, be permitted to say that the fault does not lie with us but as a matter of fact the Government itself is in fault so far as this matter is concerned? Let me once again urge upon the Government to do the needful at once, and if the Government do not pay heed to what I have said, I am afraid the things will take worse form in that ilaqa.

Another thing that I want to point out is with regard to Moga Hospital in which not only local patients are being treated but I must tell you that patients from every corner of India come to that hospital for treatment and so thousands of rupees are naturally spent on the hospital equipment. But the grant given by the Government to that hospital amounts to Rs. 4,380 only, which is a very meagre amount of money as compared with the expenditure of the hospital which, as I have submitted, amounts to several thousands of rupees and is borne by the District Board, Ferozepore. My submission, therefore, is that all the expenses of the Moga Hospital should be borne by the Government themselves and if not so, they ought to manage somehow or other to provide a considerably big grant to that hospital which is a centre of the ailing people from all over India.

Moreover there is a Civil Dispensary at Jalalabad and all its expenditure including the pay of the doctor and expenditure of medicines is borne by the Mamdot Estate. The building also belongs to the Mamdot Estate. It has also gained fame from the last year and many patients flock to it. Government should give suitable grant to this dispensary also.

Let me also point out some other requirements of this 'notoriously criminal district' as called by the Government and mainly they are no less than Industry and Education which actually, as I think, deserve the Government's attention so that after the eradication of crime the district should prosper, I would say, in a gentlemanly manner. No doubt there are colleges and schools at Ferozepore but they are not worth their name. What I want is that education should be imparted in the true sense of the word and not only graduates should be manufactured every year. And so far as female education is concerned I submit that no reasonable arrangement has been made in the district, as the existing Girls School is situated at a distance of no less than a mile or so from the

Ferozepore city the girls students are not forthcoming in a large number and this can be remedied in one way and that is this. If the Industrial School is shifted to the building of Girls School and the Girls School is shifted to the building of the Industrial School which is situated in the city, this question can be solved. (*Cheers.*)

Now, Sir, I want to say a word in connection with the Protection of Wild Animals and Birds Act. I would like to point out that the income is one lakh of rupees and expenditure is 48 thousands and in addition Rs. 8,000 more are provided for Northern India Animals.

Another submission that I want to make is that buildings belonging to the District Board are in a very bad condition. Some of them were built about 50 years ago. Most of the buildings of District Board Schools are in a dilapidated condition. I am, therefore, afraid that these buildings will collapse very soon if the Government will not provide a large amount of money for their repairs and maintenance. I submit that the grant of 25 thousand rupees as provided in the New Expenditure, seems to be insufficient for repairs of these worn out and rotten buildings. The Government should, therefore, increase these grants particularly. Then, Sir, it has been proposed by the present Government to rectangulate about 410 acres of land at a cost of Rs. 20 per acre as it has been given on page 176 of the New Expenditure. I submit that this amount of money has been extravagantly provided for this purpose. I do not think that each acre will cost Rs. 20. The lines which I want to refer read thus :

It is proposed to rectangulate the Stables Block, comprising of about 410 acres of irrigated land at the Government Cattle Farm, Hissar, at a cost of Rs. 20 per acre, or at a total cost of Rs. 8,190 spread over a period of 3 years.

Mr. Deputy Speaker : The honourable member's time is up.

Pir Akbar Ali : One word more and I have done. What I mean to say is—

Mr. Deputy Speaker : The honourable member's time is up.

Rai Bahadur Lala Sohan Lal (North Punjab, Non-Union, Labour) (*Urdu*) : Sir, before I offer my comments on the budget of the Punjab Government for the year 1941-42, which was presented to this House, a few days ago, I would like to extend my heartiest congratulations to the Honourable Sir Manohar Lal for so ably husbanding the finances of the province and compiling the budget as well as on his lucid review of the financial position of the province and frank expression of his views. I think Punjab is very fortunate in having the services of such an eminent Economist as the Honourable Finance Minister whose outstanding ability and acumen in financial matters are undisputed. In fact his stewardship of the finances of the province is a matter of great pride and satisfaction to one and all, as he fully understands the intricacies of his art. (*Hear, hear.*) I am sure, he would pay due attention to my comments which I am going to offer in regard to the budget. I think, being custodian of the provincial finances, it is his imperative duty to see that not a single pie of the Exchequer is wasted. But as the time at my disposal is very short, I would not go into the details. When demands for grants come under discussion, I shall avail of that opportunity for making an elaborate and a comprehensive speech. Now I would only content myself with making a few observations regarding the Hydro-Electric

[B. B. Lala Sohan Lal.]

Department. The Honourable Minister for Public Works while defending this department, laid stress on three points. Firstly that this white elephant was a legacy and they had to make the best use of it. Now let me first examine what best he has made out of it. When he assumed charge of the department, an amount to the tune of Rs. 7,89,47,525 had already been expended on this scheme and during the past four years, according to the budget figures, he spent about Rs. 1,68,34,017 as capital outlay. May I ask if there has been any increase in the net income as a result of this huge expenditure during the span of past four years? What we find is that the amount invested in this scheme has risen from 7½ crores to 9½ crores of rupees during his tenure of office, but this investment has yielded no returns. I would like to apprise the House how this deficit or loss grew enormously from year to year. In 1937-38, that is, when he took the reins of his office, Hydro-Electric Department sustained a loss of Rs. 8,36,710. After one year's working, that is, in 1938-39 the loss rose to Rs. 11,16,497, and in 1939-40 it amounted to Rs. 16,62,967. And on the top of it the loss for 1940-41 shows that the annual loss comes to the colossal figure of Rs. 21,01,750. Now the honourable members can fully realise the extent of loss if we include the sum of Rs. 1½ crores, which was invested and may be considered as lost. Then, as you are aware, Sir, the Government passed more than one taxation measures in order to raise additional money. I am of the opinion that if they had made endeavours to save this huge sum of about Rs. 2 crores from being wasted, no necessity for these taxation measures would have arisen. I have no mind to go into the details of these Acts but what I want to drive at is that the failure of the Government to manage the affairs of this department efficiently and economically, necessitated the burdening of the people with new taxes.

Then I take strong exception to Government's taking over the local distribution of the electric energy which they have done with a view to meet the loss incurred in connection with the running expenses. But in spite of this the results are not favourable. In the whole of India almost all the electricity companies are doing business of supply of electric energy at some profit, but here the case is quite the reverse. (*Interruptions.*) The Honourable Minister is talking of accounting system. I know he is referring to a method of depreciation which is favourable to him but the same cannot stand the test of the expert opinion which I would like to quote in support of my contention. Well, Sir, I was talking of local distribution of electric energy. (*Persistent interruptions from the Ministerial benches.*) My honourable friend Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan is getting unnecessarily restive. He has not the courage to face facts. He says sneeringly that this matter to which I am referring should be taken as read. I may tell him that I am fully conversant with this subject and he is conveying his ignorance of the matter by interrupting me. Well, Sir, I was going to submit that in the Administration Report of 1939-40 the year 1938-39 the loss stood at Rs. 39,450 on the local distribution but the very next year it has shot up to Rs. 1,64,000. I reserve criticism to some other occasion but suffice it to say that this should serve as an eye-opener to the Government and should not be

taken as a matter to be laughed at by my honourable friends on my left. I may mention here that if that state of affairs had prevailed in a public limited company the Directors—

Mr. Deputy Speaker : The honourable member's time is over.

Rai Bahadur Lala Sohan Lal : Very well, Sir, I resume my seat.

Shaikh Karamat Ali (Nankana Sahib, Muhammadan, Rural) (Urdu): Sir, I have been called upon to speak now when almost all the big guns have had their turn and it has become very difficult to say anything at this stage of the discussion. I will, however, try to say what I feel about the budget. As a matter of fact the real standard of judging the policy of a Government is the study of its budget, and the Unionist Government's four budgets were already there to show what the Unionist Government stood for. Now it is the fifth budget that this Government has presented before this House, and it will serve as an eye-opener to all the critics of the present regime. It is a surplus budget and a very sound budget from all points of view. Even the deficit of 1938-39 and 1939-40 would appear to be a surplus if the large sum transferred to the Special Development Fund be kept in view, and if the generous relief afforded to the famine-stricken area is taken into account. As a matter of fact the Unionist Government was put to a very hard test by nature in its very first year of coming to office. Hailstorms were followed by a severe famine to test the noble minds of the Unionists as the chosen people of God have always been tested in this world and I am glad to say that this party has given a good account of itself. (*Hear, hear.*) It has remained unshaken by the misfortunes and calamities which were really beyond human control. At the top of all this, has come the deadly war of democracy and Hitlerism. But the Punjab Government has not faltered. It is up and doing its duty. The finances of this province are in the able hands of the Honourable Sir Manohar Lal who is undoubtedly one of the most brilliant Finance Ministers of India. But it is a pity that my honourable friend Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang has shut his eyes to the beauties of this budget and has gone astray in displaying his own rabid communalism under the cloak of a nationalist inasmuch as he has tried to charge the present Government of communalism. May I respectfully ask him if he has forgotten the black days of his own regime when as a Minister he had shut the doors of employment to all communities except his own and when a Muslim was not even allowed to go near him? His sermon on communal harmony reminds me of the proverb of 'quoting scriptures.'

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : Sir, where has your meticulous relevancy gone?

Mr. Deputy Speaker : The honourable member is requested not to be personal.

Shaikh Karamat Ali : Sir, I am not being personal. I am replying to the criticism of my honourable friend over there who has all along been a rank communalist and has now adopted the role of a preacher of communal harmony. His Executive Officers Act is fresh in our memory. He had employed his personal friends as Executive Officers and used to treat the Muslims with great contempt.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : It is wrong ; it is a lie.

Shaikh Karamat Ali : Sir, the history of the Punjab fails to produce a parallel to his poisonous communalism. When he was in charge of the Hydro-Electric Department, he trampled under foot the rights of the majority community in a most relentless manner. But he has now come in the garb of a preacher. May I remind him of a Persian proverb which runs as under :—

از پیشانی من است کوا راغبی کند

How can my honourable friend hold his neck high and impeach others when he himself is the worst communalist in the whole of the Punjab. The Honourable Premier has exposed false character of the charges of Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang by giving correct facts and figures. After seeing these facts and figures no honest person will ever doubt the *bona fides* of the Honourable Premier and his Government. I am afraid the learned Doctor has exposed his own communalism in bringing forward false charges against the Unionist Government. On the other hand, if he had paid a tribute to the just and fair policy of the Honourable Premier, I am sure my honourable friend Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang would have proved a real friend of the Punjabis. But he has done no service even to the communities whom he tried to defend. The real service would have been to tell them the correct facts and figures.

Coming to the budget itself, I may inform my honourable friend Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang that it is not war that follows finance. It is the finance that follows the policy of war. So looking from this point of view my honourable friend should have requested the Government to postpone the coming general elections to the Punjab Assembly, and I take this opportunity to request the Honourable Premier to very kindly consider this desire of the House. It would be in the interest of the province itself to prolong the life of the present Legislative Assembly of the Punjab, so that the war-efforts of the Government may not receive any set back. All other considerations should be subordinated to the successful prosecution of the war.

Mr. Deputy Speaker : The honourable member's time is over.

Finance Minister (The Honourable Sir Manohar Lal) : Sir, the general discussion on the budget that we have had during the two days has proceeded on lines that obviously make it difficult for a Finance Minister as such to take any very useful part in it. But there are one or two matters to which I may be permitted to refer. Very kind words have been said about the way in which the Finance Department completed the necessary basis for this budget and in fact the budget. This I fully appreciate. Very generous words have been said about me also, particularly, by the Honourable Premier, and I am deeply thankful for those words. This appreciation is of the utmost gratification to me. While doing so, I must try to remove a misapprehension which weighs with some minds about the way in which the budget is produced. Several members think that we in the Finance Department are sitting down with a number

of ledgers, and a series of clerks put them together, and therefrom a volume emerges mechanically, and on that volume the Secretary brings to bear his mind and introduces his explanatory memorandum, and then comes the Minister at the end, who attempts some sort of summary of what the Finance Secretary has done. That is not how the things happen at all. The annual budget, as it is presented to this House, is a document in which all the Government Departments share and actively share throughout the year. Therefore it is that value is attached to it as an embodiment or expression of the activities of the whole Government during the year and an expression of what the Government proposes to do during the next year. It is an expression of the complete unison in which the members of the Government function throughout the course of the year and as they think of the year to come, because if that were not so, no budget would be produced merely because some clerks in the Finance Department have made certain entries. In fact they do not keep any accounts because that is done by the Accountant-General. The essential virtue of the budget lies in the fact that the budget is essentially an expression of the policy of the Government acting together. That is, at any rate, how I see the budget and that certainly is the reason of the success or otherwise of the budget. If we were to work without close touch with one another, I do not know what would happen? (*Premier:* You would have met the same fate as that of Sind.) I do not know how exactly budgets are prepared by other provinces. It is not a matter of figures as they are just discovered to be at the end of any year. The budget, in fact, is an expression of the policy of the Government. I trust that that idea will find acceptance with the honourable members when viewing this matter.

I do not wish to enlarge on many things, but I would refer to one subject where a great deal has been said on the basis of my own words on important occasions in other places, referring in particular to the opinion which I expressed on the subject of improvement of the industrialisation of this country, words which are by now well-known and to every single syllable of which I adhere firmly. But because I adhere to these things I am firmly of the opinion that India's economic salvation, and for the matter of that, political salvation cannot be achieved unless this country makes a distinct advance in the matter of industries, and not merely ordinary industries, but particularly, as I have emphasised during the past year or so, heavy industries, chemical industry, metallurgical industry, machine-making industry, otherwise we would have no place on the map of the world. To that view I adhere, but this view, I am perfectly confident, is also the view of our Government as a whole, and that is the view against which nothing in this budget appears to the contrary. In fact, I made a passing reference in the course of my budget speech to the degree of emphasis in the bold policy of this Assembly in endorsing a resolution to advance the cause of industries, even if it should involve a heavy amount. It will be within your recollection that not many days ago a resolution for the support of industries, when many speeches were made, was adopted by this House. I referred to that in my speech, but no reference has been made during this discussion whatsoever to the resolution. I do not wish to enlarge on this matter because I have no time. May I say that since the last war, India has made a very definite move

[Minister for Finance.]

forward in the matter of our industries. I do not say that it satisfies me and I should like indeed to go much further—and we all want indeed to go much further,—because we want an economic equilibrium to be established, we want agriculture, we want industries and we want complete economical life, if we really wish to go forward. But the fact is—and we must not shut our eyes to the fact—that since the last war definite steps forward have been taken. I will put it in a nutshell. Our imports of textiles, iron and steel since 1918 have been halved. Import of woollen goods and glassware has been substantially reduced, imports of sugar and matches reduced to zero; sugar, where the import used to be 18 crores is now 45½ lakhs, paper industry, where our produce used to be worth only 18 lakhs, to-day stands at the substantial figure of 2½ crores; sugar, where we stand at zero, now we produce 22 million cwts. in this country. I do not wish to suggest that I am satisfied with our industrial position in its entirety, but what I do feel is that there is yet a real possibility, nay necessity of advance, a substantial advance, in the matter of industries in this country and therefore we ought to be able to make further progress. I will just give one or two figures because it has been the day of figures. The capital of joint-stock companies, that stood about the year 1920 at 76 crores in India, stands to-day at 297 crores, that is, exactly 4 times now and in sugar alone, with which the speakers on that side ought to be very familiar, the capital of those companies has gone up from 76 lakhs to 9½ crores, and in cotton mills has risen from 15½ to 82 crores. These are the figures that should put hope into us. If we are only to apply our minds properly—and it is not a thing on which I can speak at great length towards the end of my time—we can achieve a great deal. I think there is very little doubt that if all of us who can help in this matter, and I am one of those—perhaps the Honourable Premier would permit me to say so—who think that the Provincial Government should go rather slowly because we are too poor to make big experiments—

Mr. Deputy Speaker : Will the honourable members like to sit for a few minutes more to hear the Honourable Finance Minister? (Voices : Yes.)

Finance Minister : What I wish to bring out most clearly is this

7 p.m.

that so far as I am concerned and so far as I can read the minds of my colleagues, we are firmly convinced that India must progress in the matter of her industries if India is to make any progress at all. That is the proposition to which no one can demur in the least. I was on the point of saying when the query was made, that I also happen to be a conservative, careful, calculating economist, who after careful thinking based on facts, is of the opinion that the scope for a provincial Government in taking any big lead in the matter of industries is exceedingly limited, and when the demand for industries comes it will be possible for the Minister in charge to show that the record of the Punjab Government is not anything of which we need in the least measure be ashamed. In fact what has happened in the Punjab is a matter of considerable pride. Now if this is what has happened in the short period of 18 or 20 years since 1920 when the last war came to an end, and since when we have also passed through a period of most terrific depression that the economic world has known during any corresponding period, this is the progress which has been achieved

in India, and the Punjab share in it has not been inconsiderable. India is making further efforts, may be under the impulse of the war, and there is no reason for us to be despondent if we make use of our opportunities, all of us. It is not a matter merely for any particular provincial government. The scope of the activity of a provincial government comparatively is small and we want to mobilise bigger factors like the trade policy of the country and the general possibility of borrowing during the period of war when borrowing is not easy; and when we have to put our shoulders to the wheel for developing the heavy industries which the war imposes on us, the necessity becomes obvious to the meanest mind. The necessity is so great that government must bend to it even if they were inclined otherwise. Our government is not one that will hesitate in the least measure in developing any line of national activity which will lead to success in this war. This, if I may be permitted to say, is the declared policy of this Government, to help and organise industries in the highest measure. It cannot be said that the expenditure and energy being given to other beneficent activities could or should be diverted. But I am sure if there are any definite proposals forthcoming any concrete proposals for industry, if it is made clear to us that any particular industry requires particular type of help which the Punjab Government can give, it will be certainly forthcoming (*hear, hear*). Now one other thing I will say. It was said particularly addressing our friends on this side, that whatever the taxation which the Punjab Government might impose, is not going to their relief. Can that be so? So far as this humble budget for this year is concerned, the total money we expect from additional taxation is only 10 lakhs. You will see that the total increase in our financial position during this period is about 66 lakhs. We have distributed 51 lakhs out of 66 lakhs to departments which are directly beneficent, the rest also goes into other departments like roads which are also distinctly beneficent in character. There is also the development fund which is directed to improve the life of our countryside. I might say one word more in direct reference to the discussion that has taken place. A very striking feature of this year's budget is the provision of a lakh of rupees for communal harmony. Nobody can say that I, your Finance Minister, go about preaching strife and trouble. It has not been possible to urge any such attack from the other side. Whatever little tours I undertake do not give rise to any trouble in this province. When you are talking of communal matters we might have recognised that the Punjab Government has made a provision for communal harmony, a provision which has no parallel in any other budget in this country and it is up to us to make the best use of.....

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang: This can be given to Sir Chhotu Ram to preach communal harmony. (*Interruptions.*)

Minister for Finance: It is up to us to build upon this aspect of our national life, an aspect of the Punjab life which lies expressed, so far as this government is concerned, in a provision of this character to which no reference was made in the course of the criticism of the budget of the Punjab. (*Applause.*)

The Assembly then adjourned till 12 noon on Monday, the 10th March, 1941.

1911

1911年1月1日
1911年1月1日
1911年1月1日

1911年1月1日

1911年1月1日

1911年1月1日



1911年1月1日

1911年1月1日

1911

PUNJAB LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

SEVENTH SESSION OF THE FIRST PUNJAB LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

Monday, 10th March, 1941.

The Assembly met in the Assembly Chamber at 12 noon of the clock. Mr. Speaker in the Chair.

STARRED QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

EXTENSIONS IN SERVICE TO MINISTERIAL STAFF OF PUNJAB CIVIL SECRETARIAT.

***7608. Makhdumzada Haji Sayed Muhammad Wilayat Husain Jeelani :** Will the Honourable Premier be pleased to state how many persons in the ministerial staff of the Punjab Civil Secretariat offices have been given extension in service during the last three years together with the reasons for granting such extensions in each case?

Parliamentary Private Secretary (Syed Amjad Ali Shah) : According to Fundamental Rule 56 (b) a ministerial servant recruited before 1st April, 1938, may be retired after attaining the age of 55 years, but should ordinarily be retained in service, if he continues efficient, up to the age of 60. No extensions beyond the age of 60 have been given in the Punjab Civil Secretariat during the last three years, but two men, between the ages of 55 and 57 years have, in accordance with Fundamental Rule 56 (b), been retained in service as they have satisfied the Head of the Office regarding their continued efficiency.

RECRUITMENT OF FIELD QANUNGOS IN JULLUNDUR DISTRICT.

***7603. Mian Abdul Rah :** Will the Honourable Minister of Revenue be pleased to state—

(a) whether it is a fact that according to the Land Record Manual, Chapter 2, paragraph (b) and sentence 2, 66 per cent recruitment of candidates to be accepted for the posts of field qanungos must be from the patwaris and 33 per cent from outside;

(b) whether it is also a fact that, while accepting candidates in the Jullundur district at the time of the last recruitment, the rule mentioned above has been ignored and more candidates for the post of field qanungos were accepted direct than were permitted under the rules; if so, the reasons therefor and the action intended to be taken in the matter?

Parliamentary Secretary (Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan): (a) Yes.

(b) Yes, the rule has been infringed and inquiries are being made as to why this rule was infringed. Strict instructions are being issued to ensure strict compliance in future.

Mian Abdul Rab: May I know whether the officer who was responsible for infringing this rule will also be dealt with?

Parliamentary Secretary: I have replied that inquiries are being made as to why this rule was infringed. Naturally when Government makes inquiries, it does so with a view to taking suitable action in the matter.

Chaudhri Sumer Singh: May I know whether similar action is taken with respect to all such cases?

Parliamentary Secretary: The rule is followed in the whole province.

Chaudhri Sumer Singh: It is not followed in other districts.

Parliamentary Secretary: Will you give me an instance?

GRIEVANCES OF THE ZAMINDARS OF VILLAGES NAMAL, DHIBA, WANDHI
BHIMRANWALI AND KALRI IN MIANWALI DISTRICT.

***7610. Khan Bahadur Captain Malik Muzaffar Khan:** Will the Honourable Minister of Revenue be pleased to state—

(a) whether it is a fact that some years ago Government acquired land from villages Namal, Dhiba, Wandhi Bhimranwali and Kalri in Mianwali district for the Namal canal reservoir designed to retain water to the maximum level of 1,160 feet;

(b) whether it is a fact that during the summer rains of 1932 and also in subsequent years the level of water on the above-mentioned reservoir was allowed to rise much more than the reservoir was designed to contain which resulted in the destruction of shrines of Sayed Kabir Shah, Hafiz Khair Muhammad, Faqir Atar Shah, in levelling of 10 mosques on the land acquired by Government for the purpose mentioned above and in the destruction of the graves of the respected forefathers and saints of the well-known shariat tribe of Awans;

(c) whether he is aware that this destruction of the shrines, mosques and a portion of the grave yards created a lot of resentment in the minds of the inhabitants of the surrounding area who presented a memorial to His Excellency in 1933 detailing their grievances therein;

(d) whether it is a fact that as a result of that memorial Mr. D. J. Boyd, the then Financial Commissioner along with Mr. M. L. Darling the then Commissioner of the division concerned inspected the site of the ruined grave yard and found the conditions as described in that memorial; if so, whether any action has so far been taken to redress the grievances of the inhabitants of these villages; and, if not, the reasons therefor;

- (e) whether it is a fact that the rise in the level of water in the Namal canal reservoir continuously for many years now has further resulted in turning the lands in the above-mentioned villages into waste lands and thereby adding to the number of grievances of the inhabitants of these villages ;
- (f) whether it is also a fact that the people of these villages have not so far been granted lands in any of the colony areas since then permanently or on temporary cultivation in spite of their applications for such grants and that these people have not been compensated for the loss suffered by them due to the presence of the reservoir in any other way ;
- (g) if the answers to the above be in the affirmative, the action, if any, that is now intended to be taken to redress the grievances of the inhabitants of the four villages mentioned in part (a) above ?

Parliamentary Secretary (Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan): The information asked for by the honourable member is being collected and will be furnished when ready.

HORSES SHOT DEAD IN MUNICIPAL AREAS.

***7602. Khan Muhammad Yusaf Khan:** Will the Honourable Minister for Public Works be pleased to state—

- (a) the number separately of horses and donkeys shot dead by the orders of the authorities concerned in the municipal areas of the various districts in the province, under the Cruelty to Animals Act or any other law in force, district-wise, during the year 1939 and up-to-date ;
- (b) whether it is a fact that there has been a marked increase in the number of horses so shot dead during the last year particularly in the Rawalpindi district ; if so, the reasons therefor ?

Parliamentary Secretary (Shaikh Faiz Muhammad): (a) The time and labour involved in collecting the information will not be commensurate with any possible benefit to be obtained.

(b) Yes. The main reason for this is that the work of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals was carried out more efficiently in 1940, due to the increased interest taken in the work of the Society by public spirited people. Action is not taken until expert veterinary opinion has been obtained.

PLACING SARDAR KIRPAL SINGH OF JHELUM IN 'C' CLASS.

***7609. Sardar Ajit Singh:** Will the Honourable Finance Minister be pleased to state—

- (a) whether it is a fact that Sardar Kirpal Singh, Timber Merchant, Jhelum, has recently been sentenced to 1½ years term of imprisonment with Rs. 100 fine by the District Magistrate, Jhelum, and has been recommended to be placed in 'C' class ;

[S. Ajit Singh.]

- (b) whether he is aware that he is the President of the Timber Merchants Association, Jhelum, and that he and his firm are, in their different capacities, income-tax payers; if so, whether, while recommending him for 'C' class, his high social status was taken into consideration; if not, why not?

The Honourable Sir Manohar Lal : (a) Yes—he was so sentenced, but the fine imposed was Rs. 1,000.

(b) He was convicted on the 12th February, 1941. On relevant facts coming to my notice, he was placed in 'A' class on the 17th February, 1941.

POSTPONEMENT OF GENERAL ELECTIONS OF LOCAL BODIES.

***7411. Pandit Shri Ram Sharma :** Will the Honourable Minister for Public Works be pleased to state how long the Government propose to go on postponing the general elections of the local bodies which have already fallen due or are about to fall due?

Parliamentary Secretary (Shaikh Faiz Muhammad) : The postponement has been necessitated by the war, the course of which cannot be fore-seen. The question will, however, be considered again by Government shortly.

CONSTRUCTION OF A BUND IN THE BEYEN IN NAKODAR NEAR VILLAGE MALSIAN.

***7604. Mian Abdul Rab :** Will the Honourable Minister for Public Works be pleased to state—

- (a) whether it is a fact that a bund in the Beyen has been constructed in Nakodar tahsil near village Malsian;
- (b) whether it is a fact that certain lands lying near the Beyen which belonged to Muhammad Ali, son of Nabi Bakhsh and Musamat Basri, daughter of Shera and some other persons belonging to village Isewal has been taken possession of and used in the construction of that bund without the consent of the owners;
- (c) whether any proceedings were taken under the Land Acquisition Act in connection with acquiring the above-mentioned land; if not, the reasons therefor;
- (d) whether it is a fact that besides using some land in the construction of the bund certain other lands belonging to the people of the villages nearby have been rendered waste and useless as a consequence of the construction of the said bund; if so, whether any compensation has been paid to the owners or is proposed to be paid to the owners; if not, the reasons for the same?

Parliamentary Secretary (Shaikh Faiz Muhammad) : I regret the reply to this question is not yet ready.

LABORATORY FOR FORENSIC SCIENCE FOR DETECTION OF CRIMINALS.

***7605. Khan Muhammad Yusuf Khan:** Will the Honourable Minister for Public Works be pleased to state—

- (a) whether there is any laboratory in the Punjab of forensic science, wherein any work for the easy detection of criminals is being carried on on scientific lines;
- (b) the number of Finger Print Experts in the police training school at Phillaur or anywhere else in the Punjab, (i) who are salaried servants or (ii) working under the Government patronage;
- (c) the name and purpose of modern appliances, if any, that the Finger Print Experts have been provided with by the Government or which they have acquired themselves for the efficient discharge of their duty as experts?

Parliamentary Secretary (Sardar Bahadur Sardar Ujjal Singh):

(a) Yes. There is a laboratory attached to the Criminal Investigation Department office at Lahore and another laboratory at the Police Training School, Phillaur.

(b) (i) Deputy Superintendent of Police	..	1
Inspectors	.. ..	2
Sub-Inspectors	.. ..	21
Head Constables	.. ..	9
Foot Constables	.. ..	2
GRAND TOTAL ..		35

(ii) None.

(c) Elaborate appliances are not required for finger print work, but such instruments as are necessary for the efficient discharge of their duties are provided for in the Finger Print Bureau staff.

PHOTOGRAPHY FOR INVESTIGATION OF CRIMES.

***7606. Khan Muhammad Yusuf Khan:** Will the Honourable Minister for Public Works be pleased to state—

- (a) whether the police are trained in the art of photography including photo micrography and Micro-photography in order to take photographic assistance in the investigation of crimes;
- (b) if the reply to above (a) be in the affirmative, the number of such photographic cameras of recent make imported from abroad, if any, for the use of the Police Department?

Parliamentary Secretary (Sardar Bahadur Sardar Ujjal Singh):

(a) Yes. There are police officers trained in the art of photography including Micro-photography.

(b) The exact number of cameras in the hands of the police is not known and the value of such information is not likely to be commensurate with the expense and trouble in collecting it. The Criminal Investigation Department and Phillaur laboratories are equipped with the most modern instruments including cameras for micro-photography work.

NOMINATION OF SUB-DIVISIONAL OFFICER, KASUR, AS MEMBER OF
KASUR MUNICIPAL COMMITTEE.

***7611. Malik Barkat Ali :** Will the Honourable Minister for Public Works be pleased to state—

- (a) since when has the Sub-Divisional Officer, Kasur, been nominated a member of the Kasur Municipal Committee ;
- (b) whether before this nomination, the Sub-Divisional Officer, Kasur, was not nominated a member of the Kasur Municipal Committee ; if so, for how many years was this practice in force ;
- (c) the reasons why Government has nominated the Sub-Divisional Officer, Kasur, a member of the municipal committee thus depriving one important municipal committee of the privilege and right of electing a non-official as its President ?

Parliamentary Secretary (Shaikh Faiz Muhammad) : (a) Sub-Divisional Officer, Kasur, was nominated as a member of the Kasur Municipal committee on the 28th August, 1940.

(b) He was not appointed a member between 1924 and 1940. Information in respect of previous years is not available.

(c) The Sub-Divisional Officer was appointed in place of another official with a view to improve the municipal administration. The committee retains the right to elect its own President.

NON-OFFICIAL PRESIDENTS FOR DISTRICT BOARDS.

***7612. Malik Barkat Ali :** Will the Honourable Minister for Public Works be pleased to state—

- (a) the names of the district boards in the Punjab, which possessed on 1st April, 1937, the right of electing non-official presidents ;
- (b) whether this right of electing non-official presidents has been since 1st April, 1937, extended to any other district board in the Punjab ; if so, the names of those district boards ;
- (c) the reasons why the present Government is not allowing on a large scale the district boards in the Punjab to enjoy the right of electing non-official presidents ?

Parliamentary Secretary (Shaikh Faiz Muhammad) : (a) All district boards in the Punjab except the District Board of Simla (where the Deputy Commissioner alone constitutes the Board).

(b) Does not arise.

(c) Does not arise.

UNSTARRED QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

REPRESENTATION OF MUSLIMS IN STAFF UNDER
MEDICAL OFFICER OF HEALTH, AMRITSAR.

1392. Khan Sahib Chaudhri Fazal Din : Will the Honourable Minister of Education be pleased to state—

- (a) whether a Muslim Medical Officer of Health has ever been appointed in the Amritsar district since the establishment of the Punjab Public Health Department ; if not, the reasons therefor and whether it is proposed to appoint one now ;

- (b) the proportion in which each community was represented among the employees under the District Medical Officer of Health, Amritsar, from the year 1925 to 1940;
- (c) whether the *Muslims* are under-represented among the employees mentioned in (b) if so, the reasons therefor and the steps that the Government propose to take to give them adequate representation;
- (d) the annual pay paid proportionately to the members of each community at present employed under the District Medical Officer of Health, Amritsar?

The Honourable Mian Abdul Haye : (a) No. Postings and transfers among the District Medical Officers of Health are made according to the exigencies of service, the needs of the district, and the officer available at the time. The senior District Medical Officers of Health, who are ordinarily appointed to important districts such as Amritsar, are all non-muslims.

(b) and (d). A statement containing the required information is enclosed.

(c) No communal proportion has been fixed by the District Board, Amritsar.

STATEMENT I.

No.	Community.	1925.	1926.	1927.	1928.	1929.	1930.	1931.	1932.	1933.	1934.	1935.	1936.	1937.	1938.	1939.	1940.	Remarks.
(b)	Hindu ..	9	8	8	9	13	13	12	11	14	5	8	10	10	11	8	10	Figures indicate the number employed during the year.
	Muslim ..	12	18	13	13	13	16	15	14	14	14	9	10	11	10	10	10	
	Sikh ..	4	11	12	15	19	21	23	21	25	26	26	26	22	26	27	25	
	Christian ..	..	..	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	3	3	3	

STATEMENT II.

Year.	Community.	Annual expenditure.	REMARKS.
1940	Hindu	Rs. 3,132	
	Muslim	3,504	
	Sikh	10,284	
	Christian	2,280	

REPRESENTATION OF SIKHS AMONG GAZETTED OFFICERS IN
CIVIL SECRETARIAT.

1393. Captain Sodhi Harnam Singh : Will the Honourable Premier be pleased to state the total number and also the names of officers in the Punjab Civil Secretariat working at present as—

- (a) Secretaries ;
- (b) Deputy Secretaries ;
- (c) Joint Secretaries ;
- (d) Under Secretaries ;
- (e) Officers on special duty ;
- (f) other gazetted officers of all classes and the number of Sikhs among them ?

The Honourable Major Sir Sikander Hyat-Khan : The Honourable Member will find the information he requires given on pages 9-10 and 13 of the Civil List corrected up to the 1st January 1941.

REPRESENTATION AMONG EMPLOYEES OF THE
GREY CANALS, FEROZEPORE.

1394. Sufi Abdul Hamid Khan : Will the Honourable Minister of Revenue be pleased to lay on the table of the House a statement showing, community-wise, the number of employees in the office of the Superintendent and other establishments connected with the Grey Canals, Ferozepore, at present and the number, community-wise, of the employees before the present Superintendent took over charge ?

The Honourable Dr. Sir Sunder Singh Majithia : A statement is attached.

Statement showing community-wise the number of employees in the office of the Superintendent and other Establishment connected with the Grey Canals, Ferozepore, at present and the number community-wise of the employees before the present Superintendent took over charge.

Establishment.	BEFORE PRESENT SUPERINTENDENT, GREY CANALS, TOOK OVER.			AT PRESENT.		
	Muslims.	Hindus.	Sikhs.	Muslims.	Hindus.	Sikhs.
<i>I.—Office Establishment.</i>						
Accountant .. ..	..	1	..	..	1	..
English Clerk ..	1	..	..	1	..	..
Record Keeper ..	..	..	1	..	..	1
Accounts Clerk ..	1	..	..	1	..	..
Head Moharrir ..	1	..	..	1	..	..
Ahlmad ..	1	..	..	1	..	..
Draftsman ..	1	..	..	1	..	..
<i>II.—Other establishment.</i>						
Overseer and Sub-overseers.	5	2	2	4	2	2
Daroghas ..	2	..	..	2	..	..
<i>III.—Inferior establishment.</i>						
Orderlies and peons ..	3	..	..	2	..	1
Khalasis and Dak-Runners.	11	..	..	9	..	1
Chawkidars ..	9	1	1	7	2	1
Total ..	23	1	1	18	2	3

NOTE 1.—The same staff exists at present. There is no change.

NOTE 2.—Overseer is only one. The rest are sub-overseers. One sub-overseer has been dismissed for corruption and the post is not filled as it is proposed to be abolished.

NOTE 3.—Three men retired and 2 resigned against whom 3 posts, 1 by Hindu and 2 by Sikhs filled. The remaining two posts not to be filled because one Rest House has fallen and one sub-overseer dismissed, so neither another chowkidar nor the khalasi is required.

**MUSLIM AND NON-MUSLIM GIRL STUDENTS STUDYING IN
GOVERNMENT NORMAL SCHOOL, RAWALPINDI.**

1395. Khan Muhammad Yusuf Khan : Will the Honourable Minister of Education be pleased to state—

(a) the number of Muslim girl students now studying in the Government Normal School at Rawalpindi in the J. V. class and in the S. V. class ;

- (b) the number of non-Muslim girl students studying in the above-mentioned school, community-wise, in the said class ;
- (c) whether it is a fact that the number of Muslim girl students is less than that of other students ; if so, the reason therefor ?

The Honourable Mian Abdul Haye : (a) Eight Muslim girls are studying in the Junior Vernacular class at the Government Girls High and Normal School, Rawalpindi. No Senior Vernacular class exists at the school.

(b)	Hindus	Sikhs
	4	8

(c) Admissions to individual training institutions are not made on a communal basis but the requirements of various districts the institution serves, are taken into consideration. The Normal School, Rawalpindi, admits middle passed Junior Vernacular students from Attock, Rawalpindi, Jhelum, Gujrat, Shahpur and Sialkot districts.

MUSLIM AND NON-MUSLIM TEACHERESSES IN DISTRICT BOARD AND GOVERNMENT SCHOOLS IN RAWALPINDI DISTRICT.

1396. Khan Muhammad Yusaf Khan : Will the Honourable Minister of Education be pleased to state—

- (a) the number of Muslim mistresses in the Rawalpindi district working in the District Board and Government schools, if any, and the number of Junior Vernacular trained and Senior Vernacular trained Muslim mistresses among them ;
- (b) the number community-wise of non-Muslim mistresses teaching in the schools mentioned in part (a) above ;
- (c) whether it is a fact that there is a dearth of Muslim trained teacheresses specially Senior Vernacular trained teacheresses in the Rawalpindi district ; if so, what action has so far been taken by the Government or the authorities concerned to increase the number of trained Muslim mistresses, and, if no special step has been taken in this direction, the reasons therefor ?

The Honourable Mian Abdul Haye : It is regretted that the answer to this question is not yet ready.

COMMUNAL REPRESENTATION AMONG EXTRA ASSISTANT COMMISSIONERS, TAHSILDARS, NAIB-TAHSILDARS AND EXCISE SUB-INSPECTORS.

1397. Sardar Tara Singh : Will the Honourable Premier be pleased to state the number, community-wise, and district-wise, of candidates nominated as Extra Assistant Commissioners and Tahsildars on recommendations made by the Commissioner, Jullundur, and accepted as Naib-Tahsildars and Excise Sub-Inspectors, in the Jullundur division, from April 1937 to the end of February, 1941 and the number of those among them who are the sons of zaildars, sufedposhes and lambardars in that division ?

The Honourable Major Sir Sikander Hyat-Khan : A statement giving the required information is laid on the table.

Statement.

Number of officers.	Hindus.	Muslims.	Sikhs.	Others.	Number of these officers who are sons of zaildars, etc.
4 Extra Assistant Commissioners.	1	2	1	..	
3 Tahsildars ..	1	..	2	..	One of these is the son of a lambardar.
17 Naib-Tahsildars ..	6	7	4	..	Two of these are sons of lambardars and one is the son of a zaildar.
7 Excise Sub-Inspectors	1	4	2	..	One of these is the son of a zaildar.

DEMANDS FOR GRANTS.

Mr. Speaker : The House will now proceed to consider Demands for Grants.

GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

Minister for Finance (The Honourable Sir Manohar Lal) : I beg to move—

That a sum not exceeding Rs. 94,67,500 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the year ending 31st March, 1942, in respect of General Administration.

Mr. Speaker : Demand moved—

That a sum not exceeding Rs. 94,67,500 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the year ending 31st March, 1942, in respect of General Administration.

Failure to give effect to recommendations of Darling Committee.

Mian Muhammad Nurullah (Lyallpur, Muhammadan, Rural) : Sir I beg to move—

That the item of Rs. 42,000 on account of Honourable Premier be reduced by Rs. 100.

Mr. Speaker : As the item is not votable, the honourable member's motion is out of order.

Wrong replies to starred questions.

Mian Muhammad Nurullah : I beg to move :

That the item of Rs. 78,500 on account of Parliamentary Secretaries be reduced by Rs. 1.

Mr. Speaker : Cut motion No. 11 also refers to the same subject. Therefore, both these motions may be discussed together.

Mian Muhammad Nurullah : My object in moving this motion is to censure the Government for giving wrong replies to certain starred questions put in the Assembly. Evasive replies can be tolerated. Many times we get the reply that the answer is not ready. Even that may be tolerated. Sometimes the answer is ready but it is not given on the floor of the House. That also may be tolerated. My greatest objection is to the wrong replies intentionally given. For instance, I sent in a short notice question during this session regarding the handcuffing of Chaudhri Krishna Gopal Dutt, one of our respected members and the Deputy Leader of the Congress Party who is unfortunately not here. The reason of handcuffing explained to us on the floor of the House was that he was mixing with a crowd, that there was probably some danger that the crowds might become unruly and so he was handcuffed. That was absolutely a wrong reply. I have here an authentic version of the whole case which I will read out.

The first time I was handcuffed was in the office of the Superintendent of Police. There was no crowd at that time; in fact not a single soul was present there excepting of course the police officers and policemen. They felt embarrassed, but the Superintendent of Police who was in the next room insisted that I should be kept handcuffed regardless of the fact that there was not the least provocation or justification for handcuffing a person who had voluntarily courted arrest. Half an hour later, my father and a few other relatives who came to know of my presence there brought me lunch which I took in the same office with handcuffs on. After the lunch, I was produced for a remand before Lala Kanhaya Lal, Additional District Magistrate, who ordered the removal of the handcuffs to the chagrin of the police.

The second time I was handcuffed by the escort acting under special instructions was in the office of the district jail after the expiry of the remand when I was to be produced before Mr. Webb, the convicting magistrate for trial. There was no crowd either at the jail or on the way to the court. People in the town had somehow got the impression that the case would be taken up in the afternoon, but actually it was taken up much earlier. I was taken from the jail to the office of the Superintendent of Police on foot and with handcuffs on and I was unnecessarily made to wait in that condition for about an hour before I was produced for trial before convicting magistrate. The learned magistrate inquired from the police as to why I was handcuffed but the Public Prosecutor as well as the Court Inspector had no answer to give and kept mum. Thereupon, the court ordered the removal of handcuffs and enjoined upon the police "never" to handcuff me. I requested the learned magistrate to note in black and white—

he was so much terrified and that was the object why he requested the court to note it in black and white—

—which he did—that I was handcuffed twice without the least justification and regardless of the fact that there was no crowd on both the occasions. The Public Prosecutor as well as the Court Inspector who was present at the time of handcuffing did not controvert this statement.

He further says—

But, dear friend, I have definite information that the powers that be had conspired before my arrest to handcuff me and accord me shabby treatment. You know that in no democratic country in the world the party in power metes out such unseemly treatment to its political opponents.

My point is that the reply given on the floor of this House condemns Government in every way. Apart from the question of general treatment to the political prisoners—and that treatment I am told has always in this ministry been very bad and very annoying; even recently those prisoners who were transferred from the Central Jail, Lahore, to the Gujrat jail were badly treated in spite of the promises and assurances of the Honourable Finance Minister on the floor of this House and were handcuffed and shabbily treated—the treatment meted out to Chaudhri Krishna Gopal Dutt was

[M. Muhammad Nurullah].

very bad. I would request the Honourable Finance Minister to make a statement in this House that in future such things will not be repeated and see that his statements are respected and honoured by his subordinates. I think he has got enough control over them to see that his orders are carried out. At present my point is that the wrong answer given in this House is very misleading, very annoying and very undemocratic. It does not become the Parliamentary Secretary who gave the reply or the Honourable Premier on whose behalf the reply was given. The statement made on that day was by the Parliamentary Secretary and the Parliamentary Secretary, to my mind, is as good as any minister or the Premier because he acts on their behalf and may be the future minister. This attitude on the part of the Government in such cases is very harassing and does not become them. I would request them to be very careful in future and see that none of their political opponents is handcuffed, especially those who court arrest themselves and as a true satyagrahi Chaudhri Krishna Gopal Dutt was non-violent and he was not doing harm to anybody. He was seeking arrest himself and he would have undergone the ordeal willingly for any number of years. He volunteered himself and he pledged himself to non-violence. In these circumstances even if a crowd had been there, there could not be any danger. It was not befitting that he should be given this treatment. He is a colleague of ours and was the Deputy Leader of a party in this House a few days ago though a party in opposition. I do not say that the members of the party in power had a definite hand, but the local officials, the underlings, the Superintendent of Police and other subordinates must have handcuffed him because of his speeches and utterances outside, which they did not like and in which there might have been bitter criticism. But merely because he belonged to the opposite party and was in opposition or because he had the courage to say certain things, the local officers might have acted vindictively and given such a shabby and shameful treatment. I request that such a thing might be avoided in future and no reply in future be given to questions from that side which is not cent per cent true.

Mr. Speaker : Demand under consideration, motion moved is—

That the item of Rs. 76,500 on account of Parliamentary Secretaries be reduced by Re 1.

Sardar Sahib Sardar Santokh Singh (Eastern Towns, Sikh, Urban) : Sir, in supporting my friend Mian Nurullah in what he has said in regard to the handcuffing of an honourable colleague of ours, I will just say a few words in regard to the handcuffing of another colleague of ours, Dr. Sant Ram Seth. As we all know this gentleman courted arrest and was making a speech near the Clock Tower, Amritsar. At the time he was arrested, the gentleman was not handcuffed and right up to the time when he was taken to the lock-up he was not handcuffed, but my surprise knew no bounds when I found that although when there was a crowd the gentleman was not handcuffed, he was handcuffed when he was being taken from the lock-up to the court and from the court to the jail, and my information is that even in the court his handcuffs were not removed. I sent in a question and although 20 or 25 days have passed, no reply has yet been forthcoming from the Government and they say that the reply is not yet ready. To secure

this information it should not have taken the Government more than two or three days especially as Amritsar is so close. But the fact is that they do not think it worth their while to give a reply. This shows that there is something that they do not want to tell the House and through this House to the public outside. I am of the opinion that definite instructions should be issued to police officers as to how they should act in such matters and should not be left to the vagaries of the persons concerned to treat the M. L. As. as they like. So, I request that the Government should take due note of this and should issue definite instructions to the police as to how they should act in this matter. It goes without saying that in the case of gentlemen who themselves court arrest for their political convictions, there is no risk of their absconding, so that their handcuffing or putting of fetters on them is absolutely unjustifiable and cannot be justified on any account. Even on such trivial matters as the travelling expenses of the Ministers they do not give frank replies and we have to wait till the end of the year to have the facts from the budget. The Parliamentary Secretaries are not as straightforward as the House does expect of them as regards questions. I therefore support the motion.

Sardar Lal Singh (Ludhiana Central, Sikh, Rural): In supporting my honourable friend Mian Nurullah's motion, I want to quote one or two actual instances. About six weeks ago I tabled a short notice question which was returned to me just when that session was going to close. That was rather an inconvenient question regarding jhatka being supplied to the prisoners in Gujrat Jail. When the next session, that is, the present session began, I put another short notice question and to that I got a reply that that question had been sent to the Honourable Minister in charge. To that question I have not got a reply up till now, although it is over a month that notice was given. Only two days ago I got a reply that that question was not being treated as a short notice question and a reply to that will be given on such and such a date. This is how questions which are inconvenient to answer are treated on the floor of the House. Then again we have definite information that two of our members who used to sit on this side of the House and whose names have not been mentioned by my honourable friend, Mian Nurullah, were actually handcuffed on both hands during transfer from one jail to the other. We fail to understand what is the object exactly of thus treating people who have courted arrest and who have actually gone to jail on principle and who have professed non-violence and have also professed that they are not out to embarrass the Government in any way. Here is on one side perfect gentlemanliness and perfect boorishness on the other. It is perfect boorishness that two gentlemen of high standing and of eminent public position and well known for their views on all matters should be actually handcuffed on both hands and when a question is put in this Assembly all sorts of delays are caused in answering the question. These are not the only examples. Take for instance hundreds of questions on hailstorms. When hailstones actually fall and the Ministers are asked about the matter and what they propose to do, they get up and say that the matter will be treated according to the rules. Answers like this are not answers at all. This is insulting the common sense of the members. I submit therefore that this sort of treatment, this irresponsible way of answering questions should be given up and this House should be treated with proper respect.

Chaudhri Sumer Singh (South-East Gurgaon, General, Rural) (*Urdu*) : Sir, I would also like to make a few observations in this connection. I can very well understand that when a question put by an honourable member goes against any of the rules of procedure the Government is well within its right to refuse to answer that question but what I am at a loss to understand is the fact that when a question has been put why an evasive reply should be given by the Government. It has become a rule rather than an exception that the Government always tries to justify the mistakes of their subordinates and thus encourages them to repeat the same mistake over and over again. The object of asking questions is to acquaint the Government with the grievances of the public, and the Government should take advantage of this opportunity to set right their administrative machinery. But instead of defending the rights of the people and removing their grievances they invariably make the "public interest" an excuse for not replying to a question.

It is sometimes stated that the answer cannot be given because the question savours of communalism. Let me make it clear to the Government that giving replies to the so-called 'communal questions' does not foster communalism. It is acts other than these which are injecting the venom of communalism in the veins of the province. I will refer to them at the proper moment. Mere provision of a lakh of rupees in the provincial budget cannot remove the curse of communalism. If the Government are really in earnest they should do something to lighten the top-heaviness of the administration and to make services less attractive. By doing away with them they would be hitting at the root of this curse of communalism. To say that a certain question cannot be answered because 'it is not in the public interest to give a reply', or to use other 'evasive' tactics will never be conducive to the keeping of harmonious relations amongst the various communities.

Keeping all these facts in view, I would request the Government to improve the manner of answering questions in this House. There is no harm in replying to a communal question on the floor of this House provided whatever is done by the Government is according to the policy of Government in power and the Government in power is right to say so frankly. And I may also appeal to the Government to redress those grievances which are referred to in questions put by members sitting on either side of the House.

With these few remarks, Sir, I resume my seat.

Finance Minister (The Honourable Sir Manohar Lal) : Sir, I am not directly concerned with the cut motion as made, but because some reference was made to me by Mian Nurullah, I might be permitted to say one or two words. This matter of the way in which an accused person or a prisoner should be treated during transit, does not concern the jail authorities, but I wish to tell the House that, while paragraph 757 of the Jail Manual describes that where a prisoner is to be transferred he should be fettered, I have ordered that even "C" class prisoners should not be fettered. And all jails in the Punjab have been duly told that all the satyagrahi prisoners, even if they are in "C" class, when they are transferred from one jail to another should not be fettered. (*Hear, hear.*) This matter was within my power,

and I have, to that extent, modified the Jail Manual. The House will realize that when a prisoner is transferred from one jail to another, so far as the jails are concerned, their jurisdiction ceases the moment the prisoner is handed over at the jail gate to the police, who is responsible for his actual transit. The provision in the Jail Manual with regard to this is—

The instructions contained in paragraph 757 may be relaxed in the case of prisoners classed as "A" or "B" class, if the Superintendent of Police is satisfied after consideration of the convict's history, that there is no reasonable apprehension of an attempt at escape or rescue.

You will see that the matter rests entirely in the discretion of the Superintendent of Police, and human nature being what it is, every Superintendent of Police does not argue matters in the same way, but here again, I am in a position to state that the Government is seriously considering this question. It has only been brought to the notice of the Government during the past 3 or 4 days. Government is seriously considering the whole question whether it would be possible to issue anything like a general direction or a particular direction that might guide the Superintendent of Police in this matter. That is the utmost that could be stated so far as the general question of the way in which these people are to be treated when they are transferred from one jail to another is concerned.

As regards the actual question whether Chaudhri Krishna Gopal Dutt should have been handcuffed or not or whether a correct answer was given to this question or not, that lies entirely beyond my jurisdiction. The honourable member has not been pleased to say exactly what the answer given was so that we could compare that answer with the statement of Chaudhri Krishna Gopal Dutt, which has been described as authoritative. Therefore, I would say in one word that the whole provision in Jail Manual with regard to "C" class satyagrahi prisoners has been modified. The general question of the way in which the discretion of the Superintendent of Police should be exercised in this matter is under consideration. *(Hear, hear.)*

Mr. Speaker : Question is—

That the item of Rs. 76,500 on account of Parliamentary Secretaries be reduced by Rs. 1.

The motion was lost.

Inclusion of scheduled castes among statutory agriculturists.

Lala Harnam Das (Lyallpur and Jhang, General—Reserved Seat, Rural) : Sir, I beg to move—

That the item of Rs. 87,000 on account of Ministers (voted) be reduced by Rs. 100.

Mr. Speaker : The honourable member's amendment is out of order, as it makes a request that the scheduled castes may be included in statutory agriculturists. The honourable member cannot seek legislation or any executive order during the budget debate.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : May I just make a submission, Sir ? Suppose there is something wrong in this province that is brought to the notice of the Government, is the Government precluded from issuing an executive order about it ? Just now you have seen

[Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang.]

or heard yourself that certain political prisoners were handcuffed and the Honourable Minister for Finance was kind enough to get up and give a sort of assurance that steps have already been taken so far as the handcuffing of political prisoners within the jail premises is concerned and the matter whether instructions should not be issued to the Superintendent of Police or other police officers in this respect, is under consideration. Now, this means that you have permitted the discussion of a matter which requires.....

Mr. Speaker : The motion is out of order. Now let us proceed.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : I fail to see any distinction between this motion and the motion which has just been moved and discussed. As you are aware, Sir, being yourself an eminent lawyer, in order to include any class of persons within the list of statutory agriculturists, it is not necessary to amend the Punjab Alienation of Land Act. The Government can do so by issuing a notification under that Act, for instance, certain tribes have been declared as agricultural tribes by simply issuing notifications. Only the other day, the Mujawars of a certain place in the tahsil of Khangah Dogran, I think, all of them, the priests who conduct worship in a certain shrine, have been declared to be members of a statutory agriculturist tribe under this Act by a certain notification. If the Government wants to include any particular tribe within the list of statutory agriculturists, it has only to issue a notification to that effect. And I know that the present Premier, when he was Revenue Member, issued a notification—

Mr. Speaker : What is the honourable member driving at?

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : I am submitting to you Sir, that the order that you have passed that this motion is out of order—

Mr. Speaker : My order, whether right or wrong, is there. That is my decision.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : I am only asking you to let us know what the distinction is between one thing and the other.

Mr. Speaker : The distinction is quite clear.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : The other is also to be done by an executive order.

Mr. Speaker : Apparently the honourable member has not read the agenda.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : There is the agenda.

Mr. Speaker : Item No. 2, which has been discussed and negatived, is—

That the item of Rs. 76,500 on account of Parliamentary Secretaries be reduced by Rs. 1.

The object was :—

To censure Government for giving wrong replies to certain starred questions put in the Assembly.

In the course of discussion handcuffing was brought in.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : Look at No. 11. That was also discussed.

Mr. Speaker : That was discussed and finished.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : I believe that I have not been able to make myself quite clear. May I draw your attention to No. 11? I shall be as brief as possible. Item 11 is as follows :—

11. **MIAN MUHAMMAD NUBULLAH :** That the item of Rs. 87,000 on account of Premier, Ministers and Parliamentary Secretaries be reduced by Rs. 100.

For what?

To censure Government for giving wrong reply to the questions regarding handouffing of Chandhri Krishna Gopal Dutt, Deputy Leader of the Congress Assembly Party.

Mr. Speaker : Here the question relates to a specific matter.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : What is the object of bringing it forward? To have an order issued but—

Mr. Speaker : I will once more try to explain why the amendment is out of order. When the Government does not follow any rule or law, it can be criticised. Its officers and their actions can be criticised here during the general discussion of the budget or when demands for grants are considered. But when there is no rule or law on a subject and consequently there is no breach of any rule or law, if anyone then asks that such and such a thing be done, he must first get a resolution to that effect passed by this House. Only then he can say that the Government or its officers have violated the rule or have failed to do this or do that. If they want to be declared statutory agriculturists, they have either to move a resolution in this House and have it passed or they have to approach the Government with an application stating reasons why they should be so treated. But when there is no such law, rule or resolution, to say that they should be treated as statutory agriculturists cannot be allowed.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : I entirely agree so far as the proposition laid down is that if they require a law to be made or a rule to be framed they must move this House or the Government to bring forward such a law or they may themselves move a resolution.

Mr. Speaker : What can possibly be done now is to discuss the subject under item No. 7 on the agenda.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : So, you will allow it under item No. 7. The law is already there, the Government has the power of issuing notifications. All that they want is that where they have included one hundred persons or one hundred tribes, they should include one more. That is my submission.

Mr. Speaker : Item No. 6 is out of order.

Government Policy Scheduled Castes.

Lala Harnam Das (Lyallpur and Jhang, General—Reserved Seat, Rural): I move—

That the item of Rs. 87,000 on account of Ministers (Voted) be reduced by Rs. 100.
It is moved with a view to discuss the policy of the Government regarding the scheduled castes in this province.

[L. Harnam Das.]

Sir, the members of the scheduled castes held big conferences and mammoth meetings several times during the past four years and they invariably issued invitations to my honourable friends on the treasury benches. These gentlemen were kind enough to accept them and they did grace the occasions. But it is a pity that my honourable friends opposite indulged in platitudes and held out empty assurances to the effect that the Government would adopt this or that measure to ameliorate the miserable condition of the Scheduled Castes. These assurances ever remained a pious wish and they never cared to give them a practical shape. Then Sir, four years ago, the Punjab Ad-Dharm Achhute Federation convened a huge conference at Jullundur and presented an address to the Honourable Premier. This conference passed four resolutions in which the following demands were put forward by the conveners :—

- (1) As we the Achhute Ad-Dharmies of the Punjab are economically much more backward than the other communities and also as 75 per cent of the members of our community entirely depend upon agriculture for subsistence, we respectfully submit that Government may be pleased to declare the Scheduled Castes as agriculturists.
- (2) We should be granted possession of the land on which our residential houses have been built so that we may be freed from the atrocities of other communities.
- (3) We appeal to the Honourable Sir Sikander that just as the British Government treat all other communities alike, his Government should also administer even-handed justice to the members of the Scheduled Castes in the matter of recruitment to services. We request that youngmen of our community should be recruited in the Civil, Railway, Army, Haveli Project and other departments on the basis of our population.
- (4) We should be given adequate representation in the local bodies i.e., in District Boards and Municipal Committees.

Mr. Speaker, my honourable friends opposite who belong to the Scheduled Castes vied with each in showering encomiums upon Sir Sikander but their eulogy did not bear any fruit and it went unheeded.

Now I would like to quote a specimen of those verses which my honourable friend Seth Kishen Das read out in praise of the Honourable Premier. The verses run like this :—

اللہ جو دیکھائی مجھے روئے سکندر
 تا ہزار دیکھتا رہوں میں سوئے سکندر
 حـسرت یہی خواہش یہی ارمان ہے
 ہر اہوں میں ہیں کے سگ کوئے سکندر

Well, Sir, you will agree with me that howsoever hard-hearted a man may be, he does feel some commiseration for his dog and gives him something to eat. But here in this case in spite of my honourable friends taking up such a obsequious position, the Honourable Premier remained unmoved.

He did not do any thing worth the name for the betterment of the members of the Scheduled Castes. Then, extolling Sir Sikander to the skies, my honourable friend read as follows :

مد طلبہ عمار نثار اس پہ مڑی میں
 ہے غیث مشک ختن اک موئے سکندر
 قمری امط اس غوت نعلشاد پہ قربان
 ہو جاؤں جو دیکھوں قد دل جوئے سکندر

Besides, when the Honourable Sir Sikander came to power, high hopes were raised in the minds of the Scheduled Castes. They were convinced that he would do something substantial to better their lot. But all these hopes were falsified. It is a thousand pities that he went on making empty promises which were never fulfilled. Then I may also point out that at the occasion of Zamindara Conference held at Lyallpur, my community submitted a memorial to the Honourable Premier containing the following demands :—

- (1) The first demand was that the Achhuts should be declared agriculturists under the Punjab Alienation of Land Act.
- (2) The scheduled castes should be given their due share in the services according to their population.
- (3) The conditions of Wajibul-Arz should be removed and the scheduled castes should be declared owners of the premises in which their houses are situated.
- (4) The sons of Achhuts should be provided with free education up to degree classes and further facilities should be afforded for their education in England.
- (5) Begar should be prohibited by legislation, and those who take begar should be penalized.
- (6) A sum of one lakh of rupees should be set apart in the Budget for the welfare of the scheduled castes.
- (7) The restriction of being a non-martial class should be removed from the members of the scheduled castes.

These demands were submitted before the Honourable Premier who promised to consider them sympathetically. But this promise remains unfulfilled up to this time and nothing tangible has come out of it so far.

Now it is a plain fact that the Achhuts are not asking for the moon when they ask to be declared agriculturists under the Punjab Alienation of Land Act. The scheduled castes have been following the profession of agriculture from several generations in the past and their population in the Punjab is not less than 40 lakhs. May I respectfully ask if these honourable members who are occupying the benches in front of me really till land with their own hands? If they do not do so, who tills their lands? As a matter of fact it is we Achhuts who cultivate their lands. We work their wells and irrigate their land. We also hoe and weed for them. All the job of harvesting is performed by us and other Kamins and after cutting and thrashing their wheat, we hand it over to zamindars. In spite of all this we are not called agriculturists. When in winter the so-called zamindars

[L. Harnam Das.]

enjoy a sound sleep in cosy rooms which are kept warm by heaters, the poor Achhuts irrigate lands belonging to these zamindars under cloudy skies and in the midst of icy cold winds which are made colder still by drizzling. We leave our children at home suffering from fever while there is none to look after them and to give them even water to drink. As a result of this some times the children die of thirst at home and the Achhuts die of pneumonia in the fields outside. Sir, if a zamindar tills his land with his own hands, he is able to cultivate 5 ghumaons only, while with the aid of the Achhuts he can cultivate 20 ghumaons. Thus the land revenue for the cultivation of 15 ghumaons is made available to the Government through the labours of the Achhuts, and yet they are not counted among the agriculturists of the Punjab.

Besides, Sir, the terms of Wajib-ul-Arz that have been imposed upon us by law, place manifold difficulties in our way. We have been living in the Punjab from times immemorial so that even the Honourable Ministers and the British Government do not know since when we began to live in this province. Notwithstanding this, we are not considered to be the owners of our own houses so far as the land on which these houses are built is concerned. We are not deemed to be the owners of our own homes and hearths. Is it justice? The capitalists claim the ownership of our own houses and hearths.

Sir, I was saying on the authority of Wajib-ul-Arz that the scheduled castes are forced to do various sorts of work for the village community. The conditions set down in the Wajib-ul-Arz were put down there by the tahsildars and other officers who were usually under the influence of the zamindars. Later on they were given the sanctity of law. When we approach the Government and request them to save us from the iniquitous rights which the zamindars and other classes enjoy over us they tell us that that they are helpless in the matter as Wajib-ul-Arz lays down that the zamindars are entitled to those services from the scheduled classes. The untouchables have often to do the private work of the zamindars without hoping for any compensation. But the zamindars, for the houses in which the untouchables live, charge them rent.

Chaudhri Sumer Singh : May I know where rent is charged for the houses in which the members of the scheduled classes live?

Lala Harnam Das : Often I go to the districts of Karnal and Gurgaon. The members of the scheduled classes of those districts meet me and tell me that they have to pay rent to the landlords at the rates of annas 8 per room in a house and if the room happens to be of a bigger size then Re. 1 is charged for it. They also pay a tax for keeping cows and buffaloes. My friends know that in this House often hot words are exchanged over the question of Jhatka or Hindi, etc., but no importance is given to a question which relates to our very existence in this world. You are trying to exterminate us and at the same time deny us even the right of protest. Mr. Speaker, the tax I have referred to is called Kori Kamini tax. I approached the Honourable the Revenue Member and requested him to save us from the harsh conditions laid down in the Wajib-ul-Arz but he pleaded his inability to do so. The main purpose of the Government is to save the weak from those who are strong and aggressive but if they were to promote

the interests of those who are strong at the cost of those who are weak then such Government is quite useless and should not remain in power. It appears that all of you are acting on the suggestion which the Honourable Premier made to us when we complained to him of the harsh treatment to which we are subjected by the zamindars. That suggestion was that we should migrate from this province to some other province. We expected justice from them. But instead of doing justice they are giving us a cold shoulder and are directing us to leave the province if the conditions here do not suit us.

Next I come to the question of forced labour. My friend over there alleged that forced labour has been abolished in the Punjab. Last year to a supplementary question on the subject a parliamentary secretary replied that forced labour had been completely abolished in the province. Then I asked whether it is not a fact that when the Honourable Ministers go out on tour and attend the meetings and conferences their camps, etc., are fixed by the untouchables? The reply given was that if the Honourable Ministers take the trouble of going out to help the people it matters little if the people too do a little work for them. If the Honourable Ministers regard it as their legitimate right to get this sort of forced labour from the scheduled classes the zamindars would go to all length to extract all kinds of forced labour from the poor scheduled classes. Once I complained to the Honourable Chaudhri Sir Chhotu Ram that in a certain village the Achhuts are subjected to forced labour. Instead of telling me that he would try to remove this complaint he told me that the zamindars of that village are not to blame for the Achhuts of that village refused to do any work for the zamindars when they are paid. I at once took out Rs. 2 from my pocket and offered them to the Honourable Chaudhri Sahib to accept them and to do a little work for me. He kept silent at this and did not accept my offer. If a man does not want to do any work even in return for any compensation then no one should have the right to force him into doing it. Self-esteem of any person may not allow him to stoop to the doing of anything which he may regard as disgracing even for money.

Now Sir, I would like to point out to you what this Government have done for the spread of education amongst the Achhuts. The honourable members are aware of the fact that it is only education that paves the way for the prosperity of a nation or a community and a drive against illiteracy is therefore indispensable. But it is a matter of great regret that our children are going without education. The main reason for this is our poverty because of which we cannot give education to our children. As a matter of fact not a single Achhut is rich enough to send his children for higher education. At the most they can get their children educated up to the primary standard. After that most of the children belonging to the Scheduled Castes give up their studies. It is seldom that a member of the Scheduled Castes can get his children educated up to the matriculation standard and even in that case he has to incur debt. But no one dares to send his children to colleges for higher education. In colleges a student ordinarily spends from Rs. 80 to Rs. 85 per mensem. There is no one rich enough amongst the Achhuts to incur so much expenditure. It is therefore clear that we cannot give proper education to our children without financial assistance from Government. And that is what has not been given

[L. Harnam Das.]

to us so far. Let me tell you Sir, that in the beginning only six scholarships were granted to the Achhut students. But when my honourable friend Bhagat Hans Raj put a starred question with a view to get detailed information on the subject he was informed that out of the six scholarships reserved for the Achhut students three had been given to the Muslims. In reply to the first part of the question it was stated that the scholarships had been granted to the Achhuts but when it was inquired as to whom they had been given the reply was that three of these had been granted to the Achhuts students while the other three had been granted to Nawab, Rafiq and Shamaim—all Muslims. It is very strange that on the one hand it was said that these scholarships were meant for Achhuts but in actual practice three of them were given to the Muslims. Last year it was pointed out by the Government that the number of these scholarships had been increased and seven more scholarships had been sanctioned for the students belonging to the Scheduled Castes. That is true and I thank the Government for it. But my submission is that so far as the first scholarships are concerned they were granted by the previous Government. If I remember aright they were granted at the time when the Honourable Mr. Manohar Lal was the Education Minister. Consequently this Government cannot have credit for them. Besides 20 scholarships of the value of five rupees each for Junior Vernacular students are being provided in the budget for the students belonging to the Scheduled Castes. These again were sanctioned by Circular No. 20181, dated the 19th October, 1931. They were also granted by the previous Government. If they had not been sanctioned by them my honourable friends would have certainly ignored us. Any way my submission is that the Achhut students do not get all these scholarships for pursuing their studies in the Normal Training Classes for the simple reason that the requisite number of them do not go and get admission into those classes. Generally three or four Achhut students go there for training. They get scholarships alright. But the major portion of the amount provided remains unspent. So far as the secondary schools are concerned I do not know that any scholarships has ever been granted to a student belonging to the scheduled castes. If that is so I fail to understand why do Government give publicity to the fact that they have granted so many scholarships to the Achhut students? On the contrary the fact is that no such scholarship has ever been granted to them in the secondary classes.

Besides, I have pointed out more than once on the floor of the House that it is the duty of the Government to improve the lot of the backward classes. For instance there is not a single rich person amongst the achhuts who can send his children to England for higher education. But I know that Government sends students of other communities to foreign countries for getting higher education at Government expense. It behoves them also to send talented and able students belonging to the Achhuts to foreign countries for pursuing further studies so that they may also be in a position to qualify themselves for entry to Imperial Services. But so far Government have not taken any step in that direction.

Then Sir, my submission is that employments are not given to us in Government departments in proportion to our population strength. The Government have fixed 2½ per cent share for the Achhuts in services. I

think even if $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent employments in Government departments are reserved for us there are not so many educated candidates amongst the Achhuts who would be able to take them up. But it is a matter of great regret that we are not given even $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent employments which is our right. Let me tell you that whenever any Achhut candidate applies for any post under the rules the first question that is put to him is as to whether he is an agriculturist or not. If he does not happen to be an agriculturist he is rejected forthwith. Generally they are turned out on such flimsy pretexts. For instance I may tell you that 8 or 4 candidates belonging to Achhuts applied in a department. One Sardar Sahib, whose name I do not like to disclose, was acting as a Deputy Collector. When these candidates appeared before him for an interview he told them to go away and change their "position". The Achhut candidates could not follow him. At that they were told to change their religion and then they would be in a position to get employment in that department. That means that Government officers have begun to interfere in our religion as well. If we think over this matter calmly we will find that only 30 to 40 Achhuts are employed in Government departments, most of them are either clerks or chaprassies. No one of them is drawing more than Rs. 40 per mensem. In order to elicit definite information on the point I put a starred question to the Honourable the Premier. The following is the reply which I received from him—

Nine persons from scheduled castes have been appointed to posts carrying initial pay of Rs. 40 or more since 1st April, 1937. These posts were :—

Two clerks in the Secretariat.

Two school masters.

One leather worker.

Three assistant panchayat officers, and

One panchayat officer.

Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan : How long will the honourable member speak ?

Mr. Speaker : As long as the House tolerates his speech.

Lala Harnam Das : Does it mean that I cannot be allowed to have my say ? Does my honourable friend want to impose this restriction because I happen to belong to the Scheduled Castes ?

Mr. Speaker : The honourable member's speech, I think, is not quite relevant. What the honourable member should have done when he started his speech was that he should have stated the policy of the Government which he wanted to discuss and then, if necessary, he might have stated facts in support of what he wanted and what the Government's policy has not provided.

Lala Harnam Das : Sir, I am telling you how we are being treated in the matter of Government services. Of all the Achhuts who have been taken in Government service only 9 are drawing Rs. 40 or about that much per mensem.

Mr. Speaker : Please speak to the motion. You are going away from the motion.

Lala Harnam Das : Sir, I was illustrating by an example that what the Government has done for us is hopelessly inadequate and I wanted to prove thereby that the Government is following an anti-Achhut policy. Moreover, my honourable friends have declared in the press-notes and *communiqués* issued by the Information Bureau that a great deal has been done for the Achhuts. Then they say: 'we have appointed one of you as a sub-judge. What more do you want?' May I ask what they have to say about so many of their own people among the sub-judges? To appoint one man as sub-judge out of forty thousand Achhuts is not an achievement to be proud of. It is only in order to shut our mouths, so that we may not say that none from amongst us has been appointed on a responsible post. Some ten or twelve Extra Assistant Commissioners are appointed every year but all these posts go to others and we are given only menial jobs. This is because my honourable friends want us to remain slaves for ever. On the other hand we want that there should be no slave in the country. The Government should, therefore, give us our due share of responsible posts. Their main excuse is that qualified persons are not available among the Achhuts. Sir, there are M.A.'s, B.A.'s and LL.B.'s among the Achhuts. What more qualifications do they want? May I ask what they have to say about the qualifications of their own proteges? It has not been possible for us to understand during the last four years as to what qualifications this Government considers necessary. I may also point out that these big people have congressites and communists among their nearest relations while the Achhuts have always remained loyal and faithful to the Government. Even in this House some of my brethren have been supporting the Government under all circumstances. They are so loyal that they have not the courage even to ask for the Achhuts what is their due.

Now I come to Panchayat officers. It is often asked as to what are their duties. My reply is that their duties consist of nothing but arranging conferences to provide a platform for the Honourable Ministers and to carry on the propaganda of the Unionist party. The other day the Honourable Chaudhri Sir Chhotu Ram declared in a meeting of the Achhut Panchayat officers that the latter should make it clear to the Achhuts that no amendment can be made in the Alienation of Land Act for their benefit. He declared it in unmistakable terms that so long as Chhotu Ram was at the helm of affairs such an amendment was out of the question and also that the Achhuts are slaves and, therefore, they shall have to dance to the tune of their masters. A similar conference was held in my own ilaqa the other day. The spy of the Government in that ilaqa, i.e., the Panchayat Officer, told the Achhuts that they would be made panchs, sarpanchs, assessors, chairmen of local bodies, etc. Now those poor people look upon these posts as very high honours and so they were over pleased at such promises. The result was that they collected Rs. 100 which money is still with the Chaudhri Sahib. When the conference was held so many officers including the Deputy Commissioner and the Tahsildar appeared on the scene to overawe the poor fellows although it was only a conference of poor Achhuts and one constable would have been enough to maintain peace and order at that place.

Mr. Speaker : Please speak to the motion.

Lala Harnam Das : Sir, I am explaining the policy as well as devices of the Government so that every one may know how the rights of Achhuts are being trampled under foot. No chance was given to the Achhuts to ventilate their grievances in that conference. The Honourable Chaudhri Sahib made this speech, paid tributes to the Panchayat Officer, the Deputy Commissioner and other officers and left for Lahore in his car. My submission is that the Achhuts are already in a miserable plight and it is the height of heartlessness to treat them in this manner.

Again, take the policy of the Government in respect of our representation in local bodies. Whenever the Government found it impossible to ignore us an Achhut was nominated. But even there the appointment was made only when the Government found some candidate who had been supporting their party through thick and thin.

Mr. Speaker : Please do not make insinuations.

Lala Harnam Das : In Jullundur the population of Achhuts is greater than in some other cities where we have been given representation on the local bodies. But a certain person came to the authorities and told them that if he were appointed a member of the Hoshiarpur District Board, the Government could very well afford to ignore the Achhuts in Jullundur and Sheikhpura because he was a very influential man and his appointment would satisfy the Achhuts in all the three districts. Even in Lahore where the number of Achhuts is considerable and they are engaged in various essential services they have been given only one out of 68 seats in the Corporation and even that by nomination. This is the policy of our Government against which I want to record my strong protest.

With these remarks I move my cut motion.

Mr. Speaker : Demand under consideration, motion moved is—

That the item of Rs. 87,000 on account of Ministers (voted) be reduced by Rs. 100.

Sardar Moola Singh (Hoshiarpur West, General—Reserved Seat, Rural) (*Punjab*): Sir, I rise to support the cut-motion moved by my honourable friend master Harnam Das. I would like to inform the House, through you, how this Government which sometimes claims to be a zamindar Government and at others professes allegiance to the Muslim League has meted out a step-motherly treatment to the forty lakhs of Achhut population of this Province. It would do a lot of good to those of our brethren who laugh at our speeches to know how far the Punjab Government has been instrumental in raising the social, economic and educational status of the depressed classes. It was in 1937 that Sir Sikander Hyat-Khan and Chaudhri Sir Chhotu Ram came into power. Let us see how far the position of the depressed classes has been improved during these years of their regime. First of all take the case of education. There has been absolutely no change. The Honourable Minister of Education was gracious enough to declare that half-fee concessions will be granted to our boys up to the tenth class. I would submit that in spite of our poverty we do manage somehow to get our boys educated up to the matriculation standard, but the real expenditure that we cannot afford comes with higher University education, and there the Government has not given us even the slightest encouragement and concession. May I know how many Achhuts have received the Bachelor's or Master's degree with the help of the Government?

[S. Moola Singh.]

How many of our youngmen have they sent abroad for higher studies in Engineering or other such subjects? There has not been any change whatsoever in the educational policy of the Government so far as the depressed classes are concerned. Whenever a question is asked in the House a vague and evasive reply is received from the Government. If the question of scholarships to Achhut students is raised a set reply that "the answer to this question is not yet ready" is handed over to the honourable members who put such questions. Again, turning to the economic condition we find that here also nothing has been done. May I put it to the Honourable Premier—who to-day adorns the chair as the head of the Government and may possibly be sitting on the opposite benches to-morrow—if he has done anything towards the amelioration of the bad economic condition of the depressed classes? Similarly, I would ask the same question of Chaudhri Sir Chhotu Ram whether it was not a part of his duty to see that the economic lot of the Harijans living in the Province should be improved? Has any industry been brought into existence for their benefit? Have they been trained in any vocation or even taught to weave cloth? Is there any way by which the Government has sought to encourage industry among these classes? However loudly may Sir Sikander and Chaudhri Sir Chhotu Ram blow their trumpet that in their eyes all classes and communities are equal the fact remains that they cannot name even one Achhut whom they might have appointed in any responsible position. Have they appointed a Harijan as an Extra Assistant Commissioner, a Tahsildar, a Naib-Tahsildar or even a Girdawar Qanungo? Not to speak of appointing one the Commissioners and the Deputy Commissioners do not forward their rolls even when they apply. You would not find a single Inspector, Sub-Inspector or even an Assistant Sub-Inspector in the Police Department from among the members of the depressed classes. There is no dearth of capable young men of my community and I do not see any reason why no chance is ever given to them? In a public utterance in Jullundur Chaudhri Sir Chhotu Ram warned the Sikhs that if they thought of resisting Sir Sikander's Government they would be reduced to the position of grass cutters but at the same time he extolled the Ramdasias and Balmikis for offering recruits in large numbers to the Indian Army. May I know if this is the reward of that loyal effort that no one is appointed as an Inspector or Sub-Inspector from among us? Let alone higher posts, even Achhut constables are being compelled by their officers to leave the police force. I have received numerous complaints of this nature from the members of my community. A constable, Mehnga Ram by name, who belonged to my district (Hoshiarpur) and was five feet nine inches high was treated so badly that the poor boy had to resign. Are these the achievements of the Government during the four years of their regime? I know that in reply the Honourable Minister would say that the Government have given us two posts of Parliamentary Private Secretaries carrying a salary of Rs. 250 each. But is this such a magnanimous act that you should boast of it? I think that it would be only a recognition of our right even if a place in the cabinet is offered to an Achhut. Of all the members of the cabinet Chaudhri Sir Chhotu Ram is the most to blame because he has not done anything to move the Government in our favour despite his being our co-religionist. (*Interruption.*) Well all the jats were Achhuts in the past but Chaudhri

Sahib's efforts have raised them to the position that they now enjoy while we from among whom the jats had sprung have remained neglected.

Besides that what I wish to tell you is about the injustice done to us during census operation. The Muslim enumerators have written us as Ramdasias, etc., in the column fixed for caste and Musalmans in the column of religion. Where there were Hindu enumerators they wrote us Hindus in both the columns fixed for caste and religion. The Sikh enumerators also did the same. They wrote us Sikh in both the columns. Now the question arises as to what arrangement Sir Sikander made for our correct and accurate census. In this connection let me tell you that there is one Chanan Singh a man of great influence in the constituency of my friend Sardar Gopal Singh. The police beat him mercilessly and what I want to tell you by citing this instance is that the Police is still perpetrating cruelties to our brethren and it is a thousand pity that whenever we happen to express those cruelties on the floor of this House and narrate certain instances of hardships and injustice from which we the members of the Scheduled Castes suffer, the Government laughs on it as if we are telling a lie. I appeal to the Honourable Premier to treat every body alike in this province. If he is a good Premier for the Musalmans and big zamindars of the province he should also be a good Premier for the poor and if he cannot do so the sooner he resigns the Premiership the better it is. Here I may also point out that I would have been a great supporter of Sir Sikander Hyat and rather sitting on those benches behind him if he or Sir Chhotu Ram had exempted the Acchuts from this Zamindara Act. (*Laughter.*) It is a pity that the Government is according to the Scheduled Castes a step-motherly treatment. The Honourable Sir Sikander Hyat and Sir Chhotu Ram have declared Balochs and Mazhabi Sikhs as agriculturists. Is it not strange that a Pathan coming from Afghanistan can come here in the Punjab and live enjoying the rights of an agriculturist, but a Moola Singh and a Harnam Das, born and brought up in this land, cannot have the same rights and are not permitted by the Government to purchase land more than five marlas. This being the state of affairs I do not see any reason why the members of the Scheduled Castes are not declared as agriculturists while people belonging to other castes are declared as notified agriculturists. Besides, I want to tell the Honourable Sir Chhotu Ram that injustice done to us, has been on the increase since this Government have come in power. It is quite clear from the fact that we are being granted two and a half per cent representations. Sir, we should not be oblivious of the fact that according to our population out of 175 seats of this House we have got eight seats which means that with this calculation we deserve seven per cent representations. So I want to ask the Government whether they have provided seven per cent appointments to the Scheduled Castes. I ask them if they have given us our due representation in District Boards? Absolutely not. The fact is this that in every District Board and in every municipal committee members are selected by nomination and so far as the rights of Scheduled Castes are concerned they are thrown away under some false and untrue pretext. Take for instance the Department of Irrigation. The same step-motherly treatment is accorded to us there also. It is being said by the Government that an amount of say ten thousand rupees would be granted to the Scheduled Castes as stipends and scholarships. But it is most regrettable that no action is being taken in this respect. Under the circumstances

[S. Moola Singh.]

it can be said without fear of contradiction that no solid work has been done by the Government for the betterment of the Scheduled Castes. The point rather the most important point to which the Government is giving its full attention is this. They want to be certain as to which of the members of the Scheduled Castes would co-operate with them in the coming election. They may take it from me that the honourable members belonging to the Scheduled Castes who are sitting on this side of the House can never be won over by the Honourable Premier unless and until our seven points are accepted by him.

Mr. Speaker : The Honourable member is irrelevant.

Sardar Moola Singh : Sir, I am discussing the policy of the Government and if you come in contact with the Achhuts you would know that they are tired of this Government. What I was submitting was that attempts were made to find out as to which of the Achhuts would join hands with the Unionist Party and which not.

Mr. Speaker : That is not the matter before the House.

Sardar Moola Singh : I want to invite the attention of the House to this fact that four years have elapsed and the fifth has set in but the blot of the failings of the Government with regard to the betterment of the Achhuts which was put down on the face of the Government has not been washed away. And if the Government want to wipe that blot away they should declare the Achhuts as agriculturists and abolish Rayiat Nama and accept our demands. This is the only way to win the good will of the Achhuts.

With these few remarks, Sir, I strongly support the cut motion moved by my honourable friend Lala Harnam Das.

Sardar Gopal Singh (American) (Ludhiana and Ferozepore, General-Reserved Seat, Rural) (*Punjab*) : Sir, I rise to oppose the cut motion moved by my honourable friend Lala Harnam Das. Let me first of all point out that the most part of his speech was absolutely wrong and unfounded. In the beginning of his speech he referred to a Memorial addressed to the Honourable Premier from the people of Jullundur and my friend said that in that Memorial unnecessary encomiums and tributes were paid to Sir Sikander Hyat while he did not deserve those praises. I may tell my friend that keeping the census operations in view he should remember that the Scheduled Castes whose population is between 30 and 40 lakhs owe their very existence in the Province to the Unionist Party. Otherwise on account of the hopeless social disorder in this country we would have vanished long ago from this world. It is only this Government which has protected our rights. (*Hear, hear.*) Sir Sikander is after all a human being. He has to overcome difficulties which thwart him while doing anything for the amelioration of the Achhuts. I quite agree that in this direction the Ministry has not been able to devote its attention to an extent to which we fervently desire. But things are to be faced as they are and not as they ought to be. We must be fair to the Honourable Premier and give him full credit for what he has done for the Scheduled Castes. It would be the height of ingratitude on our part if we like my honourable friend Lala Harnam Das should hurl

accusations at his door without rhyme or reason. My honourable friend conveniently forgets that a great deal of our difficulties besetting us and the hardships and handicaps from which we are suffering, would be resolved in no time if the social order of our society is radically changed. Besides, much effort is required to restore the mental equilibrium of the Caste Hindus who have not the cheek to see us raised to the higher status. (*Hear, hear.*) May I ask my honourable friend opposite whether he is aware as to what happens in the countryside when notice boards or placards are hung on the wells, declaring that the same are open to the use of Harijans. The notices are removed and satyagrah is offered by the Caste Hindus to prevent the Harijans from using the wells. May I inform him that in Amritsar district alone not a vestige of three thousand placards hung on the wells, was left in one night. It is a thousand pities that the champions of the Hindus allow everybody but exclude the Harijans from drawing water from the wells. They do not stop at that. They put obstructions in their way by offering satyagrah. Is this not an obstacle put in the way of the Government who wants to help the Harijans. As a matter of fact what we require is the change of hearts in those persons who in the name of religion foment trouble and create bad blood among the Harijans and others and also try to bring the Government into disrepute by offering opposition to whatever is done by it for bettering the lot of Harijans. I can quote chapter and verse to show how our Caste Hindu brethren trample under foot the rights of the Harijans. The Government gives us representation in the local bodies but the others who consider us in their fold try to undo and torpedo it. For instance only recently a Brahmin out of protest offered satyagrah at Rawalpindi on the ground that a Harijan was nominated to the District Board. Then the Punjab Government grant stipends and scholarships to the Harijan students but the Caste Hindus try to usurp them by manipulations. A glaring instance has come to my knowledge. One Chaman Lal, a Hindu Clerk of Court at Hissar, has been making efforts to get a scholarship meant for the Harijans, awarded to his daughter. (*Laughter.*) Again Patwaris, teachers, etc., are appointed from amongst the Harijans. Posts in other departments are given to them according to their share but others, I mean the Caste Hindus, who profess so much lip sympathy for us, leave no stone unturned to get hold of them. Then it has been stated by my honourable friends over there that Panchayat officers appointed by the Government are serving as spies. I categorically refute this baseless and an unwarranted charge. Four Panchayat officers who have been recruited from our community are discharging their duties most honestly, loyally and efficiently. Then is it not a concession to Harijans that those who pay chauth cess can become eligible for appointment as a Panch.

Chaudhri Faqir Chand : On a point of order, Sir. Will the honourable member please quote the letter received by him in regard to the insulting treatment meted out to one of his Achhut brethren ?

Mr. Speaker : Order, order. This is not a point of order.

Sardar Gopal Singh : My honourable friends have tried to pour phials of wrath on Sir Sikander's Government for not raising the Harijans to a higher level in the twinkling of an eye. I may draw their pointed attention to the fact that but for the sympathetic attitude of the Govern-

[S. Gopal Singh.]

ment they and their community would have been wiped off by those with whom they have joined forces at present. (*Hear, hear.*) Have they not cared to read the provisions of the Mandar Sudhar Bill sponsored by Rai Bahadur Lala Gopal Das? So much venom has been put in this measure that if it is passed in its present form, life would become difficult for the Harijans. Just as definition of a Sikh is given in the Gurdawara Act, similarly a provision relating to the definition of a Hindu has been made in that Bill.

Lala Harnam Das : On a point of order, Sir. Is the honourable member in order in making references to another honourable member of the House, who has no connection with the matter under discussion? He can criticise the Government for their policy in regard to the Scheduled Castes and not another honourable member.

Sardar Gopal Singh : Well, Sir, the Mandar Sudhar Bill provides the definition as follows :—

A Hindu is one who believes in Shastras.

A Hindu is one who respects cow.

Well this can be tolerated to some extent.

A Hindu is one who believes in the caste system by birth.

In other words it means that he would be a true Hindu who calls Dr. Narang a Kshatri and Lala Harnam Das a Chamar. (*Laughter.*)

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : We do not believe in caste system by birth.

Sardar Gopal Singh : Then, Sir, efforts are being made to get a legal sanction to this system from this House. We cannot brook this state of affairs in a province in which Islam is a predominant religion—a religion which enjoins toleration, equality and unity on all human beings. (*Hear, hear.*) My honourable friends of the caste Hindus want to have this measure passed in a land where the Great Gurus of the heroic Sikhs abolished the system of zat-pat root and branch and where Swami Daya Nand preached the gospel of unity. (*Hear, hear.*) But the pity is that in spite of the tyranny of the Hindus my honourable friend Lala Harnam Das has thrown the responsibility of this sorry state of affairs on the shoulders of the Unionist Government. Then Sardar Mula Singh threw the bomb-shell that this province was saddled with a Muslim League Government. I pity his ignorance. Strictly speaking, as I have stated many a time before, I personally desire that we had a Muslim League Government here. I am convinced that so far as the Achhuts are concerned, they would be better off under a Muslim League Government as their interests would be safe in the hands of the latter. (*Hear, hear.*) In this connection I would refer the honourable members to the Muslim League Government of Bengal. There a Minister has been taken in the Cabinet from the Scheduled Castes. They have been given their due share in the services as well. If the Bengal Government fail to find a suitable Achhut candidate from Bengal, they get one from another province. Again if I may be permitted to state we are under a deep debt of gratitude to Mr. Jinnah. I would not be exaggerating facts if I say that it is due to his untiring efforts that the rights of the Achhuts have been recognized. (*Hear, hear.*) I think time is not far off when Caste Hindus will be brought to their senses. I believe that with the rise

of Muslims in power, the Achhuts will also flourish. We would make a common cause with them and thus raise the status of our community still higher. (*Hear, hear.*)

Then my honourable friends have accused the Honourable Sir Chhotu Ram for callousness towards the Scheduled Castes. It was stated that he refused to declare the Achhuts as agriculturists. My submission is that the only fault of the Honourable Minister for Development is that he calls a spade a spade. He does not mince matters. He candidly says that the present is not the opportune moment for disturbing the Alienation of Land Act and hence he cannot hold out empty promises to notify them as agriculturists. To mislead the people is not in his line. It is the habit of my honourable friends opposite. For instance when Mr. Bose paid a visit to this province, a meeting was held and a great many promises were made to the Achhuts, the fulfilment of which never materialized. But under the regime of the Unionist Government even handed justice is being done to the Scheduled Castes. The Honourable Minister for Development has passed orders to the Heads of the Departments under his portfolio that if a post reserved for Achhuts falls vacant, it should be filled with his consultation. This is how he jealously safeguards the interests of the Scheduled Castes.

Sir, my honourable friend Sardar Mula Singh has asked as to what the Unionist Government has done for the members of the scheduled castes. I may point out to him that so

2 p. m. far as education is concerned, every kind of facility has been provided to the members of our community. Education upto the Primary Standard is free, and in the Matriculation classes a concession of half fee is granted to our students. Besides a large amount of money has been earmarked for giving stipends to Harijan boys.

As to the complaint concerning the recent Census, I point out that if justice has been done to our case in any quarter it was done by the Muslim enumerators while the Hindus and Sikhs have not dealt fairly and squarely with us. After all the Muslims had no selfish motive. The Hindus had. They wanted to include us among them and that is why they prevented justice being done to us. The Sikh enumerators also have done us a great wrong. In a nut shell the position is this that the Unionist Government is not to blame for any injustice that has been done to us. The members opposite themselves are to blame for this.

Adverting to the question of education, I will inform the honourable critics that as many as 88 stipends valuing Rs. 19,918 have been reserved for students belonging to the scheduled castes while the value of all the stipends reserved for Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs is Rs. 10,000 only. (*Hear, hear.*) These figures speak for themselves. I need not comment upon them. This shows the actual and solid help of the backward community of ours.

Now let us consider how long the Honourable Sir Sikander Hyat-Khan has been in office. For 2½ years only and in this period the harijans have, so to say, come into existence. Previously they did not live politically. Take the case of begar. The first thing done by the Honourable Premier was to order the Government Officers to get a proclamation made with the beat of drum that begar was prohibited. Now whosoever infringes this order can be prosecuted.

[S. Gopal Singh.]

There is however one complaint that I must make against the mounted police which continues acting in a high-handed manner. Sardar Chanan Singh was mercilessly beaten by mounted police in spite of the fact he is a man of high social status inasmuch as he is the President of the local association. But so cruel is the police that it did not mind the high social status of this gentleman and began to commit all sorts of atrocities on him on the complaint of some body without verifying the truth of the charge brought against him. If these atrocities continue to be committed on us and even on the most respected members of our community, we will not be able to face our community without being steeped in shame. All our honour and prestige as members of this honourable House will be gone and we will lose the confidence of our people. I would appeal to the Government to see that such atrocities are not committed in future and the guilty persons and the erring officials are brought to book. My community is making a great effort to help the Government in its war effort and the various members of our scheduled castes are working day and night for this laudable object. We can prove as brave as any Punjabi can and in fact we do not lag behind any Tiwana or Jat in this respect. But it is a pity that the local authorities do not pay any heed to our grievances. Telegrams were sent to the Deputy Commissioner of Ludhiana complaining against the atrocities committed by the mounted police. But no response was made. All I want is that notice should be taken of such matters by the Government without any inordinate delay.

Another grievance of my community is that we are not given due share in the Civil Service while we are proving our fitness in the Army. We win promotions to high offices in the army. We become Captains and commissioned officers in the army. But it is a thousand pities that we are not sometimes regarded fit for employment in the civil departments of the Government. It behoves the Government to remove this grievance at the earliest possible moment.

With these words, Sir, I oppose the cut motion that has been moved from the other side of the House.

Premier (The Honourable Major Sir Sikander Hyat-Khan) (*Urdu*) : Sir, after the able and forceful speech of my honourable friend, Sardar Gopal Singh, I do not feel inclined to elucidate the point any further. However I would like to mention one or two points to remove the misunderstanding under which my honourable friend over there, who represents the scheduled castes, has been labouring so far. The English adage goes 'better late than never', and if my honourable friend comes round and realises the sound position we have taken up, we shall welcome his return to this side. He has insinuated that Sardar Gopal Singh is connected with the Unionist Party only because of 250 rupees he is receiving. As a matter of fact the boot is on the other leg, as some members of his community suspect that he left these benches because he could not get 250 rupees.

Lala Harnam Das : That is wrong.

Premier : The honourable member is not correct. He crossed the floor when he was not appointed as a Private Parliamentary Secretary.

Mr. Speaker : I would request the Honourable Premier not to make insinuations.

Lala Harnam Das : If the Honourable Premier can use the word 'jhut', we can also use the same word.

Premier : I am only stating what is being said about the honourable member.

Mr. Speaker : Did the Honourable Premier use the words, "جھوٹا" (Jhut) ? If so, that is an unparliamentary expression.

Premier : I said "یہ شخص نہیں ہے" (This person is not). A person must possess some qualifications for being appointed as a Parliamentary Secretary.

The first and foremost qualification required in a person aspiring to become a Parliamentary Secretary is that he should have character. If the honourable member had the interests of his brethren at heart he would not have gone over to the opposition benches. Had he been mindful of their interests he would not have participated in a conspiracy to drive this party out of office and form in its place a new Government.

Lala Harnam Das : The Honourable Premier is making unjustified attacks.

Premier : The honourable member has stated that he received a message from me to the effect that I was willing to make him a Parliamentary Secretary. It is inconceivable that I could have been guilty of such a lapse, when the honourable member does not possess a single attribute necessary for such a responsible office. Whereas I can say all this with regard to him such remarks will not be applicable to Sardar Mula Singh. He never had any connection with this party. He was not returned to this House on the ticket of the Unionist Party. If he criticises the Government he is entitled to do so, and no one can question his *bona fides*. But an honourable member who to begin with was a member of this party and then left it for personal ends exposes himself to the remarks which people make against him. His leaving this party for no obvious reason must necessarily make his conduct suspicious. He must have been led to leave these benches by some motive and that motive is alleged to be the one to which I have alluded. Had he been a true well-wisher of his community, he would have stuck to these benches with the leaders of his community who are well educated and public spirited. He should not aspire for an office for which he is unsuited. Both Sardar Gopal Singh and Bhagat Hans Raj are well educated and are accepted leaders of their communities. He should have followed them if he was a true representative and well-wisher of his community.

Lala Harnam Das : The Honourable Premier is lying. He should not misstate facts.

Mr. Speaker : The honourable member is unparliamentary.

Lala Harnam Das : The Honourable Premier has made some insinuations against me.

Mr. Speaker : I have warned the Honourable Premier that he should not make insinuations. I have already said that the words "جھوٹا" (Jhut) are unparliamentary.

Premier : Well, Sir,.....

Sardar Sahib Sardar Santokh Singh : On a point of order. Are these personal reflections parliamentary that these gentlemen left the party, because they were not offered secretaryship ? The same charge may be made against us to-morrow.

Mr. Speaker : When I heard these words I at once told him that he was making insinuations.

Sardar Sahib Sardar Santokh Singh : He has repeated it not once, not twice, but many times.

Mr. Speaker : I request the Premier not to make such insinuations.

Premier : I have not made any insinuation but stated what is alleged, by his own community to be the reason for leaving the party on whose ticket he was elected. (*An honourable member again rose to say something.*)

Mr. Speaker : If the honourable member again speaks like that I shall have to ask him to leave the Chamber.

Premier : Then Sir, my honourable friend made a complaint regarding the census. Sardar Gopal Singh has given him a satisfactory reply. The honourable member complained that some Muhammadans have got their names entered as Chamars. No sane person will believe that any Muhammadan will say that he is a Chamar. A Chamar may get himself enumerated as a Hindu but he cannot get himself entered as a Muslim because as soon as a Chamar or any other Adharmi embraces Islam he becomes an equal with other Muslims and is entitled to all the privileges to which a Muslim is entitled. A deputation came to see me only a few days ago—my honourable friend was a member of that deputation and said that they had been told that if the scheduled castes did not get their names entered as Hindus they would be deprived of their right to vote or stand for election from the general seats. I explained to them that the general seats did not necessarily mean Hindu seats. All communities, except Muslims and Sikhs, and including Parsies, Adharmies and other scheduled classes are entitled to be registered as voters in the general constituencies. I further explained to them that the enumerators would enter them as Hindus if they stated that they were Hindus.

Sardar Gopal Singh suggested that to carry out census operations among the scheduled classes, men belonging to these classes should have been appointed as enumerators. Census is a central subject. I have nothing to do with it. I advised them to represent their case to the Census Superintendent. Now the honourable member opposite complains that many Achhuts have been entered as Hindus. I think the honourable member has no right to complain. May I ask him what he did to stop the Achhuts from getting themselves entered as Hindus ? Did he go out to explain to the Achhuts that they should abstain from getting themselves entered as Hindus ? It was up to the representatives of the Achhuts to explain to them the implications of their being entered as Hindus. Similarly, if any Achhuts got themselves entered as Sikhs it was his duty to guide them. Those Achhuts who wanted to be shown as Hindus in the census report have no right to complain that they have been entered as Hindus. Only such of them are justified in complaining as wanted to be entered as Achhuts but were entered by the enumerators as Hindus against their wishes. My

duty was to explain to you the implication of getting yourself entered as Hindus. I explained it to you. I could do no more. Now you had better ask those persons who advised you to get yourself entered as Hindus, to retain your share of the general seats, why they misled you. I can only advise you to go to the Census Superintendent and complain to him that you have been wrongly entered as Hindus and ask him to set aside the wrong entries. (*Interruption*). Now you have no right to complain. Think of what you have been doing.

Then Sir, it was stated that there are no Achhuts holding higher posts. In this province previous to the formation of the present Government the scheduled classes had no status. No one attached any importance to the Achhuts. But after our coming into power we extended a helping hand to the scheduled classes. We have been helping them to come to the same level as the other communities. We did it not only because we happen to be the party who run the Government, but also because we consider it our duty to help them; it was a moral obligation on us to help the backward sections of the population. This is an important item in the creed of the Unionist Party. We helped the Achhuts, but the honourable members sitting on the opposite benches, instead of helping us to raise the backward and the downtrodden, made our task difficult by putting obstacles in our way. They try to thwart us and instead of helping their community harmed it. Previously police constables were not recruited from amongst the scheduled classes and the reasons have been fully explained by Sardar Gopal Singh. After some police constables were recruited from the Achhuts we received complaints that the Achhut constables leave service because of the trouble they have to face on account of lack of messing arrangements. The high caste constables would not allow them to become members of the mess. In order to remove their difficulty I advised that the constables belonging to the scheduled classes should be kept together at one place so that they may have their separate mess arrangements. We could not do anything more than this. It was not within the power of the Government to abolish untouchability. We are doing all we can for them. The honourable member opposite also should have done something to remove untouchability. But he has not even attempted it.

I ask, how many times has my honourable friend over there dined with Rai Bahadur Lala Gopal Das? I am sure he will not be able to point out even one such occasion. (*A voice: He is staying at his bungalow*). So far as that is concerned I may tell him that when he leaves Lahore, the rooms previously occupied by him will not be used unless and until they are properly cleaned according to the orthodox Hindu rites. On the contrary if Gopal Singh comes to me and stays with me at my residence I will not have to perform the ceremony of Havan before using the room occupied by him. My friends on this side will not feel any hesitation in using the room occupied by him at all. What is more we eat with them at the same table and if my honourable friend over there comes he can also dine with us. But let him ask an orthodox Hindu to eat with him and he will get an answer which he would not like. (*Interruption*). May I remind you of the episode when some Hindu friends decided to boycott the old Council? Instead of putting forward their own candidates they returned Mr. Uttam Chand and Chaudhri Bansilal. Now Chaudhri Bansilal was a shrewd

[Premier.] fellow. The party who had got him elected were always apprehensive lest he should vote against them, and they always tried to placate him. It was then customary for Ministers to make arrangements for providing tea for the members of their party. When all the members sat down, Chaudhri Bansilal used to get up and go to the table where orthodox Hindu members were seated and picked up one or two pieces of sweets from that table. The result invariably was that the orthodox members did not touch anything and he had the pick of sweets and pastry and other edibles. (*Loud laughter*).

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : On a point of order. The honourable member who moved this cut referred to this matter of census in a casual manner, as one of the instances of the harm done to them. The Honourable the Premier now has taken upon himself to libel the whole community and to make joke out of it. He seems to have converted this House into a mosque to preach.

Mr. Speaker : Please do not make a speech.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : He is basing all his arguments on that—

Mr. Speaker : What is the point of order ?

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : The point of order is this. Is it permissible to take up one point which has been casually touched and base all his arguments on that and fire a tirade against the whole community and against a member who is absent and whose religious doctrines are being attacked here ? I submit that everything is being attributed to the Hindus which cannot be true at all. As a matter of fact I know that Chaudhri Bansilal, when he was member of the Council, used to take tea every day in the same room with all the members present. There are hundreds and thousands of Hindus who eat with them. (*Interruptions*). I have personally eaten with him (*Interruptions*). These are delicate matters.

Premier : My honourable friend is unnecessarily touchy. He has no business to get up and interrupt as he likes.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : I have every right (*Voices : Order order.*)

Premier : It is no point of order.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : It is not for the Honourable Premier, to say that ; it is for the Speaker to say whether it is a point of order or not. Is he the Speaker ?

Mr. Speaker : That is not a point of order.

Premier : My honourable friend is getting restive. There are people who do not eat with the scheduled castes. Can he deny it ? He cannot.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : I say there are thousands who are prepared to eat and do eat with them.

Premier : All honour to those who are prepared to eat with them.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : Do not malign the whole community.

Premier : It is no question of maligning.

Mr. Speaker : This should not be discussed any further.

Premier : My honourable friend was wrong. I am not trying to malign the whole community. As I have said it is a question of fact, and if he wants to remove untouchability he should persuade others also to bring about this much needed social reform.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : We are spending millions on their uplift.

Mr. Speaker : I cannot allow two speeches to be delivered at one and the same time.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : Why is he treading on delicate religious grounds ?

Mr. Speaker : He should not, but the whole thing has been started by others and not by him.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : He is going to dwell upon these delicate matters.

Premier (Urdu) : Then Sir, it has been urged on the floor of the House that scheduled castes are debarred from using public wells. As has been explained by my honourable friend Sardar Gopal Singh notices have been posted on every public well in which it is stated that everybody, including the scheduled castes, has the right to draw and drink water from those wells. Now if the orthodox Hindus prevent Achhuts from drawing water from such wells I do not think the fault lies at the door of this Government. It is a curse that every matter here is given a religious tinge. My honourable friend who has preceded me has given an instance of Amritsar where the Achhuts were prevented by orthodox Hindus from drawing water from a public well.

Sardar Sahib Sardar Santokh Singh : May I ask whether there has been any trouble at Amritsar in the matter of drawing water from the wells by Harijans ? None whatsoever.

Premier : I am glad to hear that. I hope there will be none.

Sardar Sahib Sardar Santokh Singh : Has anybody been ever prevented from drawing water from wells in Amritsar ?

Premier (Urdu) : I am very glad to hear from my honourable friend Sardar Santokh Singh that no such incident has taken place at Amritsar. But my point is that generally we do hear of such cases when this kind of treatment is meted out to the members of the scheduled castes. Let me also tell my friends that we have not posted these notices on private wells. On the contrary they have been posted on those wells which have been sunk at Government expense. But it is a matter of great regret that in some cases these notices were removed by orthodox Hindus. This shows the mentality of those bigots who do not allow other human beings to draw water from public wells. I take this opportunity of sounding a note of warning to such misguided persons that henceforward if anybody prevents any other person from drawing water from any public well, serious notice will be taken of his action. All persons are equal in the eyes of Government and we cannot tolerate any distinction being made between one individual and another. As a matter of fact we regard all persons as equal, and we are trying our utmost to get a fair deal for the scheduled castes.

[Premier.]

Then Sir, it has been alleged that in the matter of making appointments Achhuts have not been given their due share. So far as the department of Police is concerned I have already explained the position. In spite of those difficulties which I have enumerated above, 32 members of the scheduled castes have been recruited in this department. These figures relate to the period ending 1939—later figures are not available yet. But I may tell my honourable friends that we have issued instructions to all heads of departments that the scheduled castes should be given their due share and I believe that those instructions are being carried out. Then my honourable friend was pleased to remark that in the higher services Achhuts are not taken. Let me tell him that previously the Achhuts were not even considered. It goes to the credit of this Government that they have recruited a sub-judge from amongst the Achhuts. (*Hear, hear*). As far as the nomination to P. C. S. (Executive Branch) and the cadre of Tahsildars and Naib-Tahsildars is concerned I have issued a standing order to the Commissioners that whenever they find a suitable Achhut candidate they should send his roll up. No such orders have issued regarding any other community. This privilege is meant for scheduled castes only.

Now if my friends ask the Commissioners to send up the rolls of candidates as have studied upto the Primary standard only, I must say that they are asking for the impossible. Anyway, Sir, special orders have been issued to the Commissioners and the Deputy Commissioners to recommend suitable candidates from among the scheduled castes wherever they are available. I got the name of one scheduled class candidate submitted even for the Indian Civil Service Examination, but if he unfortunately failed to pass the examination it is not my fault. It has been said that Sir Chhotu Ram has done this and done that for the jats but let me inform my honourable friends that it was as recently as 1922 that a jat was appointed for the first time to the Provincial Civil Service. The scheduled castes came into the picture only in 1937 when we assumed office; and during a period of 2½ years, we have given you what others could not get in 20 years (*applause*). I may also add that the scheduled castes have not got even this much in any other province.

Malik Barkat Ali : May I ask one question of the Honourable Premier? Will he please say whether it is true that sub-judges are recruited by open competition and if so, whether that Achhut sub-judge to whom the Honourable Premier has referred was taken as a result of that competition or was appointed otherwise, and also whether there has ever been in the past any enactment disqualifying the Achhuts from appearing in the open competition?

Premier : My honourable friend has evidently read the old rules and he does not seem to be aware of the new rules. Now, the communal proportions have been fixed—

Malik Barkat Ali : When was that sub-judge appointed?

Premier : In 1938. I myself appointed him.

Malik Barkat Ali : Was it as a result of competitive examination or independently of the examination?

Premier : As a result of a qualifying examination.

Malik Barkat Ali : My question is this. For the recruitment of sub-judges if the open competition is the sole qualifying test, was this Achhut sub-judge appointed because he occupied a very high place among the competitive examinees or was it for some other consideration?

Premier : He was not among the first ten or twelve whom we recruited. He was probably forty-ninth or fiftieth. I selected him for the sub-judgeship because he was an Achhut. Now I believe my honourable friend understands the position. I hope this incumbent will justify his selection so as to make it easier for others of his class to come in.

(Urdu) Again, only recently some appointments of Naib-Tehsildars were made, and one of the posts has been given to a member of the scheduled castes in the Ambala Division. My honourable colleague Chaudhri Sir Chhotu Ram has also given special instructions in this respect to the departments under his charge. In the Police 32 members of the scheduled castes have been taken during 2½ years and more will be taken in due course. The number of posts of patwaris to be given to the scheduled castes has been fixed for every division. What more could you expect from any Government in the short span of 3 years? As to the nomination of scheduled castes to the local bodies my honourable friend is aware that instructions have been issued to the effect that wherever there is an appreciable proportion of Achhuts in the population of a place or district, they should be given their due share in the district board or municipality. As regards scholarships, I would like to draw the attention of my honourable friends to the fact that whereas Rs. 10,000 only have been allotted to all other classes, an additional sum of Rs. 19,000 has been reserved for the scheduled castes alone. It should be noted that this is in addition to the fee and other concessions enjoyed by these classes. If my honourable friends had carefully studied the memorandum or asked some one to explain it to them they would have found that the provision of this sum of Rs. 19,000 in the New Expenditure is twice the amount allotted for others. Is this not much more than what they can rightfully claim?

If my honourable friends choose to shut their eyes to facts and give their ears to their foes then this Government cannot help it. If they fall into the trap laid by their friends and well wishers, then God help them. This is an attitude of mind which has been known by experience to bring about the moral and political downfall of nations.

In the end I want to make it clear that if you want justice, fairness, and selfless service from this Government, you will certainly get it. But you should not expect from us any immoral or unfair help or bribery in any form to any body for securing approval of our policy. (Applause.)

Sardar Sahib Sardar Santokh Singh (Eastern Towns, Sikh, Urban) : In lending my support to the demand that has been made by the honourable members on this side of the House I am free to admit that this Government has done something to improve the lot of our Harijan friends. But what has been done is very insignificant. More strenuous efforts are necessary to improve their lot. The disabilities under which they suffer are indeed very great. The grievances that they have given expression to on the floor of this House are genuine. I have no quarrel with my friend Sardar Gopal Singh in having raised to the skies the alleged doings of the present ministry. Nothing else could perhaps be expected of him. But an ounce of fact is much more effective than tons of arguments that have been advanced.

[S. S. Santokh Singh.]

I may be permitted to bring to the notice of the House what these friends of ours sitting to-day on the ministerial benches did for the scheduled classes when this question of drawing water from the wells came up before the old Legislative Council in March, 1925. The resolution that was discussed at the time was as follows—

This Council recommends to the Government to take necessary steps to ensure that people of the untouchable classes are not prevented from drawing water from public wells in charge of local bodies.

Here is a list of members who supported that resolution. They are Sardar Narain Singh, Sardar Jodh Singh, Sardar Tara Singh, Sardar Mohinder Singh, Sardar Partap Singh, Sardar Buta Singh, Pandit Nanak Chand, Professor Ruchi Ram Sahni, Lala Sham Lal, Captain Dhanraj Bhasin, Lala Bodh Raj, Rai Bahadur Lala Sewak Ram, Lala Banke Rai, Dr. Nihal Chand Sekri, Lala Diwan Chand, Lala Mohan Lal Bhatnagar, Rai Bahadur Lala Dhanpat Rai, Mr. Labh Singh, Chaudhri Ram Singh and Chaudhri Kesar Singh. These are the names of gentlemen who supported the resolution that the Harijans should be allowed to draw water from wells belonging to local bodies, and who were the members that opposed the resolution and who to-day profess so much sympathy for this class and say, that they have been doing this and doing that in the interests of Achhuts?

The gentlemen who opposed that resolution at the time, I will omit the names of the officials as they do not concern us, but I will mention and I must mention the names of those gentlemen who are seated on the opposite benches and who profess to be doing so much for the Achhuts. These are the gentlemen who opposed the resolution :

Khan Bahadur Nawab Muzaffar Khan,
The Honourable Rai Sahib Chaudhri Chhotu Ram,
The Honourable Mian Sir Fazl-i-Hussain,
Malik Firoz Khan Noon,
Nawab Syed Muhammad Mehr Shah,
Mir Maqbool Mahmood,
Khan Muhammad Saifullah Khan,
Rai Shahadat Khan,
Khan Bahadur Sir Syed Mehdi Shah,
Syed Hussain Shah,
Sheikh Faiz Muhammad.
Subedar-Major Farman Ali Khan,
Lt. Sardar Sikander Hyat-Khan,
Malik Khan Muhammad Khan,
Khan Bahadur Chaudhri Fazl Ali, and
Chaudhri Sahib Dad Khan,

I will leave things at that and leave it to the public to judge who are the best well wishers of the Achhuts and who are not.

Mr. Speaker : The question is—

That the question be now put.

The motion was carried.

Lala Harnam Das (Lyallpur-Jhang, General—Reserved Seat Rural) (Urdu) : Sir, so far as the shortcomings of the Government with regard to our rights are concerned even Sardar Gopal Singh had to admit that they do exist and that the Government should remove them. Now I would say a few words in reply to what the Honourable Premier has said. First of all he was pleased to remark that I left the Ministerial party and became a critic of the policy of the Government for no better reason than that he did not confer on me a salary of Rs. 250 per mensem by appointing me as a parliamentary Private Secretary. My submission is that it was four months before these appointments were made that we handed over to the Honourable Premier the demands of achhuts in the form of a notice. We had told him that if no satisfactory reply was given before the Lahore Session we would have to take some such step as we thought proper. Four months passed and still no reply was vouchsafed to us. On the other hand many devices were adopted to coerce and cajole us. We had to appear before the Honourable Premier in his room where he told us that if a child cries too much the patience of the mother is exhausted and she is compelled to throw it away in utter disgust. By this he meant to tell us that if we insisted on such demands we could not expect a better treatment. Then efforts were made to cajole us with the promises of grants of lands in the canal colonies but my friends and I spurned such offers with the contempt they deserved.

Mr. Speaker : The honourable member is not relevant.

Lala Harnam Das : Sir, I am explaining why we left the Ministerial Party. We were told in the plainest terms that the Government was not prepared to accept our demands in respect of the rights of our community and also, as I have already stated, efforts were made to lead us astray by offers of squares of land. Under the circumstances we had no other alternative but to leave the party. Our number was small and if we stuck to that party we would have had to keep our mouths shut because, otherwise, they would have turned us out under the pretext of disciplinary action. To avoid this indignity we left the party on our own accord. Now as regards the insinuation that I am criticising the Government because I did not get salary of Rs. 250 a month let me tell you that once when the Honourable Premier found his party tottering he himself offered me the post of a Parliamentary Private Secretary in order to induce me to stick to his party. Not only that. He had obtained in writing the resignation of Sardar Gopal Singh in this connection. But I flatly refused to accept the offer and told him that the only way to keep us attached to the party was to accept the demands of our community. These demands were, firstly, that we should be declared owners of our residential houses in villages and, secondly, that we should be given our due rights under the Alienation of Land Act. When the Government refused to meet these demands we left the Ministerial Party. Thus the insinuation of the Honourable Premier is absolutely baseless.

Again, he was pleased to remark that we have been dishonest inasmuch as we have joined the Hindus for personal gains. My submission is that Sir Manohar Lal and Sir Chhotu Ram are Hindus too. Then why is he himself so thick with them? Is that not dishonesty? So far as we achhuts are concerned we have to come into contact with all communities, Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs and others. As regards personal gains, let me make him an offer. I am prepared to offer him double the amount that he thinks th

[Lala Harnam Das.]

Hindus have offered us, no matter whether I give it from my own pocket or have to beg it from others. In return let him accept the very reasonable demands of my community. (*Hear, hear*). Let the Government understand that such misstatements on its part are highly unbecoming and improper.

Now I turn to the duty of the Government in respect of census operations. There were many complaints with regard to the census of achhuts in 1931, and the same tactics are being repeated now. One of my brethren has told you what is happening in the rural areas. Telegrams were sent to the Government and it was its bounden duty to make proper arrangements in regard to these complaints. The deputation to which the Honourable Premier has referred wanted to know whether those who insisted on being entered as Ad-Dharmis would be entitled to share the rights and privileges of other scheduled castes. The Honourable Premier's reply was that by insisting on being entered as Ad-Dharmis only and not as Hindus they would not lose their titles to a share of what the scheduled castes have got under the constitution. I pointed out to him that there were twenty-six castes of achhuts who did not claim to have a different religion from Hinduism and who called themselves Hindus. There was only one caste which called itself Ad-Dharmit and demanded that it should not be included among the Hindus. The Government had accepted this demand and declared that Ad-Dharmis would not be included among Hindus. Now the other twenty-six castes were to be included in the total of Hindus but the Ad-Dharmis would not be included in that total because they are not prepared to call themselves Hindus. But when the new constitution is framed the Hindus will get their rights on the strength of their number exclusive of the Ad-Dharmis. Then again the share of Hindu Achhuts will be determined on the strength of their number and this share they will get out of the Hindu share which would have been determined on the strength of a total in which the Ad-Dharmis were not included. Then how could the Ad-Dharmis reasonably demand a part of the Hindu share reserved for Hindu Achhuts? When the new constitution is framed the Hindu and Achhut leaders will oppose it. They will not be prepared to give the Ad-Dharmis anything out of their share because they are not Hindus. At that time even Sir Chhotu Ram will vote against the wishes of Sir Sikander Hyat-Khan, because then it will be a question of the very existence of his community and not of the Unionist Party. The Honourable Premier said that those seats will be general and not Hindu-seats and thus they will belong to all such communities as Jains, Budhists, Hindus and Ad-Dharmis. I again pointed out that Jains, Budhists, vedic Dharmis, Sanatanists, were only branches of the Hindu community and all of them professed to be Hindus. But the Ad-Dharmis did not consider themselves a part of the Hindu community and, therefore, they could only claim their share as a separate community like Muslims and Sikhs in case their number justified such a claim. To this he could not give any satisfactory reply. It was clear from his attitude that he wanted to play ducks and dracks with the rights of two or three lacs of our brethren. Sir, the Poona Pact was based on the strength of Hindu Achhuts. Had the Ad-Dharmis been included in our total we would certainly have got two or three more seats in this House. It is clear that if the Ad-Dharmis go out of the total of achhuts numbering

about 9 crores they will not be able to claim any rights because their number will be small.

As regards the curse of untouchability, Sardar Sahib Sardar Santokh Singh has given a satisfactory reply to all the remarks made in this connection. My submission is that untouchability depends on the mentality of the people and it will gradually disappear as the mentality of the people improves.

Then the Honourable Premier was pleased to remark in regard to responsible posts that the rolls of the candidates were submitted by the commissioners. But my submission is that there is no difference between the Government and its officers. The actions of both belie their assurances and professions. I was submitting that the words of this Government are empty and that they do not put them into action. There is a world of difference between what they say and what they actually do. For instance it has been a practice that a Deputy Commissioner usually recommends one Aeshut candidate for the Indian Civil Service. The Government of India asked the Punjab Government to send in the role of any suitable candidate for the Indian Civil Service. Now see the officer concerned recommends the candidate in this manner. He writes that although the face of the candidate was not worth an Indian Civil Service but as in the Scheduled Castes faces of that kind were common, he was obliged to recommend that candidate. Now I ask you, Sir, whether that was a recommendation or condemnation. Well, the officer concerned was helpless as these officers are compelled to carry out the Government's policy. And I assure you Sir, that if the Government had asked us to send in some B.A., LL.B., candidates for that post we could have sent them. But the Government does not want to commit itself. What they actually know is, to extend false hopes and utter empty words and so far as action is concerned they are hopelessly nill. This was all that I wished to submit and with these few words, Sir, I close my remarks.

Minister for Development (The Honourable Chandhri Sir Chhotu Ram) (Urdu): Sir, as there is a likelihood of some misunderstanding being caused by the speech made by Sardar Sahib Sardar Santokh Singh I feel called upon to remove that misapprehension. I would, therefore, make a few observations in respect of the resolution referred to by my honourable friend over there. The resolution as put forward in the old Council ran as follows:—

"This Council recommends to the Government to issue instructions to all local bodies having charge of public wells to cancel all rules or orders prohibiting untouchables from drawing water from public wells and to take necessary steps to ensure that people of the untouchable classes are not prevented from drawing water from such wells".

Now, let me explain why the Late Sir Fazl-i-Husain opposed this resolution. One of the grounds on which he opposed it was that he did not like the idea of the Provincial Government interfering in the matters falling in the purview of the local bodies. He also pointed out that no local body had issued any instructions or orders prohibiting Scheduled Castes from drawing water from wells. He wanted to know how he was to cancel instructions and rules or modify instructions which were never issued. It is obvious that it was not possible for him to accept the resolution when offending instructions did not exist at all. Moreover, he contended that

[Minister for Development.]

local bodies were better judges of their own affairs and as they had full powers to cope with any situation that arose he did not deem fit to interfere with them. As a matter of fact Mian Sahib was one of those who jealously desired to maintain intact powers vested in local bodies. Naturally he could not support the principle embodied in the aforesaid resolution.

As regards the second part of the resolution which urged upon the Government to take necessary steps to ensure that people belonging to Scheduled Castes were not prevented from drawing water from public wells in charge of local bodies, he said that this directly bore on law and order of districts and he did not want to complicate it by interfering in the administration of local bodies in a matter like this. Then certain instances were cited, statements made and speeches delivered amounting to this that the Government should issue a *communiqué* to the effect that the people belonging to Scheduled Castes should as a matter of absolute right be allowed to draw water from all wells in charge of local bodies. I remember, the late Sir Fazl-i-Husain then replied that it would be ridiculous for him to issue a *communiqué* to local bodies for the simple reason that each local body knew much better what were the rights and obligations of the various sections of the people living within its jurisdiction. Further on he said that if he issued a *communiqué* to that effect it would probably be arrogating to himself the functions of a civil court and he might thus be opening the door for all sorts of disputes because it was quite conceivable that people of certain *Mohallas* would very seriously resent the use of wells in their *Mohallas* not only by the Achhuts but by any class of people living in other *Mohallas*. In order to avoid such undesirable consequences and uncalled for disputes the Late Honourable Sir Fazl-i-Husain expressed his inability to issue any such instructions to the local bodies.

I may tell you, Sir, that it was not due to his lack of sympathy for the Scheduled Castes but, as I have just submitted, it was because of his regard for the constitution—the constitution which, within certain limits, gives full liberty to local bodies. Let me also point out that he further on stated that it was eminently a matter for reformers of good sense and good will to bring moral and social pressure to bear upon the persons who were obstructing the Scheduled Castes in the exercise of what they alleged to be their rights. In case a member of the Scheduled Castes draws water from a public well and certain persons harass him the only way to seek relief is to go to a civil court or in case of assault or hurt to resort to a criminal court. Then he asked the sponsor of the resolution to point out as to which local bodies had made rules prohibiting Scheduled Castes from drawing water from public wells. If there was any such local body he might ask it to consider the advisability of reviewing them. He further said that if the honourable friends opposite were unable to refer to any such rules they could not expect him to cancel what was not in existence at all. I think Sir, the position is now clear and I have pointed out the circumstances under which the Late Sir Fazl-i-Husain

3 p. m.

and some of my honourable friends now sitting on these benches including myself voted against that resolution.

Mr. Speaker : Question is—

That the item of Rs. 87,000 on account of Ministers (voted) be reduced by Rs. 100.

The Assembly divided : Ayes 11, Noes 68.

AYES.

Barkat Ali, Malik.	Lal Singh, Sardar.
Faqir Chand, Chaudhri.	Muhammad Nurullah, Mian.
Gokul Chand Narang, Dr. Sir.	Mula Singh, Sardar.
Harnam Das, Lala.	Santokh Singh, Sardar Sahib
Jalal-ud-Din, Amber, Chaudhri.	Sardar.
Jugal Kishore, Chaudhri.	Uttam Singh Dugal, Sardar.

NOES.

Abdul Haye, The Honourable Mian.	Kishan Das, Seth.
Abdul Rahim, Chaudhri (Gurdaspur).	Manohar Lal, The Honourable Sir.
Abdul Rahim, Chaudhri (Gurgaon).	Muhammad Ashraf, Chaudhri.
Akbar Ali, Pir.	Muhammad Azam Khan, Sardar.
Ali Akbar, Chaudhri.	Muhammad Saadat Ali Khan, Khan Bahadur Khan.
Allah Bakhsh Khan, Khan Bahadur Nawab Malik.	Muhammad Sarfraz Khan, Chaudhri.
Amjad Ali Shah, Sayed.	Muhammad Shafi Ali Khan, Khan Sahib Chaudhri.
Ashiq Hussain, Major.	Muhammad Yasin Khan, Chaudhri.
Chhotu Ram, The Honourable Chaudhri Sir.	Mushtaq Ahmad Gurmani, Khan Bahadur Mian.
Dina Nath, Captain.	Muzaffar Ali Khan Qazilbash, Sardar.
Faiz Muhammad, Shaikh.	Muzaffar Khan, Khan Bahadur Captain Malik.
Farman Ali Khan, Subedar-Major Raja.	Nawazish Ali Shah, Sayed.
Fateh Muhammad, Mian.	Nur Ahmad Khan, Khan Bahadur Mian.
Fazl Ali, Khan Bahadur Nawab Chaudhri.	Pohop Singh, Rao.
Fazl Din, Khan Sahib Chaudhri.	Ram Sarup, Chaudhri.
Fazl Karim Bakhsh, Mian.	Ranpat Singh, Chaudhri.
Few, Mr. E.	Rashida Latif Bajji, Begum.
Ghazanfar Ali Khan, Raja.	Ripudaman Singh, Rai Sahib Thakur.
Ghulam Mohyud-Din, Khan Bahadur Maulvi.	Roshan Din, Chaudhri.
Ghulam Samad, Khan Sahib Khawaja.	Shah Nawaz, Mrs. J. A.
Gopal Singh (American), Sardar.	Shah Nazwaz Khan, Nawab Sir.
Guest, Mr. P. H.	Sikander Hyat-Khan, The Honourable Major Sir.
Gurbachan Singh, Sardar Bahadur Sardar.	Sohan Lal, Rai Bahadur Lala.
Haibat Khan Dalia, Khan.	Sultan Mahmood Hotiana, Mian.
Hans Raj, Bhagat.	Sumer Singh, Chaudhri.
Hari Chand, Rai Sahib Rai.	Suraj Mal, Rai Sahib Chaudhri.
Harnam Singh, Captain Sodhi.	Tara Singh, Sardar.
Hot Ram, Rai Bahadur Chaudhri.	Tikka Ram, Chaudhri.
Indar Singh, Sardar.	Ujjal Singh, Sardar Bahadur Sardar.
Jafar Ali, Khan, M.	Wali Muhammad, Sayyad Miraj, Sardar.
Jagjit Singh Bedi, Tikka.	
Jagjit Singh Man, Sardar.	
Khizar Hayat Tiwana, The Honourable Malik.	

Ill-treatment of political opponents by party in power.

Mian Muhammad Nurullah (Lyallpur, Muhammadan, Rural): Sir, I beg to move—

That the item of Rs. 87,000 on account of Ministers be reduced by Rs. 100.

Many methods are being adopted in the districts to harass and in some cases to bring down the political opponents in the eyes of the public. This is very bad and undemocratic. I need not go into details of the methods adopted, but I might mention a few of them. Directors of private companies are being removed from their office, because some body in the Government wants them to be removed. I would not go into details otherwise they will call it personal. The elected independent members of district boards and municipal committees whenever they want to vote with the opposition are not allowed to do as they like and undue pressure is brought to bear upon them through Government officials. There are members who have been duly elected by the vote of their constituencies and since they are not in consonance with the policy of the officials or the ministry here, they are not notified. The case of Malik Fazl Hussain I brought to your notice. The fourth method is that sudeposhes and jail-dars who have got an excellent record of service, are not given the posts because some of their relatives happen to be in opposition to the present Government. I need not again go into details. Still worse is the state of affairs when some member of the Opposition leads a deputation to some head of the department and this comes to the notice of the Ministry, steps are taken to see that no action is taken on the genuine grievances as represented by that deputation.

Sir, apart from this I want to go back again to the political prisoners. Everybody knows how they and their families are harassed, terrified and even insulted by this Government. In this connection I shall take the instance of Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din, a great patriot who has devoted his life and soul for his country. We all know that a fine of six thousand rupees was imposed against him on 8rd December, 1940. The next day, that is, on the 4th December, 1940, the Police raided his residence to realize the fine imposed upon him. Ordinarily the fine imposed is realized after many days even months but in this case, the very next day, the police went to his house to realize the fine imposed. They attached his two newly bought cars costing about 16 or 18 thousand rupees. The police also threatened the servants and the members of his family to attach furniture of the Kothi if they did not realize Rs. 6,000 from the auction of these two cars. The 10th January was fixed for the auction but it was not done so far the reason best known to the authorities concerned. They had discovered his bank balances perhaps.

Minister for Public Works : On a point of order, Sir. This matter is sub-judice. The appeal is being heard. The honourable member is not in order in referring to this matter. The second point is with regard to the order of the Court. The honourable member is not within his right to criticise the order of the Court.

Mian Muhammad Nurullah : I do not mean to cast any reflection or criticise the order of the Court. I am criticizing the ill-treatment of the police meted out to the members of Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din's family. The

very next day when the fine was imposed, the police appeared at his house to realize the fine imposed. The police attached his two cars and threatened his servants and the members of his family. The fine imposed could have been realized from the Bank or they should have approached his manager, but the police terrified and insulted the womenfolk of the Mian Sahib's family. This act of the police is really condemnable.

Mr. Speaker : Orders were issued by the District Magistrate and not by the Government.

Mian Muhammad Nurullah : Is it not the duty of the Government to look after the people, who are not in a position to defend themselves against the tyranny of the police ?

My next point is that on the 17th December, 1940, the police again appeared at the Kothi of Mian Sahib to arrest his Personal Assistant, Sardar Chanan Singh for reasons best known to authorities concerned. This fellow was kept in the Purani Anarkali Police Station for two months and then on the 19th February he was removed to the Montgomery District Jail. This is the way how political people are treated by this Government.

Mr. Speaker : Is this case also pending in a court of law ?

Minister for Public Works : It would not be possible for me to say off hand, Sir, as to what happened to Chanan Singh.

Mian Muhammad Nurullah : Again on the 26th December, 1940, the police raided the Mian Sahib's house to seize his revolver and on the 17th February, the police again visited his residence to seize his shot gun. Does the Honourable Premier realise that such visits of the police constitute a very grave harassment to the ladies of the Mian Sahib's family who are alone in the house ? Does the Honourable Premier believe that any public purpose is served by taking away means of defence from the ladies who are unprotected. You, know, Sir, what happened in Sind the other day. There the opposition benches are now occupying the Treasury benches. Those who are in opposition to-day might come to power to-morrow. The people in opposition to-day should not be so ill treated by the present Government. Those people who were in power the other day are in jails as political prisoners. Six ex-Premiers and 30 ex-Ministers are in jails to-day as political prisoners. Is this the way in which political prisoners should be treated and insulted by this Government ? The Government should take care of their subordinates.

On the 1st of March, Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din, M. L. A., President, Punjab Provincial Congress Committee, Dr. Choith Ram Gidwani, M. L. A. (Sind) the President, Sind Provincial Congress Committee, Sardar Partap Singh, M. A., M. L. A., the General Secretary, Punjab Provincial Congress Committee, Mr. Dev Raj Sethi, M. A., M. L. A., and Professor Rattan Lal Bhatia, M.Sc., were handcuffed on both hands. What was the idea in handcuffing on both hands ? They were made to travel Third Class compartment when they were transferred from Lahore Central Jail to District Jail Gujrat. This is the treatment meted out by this Government to the political prisoners. Such a thing could not be tolerated in any civilized country. I request the Government not to treat their political opponents in such a way. They should be more careful in future.

Mr. Speaker : Question is—

That the item of Rs. 87,000 on account of Ministers be reduced by Rs. 100.

The motion was lost.

Unemployment Committee Report.

Mian Muhammad Nurullah (Lyallpur, Muhammadan, Rural): Sir, I beg to move—

That the item of Rs. 87,000 on account of Ministers be reduced by Rs. 100.

Sir, I am glad that this Government appointed a Committee of this House under the Chairmanship of Sir Chhotu Ram, who took pains to draft this Report, this big volume that I have in my hand. Everybody appreciated the efforts that he made. Now, I must draw the attention of the Government and especially of Sir Chhotu Ram that they have done nothing. If they have acted on those recommendations it is only a drop in the ocean. The Government has often acted against the policy that was enunciated by the unemployment committee and the recommendations made by them. I will quote a few instances to prove it. They said something and did another.

ہاتھی کے دانے کھانے کے اور دکھانے کے اور

If you turn to the page of recommendations in that Report you will find that one of the recommendations is that all those officials who have completed 25 years' service should be retired. It reads like this.

Mr. Speaker : May I ask the honourable member to read carefully the language of his motion? He says:—

To censure Government for failure to give effect to the recommendations of the Unemployment Committee.

It is only the failure of the Government which is to be discussed and not the recommendations, etc. Every honourable member has got a copy of the Report which was circulated.

Mian Muhammad Nurullah : If you will allow me to read it you will find that they have failed to comply with the recommendations. They have acted the other way about. Their recommendation is:—

- (1) Government must pass an executive order that any public servant who is qualified for full pension must retire at once whatever his age. If there is any rule or statutory provision which prevents such action immediate steps should be taken to amend it. Government servants who have been given extensions but who are otherwise eligible for full pension should also retire.

Another recommendation on page 83 is that no extension of service be granted in any circumstances.

These are the calculated opinions of a Committee appointed by this House. Some recommendations of course are very sound but what has the policy of the Government been throughout? Have they retired those people? I might quote an instance and show that they have not and instead of that they have engaged people.

Mr. Speaker : Are those recommendations summed up here? You are at liberty to refer to them.

Mian Muhammad Nurullah : Their general policy is that they should not employ people after they have attained the age of 55. What have they been doing? They have been giving extensions to many highly placed officers and they have increased the number of posts also. (*Ans honourable member :* Not many). I can name heads of departments of 56 and 57 who are now serving because extension was granted to them. In the face of this recommendation that there should be no extension whatever, Chaudhri Sir Chhotu Ram has himself been appointing many retired people as members of conciliation boards. They are above 55, they are retired Government servants. There is unemployment, B.As. and M.As. are rotting. B.A., LL.Bs., are wandering about. They deserve such places because they know law. They can deal with these matters. They have got experience for they have been going about in courts and they have been waxing eloquent in courts and, therefore, they are the best persons. But Chaudhri Sir Chhotu Ram has gone against his own recommendation and acts the other way. This is not fair and if a similar policy of the Government continues any longer then it will be absolutely objectionable because it keeps educated youngmen, qualified persons, deserving persons out of jobs and keeps on pushing the old people. I do not think Chaudhri Sir Chhotu Ram will be able to advance any better argument against the arguments he has already advanced in the report. I think he has no argument. His policy in the House may be different I do not know. My objection is that that policy in the House is much worse than the policy they recommend when free to do so. I need not take more time of the House but I wanted to draw attention of the House to this matter.

Mr. Speaker : Demand under consideration, motion moved—

That the item of Rs. 87,000 on account of Ministers be reduced by Rs. 100.

Minister for Development (The Honourable Chaudhri Sir Chhotu Ram) : Sir, the mover has referred to the recommendation of the Unemployment Committee and has suggested that instead of acting upon the recommendations made by this Committee, Government has, in many cases, gone right against those recommendations. This is a very sweeping statement for which I do not think there is any warrant. For instance, he has quoted one example, that on conciliation boards I have been employing people who have retired from Government service and in all those cases, presumably those gentlemen had completed the age of 55 years. That is true, but the question of conciliation boards is a very special matter and we have to be guided by very definite rules regarding the appointment of members and chairmen of conciliation boards. One of the specific rules is that there should be at least one man on these boards who has had judicial experience either as a lawyer or as a sub-judge or as a revenue assistant. Obviously I have to act upon this rule of which almost every section of the House is aware. Therefore, nobody can take exception to the appointment of retired officials on these conciliation boards. With the exception of one department he has not been able to—

Mian Muhammad Nurullah : What about Financial Commissioners and Deputy Commissioners?

Minister for Development : He has not been able to quote any other example in which extension has been granted. He has made a specific reference to the extension granted to the Financial Commissioner. That

[Minister for Development.]

is a sufficiently important subject and a separate notice of a cut motion has been given in respect of that extension. I think that that should be taken as by itself of sufficient importance to engage the attention of the House. So far as my own departments are concerned, I may tell the honourable member that I have refused in every single instance all recommendations made for extending the period of service of those who have completed the age of 55 years. Even when those recommendations have been repeated on very strong grounds by the heads of departments, I have simply said, no I am not going to listen to any recommendations about extension of service. (*Applause*). But I must add that it is not always possible to adopt such attitude. For instance, in the Forest Department I have had to re-engage people who had retired two years ago because on account of the requirements of timber supply to the Army I cannot find new men who are competent to do this work. Therefore, in that department I have had to engage people who had put in more than even thirty years' service and had completed the age of 55 years in service. With the exception of these very few and limited examples there have been no cases of extensions.

Mr. Speaker : Question is—

That the item of Rs. 87,000 on account of Ministers be reduced by Rs. 100.

The motion was lost.

Improvement of Tharanas and Bars in Lyallpur District.

Mian Muhammad Nurullah (Lyallpur, Muhammadan, Rural) : Sir,

I beg to move—

That the item of Rs. 87,000 on account of Ministers be reduced by Rs. 10.

In the district of Lyallpur there are two tribes, Tharanas and Bars who are included in the list of criminal tribes by the Government. Even the children born in those tribes are shown in the list as belonging to a criminal tribe although that child may grow up into a good citizen. Even such members of these tribes who have reached the age of 60 without committing a crime are shown on the list as criminals. Then there are some men among them who are educated and have also entered Government service but notwithstanding all this their names are retained on the list as members of criminal tribes. They may abstain from crime but their name cannot be removed from the list of those who are criminals.

They continue in the bad books even if they have not cut down the crops of any zamindar and have committed no theft during the past 20 or 25 years. The Government have not considered it proper to remove those restrictions which have been imposed on them. I do not think that the Government is justified in meting out this kind of treatment to them. My suggestion is that those persons from amongst the Tharanas and Bars who have not committed any crime during the last say ten, twenty or more years may be freed from such restrictions. It does not become my honourable friends to continue such restrictions on them in these days of enlightenment and democracy. At present those people are left on the mercy of the police. What the police do is that a Sub-Inspector goes to their village and makes some sort of report against them. The result is that these persons remain where they are. The police people make such reports in order to keep them under their thumb. If they make any favourable

reports the result would be that they would no longer have any control over them and nobody then would come forward to flatter them and do other services for them. It is high time that Government should take some action in this connection and thus remove the restrictions from these persons who are no less civilized than the other sections of the public. With these words I move my cut motion.

Mr. Speaker : The question is—

That the item of Rs. 87,000 on account of Ministers be reduced by Rs. 10.

The motion was lost.

Communal Harmony.

Mian Muhammad Nurullah (Lyallpur, Muhammadan, Rural)
(Urdu): Sir, I beg to move—

That the item of Rs. 87,000 on account of Ministers be reduced by Re. 1.

It is a very delicate subject and it requires Government to give their serious consideration to it. I am at one with the Honourable Premier when he said that we should not do anything to create communal disharmony in the province at this critical juncture. Therefore I need not go into it in detail but this much I must submit that the policy which his Government are at present pursuing would instead of creating good relations between all communities tend to widen the gulf between them. The Government have provided a sum of Rs. 1 lakh in the Budget for promoting communal harmony in the province. This gives us no satisfaction at all because we know that communal harmony cannot be purchased from the bazaar. For it actions are needed and not money.

I do not believe, as Mr. Mukand Lal Puri and others sitting have had said that this money will be provided for Sir Chhotu Ram to go about making propaganda for general elections. That is what they are afraid of. It would be very unfortunate if this money is going to be spent like that. My point is that communal harmony cannot be brought by any expenditure of money. Government should take practical steps to promote communal harmony and should not carry on as they have been doing here. They have done nothing so far in many respects. Lest my statements should be bitter I need not go into them.

Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan: May I, through you, request the honourable member from Lyallpur, Mian Muhammad Nurullah, kindly to give us some suggestion as to how we should bring about communal harmony in the province?

Mr. Speaker : Demand under consideration, motion moved is—

That the item of Rs. 87,000 on account of Ministers be reduced by Rs. 1.

Sardar Lal Singh (Ludhiana Central, Sikh, Rural): Mr. Speaker, Sir, there is an amendment No. 28 in my name which is exactly on the same lines. This is a very important subject and I think it is high time that something should be done for a certain community, I mean, my own community, which feels very much aggrieved on this point. Rupees one lakh have been budgeted for promoting communal harmony and I think it is a very good joke on the province. (*Minister for Development:* It is a farce). Yes it is a farce really as if communal harmony is going abegging for want of

[S. Lal Singh.]

money. It is not for want of money that we have no harmony in this province. If money was wanted for harmony we could have voted lakhs and lakhs for it. But it is not the money, it is the mind that produces and promotes communal harmony. Just to make people believe that the Unionist Ministry is really for communal harmony, and, lo! the proof is that they have already budgeted one lakh to promote it. What has really happened? What do they practically do? During all these 4 years, they have gone exactly contrary to the spirit of producing communal harmony. I think if they have budgeted one lakh, it is just adding insult to the injury. It is rather a painful subject, but imagine that for months together a Minister, who is to look after the interests of a certain community, is absent. I do not blame him and I am really very sorry that the old gentleman is absent and is not able to attend. But this is not the point. I am not going to be personal about him or his feelings or his absence because he is absent due to his illness, but imagine, when questions are put here as to who is looking after the interests of that community, it is said that the Honourable Premier has got it at the back of his mind and that he is looking after the interests of the Sikhs. If the Honourable Premier can look after the interests of his own community, he can look after the interests of the Sikhs also, I dare say that the interests of the Hindus instead of being looked after by the two Ministers just now sitting there, can very well be looked after by him, then why not make him a dictator. What is the need of the convention that there must be a Sikh Minister present. I tell you that I have received dozens of complaints from the poor Sikh employees in various departments who are suffering simply because their interests are going by default and they are not properly watched. They are being prematurely removed, they are not getting their proper share in services and there is nobody really, who can, at this moment, put a word for them where necessary. (*Minister for Education*: So you have confidence in Sir Sunder Singh).

Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan: May I ask one question? Will he kindly name the department from which the Sikhs have been retrenched since the Minister has been absent?

Sardar Lal Singh: A certain Sikh gentleman, who was attached to the Government House, was removed from his service. He was a Sikh gentleman serving in the Government House here in Lahore.

Mr. Speaker: That has nothing to do with the Honourable Minister for Revenue.

Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan: May I ask whether the Minister has got anything to do with the servants of the Government House?

Sardar Lal Singh: His salary is votable and a question was also put on the floor of the House.

I repeat again that there are dozens of complaints from the Sikhs who say that their cases are not being looked after and their interests are not being watched. Now if the Parliamentary Secretary over there thinks that he can look after the interests of the Sikhs in place of Sir Sunder Singh I think he is the only person who can say so. Strangely enough it was said by the Premier the other day that they were very magnanimous and that the Muslim community not only forewent 6 per cent due to them, but the

gave it to the community which was only 18 per cent and they got much more than was due to them. I am surprised that a statement like this should be made by the Premier in this House. He knows that minorities are not represented exactly by numbers and that certain weightage is always given to them. Statements can be made on the floor of the House which cannot be supported outside this House for one moment. When it comes to the central subjects it is claimed that not only they should have a large weightage but that the majorities should be converted into minorities, whereas when it comes to the question of minorities in the Punjab they say we have been very magnanimous and the Sikhs should thank us that they have got what they have already got. Now the Premier the other day was quite hard with Dr. Narang for enumerating several points which were mentioned at the Roorka Conference. I must tell you that I do not hold brief for any people who have the morcha in their armoury. That is not my point. I am not supporting direct action, but I am voicing the opinions of the Sikhs on those 3 or 4 points enumerated in the Roorka Conference by the Akalis. So far as these four points are concerned the Sikhs feel very strongly and they will certainly go a long way to get their grievances redressed. Those grievances were (i) the much waxed question of jhatka about which a lot has been said. The Premier may try to defend it but he does not know that there is a reflection on the broadmindedness of his own community that they should complain because a brother community has another way of killing an animal. In all civilised countries these questions of eating and drinking are not brought in politics and every latitude is given to the personal convictions of any community. Now, so far as my community goes I say that in the matter of jhatka their complaint is this that their youngmen simply because they have not got full freedom to eat what they like, are prone to get lowered in their own religion. A man who is a meat eater if any obstructions are placed in his way to eat what his religion ordains he will certainly eat what his religion does not allow. In that way he will be infringing his own principles of religion and that is why if this question did not strike at the very root of the religious principles, there would have been no need to bring in this question on the floor of the House. Then there is the question of the new Gurdwara Bill.

The Gurdwara Bill, I think, is a private Bill and the principle underlying that Bill is to reform the gurdwara administration. So far as that goes nobody will complain and nobody will deny that if there are any mismanagements and the gurdwara funds are lavishly spent, and are not properly administered to that extent the administration should be corrected, but if the principle is introduced in this Assembly that other communities who have nothing to do with the Gurdwara administration will also have a voice, and certainly if the other communities take this most inadvisable step to interfere in the religious matters of the people there will be no end to this sort of doing. If the Sikhs are not left to decide their own matters in their own way I think that will be regarded as direct interference in their religious matters and on this score certainly communal harmony required that the Unionist Government should have a set policy in these matters and declare so far as these religious matters and the administration of gurdwaras, mosques and the temples are concerned, that the respective community should have their own way. Then there is the question of processions on

[S. Lal Singh.]

the anniversaries. That was one of the points on which a lot of discussion has gone on. In Sargodha the Government has gone so far as to say that there was no lathi charge at all. Well if the Government denies it let it deny, but it cannot deny that the route which the Sikhs followed has not been followed for years together. Now when you are preaching *status quo* why should you depart from that practice and begin prosecuting the people for exercising a right which they have been exercising for years together. I think it is exactly counter to communal harmony. Then again about the question of Gurmukhi being the language in which education can be parted. Now the Premier was for once very kind to say that so far as this demand was concerned Gurmukhi and Hindi should also be recognised as languages through which education could be imparted; it was dependant on funds. He may or may not do it. The question is that he forgot it conveniently that at the time he is talking of there was no compulsory education. Now compulsory education has been introduced. What is the position? The position is this that primary schools will be started and pupils will be coming, and if they choose not to attend the schools because there is no provision for Hindi or Gurmukhi, they will be penalised.

If that is the position they can say so even now. But the position is that they will be punished because they do not attend the school. So, it will come to this, that people do not attend schools because there is no provision there to teach them Hindi or Gurmukhi and they will be penalised because they do not attend schools.

Mian Sultan Mahmood Hotiana : On a point of order. Can this question of medium of instruction be raised on the demand for grant for General Administration?

Mr. Speaker : If the honourable member reads the note attached to the cut motion he will find that the object of the motion is to censure the Government for its failure to bring communal harmony in the province.

Mian Sultan Mahmood Hotiana : This demand for General Administration is a very important subject and I fear the honourable member is wasting the time of the House by bringing in such questions.

Mr. Speaker : The honourable member is unparliamentary in reflecting on another honourable member.

Mian Sultan Mahmood Hotiana : My point is that this question of language can better be raised when the demand for Education comes up for discussion.

Mr. Speaker : But the honourable member should not have said that another honourable member is wasting the time of the House.

Minister for Education : Even though it may really be a waste.

Mr. Speaker : Yes. (*Laughter*).

Sardar Lal Singh : Perhaps the question is not a convenient one for the honourable member and so he accuses me of wasting the time of the House. The Government can take shelter behind the letter of the law, but unless you concede their rights, to the people with whom you are living you cannot bring communal harmony. You may go on spending money

and time and producing volumes, but nothing substantial will be done. It is our duty here to point out what the real grievances of the public are. They have no access to this House and it is therefore our duty to bring their grievances to the notice of the Government. We are their representatives and therefore know what their grievances are. I say that there is a community, probably my honourable friend is not aware of it, which having despaired of communal harmony proposes to start a morcha unless their grievances are redressed. I know that morcha at this time is neither practicable nor desirable and therefore we want this Government to end these quarrels if it is possible. If the only avenue by which this can be done and the grievances can be brought to the notice of Government is closed, then God alone must help us.

These are the four questions which are vexing the Sikh community, and I hope the Honourable Premier will not shut his eyes to them. Now, what has happened during the last two or three years? We have been trying to understand how this Government and particularly the Premier stands with respect to the question of Pakistan. We still are unable to understand whether he is for Pakistan or against it.

Premier : Does the question of Pakistan come under General Administration?

Sardar Lal Singh : If Pakistan is not a communal question, I do not know what else is. Now if one shuts his eyes to the questions of the day it is like committing suicide. Everybody in the Punjab is anxious to know what the actual views of the Honourable Premier are in regard to Pakistan. He has been so far dodging the question and he has not so far made his position clear in regard to that matter. Let him say once for all that the Unionist Party is not for Pakistan then it will avoid so much trouble, misunderstanding and heartburning. Then he will be allowing the Punjab to sleep in peace. But he has been saying one thing in one place and another in another. I would with all the force at my command request the Honourable Premier to bring about communal harmony by bringing the different communities together and trying to solve all these questions in a friendly manner. If he says once for all that he is for Pakistan, then we will be sure of our own ground. Instead of that if he keeps everybody guessing and does not tell them what his mind is, then he cannot bring about communal harmony but it is the sure way to produce communal discord. With these words I support the cut motion.

Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan (Parliamentary Secretary) (Urdu):

4 p. m. Sir, I was anxiously waiting for the cut motion which has now been moved by my honourable friend Mian Muhammad Nurullah as I was keen to hear his arguments in this respect. But his speech has utterly disappointed me as he having moved his cut motion carefully tried to keep away from the real subject for which he wanted to censure the Government. And you are aware, Sir, that when he was asked during his speech to tell us a practical scheme or proposal by which the Government might achieve communal harmony in the province he kept mum on this point and after a minute or so finished his speech and sat down. Should we take it from this that either he is not desirous of creating communal harmony in the province or he does not know himself the methods and devices by which communal harmony will come in. The

[Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan.]

question arises why did he finish his speech so soon? Because he has not the courage to criticise us on that score as our slate is clean. So far as communal harmony is concerned my friend knows in the heart of his hearts where our achievements in this respect have reached so far. If he has the courage to face facts may I ask him to tell us the reasons for the failure, if any, of bringing about communal harmony in the province. However, I would say that it was not desirable on his part to start a discussion on a subject so important as this and sit down after a two minutes' speech—lacking reason, logic and argument.

Then my friend Sardar Lal Singh got up and accused the Government for having done nothing to bring about communal harmony. I think, in the light of the eloquent speech delivered by the Honourable Premier in this House on the other day, it seems to be mere waste of time to reply to every point raised by my friend Sardar Lal Singh. And Sir, I am perfectly confident that after hearing the learned discourse given by the Honourable Premier on the other day one who has charitable views, fairness of mind and faithful and true vision of things, in the least, would hardly stand in need of putting any question regarding communal harmony of the province. But as my honourable friend Sardar Lal Singh has introduced this topic again I would also like to make a few observations in this connection. And before I proceed with my speech I would give the House a very happy news about the improving health of the Honourable Sir Sunder Singh Majithia. I am glad to inform the House that the Revenue Minister is much better now and he hopes to return to the Punjab during the current month. (Cheers). His one letter was received by me on the 27th February and the second came to me this morning which shows that our respected Minister is feeling hail and hearty and I find that he possesses the same vigorous humour and witty spirit in abundance. (Cheers).

Now, Sir, I come to the point raised by my friend Sardar Lal Singh. He has complained that in the absence of the Sikh Minister the rights of the Sikhs were being jeopardised. His complaint is undoubtedly strange and peculiar. Does my friend suggest that when a Minister falls ill, he should be asked to resign. Let me, Sir, point out to him if he does not know that we have much respect for our Revenue Minister and we feel fortunate and proud of having such an able man of experience on the cabinet who is the well wisher of his country and faithful to his people. (Hear, hear). Does my friend Lal Singh mean to say that we should have gone to such an extent as to ask this revered old man of extraordinary capabilities to resign? How strange. He may take it from me that no power on the face of earth can persuade us to do so. He says, 'who is here to look after the interests of the Sikh community?' May I tell him that while there is joint responsibility, he should not bother himself about the rights of the Sikhs. They are quite safe and I, therefore, do not see eye to eye with him in saying that in the absence of an Honourable Minister the rights of the community he represents are jeopardised. Then how ridiculous it seems that my friend is making a speech with regard to communal harmony and suggesting us methods to achieve it, but at the same time he is expressing his malicious views in this way which, I must say, savour communalism on the face of it. This is most uncharitable and objectionable on his part. I submit,

my friend should not close his eyes to the facts but he ought to have considered this point dispassionately for a minute that when our Premier went to Egypt to visit the War-Operations and the senior Minister on the Cabinet no less than Chaudhri Sir Chhotu Ram worked in his place was any hue and cry raised by the Musalmans of this province saying that their interests were jeopardised in the hands of a Hindu Minister. No, nothing of the sort happened and I must, therefore, say that

مگر ہر کس بقدر ہمت ادرست

(Hear, hear).

When my friend brought forth insinuation against the Government saying that the rights of Sikhs were being jeopardised, we asked him to give us a proof of that and he having failed to do so began beating about the bush and what he told us in this connection was that many Sikhs had fallen victims to reduction and retrenchment since the Revenue Minister had been feeling indisposed. It astonished me and being a Parliamentary Secretary it was natural for me to know as to who were those Sikhs who had been removed from their posts on account of reduction. I asked him to tell me the department in which so many Sikhs, as alleged by him, had been removed from their respective posts. Sir, the reply given to me, as you are aware, was very funny. He said that he was given to understand that one Sikh working in the Government House, as a petty servant had been removed from his post. It was just, as the axiom goes, digging a mountain and finding out a mouse. He charged the Government saying that Sikhs were being removed from their posts. Please note, the tense was plural. (Laughter and a voice from the Government benches : Sava Lakh). Well, Sir, I stand for unity among all and I may tell one method of achieving it while my honourable friend Mian Muhammad Nurullah, as I have already submitted, has failed to tell us a method of restoring this communal unity. The method is very simple. Do not believe in hearsay and my honourable friends opposite before making such irresponsible statements on the floor of this House, ought to enquire into the matters themselves. If a member of a martial class like my honourable friend Sardar Lal Singh begins to believe in hearsay like the one referred to which is absolutely wrong and unfounded, I am afraid the communal harmony can never be restored and maintained in this province.

As regards the four demands referred to by my friend Sardar Lal Singh I may submit that they have already been discussed and replied to by the Honourable Premier on the floor of this House and I, therefore, need not dilate upon this matter and repeat the arguments already advanced by the Honourable Premier. But I must hasten to point out to my friend that he should not have brought the Pakistan question into the discussion in this House and I must tell him that the Lahore Resolution of Muslim League would not be torpedoed by repeating the word Pakistan in season and out of season. Obviously the aim was to achieve complete unity in the country whether by means of the Lahore Resolution or any other. Then my friend put a very irrelevant question which has never been put before. He asked the Premier to tell the Province where he stood in respect of the demand for Pakistan. Let me tell him that it is known to everyone of us as well as to the people outside this House that the Honourable Premier is one leader in the whole country who is making the best contribu-

[Raja Ghasanfar Ali Khan.]

tion towards unity. May I submit that the views of Sir Sikander Hyat are known to everybody in this country. They are not hidden.

If it is the intention of my honourable friends opposite that by using the word 'Pakistan' over and over again they can put an end to the Lahore resolution of the Muslim League, then I may tell them that they are labouring under a gross misapprehension. The reason is that it has the backing of one of the biggest political organisations and also of a community which is entirely in favour of its being translated into action. If some of the honourable members over there are keen and anxious to bring this resolution under discussion on the floor of this House, then it is desirable that at first they should give their most careful attention to all its bearings. They should try to understand its implications and the difficulties attending on it. But they may rest assured that they cannot browbeat us to deviate from the right course, by making a mention of Pakistan in a particular fashion. However, this matter has absolutely no connection with the subject under consideration but suffice it to say that the honourable members sitting on these benches are at liberty and have perfectly the right to hold or support certain views—political or otherwise. What I personally think is that it is the duty of everybody to make honest endeavours to bring about complete communal unity and concord in India and specially in the Punjab in the shortest possible time. I am one of those who want to achieve this laudable object by any method. As a matter of fact what concerns me most is the realization of this goal which would usher in our country an era of peace and harmony in different communities, be it through Pakistan or otherwise. (*Hear, hear*). So far as the attempts that have been made during the past 25 years through Unity Conferences and other means, are concerned, I may tell my honourable friends that the responsibility of their ending in smoke or not coming to any fruition, does not rest at all on the shoulders of this Government; nor is the Honourable Premier to blame in any way. I hold that person to be the arch enemy of the peace of the country, who in season and out of season brings in the question of Pakistan in the deliberations of this House with a view to maligning the Honourable Premier and his Government. Who does not know that of all the communities Sir Sikander is the only person who is striving every nerve to bring about complete communal harmony in the country? (*Hear, hear*). In spite of the fact that he is the accredited leader of a big political party and a community, he does not do or say anything which may hamper or torpedo his endeavours in this direction. But what is the mentality of my honourable friends? They hurl false and unfounded allegations on the Honourable Premier whose intentions are as pure as the purest ray serene. If you peruse all his recent utterances, two outstanding things will become clear from them. Firstly his whole attention and efforts are focussed on the object of winning of victory in the present world conflict, and thereby save the honour and freedom of this country. Secondly, he is anxious to maintain internal peace and safety of the country so that the homes and hearths of those persons who have gone to different theatres of war in Egypt with a view to smash the enemy, should remain safe from the depredations of mischief-mongers. There can be no two opinions about the fact that these objects to which Sir Sikander's Govern-

ment have set themselves, are really commendable and I am sure that every right-thinking Punjabee would uphold their policy. (*Hear, hear*).

Then, Sir, certain people consider the virtues of large-heartedness, sense of toleration and forbearance for others in the Premier, a weakness. They think that the Honourable Premier is a weak-willed person and is incapable of taking strong action. This is wholly untrue and uncharitable on their part to say so. I may assure them if he feels that conscience demands him to assume a strenuous attitude, then he would not be found wanting. He would, as a matter of fact, be found to be the most resolute and iron-willed person. He would see that the nefarious intentions of the malfactors are frustrated. Hence my honourable friends should not be led away by the idea that they can bully or over-awe the Government by making high-sounding and rhetorical speeches on communal harmony. If they or for the matter of that those whom they represent, have any grievances, they should try to get them redressed by constitutional means and not by launching a morcha.

Sardar Sahib Sardar Santokh Singh (Eastern Towns, Sikh, Urban): Sir, the speech that has just been delivered by my honourable friend, Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan, simply shelves the question. It is not a solution for communal harmony. If the Government thinks that by refusing to answer questions on the floor of this House on the pretext that they savour of communalism, it promotes communal harmony, I must say that the Government is entirely mistaken. Communal harmony will come in if the Government ceases to work on communal principles. We cannot shut our eyes to that. Communal harmony will come in if we do away with the separate electorates.

Premier: *Hear, hear.*

Sardar Sahib Sardar Santokh Singh: Communal harmony will come in if in services we recognise merit and merit alone. (*Hear, hear*).

Premier: What does Sardar Lal Singh say about it?

An Honourable Member: What does Mian Nurullah say about it?

Mian Muhammad Nurullah: Merit.

Sardar Sahib Sardar Santokh Singh: Sikhs want merit and merit alone. Communal harmony will come in if in our educational institutions admissions are not made on communal lines. If admissions in our educational institutions are to be continued to be made on communal principles, if men in services are to be kept not on merits but on communal considerations, if separate electorates are to go on—

Premier: May I put a question to the honourable member? Since he has referred to this question, would he be in favour of closing all denominational institutions?

Sardar Sahib Sardar Santokh Singh: Yes, I am in favour of it.

Premier: Would he like the Khalsa College to be closed?

Sardar Sahib Sardar Santokh Singh: If Government can find funds to work these institutions, I have no objection. That is my personal opinion.

Premier : No question of personal opinion. Now you say 'personal'. In other cases you profess to speak for the whole Sikh community.

Sardar Sahib Sardar Santokh Singh : I am giving my solution of communal harmony. That is my idea. I think that is the idea of the Sikh community also. Closing of denominational institutions may not be practical politics. But as I have said, if other communities are to do that to-morrow, Sikhs will not lag behind. Now it is for the Government to do something in the desired direction to bring in this communal harmony. We will not have this harmony by making a provision of one lakh of rupees in the budget. I do not know I am not in the confidence of the Government—how this one lakh is going to be spent. They might spend it on party propaganda, in sending people down the villages and encouraging propaganda. It might be spent on tea parties. I do not know. But my idea bearing in mind the realities of the situation, is that nothing like that will help the situation. Unless you boldly come forward to remove communalism root and branch from all departments, from elections, from services, from admissions to educational institutions, and unless the Premier takes up courage in both hands and does something in that direction, I at least am not very hopeful that any tangible result will follow. All this talk of communal harmony on the lips of the members of Government will not help matters. The Government instead of doing anything to bring about communal equilibrium, has created another distinction of zamindars and non-zamindars since it has come into power. This problem was never as acute as it is now and I think I am justified in saying that this problem of zamindar versus non-zamindar did not before exist in this province even to the extent of one-hundredth part of what it is now and is not the Government entirely responsible for this? I would again request the Honourable Premier to take courage in both his hands and to try to remove root and branch these communal considerations from all departments under him as it is only in that way, in my opinion, that communal harmony will come. Otherwise all this is idle and useless talk.

Lala Sita Ram (Trade Union, Labour) (Urdu) : Sir, I very much appreciate the desire of the Government to restore communal harmony in the province. But I wonder how the sum of one lakh of rupees shown in the Budget is going to be spent for this purpose. The Government has not indicated any method or manner in which it will be spent. Not a single word has been written on this point in the Memorandum of the Financial Secretary whereas almost all other items have been explained by him in that very document. Nor has the Honourable Minister of Finance said anything about the way this sum is to be utilized.

The all important question in this connection is that when the Honourable Premier himself as well as his colleague Sir Chhottu Ram keep touring in the country preaching differences among the zamindars and the non-zamindars, how can they expect communal harmony to be restored in this province? The first requisite in this behalf is that the Government should call a halt to its policy of singing of hymns of hate among the different classes. It should accord an equal treatment to the Hindus, Sikhs, Muslims and Christians of the Punjab. But the pity is that on the one hand the most responsible heads of the Government, carry on spreading hatred among

the different classes of people and on the other they have reserved a sum of one lakh of rupees for promoting communal harmony in the province. How are we to reconcile the two points of view which are poles asunder. Is not the Unionist Government blowing out hot and cold in the same breath?

The second most important point to be noted in this behalf is whether communal award is in keeping with the spirit of communal harmony. It is certainly not. Separate elections are the real cause of communal conflict in the country. It is high time that separate elections should be done away with, and joint elections should be ushered in. Under the existing communal elections a person has to make communal appeal in order to win votes. But if there are joint elections, a Muslim or a Sikh or a Hindu would not appeal to his voters in the name of Islam or Sikhism or Hinduism. He will have to win the hearts of all his voters whether Hindus or Sikhs or Muslims. That will open the way for real communal harmony. Let there be joint electorates with special safeguards for the minorities if you like. I would not mind any such safeguards. But when you also stick to separate electorate, it ill becomes you to make vain appeals for communal unity. This attitude of the Government reminds me of a Persian couplet which runs as under :—

در میان قعر دریا تخته بندم کرده
باز مے کوئی که دامن تر مکن هوشیار باش

You seek elections on communal lines and hope to see communal harmony in the country at the same time. That is impossible. You are asking for the moon. If communal harmony is really to be restored do away with the communal award and introduce joints elections. Then and then alone can we have communal peace and tranquility in the Punjab. Separate elections are the very negation of patriotism. If there are joint elections, it will not be possible for an elected member to preach communalism in the country because he will know that that attitude will bring about his own down fall. But at present every member would like to become a hero with his community (*to be continued*).

At this stage the Assembly adjourned till 12 noon on Tuesday 11th March, 1931.

1911

1911年1月1日 星期日
1911年1月2日 星期一
1911年1月3日 星期二

1911年1月4日 星期三

1911年1月5日 星期四

1911年1月6日 星期五



1911年1月7日 星期六

1911年1月8日 星期日
1911年1月9日 星期一

PUNJAB LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.
SEVENTH SESSION OF THE FIRST PUNJAB LEGISLATIVE
ASSEMBLY.

Tuesday, 11th March, 1941.

*The Assembly met in the Assembly Chamber at 12 noon of the clock. Mr.
Speaker in the Chair.*

STARRED QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

S. SADHU SINGH, A DETENU IN AMRITSAR FORT.

***7640. Dr. Satya Pal :** Will the Honourable Premier be pleased to state—

- (a) whether it is a fact that one S. Sadhu Singh, son of Mula Singh of village Punnuan, Post Office Ghonewala, Police Station Dera Baba Nanak, District Gurdaspur, and once employed in the M. T. Department is at present being detained in the Fort at Amritsar ;
- (b) whether it is a fact that his wife and his mother have recently sent a representation to the Superintendent, Special Branch of the C. I. D. Police, requesting that inquiry be made into the allegation that S. Sadhu Singh has been beaten in the Fort ; if so, the action taken thereon ;
- (c) whether it is a fact that his wife and relatives have not been allowed to have an interview with him ; if so, why ?

Parliamentary Private Secretary (Sayed Amjad Ali Shah) : It is not in the public interest to reply to this question.

Sardar Lal Singh : Is the Government prepared to give some sort of satisfaction to this House that this man has not been tortured in the Fort ?

SUPPLY OF JHATKA MEAT TO SIKH PRISONERS IN GUJRAT JAIL.

***7646. Sardar Lal Singh :** Will the Honourable Premier be pleased to state whether the Sikh prisoners now lodged in Gujrat jail under the Defence of India Rules asked, on their confinement in the jail to be provided with jhatka meat ; and if so, whether such meat was provided to them ; if not why not ?

The Honourable Major Sir Sikander Hyat-Khan :

First part.—Yes.

Second part.—The matter raises a question of policy and is under consideration at the moment on merits.

TELEPRINTERS AND DICTAPHONES FOR DETECTION OF CRIMES.

***7607. Khan Muhammad Yusaf Khan :** Will the Honourable Minister for Public Works be pleased to state the number of teleprinters and dictaphones, if any, that are being used by the police department in the province in the course of their duties as detectives and informers or as investigators of crimes?

Parliamentary Secretary (Sardar Bahadur Sardar Ujjal Singh) : None.

APPLICATIONS FOR LEAVE OF ABSENCE OF M. L. A.'s.

Mr. Speaker : I have to read out to the Assembly the following applications received from two members of the Assembly for permission to be absent from the Assembly :—

Dewan Chaman Lal writes : I should be grateful if you would obtain the necessary permission for me from the Punjab Legislative Assembly for the purpose of absents myself from the meetings of the Assembly.

Nawab Sir Malik Muhammad Hayat Khan Noon writes : As I am not keeping good health and am unable to attend the meetings of the Assembly, I request that I may be granted permission of the Assembly as required by Rule 33 of the Punjab Legislative Assembly Rules.

The question is—

That the permission asked for by the honourable members be granted.

The motion was carried.

DEMANDS FOR GRANTS

GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

Communal harmony.

Mr. Speaker : The Assembly will now resume discussion on the demand for grant for general Administration.

Lala Sita Ram (Trade Union Labour) (*Urdu*) : Mr. Speaker, yesterday I was discussing the motion which was moved with regard to communal harmony in the province when the Assembly adjourned. The line of argument which I was following yesterday was that so long as the Government was not going to remove all those causes which led to communal hatred in the province it was no use spending any money to bring about communal harmony. The first thing I suggested in this connection was replacement of separate electorates by joint electorates. Separate electorates have led and will lead to communalism. Without joint electorates there cannot be any communal harmony. I will not say more on this point. Even Chaudhri Sir Chhotu Ram has expressed his opinion with regard to the harm and mischief which has been done by separate electorates. I will quote here from an article which appeared in the *Tribune* of to-day. Sir

Chhotu Ram condemns Pakistan Scheme. His words to which I invite the special attention of the House are :—

The best solution of the problem is the introduction of joint electorates and the formation of communal parties based on common economic interests, both inside and outside the legislatures.

Minister for Public Works : Since when have you become a follower of Sir Chhotu Ram ?

Lala Sita Ram : I am not a follower of Chaudhri Chhotu Ram in the sense you mean. And it is no sin to follow him when he talks wisdom. What I say is that even Chaudhri Sir Chhotu Ram agrees with us on the point of joint electorates in place of separate electorates. The second suggestion which I believe can bring about communal harmony is that recruitment to services and educational institutions should not be made on communal considerations. Recruitment to services, etc., should be made on merit and merit alone. This will automatically eliminate the feeling among the communities that they are in any way different from one another. When the people know that they are not going to be taken in services on communal considerations they will not stress their claims on that basis.

My third submission is that the Honourable Ministers themselves are not doing anything to promote communal harmony in the province. On the contrary all of them in general and the Honourable Minister for Development in particular preach class war wherever they go. As a matter of fact every encouragement is given to those persons who do propaganda against the non-agriculturists. In the face of these facts, how can we expect that communal harmony can be brought about in the province? It is a big farce that is being staged before us. Rather I think the gulf between the agriculturists and non-agriculturists is being widened. I need not take any time by quoting passages from the speeches of the Honourable Minister for Development, because they have been more than once quoted on the floor of the House. But I would cite only one instance of a speech of the Honourable Minister wherein, according to the report published in the "Daily Pratap" about a meeting held at Jullundur, he said that he had reduced the Hindu non-agriculturists to the position of grass-cutters and that presently he would turn to the Sikhs also. (*An honourable member :* This statement has been contradicted). I have not seen any statement in the press contradicting it, but such contradictions cannot undo the harm that has once been done. What I want to impress upon the House is that there are genuine fears in the minds of the non-agriculturists that the present Ministry is leaving no stone unturned for reducing them to the state of hewers of wood and drawers of water. When such are the ideas of those persons who are at the helm of affairs, the provision of a lakh of rupees in the budget for promoting communal harmony in the province is nothing more than a joke simple and pure. I do not say that they should not make any effort to bring about communal harmony in the province. Let them by all means do so. We welcome this idea and we are with them in this matter. But what we have to see is whether they have so far taken any practical steps to achieve this object. There is no gainsaying the fact that up till now Government have not taken any such steps at all. We have seen that many Pakistan conferences have been held here in the Punjab, but Government have done nothing to stop them. If they had banned such conferences

[Lala Sita Ram.]

we would have thought that they were serious in bringing about communal harmony in the province and that they were not prepared to encourage any scheme which was based on communal lines. The Government could very easily have taken such action. I know there is a section in the Indian Penal Code which declares the spreading of disaffection between different sections of His Majesty's subjects as crime and Government could very well have taken action against such persons as were responsible for the nasty schemes. But it is a matter of great regret that they have taken no such action, showing that at heart they care a fig for communal unity in this province. My conviction is that they desire that communal dissensions should be encouraged in the province so that the majority community may be in a position to take the best advantage of the situation. I may tell them that so long as they do not bring about a change in their own mentality nothing substantial can be done in this behalf. Then there are the questions of jhatka and sacrifice of animals. Let the Government find out a solution of these problems before attempting to bring about communal harmony in the province. Instead of giving a fillip to the communal differences, they should have meted out equal treatment to all the people of the province, regardless of the fact whether they are Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, agriculturists or non-agriculturists or rich or poor. If they had cared to follow this principle, they would have achieved their object. As a matter of fact this is not the policy of the Government. They legislate different laws for different sections of the public. When they adopt this policy of equal treatment to all they will see that communal harmony is achieved in no time. The policy which the Government are at present pursuing and the system of election and the principle on which Government servants are recruited, instead of discouraging communalism are encouraging it. I believe that even those persons who are not communal-minded at all have to be so for gaining their own ends.

There is yet another thing which I want to urge before the House. My conviction is that much of the communal tension is due to unemployment and poverty of the people. If the Government take steps to see that all the people get bread I am sure that all this trouble would vanish away. Instead of providing a lakh of rupees for communal harmony in the province, Government should give their serious consideration to the matter of providing employment to people. I do not think that communal harmony is a commodity which can be purchased with a sum of one lakh of rupees. No doubt Government would be able to buy off one or two individuals from every community but I do not think that communal harmony could be promoted in the whole of the province by spending this sum. In this connection I am reminded of some verses of late Sir Mohammad Iqbal who it appears truly gauged these things long before. He says:

اے شیخ و بڑھمن سنگھ ہو کیا اہل بصیرت کہتے ہیں
کردوں نے کللی ہلادی ہے ان قوموں و دے ہلکا ہے
یا بادم زوار کے حاسر تو دستور مصعب قلم تھا
یا بعض میں کرد و ددی ہے یا قوم نہم یا جھکا ہے

Our quarrels have never crossed the frontiers of the insignificant matter of jhatka or halal, mosque or temple. Much of our time, money and energy is being wasted

on things that are mere shadows. And the pity is that the present Government has never cared to rise above these low depths.

Instead of taking any constructive steps to bring about communal harmony in the province, the policy of the Government which they have so far pursued has in a way diverted their attention from these problems. Let the Government change their policy and communal harmony would automatically follow.

Begum Rashida Latif Baja (Inner Lahore, Muhammadan Women, Urban) (*Urdu*): Sir, the Government has provided a lakh of rupees for bringing about communal harmony in the province, but it has not been explained how and where that sum is going to be utilized. The Opposition too has put forward no proposal which the Government may be asked to follow. In these circumstances I am obliged to put my own humble opinion in this connection before the House.

To begin with I would suggest that one-fourth of this sum, that is Rs. 25,000 should be put at the disposal of women so that they may be able to utilize this amount in fostering feelings of unity and harmony among the women of different communities. As regards the rest of the money, that is Rs. 75,000, I am of the opinion that it should be handed over to a committee of non-officials who enjoy the confidence of the public and who are self-respecting and tolerant. They should go round all the schools and colleges as well as the villages of the province lecturing on the necessity of communal harmony and brotherly feelings whereby a sense of communal tolerance may be produced among the people. The tongue is far more powerful than the sword. An injury inflicted by the former is beyond the province of the art of healing while even the most nasty wound caused by a sword can be healed. In the battlefield when the bravest of soldiers feel their ardour damping, a few words of encouragement by the commander are enough to infuse a new spirit and enthusiasm among the soldiers and can turn a virtual defeat into a smashing victory. There is a story connected with Aesop, the great philosopher. It is said that one day his master invited some friends to dinner and ordered Aesop to cook the best thing in the world which should please the palate of his guests. When the dinner was laid the diners were surprised to see tongues on every plate and in every bowl. His master enquired from Aesop the reason for preparing only one dish and he replied that tongue was the only good thing in the world about which it was said :

(زبان شہزاد ملک کوری)

It was the only thing which enabled one to rule over the hearts of people and no one could undermine a relationship which had been strengthened by the tongue. His master accepted his plea but told him that his friends were again going to dine with him and this time he should like Aesop to prepare a dish of the worst thing in the world. The next evening when the covers were lifted from the plates, they were again filled with tongues. On being questioned again he replied that there were two ways of using the tongue. If it is used in the proper way it gives power but if used in the wrong way it deprives kings of their crowns. There is a punjabi proverb

اچھے زبان نہت چڑائی کے اچھے زبان تھکائی کے

[Begum Rashida Latif Baji.]

It is sharp as razor and gets down deep into the heart, and provokes bloodshed and pillage. Many a kingdom has come to grief on account of it. (Interruption). Yes, even in the household it can create heaven as well as hell. The Unionist Party, as its name signifies, is a party composed of Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs and it is, therefore, incumbent upon it to make the best use of the sum allotted for this purpose and appoint the most suitable persons to administer this fund. It should be its duty to bring about conciliation in ordinary matters by persuasion. Such persons can be found among the public and by selecting members from the various communities, a number of committees should be formed all over the province to spend this amount in fostering genuine feelings of unity and harmony. It will undoubtedly have far-reaching results. The expenditure on additional police pickets which has to be borne by the Government on account of communal bitterness and disharmony will thus be saved and peace will reign in the country.

Again, the question with regard to the medium of instruction has been raised inside as well as outside the House. Some favour Urdu while others champion the cause of Hindi and Gurmukhi. In respect of Urdu, I would only say that it is wrong to consider it as particularly the language of Mussalmans. It is not spoken in any muslim country. Urdu as a language is the offspring of our own motherland. Some three hundred years ago when the Mughal Emperors finding a large number of languages and dialects current in this country thought it necessary that one common and simple language for the whole of India should be evolved; a mixture of various languages was adopted which is to-day spoken and understood all over India. Mr. Gandhi and Dr. Rabindra Nath Tagore are themselves in favour of a *lingua-franca*. Besides, let us take the case of our own province where out of a total of 18 dailies 12 are published in Urdu, 2 in Hindi, and 3 in English and one in Gurmukhi. Again let us take the case of answers to question papers in History and Geography in the Matriculation Examination where it is optional for the candidates to answer the questions in any language they like. In 1940, 27,696 candidates sat for the Matriculation Examination, of whom 23,000 wrote their answers in Urdu. Again during the year 1940, 828 new books were printed in Urdu, 187 in Hindi and only 112 in Gurmukhi on different subjects. Similar is the case with weekly-papers out of which a large proportion is published in Urdu.

Mr. Speaker : The honourable lady member is not relevant.

Begum Rashida Latif Baji : Sir, I am saying all this in connection with a common basis for communal harmony. It is the considered opinion of not myself alone but of all the wide-awake politicians of this country that in a common language lies the secret of communal unity. What I want to prove by giving these statistics is that in view of the fact that the circulation of newspapers published in Urdu is much larger than those in Hindi or Gurmukhi it is not right to call that language as belonging to a particular community. On the other hand any efforts to encourage its use should be amply rewarded. Therefore, I submit that this is not irrelevant. It is a very important issue in so far as the tranquillity of the province is being threatened by such uncalled for controversies. My object

in referring to the question of language was to deprecate the habit of raising such questions. So far as my personal views are concerned I believe in a God of the World and not in a God of Mussalmans alone. I believe in meting out the same treatment to our brethren as we wish to be accorded to ourselves. To foster a spirit of mutual trust among different communities and to bring about harmony in the real sense of the word is as much the concern of our leaders as it is of the Government. With these words I conclude my speech.

Rai Bahadur Lala Sohan Lal (North Punjab, Non-Union Labour) (Urdu): Sir, My honourable friend, Mian Muhammad Nurnillah, has moved this amendment in order to censure the Government for its failure to bring about communal harmony in the province. So far as the policy of the Government is concerned it has already set apart one lakh of rupees for the purpose. But the very first question is whether the present policy of the Government is conducive to the achievement of that end. (*An Honourable member*: That is not under discussion). The demand in respect of General Administration is under discussion.

Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan: May I submit that this is a discussion on one particular item of communal harmony. It is not a discussion on the General Administration. We have not any item of a general nature.

Rai Bahadur Lala Sohan Lal: I have hardly commenced my speech and the Raja Sahib has raised an objection without taking the trouble of listening to me. I can speak on the demand as a whole too, but I shall confine my remarks to the question of communal harmony. I wish my honourable friend had exercised some patience before indulging in this sort of talk. Anyway, Sir, the Honourable Minister of Finance has reserved a sum of Rs. 1,00,000 for promoting communal harmony and this speaks well of the intentions of the Government with regard to this matter. I must congratulate the Honourable Minister on the noble example which he has set. This is a clear indication of the policy of the Government and my submission is that the whole administrative machinery will be affected by the good intentions manifested—

Sardar Sahib Sardar Santokh Singh: On a point of order. Is this all relevant? We are only discussing the item of one lakh.

Mr. Speaker: What is under discussion is the reduction by Re. 1 of Rs. 87,000.

Rai Bahadur Lala Sohan Lal: I have only referred to the intentions of the Government, because it has been said that the Government has done and is doing nothing to bring about communal harmony in the province. It is the general policy of the Government that can help the province to achieve this end. I would, therefore, like to offer some suggestions with regard to that policy.

Chaudhri Jalal-ud-Din Amber: I would like to ask whether it is relevant to discuss General Administration under this heading.

Mr. Speaker : General Administration is under discussion only so far as the item on page 226 of the Budget goes. It relates to Ministers, that is to say to the official duties which the Ministers are performing or are expected to perform, for example, their duty to maintain peace and harmony.

Rai Bahadur Lala Sohan Lal : I have already stated that the intentions of the Government are clear from the fact that a sum of Rs. 1,00,000 has been set apart for this purpose and I have congratulated the Honourable Minister of Finance for that. Now I come to those suggestions. I submit that this is the time when the Government should do all that lies in its power to rid the province not only of communal bickerings, but of the communalistic mentality itself. But at the same time it must be remembered that merely an allotment of one lakh of rupees cannot bring about communal harmony in the province. In addition to that the Government should employ other methods also. One of them is the replacement of separate communal electorates by joint electorates in all the elective bodies. Without that you cannot expect to change the communal outlook of the people. Secondly the educational system should be changed. When the present Government entered on office the Honourable Minister of Education took interest on the question of denominational institutions and after that no other interest in any other form was shown or followed. (*An honourable member :* What is your suggestion ?) If I were to go into details, it will take two or three hours to explain them. I would, therefore, be content to bring this educational system to the notice of the Government and leave it free to do whatever it thinks proper.

Then there is the question of appointment to Government service on communal basis. Here again, I would not like to refer to the claims or grievances of any particular community, because that would raise an unnecessary debate and the real issue will be confused. My point is with regard to appointments and I submit that the Government must do away with communal representation in services. But there is a likelihood of controversial issues arising out of the question of education and appointments and I should therefore shun this point as far as possible. However, the House might remember that the other day my learned friend, Sir Gokul Chand Narang, remarked during his speech that it was a treachery of the British Government and British Parliament to introduce communal electorates in this country which had made the atmosphere of this province hopelessly disappointing. No doubt communal electorate is very poisonous and is responsible for the disturbance of communal peace and harmony in the province and you know that when elections are being held whether to Assemblies or municipal committees people go out and are compelled to resort to propaganda. They stick bills on the walls in bold headlines—"Hinduism is at stake" and "Islam is in danger" as the case may be.

Then, Sir, whatever good is achieved by the amount of one lakh of rupees provided in the budget will be undone as soon as elections come. As has been stated by the Honourable Premier in the course of his reply to Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang, he is a staunch supporter of joint electorates and he did his best and he had convinced the Hindu, Sikh and Muslim.

leaders on this point some years ago and then he also referred to the late Sir Fazl-i-Husain saying that he also converted his (late Sir Fazl-i-Husain) idea of separate electorates. Then he further said that due to his efforts unanimous recommendation was sent to the Government for joint electorates but certain sections of Hindus and Sikhs afterwards conspired against it and consequently the foundation of joint electorates was thus destroyed at its very start. May I now request the Honourable Premier to make attempts in this respect to-day when he is at the helm of affairs and when he is able to do it? If he has not got power to establish joint electorates for the provincial legislature he should not at least hesitate to change communal electorates into joint electorates in local bodies. I firmly believe that if the Punjab Government want to establish communal unity they must give up communal electorates and have joint electorates. This is all that I want to submit.

Sayed Amjad Ali Shah (Parliamentary Private Secretary): Sir, the House has been discussing this cut motion since yesterday and we have heard arguments advanced by my honourable friends opposite as well as by my friends on this side. They have put certain concrete suggestions for the consideration of Government and they think that if those suggestions are accepted there will be communal harmony in the province. I do not agree with them. My point is that communal harmony cannot be brought about by simply reverting to the old system of joint electorates or by doing away with denominational institutions or by recruitment to services on merit only and not on communal considerations. This question of communal disunity goes much deeper than my honourable friends think. I will explain my point by one example. Now Sardar Sahib Santokh Singh and myself are both Punjabis. We come from the same homeland, the Punjab. Now I ask him, what is in common between us both? Do we look alike? Do we dress alike? Do we eat alike? Do we live alike? Finally, do we think alike? In the face of these differences, how can it be expected that the introduction of joint electorates or the abolition of denominational institutions or confinement of recruitment to services on considerations of merit only will bring the people of the Punjab to a common ground? That is why I say that the problem is much deeper than my honourable friends think. If we want to remedy the evil there is only one way to do so and that is, that we should become less religious, we must dine together, and we must intermarry. These are the only means by which we can remove this communal evil. Otherwise all other remedies will be only temporary. Honourable friends on this side, back benchers, front benchers and treasury benchers are all sitting together; this is ample testimony of union between the different communities as far as possible under present circumstances.

Now, let us examine in detail the suggestions made by my honourable friends, Lala Sita Ram and Rai Bahadur Lala Sohan Lal. First of all they urge that joint electorates should take the place of separate electorates. If this is done, what will happen? Suppose I contest a seat with my honourable friend Rai Bahadur Sohan Lal. What will I tell the electorate and what will he tell the electorate? I will appeal to the Muslims that I will look after their interests and he will appeal to his Hindu friends that

[Sayed Amjad Ali Shah.]

he will represent Hindu interests. Surely our election campaigns will lead to communal clash. If Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan and myself were to contest the same seat then we cannot appeal to the communal sentiments of Muslims because both of us belong to the same community. Therefore the argument that joint electorates will do away with communal troubles does not hold water at all.

The second suggestion was the doing away with denominational institutions. My honourable friend was perhaps too young to know what happened 30 or 40 years ago. I myself was not born then. But if he looks at the figures of Muslim students in the different colleges he will find that they were not as many in those days as they are to-day. Therefore if we do away with the denominational institutions, we will be going back to the old system that prevailed forty years ago, that is, the backward classes will always remain backward, the poorer classes will always be kept down-trodden. Therefore I am afraid I cannot agree with that proposition.

• Lastly my honourable friend said that services should be given to people on considerations of merit and not on communal considerations. My friend Lala Sita Ram speaking the other day complained bitterly about the census. He said that there was a great *goalmal* and that the Hindus were not enumerated. He complained I suppose against the Muslims who were enumerating the population in that particular quarter. If that is the mentality, then Muslims will try to run down the Hindu candidates and the Hindus will do the same with Muslim candidates. How are we going to gain communal harmony by this suggestion which my honourable friend has put forward?

Lastly, I will say a few words about Pakistan. My honourable friend Lala Sita Ram made mention of that. What is Pakistan? What is the ambition of the Muslims? Why are they wanting Pakistan in India? The answer is very simple. Why are we wanting Swaraj? Why do you want to govern India? Why are we asking the British Government to concede to us the same dominion status which they have given to Australia and South Africa? The answer is that we want to govern ourselves. If the Muhammadans, Hindus, Sikhs and other communities could govern this country amicably, then there would be no question of Pakistan or any other *stan*. We would be governing the country just as the Egyptians, whether they are copts or whether they are Muslims, are governing Egypt. Unfortunately we have a different mentality in this country and having that different mentality the Muslims are doing nothing but asking the same which the Indian National Congress is asking to govern their own homeland themselves and that is the one and the only ambition of the Muslims. And why should we grudge that? If we can work jointly, well and good. But if we fail to do so, why should the Muslims not stand out and ask for the privilege which has been asked by the Indian National Congress?

Sardar Sahib Sardar Santokh Singh : Sir, I move—

That the question be now put.

The motion was lost.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : The object of the ministerial benches is to shut out discussion on other points. We want to speak on the other cut motions on the general administration. (*Shouts of no, no.*) Their object is to shut out discussion on other cut motions. That is obvious.

Sayed Amjad Ali Shah : You will remember that in previous year only one cut motion was chosen for discussion. My honourable friends could do that if they wanted to do it, but did they do it? So they cannot complain that the Government is shutting out the debate.

Premier : I should like to speak on this particular cut if I may, and then we can go on to the next.

Mr. Speaker : If the Honourable Premier wishes to reply, he may. But there is another point of view also. The Opposition is in hopeless minority. Its members have given notices of cut motions, so, it would not be fair if the majority obstructs the minority. There are more important amendments, but if he likes to speak on this amendment he may.

Premier (The Honourable Major Sir Sikander Hyat-Khan) : I am sorry that I find my honourable friends opposite in a state of turmoil. You will remember that our convention is to allow the Opposition to select one cut in each grant for discussion. Since this particular cut is under discussion, I should like to put forward my point of view, if I may at this stage. With regard to the provision for promoting communal harmony, I was surprised to hear that my honourable friend Sardar Lal Singh takes it lightly and considers it to be a huge joke.

Sardar Lal Singh : I never said that.

Premier : I saw it stated in the Press that he had described it as a huge joke.

Sardar Lal Singh : What I said was that the grant of one lakh of rupees for the purpose of bringing about communal harmony was a huge joke. I never said that communal harmony was a huge joke. God forbid, that I should say so!

Premier : I request my honourable friends opposite not to interrupt me during my speech. If they have any questions to put I shall be only too glad to answer such questions as I am able to at the end of my speech. Therefore, I would earnestly beseech them not to interrupt me while I am speaking, because I propose during the course of my speech to make a pronouncement which may be of considerable interest to both sides of the House, and, perhaps, also to a wider circle outside this House in this province and even beyond; I shall deem it a favour if my honourable friends will show me the courtesy and indulgence of not interrupting me during the course of my speech.

As regards the provision for communal harmony far from being a joke, we seriously mean to make yet another attempt to restore inter-communal

[Premier.]

goodwill and harmony between the various communities (*cheers*). It is for this purpose that we have made a radical departure from past practice by providing a small sum to begin with in order to attain our objective—an ideal which should appeal to all patriotic people. We will carefully consider the methods and means that should be adopted in spending the money to best advantage. Anyhow there is no sinister motive and there is no intention of utilising the amount for anything else except for the purpose for which it is meant. My honourable friends, I hope, will agree with me that it is the duty of everyone of us to strive, and to strive to our utmost to restore communal harmony, because without restoring amity and good will between the various communities, all progress—political, economic, cultural and social—is seriously hampered. (*Cheers*). I am sure that no

1 p. m.

one will controvert what I have said; our progress all round is being retarded and thwarted on account of this communal atmosphere. My honourable friend, Sardar Lal Singh, accuses us of being communalists, and yet every question that he and his friends ask, and every objection and every criticism that comes from them against this Government is based on some communal consideration or other. Take the question of jhatka. I explained the other day that so far as I am concerned, I was the first to ask the representatives of various communities to meet and put their heads together; and as a result a resolution was passed unanimously which is still to be ratified. If my honourable friends opposite ask for its ratification, or ask me to bring it before the House, and are prepared to support it, then we can put our heads together and consider its implications and later move for its ratification. That should, once for all, end this controversy. It does not, however, mean that if we ratify that resolution, it would give a free licence to every one to do whatever he likes because it is meant only to remove existing restrictions subject to certain well defined regulations and limitations. Far be it from me, that I should be a party to any arrangement which might injure the susceptibilities of my Hindu or Sikh friends; or that Sikhs should do anything which would injure the feelings of their Hindu and Muslim neighbours; or that Muslims should act in a manner which would hurt the feelings of their Hindu and Sikh brethren. This aspect of the problem was kept prominently in view throughout our deliberations in the Unity Conference, and it was well understood by everybody when the resolution was passed unanimously by the accredited representatives of the various sections of all the communities concerned. It was in that spirit that the resolution, which is of such vital importance to the province, was approved and passed without a single dissenting voice; and I hope that if and when the resolution comes before this House for ratification the same spirit of mutual tolerance and accommodation will prevail. It should be clearly understood that by endorsing the resolution passed by the sub-committee of the Unity Conference we would not be giving unfettered licence to every individual to go about and slaughter animals as he likes. The first consideration in such matters should be not our own feelings but respect for the feelings of our neighbours. The primary consideration in a matter like this should be the preservation of inter-communal harmony and the peace and tranquillity of the province. It is, therefore, imperative that when this House ratifies the resolution, it

should add a rider, in clear and unequivocal terms, to the effect that its application would be subject to the paramount consideration of preserving law and order and peace and tranquillity in the province. In view of what I have said—and this is not the first occasion that I have made the position clear—it is unfair and unjust to blame or criticise the present Government for restrictions which have existed from times immemorial. We took the earliest opportunity to secure the agreement of the parties concerned to a solution which would remove the rigidity of the existing restrictions but at the same time ensure that the religious susceptibilities of any class or community are not disregarded. If my honourable friend Sardar Lal Singh and his party are genuine in their professions, and do not, as some people suspect, merely raise this issue from time to time to exploit their credulous co-religionists by playing on their religious feelings, then all that he need do is to move for the ratification of the agreed resolution which has the blessing of everybody concerned, including Master Tara Singh, Sardar Sampuran Singh, Bhai Parmanand, Diwan Bahadur Raja Narendra Nath and other Sikh and Hindu leaders, as also of Maulana Zafar Ali Khan and other prominent Muslim leaders and representatives.

Sardar Sahib Sardar Santokh Singh: May I ask a question? If the resolution had been passed unanimously, as the Honourable Premier has said, may I know why its ratification is further necessary?

Premier: For the simple reason that the unofficial decision of the Committee should receive formal sanction of the legislature before it can be officially promulgated by the Government. It is for this reason that I have repeatedly invited all sections of the House, whenever this issue was raised, to give their earnest consideration to the terms of the resolution and if they agree with it to move for its ratification or ask the Government to bring it before the House. I consider it desirable that the initiative in this matter should come from unofficial members. It is even more desirable that there should be complete unanimity among the representatives of various parties and communities in this House. Government could have sponsored the resolution themselves and carried it but as I have said in a matter like this, which impinges on the religious sentiments of all communities, it would be prudent and advisable to leave it to the House to take the initiative. It is not so much the wording of the resolution but the spirit underlying it which matters in order to bring the different communities closer to each other. If it is discussed in that spirit members on this side of the House will, I am confident, lend their whole-hearted support. But, if unfortunately it is discussed on narrow sectarian or communal grounds then instead of doing good it would do more harm, and in that case Government would prefer to keep aloof. That is why it has not been brought before the House by Government on its own initiative. If, however, my honourable friends of the Opposition and unattached members give me an assurance that they will support it wholeheartedly, I will be glad to give notice of a Government motion for its ratification. I have made this offer on several occasions before, and I repeat it again to-day. It is now for my honourable friends opposite to decide whether they will avail of this offer. Let me add that so far as I am concerned, and I can also confidently assert

[Premier.] that so far as Muslim members of the House are concerned, you can count on our whole-hearted support (*applause*).

My honourable friend raised several other points also during the course of his speech. I am referring to Sardar Lal Singh's speech. He again referred to the vexed question of the medium of instruction. That question has been discussed threadbare in this House and outside and I have on more than half a dozen occasions reiterated the policy of the Government on the subject. Therefore, I think it is time that the matter should be considered as closed. Government have decided to adhere strictly to the *status quo* in the absence of any agreement. If and when the parties concerned mutually agree to make a departure from the *status quo*, nobody will be happier than myself to give effect to that agreement.

He next dwelt on the question of legislation relating to religious or quasi-religious matters. I believe my honourable friend was referring to the Bill which was introduced by Tikka Jagjit Singh. I understand it is that measure which is worrying him and his friends. Now that Bill relates to the amendment of the Gurdwaras Act. My honourable friend has asked me for a declaration of policy. Before I answer his query I will ask him to go back a few years in order to trace the history and origin of the Gurdwaras Act, and then put his question to me. The Gurdwaras Act was passed by the old Legislative Council. If my honourable friend will look up the proceedings, he will find that that Act was passed with the support of the Unionist Party. The only other organised party was strongly opposed to the passing of that Act, and indeed opposed vehemently several provisions in the Bill. That Act was not passed by Sikhs alone. It was passed with the help of the Unionist Party. My honourable friend opposite is shaking his head. May I refresh his memory by reminding him that the original Bill introduced by Government had to be withdrawn, and subsequently a revised Bill was introduced by Sardar Tara Singh of Moga which was passed with the support of the Unionist Party. My honourable friend need not shake his head—he should look up the proceedings instead. I repeat that the Act was passed with the help of the Unionist Party. At the time, I warned my Sikh friends during our conversations more than once that they were making a mistake by bringing in a secular body like the legislature into matters religious, and that they might in the long run find it embarrassing. But they were anxious to get control of the Gurdwaras, and in this every reasonable person was with them and that is why the Unionist Party, which is a non-communal body consisting of Hindus, Sikhs, Christians, Muslims and others supported them. In spite of my warning our Sikh friends insisted on proceeding with the measure. They sought and received our full support. Now after twenty years my honourable friend Sardar Lal Singh wants me to declare that this legislature should have nothing to do in future with a measure which was passed by it with the help of various sections of the House. It is a proposition which requires careful examination, and I will be prepared to consider it. We must, however, keep prominently in view the fact that the Gurdwaras Act was passed with the sole object of reforming the Gurdwaras and giving to the Sikh community—the genuine Sikhs—the control of their religious institutions. That was the sole object of that Bill. Now if the organisation which was

constituted merely to control religious institutions dabbles in matters which are not religious, and goes beyond and dabbles in secular matters and expresses strong views in matters political, and takes a prominent part in politics, then surely it would not be fair to ask the legislature which was responsible for enacting the original measure, to keep aloof. If my honourable friend can give me an assurance that the body which was constituted under this Act for the purpose of looking after and managing religious institutions of the Sikhs will confine its activities only to matters pertaining to Gurdwaras and institutions appurtenant to them, I on my part will be prepared to ask the House to set up a convention that in future any amendment of this or other similar enactments, or any proposal for such enactments should not be undertaken unless in the case of Gurdwaras Act a majority of the Sikh members, and in the case of other measures a majority of the members of the community concerned in this House sponsor and support the motion. He cannot wish for a more unequivocal or clearer undertaking than that. If he and his friends are prepared to accept my offer, I will on receiving an assurance in the terms I have suggested ask the House to formally endorse the undertaking I have given to set up a convention that in religious matters, which exclusively concern a particular community, that community alone should have the right to say that the matter when it comes before the House should be proceeded with or not. If my suggestion appeals to my honourable friend he might after consulting his friends let me know whether they would like me to proceed with it and I will then prepare and move a formal resolution in the House.

Sardar Lal Singh : May I just ask the Honourable Premier to enlighten the House by giving examples of how the Shriromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee or the Board constituted under the Sikh Gurdwaras Act has dabbled in politics? Can he give any one single instance in which the Board has officially taken part in politics or spent the Gurdwara money on politics?

Premier : I am afraid it would not be advisable to go into details nor would it help to enter into a controversy on the floor of this House. I merely want an assurance which it should not be difficult to give if my honourable friend is satisfied that they are not taking part, and are not likely to take part in future, in matters which are outside the scope of the Act. If they intend scrupulously to follow the spirit and the letter of the law, why should he or his friends have any hesitation in giving me that undertaking? As I have already said if they confine their activities to religious and other matters permissible under the Act, it would not be difficult for me to convince the House—and I am sure I will be able to carry my friends on this side with me—that it would be in the interest of the province to set up a convention that in matters religious, which exclusively concern a particular community, the decision to sponsor, or proceed with, a particular measure must rest with the community concerned. I have made my position clear. It is now for my honourable friend and his party to avail of the offer I have made.

My honourable friend also referred to the question of services. I have made it abundantly clear more than once by quoting facts and figures which should have convinced him, that the interests of the Sikhs, and for

[Premier.]

that matter of every community are safe in the hands of the present Government. We have tried scrupulously to adhere to the proportion laid down for the Sikhs. The number of Sikhs in services has increased considerably—more than that of any other community—during the past few years, because they have been given a much bigger share as compared with their numerical strength than any other community. They are now getting 20 per cent while their population is just over 12 per cent while Muslims get only 50 per cent, and Hindus and others 80 per cent. In the matter of promotion, Government cannot accept a communal policy. In the matter of initial appointments, every community gets its due share, and if any specific instance of a breach of Government instructions comes to the notice of any honourable member or other individual or body, it should be brought to the notice of Government immediately to enable us to make an enquiry. If it is found that Government orders have been deliberately flouted, Government will take immediate action against the officer or department concerned.

I now propose to deal with the important subject of the future constitution for India. My honourable friend Sardar Lal Singh referred to it in the course of his speech and specifically asked for my views on the subject. I am glad that he put me that question—and I avail of this opportunity to answer his question. He is not the only person who has put that question; other individuals in this House and outside—both friends and opponents—have evinced a desire that I should give expression to my views. A section of the press has been trying for the past several months to draw me by taunts and cajolery. I withstood their provocation; and have hitherto refrained from making a statement as I considered that it would be more appropriate to state my viewpoint on an important matter like this in the House rather than by a statement to the press. I was waiting for a suitable opportunity and my honourable friend Sardar Lal Singh by his remarks in the course of this debate and the direct question he has put to me, has provided it. The opponents of the present Government have often, for lack of any genuine ground of criticism, resorted to ludicrous misrepresentation and taunts to justify their existence. We are sometimes described as a League Government and at others an oligarchy of zamindars. Our action has on more than one occasion been described by the opposition as *dhinga zori* of the Kisan Government. Well, we are not ashamed of being called a Kisan Government, a majority of our members are kisans, but there are others also who may not be kisans but, unlike my honourable friends opposite they are friends of the peasants. We are proud to be representatives and friends of the kisans. It is, however, a patent and gross misstatement to describe us as a Muslim League Government. We have never claimed that we are a Muslim League Government; and it would be sheer dishonesty to call it a Muslim Government when no less than half its members are non-Muslims. We are purely a Punjabi Government and we will continue to be a purely Punjabi Government (*hear, hear*). Who can honestly describe it as anything but a Punjabi Government? It is no use trying to mislead anybody on this side of the House—so far as I am concerned, I do not mind his provocative remarks, but I think it is time that my honourable friend Sardar Lal Singh and his associates, in their own interests,

should desist from such unnecessary provocation. Nobody on this side of the House will be affected by such childish effusions, but the press will take them up and ignorant people outside may be provoked. Such tactics cannot possibly do any good to him or to his community or to the province. So, I would request him to be truthful and frankly admit that this is a truly Punjabi Government—a Government comprised of Unionists, who have an absolute majority in the House, with a member of the Khalsa National Party and one Hindu independent. That is the correct description of the present Ministry—a Ministry which as a whole constitutes in the truest sense of the word a really representative Punjabi Government—a Government which represents every community, class and section of the people in this province. (*Cheers from ministerial benches*).

My honourable friend then went on and asked what was the Prime Minister's view about Pakistan. He repeated that question several times and other members of the opposition who followed him also repeated it. My honourable friend, I take it, put that question to me in my personal capacity and not as a member of the Government. Obviously he is only anxious to ascertain my personal views on the subject; and in any case Government as such is not concerned with this controversy. I propose, therefore, to answer his question in my individual capacity and not as Premier. But before answering his question I should like to put him a question to make sure that he understands his own question (*laughter*). May I ask on which particular Pakistan scheme he wants my opinion? Does he even know how many schemes there are?

Sardar Ajit Singh: The one that you framed.

Premier: I did not frame any Pakistan scheme. My honourable friend should not be impatient. I will presently give him the genesis of the various schemes. He will then know what colossal ignorance prevails about these schemes and will be sorry for his interruption. Now, which Pakistan scheme has my friend in mind? There is in the first place the Pakistan scheme of Maulana Jamal-ud-Din Afghani. Has he studied it? Does he want my views on it?

Sardar Lal Singh: We want to know the views of the Premier about the one passed at Lahore.

Premier: No Pakistan scheme was passed at Lahore. But I will deal with the Lahore resolution also, to which he is apparently referring in due course. As for Pakistan schemes Maulana Jamal-ud-Din's is the earliest, but he does not want my views on that. Then there is the scheme which is attributed to the late Allama Iqbal of revered memory. He, however, never formulated any definite scheme, but his writings and poems have given some people ground to think that Allama Iqbal desired the establishment of some sort of Pakistan. But it is not difficult to explode this theory and to prove conclusively that his conception of Islamic solidarity and universal brotherhood is not in conflict with Indian patriotism and is in fact quite different from the ideology now sought to be attributed to him by some enthusiasts. I presume that my honourable friend opposite does not want my views on the non-existent scheme attributed to the great poet-philosopher of the East, Dr. Iqbal. Then there is Chaudhri Rahmat Ali's scheme (*laughter*). Does he want my opinion about that? This is how

[Premier.]

Mr. Rahmat Ali produced his Pakistan. P for Punjab, A for Afghanistan including Pathanistan, i.e., the North-West Frontier Province, K for Kashmir S for Sind and the last three letters 'tan' of Baluchistan. I am not sure if Iran is also included. This is Chaudhri Rahmat Ali's scheme. He put forward this scheme a few years ago, and it was widely circulated in this country and also published in the press. It was also given wide publicity at the time in a section of the British Press. But there is another scheme also which my honourable friend has probably never heard of; it was published in one of the British journals—I think the Round Table—and was conceived by an Englishman. Does he want my opinion about that scheme? (S. Ajit Singh: No). Then my honourable friend probably wants my opinion on some Pakistan scheme which does not exist outside his imagination.

I will now try to satisfy the curiosity of my hon'ble friend Sardar Lal Singh by dealing with the Lahore resolution, which is now popularly known as Pakistan scheme. When that resolution was passed it was termed the Lahore resolution; the word Pakistan was not used at the League meeting and this term was not applied to the League resolution by anybody until the Hindu Press had a brain-wave and dubbed it Pakistan. They have sown the wind and must now reap the whirlwind. It has been said that I am the author of the Lahore resolution. I have no hesitation in admitting that I was responsible for drafting the original resolution. But let me make it clear that the resolution which I drafted was radically amended by the Working Committee, and there is a wide divergence in the resolution I drafted and the one that was finally passed. The main difference between the two resolutions is that the latter part of my resolution which related to the centre and co-ordination of the activities of the various units, was eliminated. It is, therefore, a travesty of fact to describe the League resolution as it was finally passed as my resolution. It must be taken as the official resolution of the Muslim League which was ratified by the Muslim League. My hon'ble friends can call it Pakistan or by whatever name they like. They dubbed it Pakistan and it is now popularly known as Pakistan. The ignorant masses have now adopted the slogan provided by the short-sighted bigotry of the Hindu and Sikh press. If I may venture a word of protest and advice I consider it a fatal mistake on the part of the Hindus and Sikhs to raise this hare. They probably wanted to create an atmosphere among the Hindu and Sikh masses against the resolution. That was their object and I think they have succeeded to some extent, but they overlooked the fact that the word Pakistan might have an appeal—a strong appeal—for the Muslim masses. It is a catching phrase and it has caught popular imagination and has thus made confusion worse confounded. The unsophisticated masses are incapable of distinguishing between the various schemes and I am almost certain that the average Muslim himself does not realise the implications of Pakistan or even knows which particular scheme he is supporting. The result is that political adventurers have been provided with vast opportunities of exploiting the ignorant, each according to his own inclinations and convenience. Some preach Maulana Iqbal's version of Pakistan, others Maulana Jamal-ud-Din's; and I noticed that a leading Muslim daily of Lahore in its Pakistan number started with

Maulana Jamal-ud-Din's scheme, and then drifted into a rambling discourse on Lahore resolution of the League—a confused hotch potch of ideas picked up from here and there. A vast majority of educated Muslims, however, do not believe in any of these schemes. Take the President of the League himself. He is not a believer in any extra-territorial scheme. He stands by the Lahore resolution to which our Hindu friends have given the name of Pakistan. Mr. Jinnah naturally, like every body else, sees the advantage in adopting a catch-phrase which appeals to the masses. If the Hindus and Sikhs can exploit it why not the Muslim League? The Muslims like it; so it is a convenient slogan to sway the Muslim masses. The Hindus and Sikhs started the cry of Pakistan and now the Muslims have taken it up. Both sides are now responsible for popularising the Pakistan bogey which did not exist until it was created by the opponents of the League and is now being utilised by both to exploit the masses. I personally think that it is largely due to this fact that the proposals which should have been considered on their merits, are being opposed or supported merely on the basis of the word 'Pakistan'. As I have already said, it is a great mistake to give the Lahore resolution a name, which from the Hindu and Sikh points of view is provocative and is undesirable even from the Muslim point of view, as it has already created a great deal of confusion among the Muslims.

Dr. Shaikh Muhammad Alam : There was also one scheme of Bhai Parmanand.

Premier : Yes, that is so. However, we need not worry about nomenclatures. It is the substance which matters. My honourable friends have asked me to state my position regarding the future destiny of India. I will do so with pleasure but in my individual capacity. My views are well-known to my honourable friends in this House and they are known to the people outside, and also to the political leaders. Since my honourable friends opposite want me to reiterate them, I will repeat them for their benefit. This is what I visualise regarding the future status and constitution of my country. As I have repeatedly declared, it is my fixed conviction that the future destiny of India lies in accepting a position of freedom within the British Commonwealth. I have repeatedly said so, and my reasons are that at the present moment, when powerful nations are trying to make fresh alliances to save themselves from extinction it would be a criminal folly on the part of India to cut a drift from the British Commonwealth, which is the main and perhaps the only safeguard against aggression so far as we are concerned. But for the British navy which is defending the vital sea route to India, we would be at the mercy of that powerful enemy in the East who is looking for an opportunity to extend his domain westwards. Without the Singapore base and the invincible navy, which is stationed there to protect us, Burma and India would have been attacked in the early stages of the war. Again, is it not the British navy and the Imperial forces, including our own, which are protecting us on our western frontier? We are not out of danger yet. We are still in danger, and I repeat that it is a real danger. Can any sane person believe that we can

[Premier.]

become an independent nation, or retain our independence when we secure it, by a mere declaration that we are independent? I make bold to say that there can be only one answer to that question—an emphatic No. We are not in a position at present to defend ourselves or our country single-handed. We need protection and that protection we can get only from that powerful comity of Nations known as the British Commonwealth. That is my view. Of course, if my honourable friends opposite feel that they can derive satisfaction from slogans, however unreal and fallacious they may be, or by shutting their eyes to obvious facts, they can please themselves. If they wish to live in a fool's paradise they can do so, but that will not bring them or India any nearer to the goal we have in view. We must look at the problem as practical men and face facts. Now let us put aside for the moment sentimental considerations and examine the position from a purely practical—or if you prefer—a mundane materialistic point of view. Within the British Commonwealth the component units have certain privileges as also certain obligations. Hitherto India has been a dependent dominion; and while we have been fulfilling our obligations we have not so far been granted the privileges which are enjoyed by the other Dominions. We have been fighting along with the British and Imperial troops in every theatre of war. And what have we got in return? Nothing so far. We want freedom for our country, freedom in the sense that we shall have full control of our own affairs, as an equal and autonomous unit within the British Commonwealth. We have hitherto been denied some of the coveted privileges which the other partners enjoy although we have unhesitatingly fulfilled our obligations. Now the time has come when we shall ask for the extension of those privileges to us on the same footing as the other free dominions. One of the privileges for which I will ask is that the other partners should extend to me unstinted support and assistance against aggression, just as I have given them unconditional and whole-hearted support in the last war and during the present war. I want that assurance because we are not at present strong enough to ward off aggression without the help of our co-partners in the Commonwealth. I can legitimately ask for that assurance because as a member of the Commonwealth it is my privilege to requisition their help until I become strong enough to defend my country without their assistance. After the war we will ask the British Government and the British people to make India a full-fledged member of the British Commonwealth and we would also stipulate that they must, as a matter of duty and honour protect us from foreign aggression until we are strong enough to stand on our own feet. So apart from other considerations, from the point of view of safety and integrity of India alone it would be criminal folly even to think of severing our connection with the British Commonwealth. That is my position with regard to the future status of India after the war. As for the principles on which the new constitution should be based, there again my views are well known. I believe and, in spite of the various developments which have taken place since my scheme was originally published, I adhere to my belief that my proposals provide an equitable basis and perhaps the only basis for the solution of the constitutional problem. Under my scheme every unit will enjoy complete autonomy in its internal affairs. It is fortunate

that the population of India is so distributed in the various units that in four out of the eleven British Indian Provinces Muslims are in the majority—though in two of these they have just a bare majority—while in the remaining seven provinces Hindus are in the majority. If any of my honourable friends considers that this natural distribution of the population is a misfortune, then I can only say that he is a short-sighted bigot. I repeat that it is our good fortune that Providence has so distributed the population that it provides the fullest opportunity and scope to the two major communities, within their respective territorial spheres to exercise and enjoy the rights of a majority, subject, of course, to the rights and privileges of the minorities. If we accept this principle, which to my mind is a rational principle, then all those difficulties which are of our own making, and which obstruct our constitutional progress will disappear as if by a magic wand. As I understand it what the Muslims desire is that where they are in a majority they should not be thwarted by anybody in the exercise of their inherent rights as a majority when they are prepared to give constitutional guarantees to the minorities for the protection of their rights and interests in the Muslim majority provinces. At the same time they are willing to concede—and they cannot reasonably deny to the Hindus what they claim for themselves as a just right—the same rights and privileges to the Hindus in the provinces in which they happen to be the majority community. Surely that is not an unfair proposition. Since the Hindus will benefit from this proposal in seven out of eleven provinces, why should they grudge the same facilities and privileges to the Muslim in the four Muslim majority provinces? I am sure that if the problem is examined dispassionately, in the light of the observations I have made, nobody with any sense of justice and fairplay will deny that the solution I have suggested will secure for all concerned their due rights and share in the administrative, political and economic spheres without trenching on the legitimate rights of the majority, be it a Hindu or a Muslim majority. Moreover, the Muslims fear that if the provinces are not free and autonomous, there will always be a danger of undue and unwarranted interference from the Centre which will be dominated by Hindus. They argue that so far as the seven Hindu majority provinces are concerned, they will be 'on velvet' the whole time because they will have a Hindu Government in the provinces and Hindu majority at the centre. It is conceivable, they say, that a central government with a Hindu majority would use its authority and influence to strengthen the position of Hindu provinces in the political, economic, social and cultural fields at the expense of the Muslim majority provinces on the one hand, while on the other they would try to undermine the authority and position of the latter by unnecessary interference and unjust restrictions and obstruction. These doubts and misgivings may be unfounded. The mutual mistrust, which holds the field, is unfortunate and tragic, but the fact remains that the suspicion and mistrust does exist and I do not see how it is to be removed except by some such device as I have suggested. In their present mood neither of the major parties seems capable of examining any scheme or proposal on its merits from howsoever unimpeachable source it may emanate. The result is that we are sinking deeper and deeper into the political quagmire. It is time that we made an effort to end this stalemate. This is possible only if we make up our mind to face facts and to

[Premier.]

look at the problem from a realistic point of view like practical men ; like men of honour. If we genuinely desire a solution we must make an approach with a broadminded and just outlook and not from a narrow selfish point of view. By all means let us safeguard our legitimate rights and interests, but that does not mean that we should try to thwart others when they evince a similar desire to protect their rights and interests. After all if we want freedom for all, why should we try to thwart others ? Why should we adopt tortuous and dubious methods to frustrate the reasonable claim and legitimate demands of the various communities or classes, and why should we by such dishonourable methods try to hoodwink the masses and to throw dust in their eyes ? To put it mildly such tactics are most dishonest and are most unjust and unfair to our province, our motherland (applause).

The facts are that in seven provinces Hindus are in a majority. In those provinces let Muslims accept that majority and co-operate with them. In four provinces the Muslims are in a majority. In these provinces Hindus and Sikhs should accept that position and co-operate as honourable partners. After all we have to live together—as we have been living together for the last thousand years or more—and no one can convert a majority into a minority or *vice versa* by squabbling among ourselves. Let us accept the position as we find it and willingly come to an understanding without grudging the majority its rightful share whether it be a Hindu majority or Muslim. That is a simple and straightforward method of composing our differences, and once we accept this principle as a basis for settlement it should be a simple matter to settle the details. At the moment the issues are confused because we do not approach the problem in an honest and straightforward manner. We look at it either through communal glasses or through sectional glasses ; or else with the object of thwarting the other party by raising false issues and dishonest slogans, such as religion in danger, Khalsa raj, Hindu raj and Muslim raj. Such tactics, apart from misleading the ignorant masses and thus creating bitterness, take us further away from our goal. If we make up our minds to view the problem from a common angle and from the point of view of India as a whole, and at the same time concede to every unit the right to manage its own affairs with common and reciprocal safeguards for the minorities, I think all our difficulties and doubts will disappear and we will then be able to look forward to a bright future for which every patriotic Indian is yearning.

You may well ask how do I propose to keep the units together, and what would happen if there is no central authority and all the provinces and states are free. I have explained that Muslims are opposed to an all powerful centre because they are afraid that a communal oligarchy in power might undermine or altogether nullify the autonomy and freedom of the provinces. That is the suspicion that haunts them. It may not be well founded but there it is ; and we must face facts. Now how can we remove their doubts and misgivings ? How best can we meet their objection ? Here is my recipe for what it is worth ; I say, give complete autonomy and freedom to the units, and let them be demarcated into regions or zones on a territorial basis. Representatives of the units within each zone should represent

their respective units as also the region at the centre. The centre thus constituted will not be a domineering hostile centre looking for opportunities to interfere with the work of provincial Governments, but a sympathetic agency enjoying the confidence and support of the provinces,—a body set up by the units to control and supervise the central administrative machinery and to see that the work entrusted to it by the provinces is carried on efficiently, amicably and justly. You can call it the Central Government or a co-ordination committee, or call it by any other name you like. But as I have said if you face the facts squarely and examine the problem dispassionately, you cannot but come to the same conclusion as myself that a centre agreed to by the various interests of their own free will would be a much stronger centre than one arbitrarily superimposed and composed of individuals elected independently of the provincial legislatures or governments. The latter type will not work smoothly or even justly for the simple reason that there will be a perpetual tug of war between the centre and the units. At any rate two-thirds of India, including *Rajistan* will not find it easy to accept a centre, which for reasons mentioned by me, does not enjoy their confidence or willing co-operation. Would a centre set up with the consent of the units and enjoying their confidence be stronger and more powerful, or one that is imposed on them without their consent and which does not represent the provincial Assemblies or governments? Of course, the former. I beg to submit that my proposals will not only secure freedom and autonomy to the provinces but will also consolidate the country on a basis of mutual confidence and goodwill which will enormously add to the strength of India as a whole. Once the idea of domination and interference is abandoned the problem becomes quite simple. Then Muslims would not be justified in asking for a complete severance from the rest of India. I am sure they will not. If they still persist then I think that they would be worthy of being sent to a lunatic asylum. All they can reasonably ask for is that there shall not be a domineering centre which may undermine their power and authority in the Muslim majority provinces. Some of my honourable friends over there or on this side of the House might consider that if power to administer important subjects is delegated to the centre, it may tempt them to bully the provinces. My answer is "No". It will not be a rigid centre, and it will consist of representatives of the units selected by the provincial legislatures or governments responsible to the people of the province. The centre will be elastic in the sense that except for subjects entrusted to it by prior agreement, e.g., Defence, Maritime Customs, Currency and Coinage and External Affairs, only such other matters or powers will be delegated to the Centre as the units may by agreement decide to transfer, and for such period as may be specified in the instrument of delegation. As regards actual administration of these subjects they can be administered by committees on which every region must be represented or in the alternative by a representative executive. Again the decisions need not be on a bare majority basis. Once the basic issues are settled it should not be difficult to devise means whereby adequate and effective voice is assured to the representatives of every region and the danger of any section being overwhelmed by a sheer communal majority is completely eliminated. You can lay down a two-thirds or even a three-fourths majority for any administrative act to be effective. I am merely

[Premier.]

giving you an idea; it will be for the experts to devise a suitable scheme. My point is that once there is agreement on the basic principles, it should not be difficult to secure agreement in matters of detail. For instance, it should be possible to lay down in the Constitution that the central machinery will not be rigid but capable of modification by agreement among the parties concerned. Again, it might be advisable to make a provision which would enable a region—provided a specified number of units demand it—to secede within a prescribed period of say 10, 15 or 25 years. This may be necessary in order to satisfy the units that, if in spite of the safeguards in the constitution, it is found that their rights are not adequately secure they will have an opportunity to reconsider their position. If the units or a region find that they do not get a fair deal at the centre they should have the right to transfer their constitutional relationship from the centre direct to the Crown—but only after a fair and honest trial. There will be then justification for doing so. Now, before that contingency has arisen, it is not reasonable to ask for it. Indeed, the remedy suggested is worse than the disease, and instead of doing good it would do considerable harm to the units as also to the interests of the country as a whole. My point then is that we should try to devise an agency which would be set up with the consent of the units and administer at the centre subjects of common interest such as customs, currency, defence and foreign affairs. Without some co-ordinating central agency it may be difficult to secure an equitable distribution of financial burdens and resources. I give you an illustration. Punjab is not a maritime province but we pay our share of customs duty on the goods and merchandise we import from abroad. How are we going to realise our share of the income from this source? If we are isolated we cannot claim a share of receipts from maritime customs. Bombay, Karachi and Calcutta, as ports of maritime provinces, will levy and retain the whole amount. Unless there is a central agency to collect and distribute these dues or utilise them for some agreed common purpose, the maritime provinces will gain at the expense of landbound units, such as the Punjab and the United Provinces. Again I visualise several other difficulties in this connection. For instance, if all the numerous Indian states and provinces are isolated in water tight compartments, and Mr. Fazl-ul-Haq decides to come to Lahore for consultation with the Nawab Sa'ib of Mamdot in regard to certain matters relating to "Bangsam"—I believe that is the name proposed for the Bengal cum Assam combination by Chaudhri Rahmat Ali, the originator of Neo-Pakistan—this is what would happen. He will start from Calcutta, but as soon as he passes Asansol he will be stopped at the Bihar Frontier and asked to show his passport and get his luggage examined. The Bihar customs authorities will demand that. He will next arrive at the frontier of United Provinces and the same process will be repeated. From there he will proceed to the borders of the Punjab where he will be stopped again and his passport and kit will be examined. In short, he will experience the same inconvenience to which a traveller is subjected in the Balkans where after every few minutes you are stopped by the customs officials to get your luggage and passport checked. (Interruptions). It may be argued that some system can be easily introduced such as the European countries have amongst themselves to arrange such

matters. True, we can also make similar arrangements by treaties and covenants, but even so the customs and passport formalities and the difficulties I have enumerated will not be eliminated unless we have a common agency to deal with these subjects. You must have a central agency to control these subjects, which are of common interest to all the units, if you want to avoid unnecessary inconvenience and harassment. Similarly, with regard to customs charges, uniformity can be achieved only by setting up an agreed co-ordinating agency. Surely we do not want a state of affairs where each unit is free to levy at each frontier a customs duty which may vary—say from five to fifty rupees—on a particular article. This may lead to unhealthy competition and chaotic conditions. It is not inconceivable that land-bound provinces might even find their trade and commerce completely paralysed. Then, take defence—a very important and vital subject. I have dealt with customs and now I will deal with defence. A few short-sighted enthusiasts say that they will be able to look after the defence of their own bit of the country. They argue that once they are free to manage their own affairs, every unit will have an army of its own; and when they have secured their independence they will willingly undertake the responsibility of maintaining an adequate military force. In theory the proposition may appear plausible and even attractive to those reckless enthusiasts who seldom take the trouble of calculating the financial and other implications of any such undertaking. They fail to realise that a well-equipped army is an expensive affair. Assuming for a moment that the bigger units may be able to maintain some kind of troops like the Indian States do now, who will, for instance, take the responsibility of defending the North-West Frontier of India? Surely you cannot expect the North-West Frontier Province to do so. It is a province which would be the first to be overrun by any invader who may come from that direction. No sane person will contend that the North-West Frontier Province can afford to provide and finance a force capable of keeping in check an army equipped with modern armaments. How can you possibly expect them to bear the burden? It is obvious, therefore, that some arrangement will have to be made either to subsidise them or set up a force on an all-India basis which will defend the country against aggressors from without—and also deal with internal aggression, if necessary—and will be paid for by the country as a whole. How will you do it? Who will look after that force and see that it is maintained properly and efficiently, and effectively controlled? If we consider the matter dispassionately we cannot but come to the inevitable conclusion that it is essential to have some kind of central agency to deal with Defence matters. We have not only to guard our North-West frontier but also our Eastern frontiers in Bengal and Assam. Moreover, we have to defend our extensive coastal line running from Chittagong in the East down to Madras and Tuticorin, and from there up the Malabar coast and Bombay right up to the Persian border. Apart from large land forces we would need a powerful navy and an efficient and strong air force to protect us. And it all costs money—and for a country the size of India it would involve an expenditure of not crores but *arabs* and *kharabs*. But let us for a moment leave aside these wider issues and examine the matter from the point of view of our own province. Punjab provides bulk of the Indian army—our proportion in the peace time strength is about 52 per cent; our war time contribution is even higher (*cheers*). Why? Because from times immemorial

[Premier.]

we have had to bear the brunt of attacks by invaders from the north-west and have long and glorious traditions as clean and stout fighters (*hear, hear*). We are the natural custodians of India and have proved our worth on the battlefields at home and abroad and have thus acquired the proud distinction and title of being known as "the sword arm" of India (*cheers*). But that does not mean that we can on that account afford to cut adrift from the rest of India and still hope that we will be able to defend our province and our neighbours against organised aggression from outside. Apart from other considerations we cannot afford to pay for the upkeep of even a small force, much less for a force more than half the size of the present Indian army. We want independence and freedom like every one else but we cannot become independent merely by declaring that we are free because we have our own army. Who will pay for that army? I am quite clear in my mind that we cannot afford it—even with the vast resources of my friend the Nawab of Mamdot, neither he nor all of us put together would be equal to the task of keeping up a modern army of any size (*laughter and hear, hear*). Can any province singlehanded defend itself or bear the burden of its own defence? My answer is, no; and this is a consideration which cannot be brushed aside lightly, and would need careful examination when we sit together to settle the scope and functions of the central agency. Unless we have strong, efficient and up to date defence forces our independence will not be worth a day's life; let us make no mistake about it.

Next take currency. Here again, if the matter is left to the units to do as they like, we may have several hundred different currencies—there are 11 provinces and over six hundred Indian States. Just imagine what would happen if a person proceeds from Lahore to Calcutta. When he gets to Delhi he will have to change his money for Delhi money and when he enters United Provinces from Delhi he will have to provide himself with the currency of that province, and exchange it again on entering Bihar and then Bengal. So he will have to change his currency several times before he gets to Calcutta. But there again the matter can be easily settled if you have a uniform currency and a central agency to control it. Take again the case of a traveller from Lahore to Bombay; in addition to the British Indian provinces he will have to traverse several—more than a dozen—Indian States. In Rajputana alone there are numerous States—and my honourable friend Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan will be able to tell you how many Indian States you have to cross on your way to Bombay as he knows that part of the country intimately. My own impression is that in Central India and Rajputana jurisdiction changes after every few miles. But this formidable problem would be automatically solved if we have a common currency controlled by an agreed central agency. Once we establish ourselves in watertight compartments it would become exceedingly difficult, if not altogether impossible, to find an agreed solution of these difficulties. In the absence of uniform practice and procedure it might take several days instead of 26 hours to get to Bombay from Lahore, because at every provincial and State boundary custom formalities will have to be fulfilled and currency will have to be exchanged. These matters are not so simple of adjustment as some of us might think. If you want freedom—real freedom—

you will not get it by shouting slogans and catchwords. We will have to put our heads together and devise a plan which will ensure that the freedom which we ask for and obtain for ourselves must also be granted to our neighbours, our co-citizens. Every country and every unit must have the same measure of freedom as a matter of right. So far as we in the Punjab are concerned, let me assure you that we will not countenance or accept any proposal which does not secure freedom for all (*cheers*). We do not desire that Muslims should domineer here just as we do not want the Hindus to domineer where Muslims are in a minority. Nor would we allow any body or section to thwart us because Muslims happen to be in a majority in this province. We do not ask for freedom, that there may be Muslim Raj here and Hindu Raj elsewhere. If that is what Pakistan means I will have nothing to do with it. If Pakistan means unalloyed Muslim Raj in the Punjab, then I will have nothing to do with it (*hear, hear*). I have said so before and I repeat it once again here, on the floor of this House (*cheers*). If you want real freedom for the Punjab, that is to say a Punjab in which every community will have its due share in the economic and administrative fields as partners in a common concern, then that Punjab will not be Pakistan, but just *Punjab*, land of the five rivers; Punjab is Punjab and will always remain Punjab whatever anybody may say (*cheers*). This, then, briefly is the political future which I visualise for my province and for my country under any new constitution.

Malik Barhat Ali: The Lahore resolution says the same thing.

Premier: Exactly; then why misinterpret it and try to mislead the masses? As for the people who come to the province from outside I have no quarrel with them; they have every right to come and express their views; but their function is only to advise us—as a matter of fact we should welcome friendly advice. But after they have given their advice they must leave it to us to decide the course and action which we consider suitable for our province. If I am asked, for instance, by the United Provinces Muslims to go there and advise them on any particular issue, I will be glad to do so. But I will go there merely as an adviser and it would be for them to refuse or accept my advice as they think best. Why should we in the Punjab worry if my advice is not accepted? Similarly, we in the Punjab are prepared to listen to the views of friends from outside but the final decision to accept or reject those views must rest with us. To put it briefly, we want for the Punjab the same right of self-determination which others want—self-determination which Mr. Gandhi wants, which Mr. Jinnah wants, which the Congress and the Muslim League want and which others demand. I ask for nothing more than what other parties or units in India ask for themselves, namely, the right of self-determination. So, how can they with any reason or justification deny me that right which they claim for themselves? Supposing the Hindus of the seven provinces in which they are in a majority, suggest that we must accept a particular type of constitution for the Punjab and India, and if we do not consider it to be suitable I will say to them: "Thank you very much for your suggestions and advice but I am sorry I cannot accept it because it does not suit the Punjab". Similarly, if the Muslims from those very provinces try to press on us their point of view and we find that their proposals or suggestions are against

[Premier.]

the interests of the Punjab, we cannot but give them the same reply as to the Hindus. We should make it clear to them that matters pertaining to the proposed new constitution can only be settled by discussion and in consultation with our Hindu and Sikh friends. That seems to me to be the rational position and which we can reasonably adopt and should adopt. Any other course would lead to further confusion and might eventually result in bloodshed; and if unfortunately it comes to that, the responsibility will be of those who exploit the unsophisticated masses by catchwords and slogans. I have given this warning before and I repeat it today in the hope that it will bring home to all concerned the danger of rousing the passion of the ignorant masses and disseminating bitterness by word of mouth. As I have said these matters must be considered calmly and dispassionately and we should not be carried away by sentimental slogans. I have told you how I feel about it. It is possible that my view point may not be acceptable to some of you; I may be wrong but I am open to conviction as every fair individual should be. I may, however, add that my views and conclusions are based on considerations which should be close to the heart of every patriotic Indian. I have given a great deal of thought to this problem and I have put before you my considered views. The future destiny of our province and our country depends mainly on those who are in a position to lead the masses. If they give the correct lead and approach the problem fairly and squarely from a common angle and not from a communal angle, then and only then can we hope to achieve the ideal we have set before us. We must try to understand the other man's point of view just as we expect him to appreciate our point of view. Once we decide to deal with the problem in a spirit of mutual confidence and trust, its solution will not be difficult.

One word to my Sikh friends before I conclude. I have often heard them say: "We are nationalists and therefore we will not allow any partition of India"—Very laudable sentiments. I have no quarrel with their sentiments or their opposition to the partition of India. But I should like to point out to my Sikh friends that if they press for a powerful and super-imposed centre at the expense of the provinces, they will be doing gross injustice to the Punjab and incalculable harm to their community. They should not forget that they constitute only one per cent. of the population of India and even if they get a 100 per cent. weightage they cannot expect to get more than 2 per cent. representation at the centre. Now let me put to them this question. Would they prefer to be partners in a concern in which they would be entitled to only one per cent. representation and can at best expect a two per cent share, or would they be better off where they get a 20 per cent. share although they constitute only a little over 12 per cent of the population? Which is the better choice? If they are honest there can be only one answer to that question. In the Punjab, their home province, they will have the same status as Punjabis as their Muslim and Hindu brethren. Here they will have a 20 per cent share as equal partners in a purely Punjabi concern. At the centre they will occupy an insignificant position and their feeble voice will be lost in the multitude of voices from other units and communities. If they are the real nationalists they profess to be, then they will, I am sure, agree with me that the freedom to which we aspire and for which we should strive must be freedom for all and not for any

particular community, party or unit. That is the kind of freedom I visualise for the Punjab—freedom for Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs, Christians and others as Punjabis ; freedom for the Punjab as also for the other units, subject of course to agreed limitations which may be necessary to ensure the integrity of the units and the country as a whole ; freedom which would be unassailable by anybody from within the country or from outside. Let us, as an earnest of that larger, wider freedom, which we hope to secure, close our ranks in our own province. You know the well known adage that an isolated stick can be easily snapped but they become unbreakable if they are tied together in a bundle. (*Cheers*). We are passing through critical times and I appeal to all communities and parties to join together and unite in order to meet any aggression from outside or trouble from within. Let me warn my Sikh friends that if they are misled into adopting an attitude detrimental to the interests of the Punjab, they will be doing untold harm to their community and betraying their province. For instance, if they say that they would prefer one per cent share at the centre rather than have 20 per cent in their own province—and even my honourable friend Sardar Lal Singh should be able to distinguish between one per cent and 20 per cent although he is a Jat—(*An honourable member*: Sir Chhotu Ram is also a Jat)... Yes, but he is an exception to the rule and if you would only follow him like other Jats you also would not make any mistakes. Moreover, if the Sikhs adopt a 'dog in the manger' policy in the matter of apportionment of power between the centre and the units, they will confirm the suspicion that their non-agriculturist leaders in sympathy with their Hindu kith and kin are using them as a cat's paw for the sake of others. There is also the danger that the anxiety on the part of certain Sikh leaders to bring the Sikhs in line with the non-agriculturist Hindus under the plausible pretext that if they join hands with the Hindus they will be able to domineer over Muslims through the centre might in reality be an attempt to merge the Sikhs into the Hindu community. I am, however, sure that no genuine or honest Sikh will or can take up that attitude because apart from religious considerations any such consummation would deprive them of the political, economic and other privileges which they enjoy as an important minority. Once the distinction which distinguishes Sikhs from Hindus is removed or even blurred, they will no longer be entitled to claim or retain the concessions which they now enjoy in the matter of representation, services and in other spheres, for the simple reason that they will cease to be a separate entity.

I will not detain the House much longer. I have frankly put forward my point of view and I will request my friends on both sides of the House to give it their earnest thought and consideration. Let me once again appeal to you and to our co-citizens outside the House that we should examine this problem not from any petty communal or sectarian point of view but from the point of view of the Punjab as a whole. Whatever our differences, they are capable of composition. Let us strive together for a freedom which will ensure liberty and freedom for all and which will enable us to live together as brothers and become so united that no power could part us asunder. Let us live together as Punjabis and act as Punjabis and then in consultation and in agreement with the other units—both British provinces and Indian States—devise an equitable and just scheme for the centre which will enable us to stand together against any common enemy from without, and at the

[Premier.]

same time, eliminate the possibility of any internal friction. I have indicated the lines on which it should be possible to achieve our common objective. Let us join hands in order to preserve and maintain peace and harmony within the province, and unite with the rest of India to face with courage and confidence the danger from without. And let us above all show to the rest of India that we in the Punjab stand united and will not brook any interference from whatever quarter it may be attempted. Then and then only will we be able to tell meddling busy bodies from outside; "Hands off the Punjab" (*prolonged applause*).

Sardar Sahib Sardar Santokh Singh : Sir, may I ask one question from the Premier? Is it a fact that under the Gurdwara Act funds can only be applied for specific purposes as set forth in the Act and that if any board or committee applies those funds for purposes other than those specifically covered by the Act, the board or the committee, as the case may be, makes itself criminally liable? In the circumstances what is the necessity of the assurance that the Premier wants to ask from the Sikh community?

Premier : I am not asking for any assurances; it is the Sikh community which wants them. A Bill has been introduced by my honourable friend Tikka Jagjit Singh. It would not have been necessary for him to propose further safeguards if he and his friends had been satisfied that the Act was being worked properly. My point is that if this suspicion is removed, it may not be necessary for him to proceed with his amending Bill. I believe what the mover of the Bill and his friends desire is that any loopholes which enable Gurdwara funds to be misused should be stopped. It is not my Bill. I have already told you that if I get an assurance that they will confine their activities to the matters specified in the Gurdwara Act and utilise Gurdwara funds in accordance with the letter and spirit of the Act, I for one would be satisfied. My honourable friend can then consult his Sikh colleagues and they can take their own decision and we will abide by it.

Nawab Sir Shah Nawaz Khan : May I congratulate the Premier for having so ably and honestly explained the Lahore resolution of the all India Muslim League.

Premier (Urdu) : And I hope my honourable friend the Nawab Sahib will get the resolution amended and amplified in the light of what I have said in regard to the centre.

Nawab Sir Shah Nawaz Khan (Urdu) : I have sent a scheme to Mr. Jinnah on the 8th February wherein I have expressed ideas nearly identical with those of the Honourable Premier (*hear, hear*).

Dr. Sir Gobul Chand Narang : May I clear one thing about the reference to the attitude of the non-Muslims towards the Gurdwara Act which is likely to create a misunderstanding. The real position is this. There is no doubt that the Muslims had nothing to lose under the Gurdwaras Act. They did not care what happened to it. It was like giving away water from the river. They did not stand to lose anything. So far as the Hindus were concerned there was at first some opposition on behalf of the Udasīs

who were likely to be affected. My honourable friend the Premier does not know that all these differences were settled at a private meeting. We sat at the late Rai Bahadur Lala Mohan Lal's house till midnight. The Sikhs were there and every amendment was read out to the Sikh members, Sardar Jodh Singh being their leader. When an amendment was read out, I said "do you approve of this"? If he said, 'yes', I said "all right." If they did not approve of any amendment it was struck off. There were 20 or 30 amendments. All those amendments were read out and we retained only those which the Sikhs approved. All the amendments were carried with the support and approval of the Sikhs. The impression should not be created that the Bill was passed only with the help of the Unionist Party. The Hindus supported it after the agreement with the Sikhs. As I have said I spent hours and hours. I may also mention as a token of the gratitude for bringing about this peace and concord between the Hindus and Sikhs the late Lala Lajpat Rai that this meeting was held in his presence. We met at the house of the late Rai Bahadur Lala Mohan Lal and we did not leave his house until we came to an agreement.

Premier : This explanation was unnecessary because the Bill was passed, and everybody knows it, after certain amendments had been accepted by the Sikhs, but it was opposed by the Hindus of the National Progressive Party at every stage and it was passed because the Unionist Party supported it. Not that the Unionists were opposed to the Hindu amendments. Hindu amendments which were acceptable to the Sikhs were supported by our party. I remember that quite well. Dr. Narang's party strongly differed from certain provisions of the Bill and then it was suggested that the Sikh and Hindu members should meet together and try to compose their differences—the latter readily agreed to the proposal. It is futile for Dr. Narang to deny that Hindus of his party were opposed to the Bill. The Council records will refute him. Similarly, no one can deny the fact that the Sikhs received the fullest support from the Unionist Party. My friends who were in the old Legislative Council and the Council records will bear me out.

Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang : Does the Premier remember—
(Interruptions).

Mr. Speaker : I cannot allow a dialogue to go on.

(Khan Bahadur Mian Mushtaq Ahmad Gurmani stood up).

Sardar Ajit Singh : On a point of order, Sir. The Honourable Premier, as you are aware, before delivering his speech said that there would be no speech from that side of the House after his speech. And you allowed him to speak on that condition. How is it that you are again allowing another member from that side of the House?

Mr. Speaker : Will the Honourable Premier please say whether no member of his party would speak?

Premier : What I said was that if you are going to accept the closure motion you will allow me to speak so that I may put my point of view.

(Honourable Members : The question be now put).

Mr. Speaker : The question is—

That the question be now put.

The motion was carried.

Mr. Speaker : The question is—

That the item of Rs. 87, 000 on account of Ministers be reduced by Re. 1.

The motion was lost.

Electoral roll of Women Constituency of Lahore City.

Begum Rashida Latif Baji (Inner Lahore, Muhammadan Women, Urban) (Urdu) : I beg to move—

That the item of Rs. 92,900 on account of Election for Indian and Provincial Legislatures be reduced by Rs. 10.

Sir, I have a number of objections against the amount of Rs. 92,900, provided in the budget, because I feel that a major portion of this money has been wasted for lack of judicious use on the part of the Government. I have no knowledge of other constituencies but I would make a few observations about the Inner Lahore Constituency which I have the privilege to represent in this Assembly. I would amply show how the rights of innumerable women voters have been trampled under foot and how their valuable votes have been nullified.

2 p. m.

You are aware, Sir, that at first no seat used to be reserved for women for election to the Legislature and hence womenfolk did not care to take interest in or feel the necessity of getting their names registered in the electoral rolls. But now when under the statute a provision has been made to give them representation in the Assembly and a few seats have been allotted to them, they have begun to feel it their imperative duty to exercise their right of vote and also to get the same duly recorded. In this connection I would submit that in the last electoral rolls which were prepared in 1936, 10,440 voters for the constituency of Inner Lahore were registered. Out of them 180 were declared null and void and hence only 10,310 voters were left on the rolls. Now let us take the new electoral rolls into consideration. Only 1,052 voters have been registered. This reflects that there is something "rotten in the State of Denmark." The usual practice is that the moharrars or clerks appointed for this purpose tour the lanes, streets, and mohallas, with a view to find out whether the voters registered in the old rolls are still alive and kicking or any of them has died or left the city for certain reasons or whether the financial position of some one has not deteriorated to such an extent as to disqualify that person from being a voter, etc. Besides, another rule is also observed and that is, that those who own property and pay *malikana* are registered as voters by the department of its own accord. There are thousands of women residing in the constituency of Inner Lahore, who pay *malikana* and are in possession of immovable property. In the previous electoral rolls their names were registered on the qualification of being property owners and strange to say the same have been omitted in the new rolls. Then I would draw the attention of honourable members to another matter. In the Inner Lahore, that is, within the walled city of Lahore, there are 457 mohallas but now 205 only

have been registered. In other words more than half of Lahore City has been shown in the electoral rolls as non-existent. (*Hear, hear*). A really deplorable state of affairs. Now to support my contention and by way of illustration I would take the case of Ward No. 1. In the old list there were as many as 1,179 women voters and in the present rolls their number has been reduced to 126. Out of 126 voters, about one hundred are prostitutes and in regard to the remaining 26 the state of affairs is like this. Names of certain women who died long ago, have been entered as voters. For instance, Sultan Begum, wife of Sayed Iftikhar-ud-Din, breathed her last more than two years ago but her name has been registered twice. The venerable mother of Sayed Amjad Ali Shah, our celebrated Parliamentary Private Secretary, has absolutely no connection with the city, yet her name has been registered twice. Similarly, twice has each of his aunts, namely, Mrs. Faqir Najm-ud-Din and Mrs. Sayed Riaz Ali, been entered in the rolls. Then the wife of the late Hakim Amin-ud-Din after having sold her house in Bazar Hakiman, left the locality long ago. Now she has nothing to do with the city and yet her name in Mohalla Jogi has been registered. Again the wife of Nawab Muzaffar Khan's cousin is no longer concerned with the inner city of Lahore but her name as voter in Bhati Gate is there. I understand from Nawab Sahib that she had gone to the next world long ago. Then the name of Mst. Nazir Begum as daughter of Sayed Iftikhar-ud-Din has been registered while the fact is that Sayed Sahib had no daughter of that name. Sayed Amjad Ali Shah would bear me out that his grandfather Sayed Iftikhar-ud-Din had really no daughter of that name and perhaps she never saw the light of this world. Thus the names of hardly 10 or 15 genuine voters have been registered. It pains me to find that the names of alive voters have been omitted from the rolls, while the votes of those who are no more in this world have been recorded. Now I cite my own mohallah as an instance to the point. In the old electoral rolls as many as 83 women voters from this mohallah were registered and in the present one only two voters have been fortunate enough to find their names. Then there are some very affluent women residing in this mohallah, who own property and there are others who pay *malikana*. I would like to make mention of the names of some of them, with whom, I am sure, Sir, you also must be familiar. All these names have been omitted from the rolls :—

Widow of Sayed Mohammad Shah, Wakil	Owner of immovable property.
Widow of Sayed Ahmad Shah Sahib	Do.
Widow of Khan Sahib Abdul Hakim	Do.
Widow of Gul Muhammad	Do.
Wife of Abdul Karim, Kardar	Pays <i>malikana</i> .
Wife of Mohd. Umar Arain	Owner of immovable property.
Wife of Khan Sahib Mian Siraj Din	Do.
Wife of Karim Bakhsh Butt	Do.

Besides, the names of several women who pay rent up to the prescribed limit have not been entered in the list of voters. The responsible officers have

[Begum Rashida Latif Baji.]

accepted as gospel truth whatever their clerks have written and the former have not cared to investigate as to how many voters were genuine and how many genuine voters have been omitted from the list. Moreover, it is a fact that every honourable member who gets elected once, takes interest in the correct preparation of the list of voters for the next election. At least I did so. But my efforts have proved fruitless and even the names of those voters who live in my own mohalla have not been entered in the list. Further on, the women voters have to face special difficulty inasmuch as they need the services of an advocate thrice in connection with a single application. In the first place an advocate is required to write the words, "I attest this" on the application form. Then he has to personally submit this application on behalf of the voter and thirdly he is to appear in court to argue the case of the applicant. Thus the services of an advocate are needed thrice by a single woman applicant. This is an extremely difficult task for the women voters. That is the real reason why women have not put in claims in large numbers. In spite of all this their number did reach the figure of 2,000. But a large number of these applications were rejected as a result of petitions submitted against them, and very few of them have been accepted, although very respectable persons, pleaders, doctors, and jagirdars appeared in support of their wives' applications and bore witness to the fact that their wives or they themselves were owners of property or paid reasonable amount of rent. If a man owns an immovable property the value of which is Rs. 4,000 his wife can claim a vote. If a man pays Rs. 8 as rent, even then his wife can claim to be a voter. Several advocates were produced in court who pleaded cases on behalf of women applicants. But their pleadings were not accepted. I personally invited the attention of the Commissioner to this attitude of the courts concerned. He ordered the courts to stop work for one day. On the second day too he expressed his regret over this state of affairs. The special point to note in this respect is that only Muslim women voters were objected to and their applications were rejected. No objections were raised against the claims of Hindu, Sikh and Christian women, or men. Even the Muslim male voters were not objected to. The sole target of these objections were the Muslim women voters of Inner Lahore only while the Muslim women voters of Outer Lahore too were not objected to. Objections were taken to the applications of Muslim women voters of Inner Lahore only and their prayers were not heeded at all. Every kind of proof or evidence produced in this behalf was rejected outright. Sir, the manifest injustice can well be imagined that whereas the objections of the petitioners were readily accepted, the evidence of husbands in favour of their own wives was not accepted. The intention of the Government is apparent. It transpires from this attitude of the Government that it is afraid of my personality and does not want me to be returned to this House again. I see no other purpose in the Government rejecting the names of Muslim women voters of Inner Lahore so unjustly. It appears that the object of Government in rejecting the claims of Muslim women of Lahore was that I should not be successful in the coming general elections of the Punjab Legislative Assembly. The Government wants to avoid my strong and harassing criticism and further desires that I should not raise my voice in favour of the rights of the public. I will reply by saying

that none can give guarantee for one's continued life and I too cannot claim that I will be alive till the coming elections. But if God grants me life, I will certainly seek election to this House from some other constituency and raise my voice in favour of the rights of the public. I hope to capture one seat from the seats of men by open election and continue to protest against the objectionable activities of the Government. (*Hear, hear*).

Sir, all the objections raised by me to-day are based on sound facts. The Government has really entered the names of some dead women in the list of voters while the names of other women who are alive have not been entered. The Government has so to say counted the dead among the living and *vice versa* (*Laughter*). Let us take the example of the maternal grandmother of Sayed Amjad Ali Shah. She died long ago and yet her name has been entered twice in the list of voters for the coming elections. Similarly the names of several women whose bones must have become dust by now are still found in the list of voters for the next election to the Punjab Legislative Assembly. But I would like to warn the Government that it will not be successful in trampling upon the rights of women by such unfair activities.

I will now conclude my speech after quoting from the semi-Government paper the *Inqilab* of 8th March, 1941. The following words appeared in this paper under the caption of "Afkar-o-Hawadis". I would not mind what the paper has written about me and I would not mention it here. But I want the House to note how this paper has ridiculed women in general:

اگر عورت اپنے آپ کی وزارت پر ہی قانع رہی، یہاں

Further on the paper says:—

ایم نکل کی عورتوں کے رجحان میں عجیب سی
وہ مرادیں، بغیر یہ کہ بدین ممبر ضرور ہیں کہ وہیں کی

This clearly reveals the intention of the Government with respect to women and indicates the opinion of the Government about them. The Government desires that women should not be returned to the Legislative bodies and should not uphold their rights. It is a thousand pities that the members of the Government conveniently forget that this very country was once ruled by a lady in the past whose name is mentioned proudly in the history and the praises of whose reign are sung up to this time.

I now conclude my speech and commend my cut motion for the acceptance of the House.

Mr. Speaker: Question is—

That the item of Rs. 92,900 on account of Election for Indian and Provincial Legislatures be reduced by Rs. 10.

The motion was lost.

Top heavy Administration.

Sardar Sahib Sardar Santokh Singh (Eastern Towns, Sikh, Urban):
Sir, I move:

That the demand be reduced by Rs. 100.

[S. Santokh Singh.]

My object in moving this out is to draw the attention of the Government and also of this House to the top-heavy expenditure that we are incurring in this province. The expense under general administration from the time this Government has taken over has risen from 1,12 lakhs in 1937-38 to Rs. 1,21 lakhs in 1941-42, that is, there has been an increase of 9 lakhs of rupees in the head general administration, or an increase of over 8 per cent.

The expenditure in 1937-38 was Rs. 1,12 lakhs. It rose in 1938-39 to 1,18 lakhs. In 1939-40 it was 1,17 lakhs, and in the Revised Estimates for 1940-41 it is 1,19 lakhs and now the budgetted estimate is 1,21 lakhs. This expenditure, as will be seen, has been rising and mounting by lakhs. I am afraid this Government has not paid due regard to the expenditure that the departments under them have been incurring and the result has been that there has been a considerable rise in it. This Government has been too busy, I believe has been concentrating all its attention on finding ways and means to tax one particular section of the people, that is, the urban population. They have not thought it fit to exercise any control over the expenditure that was being incurred during their regime. As all of us are aware this Government appointed in the beginning a Retrenchment Committee. That committee after working very hard for a period of about 2 years produced a report on the 19th October, 1939. It would be necessary for me to take you over that report. The estimates of the savings which they had recommended totals up to so stupendous a figure as 53½ lakhs. I mean that if the recommendations of the Retrenchment Committee, a committee formed by this Government itself and monopolized by the Ministerial benches, if their recommendations had been accepted by this Government, there would have accrued to this province a saving of 53½ lakhs according to the recommendations that had been made by that Retrenchment Committee. My complaint against the Finance Minister is that after having produced such a well-considered report, he has not taken pains or he has not been able to persuade his colleagues on the Cabinet to give effect to these recommendations. My charge is that this report has been consigned to the waste paper basket. Some time ago I asked a very pointed question of the Honourable Premier to tell us whether any action has been taken on the recommendations of the Retrenchment Committee and the reply was to my great astonishment that no retrenchment whatsoever has been effected as a result of the recommendations of the Retrenchment Committee. Another Cabinet Minister, Sir Chhotu Ram, on another occasion tried to explain away that report altogether. He said that so far as that report was concerned, a lot of water had flown below the Ganges since then. The result is that there has been no retrenchment whatsoever as a result of the recommendations of that committee and the expense incurred on that committee seems to have been a mere waste. When delivering his budget speech, the Finance Minister said —

This gratifying position could have been achieved only by the vigorous prosecution of the economy campaign initiated as soon as it was realized that even the direct expenditure on famine relief was likely to exceed heavily the budget estimate of Rs. 37 lakhs.

From these lines a business man like myself who believes more in action rather than in the jugglery of words came to the conclusion that something

tangible must have been done by this Government to bring about the much needed retrenchment and economy. But going a little further, the Finance Minister left us in no doubt as to what that economy was. He tells us—

Such measures of economy, however, cannot continue indefinitely without impairing the efficiency of administration or without detriment to important essential services.

The whole thing became very clear after this sentence in the speech of the Honourable Finance Minister. It amounted to this, that so far as real retrenchment was concerned, nothing whatsoever had been done and if any economy had been made it was in the curtailment of the essential services which he was careful to add could not be allowed to continue for any indefinite period. Coming to the recommendations that were made by the Retrenchment Committee, I will have to take you over that report. The very first recommendation made by that committee is the abolition or reduction of several special pays and compensatory allowances. This according to the Committee was to bring in a saving of as much as Rs. 6,25,000. In making that recommendation, the Retrenchment Committee in their report say, I am quoting from paragraph 12—

The previous retrenchment committee of 1931 made certain recommendations in regard to the compensatory allowances and special pays, except fixed travelling and conveyance allowances drawn in the province. In the Government order on that Committee's report it was stated that a large number of allowances and special pays have been abolished or reduced. Notwithstanding the action taken on the previous Retrenchment Committee's report, it was found that there is a very large number of allowances and special pays still in existence. We understand that the total expenditure on this account is about 25½ lakhs a year. A sub-committee was appointed to examine in detail all the allowances and special pays that are still in existence and to consider whether any of these can suitably be discontinued or reduced in amount. The sub-committee held 20 meetings for this purpose. Their report has been included as appendix B. We are indebted to this Committee for a very careful and thorough report. We heartily endorse all the principles which this Sub-Committee had laid down for their own guidance in framing their recommendations. We were therefore able to accept all their proposals".

This is very significant. This Retrenchment Committee constituted a sub-committee, the sub-committee takes up the work in hand, holds 20 sittings, goes into all these matters very thoroughly, produces a report which has been unanimously accepted by the members of the Retrenchment Committee. "We were therefore," says the "report, able to accept practically all their proposals, our recommendations are incorporated in the statement appearing in Appendix C". After having accepted these recommendations the committee attaches a full statement giving according to each service as to how the various retrenchments which would bring a saving of 6½ lakhs to the province can be made. Only those allowances and special pays appear in the statement where they have recommended any change in the existing arrangement. I will not read the whole of this report under this head. Only the relevant extracts will do. My position now is that this matter did not require very serious thought on the part of the Government. The Retrenchment Committee had thoroughly gone through it and had given their full time and consideration to the various aspects of the retrenchment scheme that they put forward before the Government as late as the 19th of October, 1939.

[8. Santokh Singh.]

One-and-a-half years, Sir, have elapsed and whilst the Government taking their clue from the report of the same sub-committee have taken every possible means, have taken every possible action to bring about legislation imposing further taxation on the people, they have done precious little to go through the various retrenchments. They have not brought about a retrenchment of even one pie as a result of the recommendation of this committee. I charge this Government with criminal neglect of duty in having wasted the finances of this province over things where this money could have been easily saved. As I have said, this matter did not require any very serious thinking. The details had been admirably put by the Retrenchment Committee, and if this Government had taken pains to go even once through these various items, I feel sure that they could have arrived at no other conclusion than this that these retrenchments were in the best interests of the province. The recommendations were of the committee presided over by no less a person than the Finance Minister himself.

The second item of recommendation that this committee made was for the saving of a sum of Rs. 30,000 in the bill allowances for Secretariat establishments moving from Lahore to Simla with the Government. In this connection it will be interesting to reproduce before this House a few lines of the recommendations of this committee, which go to show that our Government was more liberal in the grant of these allowances than even the Government of India and even after this matter had been pointed out very clearly by this Retrenchment Committee in their report, no action whatsoever, I am very sorry to say, has been taken by this Government to bring about the much desired retrenchment. The committee presided over by the Finance Minister himself says :

We consider that in the past, employees of the Punjab Government have been somewhat generously treated in the matter of their Simla allowances and we feel that it will now be sufficient to bring them on an equality with the Secretariat of the Government of India. It may fairly be assumed that the Government of India have not been ungenerous in the treatment of their employees.

It follows then that these allowances which have been paid to the employees of the Punjab Government are in some cases more than what the Government of India is paying to their employees, who stay at the same place, namely, Simla. And even after this has been brought to the notice of this Government by no less an authority than the Retrenchment Committee they have done nothing to bring about this much needed retrenchment. If Government had the will, they would have surely found the way. It was open to them to reduce all these allowances by one stroke of pen in order to bring this much needed relief to the province. But they have singularly failed to do their duty.

The third item of recommendation of this committee is for a saving of Rs. 6,75,000, representing the reduction of various forms of travelling allowances. In the matter of these travelling allowances, it was fully thrashed out by this committee and it was found that our standard of payment was higher than that of the Government of India and of the United Provinces Government. They say :

At present the Punjab Government allows for all grades of Government servants except inferior servants, 1½ fares of the class of accommodation to which entitled.

ed. We recommend that only 1½ fares be allowed as in the case of the Government of India and the United Provinces.

Likewise the road mileage that our Government pays to its employees is more than that of the Government of India, and although it was after a very elaborate enquiry that this committee sent in their recommendation proving to the Government that their recommendations, if accepted, will bring in a saving of Rs. 6,75,000 under this head alone, this Government does not seem to have raised its little finger in bringing about this retrenchment to give relief to the poor people of the Punjab. They were too busy in devising ways and means to raise money by taxation. This aspect of the question probably never entered their mind that it was their duty also to see to the expenditure side. They probably thought that some one else would do this for them. On the revenue side they have taken all steps to bring about the increase in revenue by taxing people, even to a much greater extent than what the Resources Committee had recommended, but the expenditure side and the reduction in expense never received any consideration at the hands of this Government. After all, the canon of sound finance requires that the expenditure should be kept at as low a level as possible, and in carrying out this duty, this Government has signally failed. There are several other matters needing attention, but I will take up a few of them that are more interesting. The Retrenchment Committee have made in their report (pages 264 and 265) some very interesting observations regarding the discontinuance of special pays and outpost allowances. I cannot do better than quote in full the relevant paragraph—

We came across some cases in which the special pays existed even though the original conditions which led to their grant had disappeared. A case in point is the special pay granted to officers of the Indian Civil Services placed in charge of certain sub-divisions of districts. We notice that at one time the Punjab Government recommended to the Secretary of State that the special pays be abolished on the ground that the circumstances under which they were allowed as outpost allowances had altered. Accepting this recommendation the Secretary of State agreed to the abolition of these special pays. We are surprised to see them still being drawn. We have recommended their abolition.

Could there be anything more astonishing than this? The Secretary of State on the recommendations of the local Government orders the abolition of certain special pays, and it does not seem to have been anybody's job to see that these orders are carried out. Those special pays that were abolished were allowed to be drawn; and nobody cried a halt to that.

Another recommendation of the Retrenchment Committee was that a saving of Rs. 17,500 could be affected by discontinuing certain telephones in the Secretariat offices. The committee said that they had considered the expenditure in regard to the telephones installed at Government expense in the offices and residences of officials employed under the Punjab Government. Their rent is paid by the provincial Government to the Posts and Telegraphs Department of the Government of India. The Retrenchment Committee advised the local Government that a great number of connections of telephones were unnecessary and they could be done away with and once those recommendations of the Retrenchment Committee were accepted, they were to bring to the Province a saving of Rs. 17,500. I do not think anything whatsoever has been done in regard to this matter. The telephones remain installed where they were and no saving has been brought about.

[B. Santokh Singh.]

It is high time that the Government gave their attention to the recommendations of this committee in order to bring about this much needed relief. It was said by the Honourable Premier that because of the war these things could not be given the attention that they deserved. I entirely differ from that point of view. You have got the statistics and data before you and you could not have a better data than the one which has been supplied to you by the Honourable Finance Minister. It was your bounden duty to go into every item of retrenchment that was recommended by this committee and this should have been done without wasting any time. I would not take up every item of the recommendations of the Retrenchment Committee but a few important ones only to show what shabby treatment has been meted out to this report and how it has been consigned to the wastepaper basket. The committee recommended the abolition of the post of the Financial Commissioner (Development) which would have resulted in a saving of Rs. 40,000. Little did the committee know that just at the time they were making this recommendation of the retrenchment of the post of Financial Commissioner (Development), this Government was on the contrary creating an additional post of Financial Commissioner. At the time of their report there were two Financial Commissioners. The Retrenchment Committee had made the recommendation that one of the posts be reduced. Little did they know, as I have said, that this Government, in its discretion, was finding it necessary to create one additional post of Financial Commissioner, and this they did for the budgetting year 1940-41. In the present budget as I find it, only two months' pay has been provided for that Financial Commissioner showing that better senses are at last prevailing and that if they are not reducing that post of the Financial Commissioner which was recommended by the Retrenchment Committee, they are, after all, doing away with the additional post that they had in their wisdom created. This is the state of affairs in which the money of the poor tax payer is being wasted, in which the funds of this poor province are being squandered by this Government. Then, the committee had recommended a saving of Rs. 1,60,000 on account of the reduction of two posts of Commissioners of divisions. As we all know, Assam Government was the first to do away with the posts of Commissioners. Our Retrenchment Committee also make mention of that in their report. Assam did away with the Financial Commissioner, they did away with the posts of Commissioners entirely. Some other provinces followed suit and according to the report of the same committee other provinces were also considering the necessity of either reducing or entirely doing away with the posts of these Commissioners but so far as we are aware, nothing whatever has been done by this Government to bring about this retrenchment, and this consequent reduction in expenditure. I am afraid this report regarding retrenchment proposals has not so far been considered by the Government at all, otherwise I really see no reason why at least some of the recommendations of this committee, if not all, should not have been accepted by this Government by now. I have a question to ask of the Honourable Finance Minister and it is this, that after he recommended the reduction of one of the posts of Financial Commissioners, was he or was he not a party to the sanction of the additional post of a Financial Commissioner? It may be that he

has no voice in the Cabinet. It might be said that I am asking him to reveal the Cabinet secrets. I have no such thing in mind, however, but I do want to know whether the recommendation in this report, which was to bring a saving of 59½ lakhs of rupees to this province, has or has not been at all considered by this Government during this period of 1½ years. If it has not been yet considered, Government will explain to the satisfaction of the province why they have been guilty of squandering away the funds of the province, by delaying consideration of this report. If the report has been considered and they have arrived at certain decisions, they should tell us what those decisions are and what those retrenchments, as the result of those recommendations, have come up to? Perhaps I am ignoring the fact that these complaints, these grievances, are being laid before a Government who have no regard for the expenditure. They are committing the province to this huge expenditure and I am afraid that my complaints will fall only on deaf ears. Is it or is it not a fact that for making collection of ten lakhs of rupees on account of these two new taxation measures—measures which have cast a gloom over the whole of the province—the Government are committing themselves to an expense of four lakhs? According to them, these measures will bring them only six lakhs of rupees. The exchequer will be the gainer, through these measures—I mean these two taxation measures—by ten lakhs of rupees against which there will be an expense—according to the Government's own estimate—of four lakhs of rupees. That is to say, for collecting ten lakhs of rupees, this Government is undergoing an expense of four lakhs of rupees. What else could have been expected? The legislation was brought in great haste. A schedule of 272 places was attached to the Bill to which the Urban Property Tax Act could be made to apply if the Government so desired it, thus creating a sort of terror in the province and perhaps as a result of experience they will now find that it might not at all pay to apply the Act to smaller places because of the prohibitive cost of collection. If they had gone on cautiously, if they had proceeded on right lines, and instead of annexing a schedule of 272 places, they had decided, for the time being, to apply that Act to a few important places and after gaining experience to extend that Act to other less important places, all this panic might have been averted, but to allay panic is not perhaps considered a duty by the present Government.

The cost of collection of these taxes did not have the Government's consideration although it was raised in the course of discussions on the Bill. They paid no heed to it and went their own way and now they find what the difficulties are in the application of that Act. I for one feel sure that in order to meet the cost of collection, they will have to part with half of the amount collected if they want the Act to be applied in the very first instance to big and small places alike.

Now, Sir, I come to the question of Parliamentary Secretaries. The amount of their travelling allowance has risen by leaps and bounds. It has risen from Rs. 6,300 in 1939-40 to Rs. 8,000. The total expenditure has risen from Rs. 77,000 according to the revised budget for 1940-41 to Rs. 87,000 in 1941-42. The increase has been something in the neighbourhood of Rs. 8,000 and 8,500 in the salaries and allowances of the

[S. Santokh Singh.]

Parliamentary Secretaries alone. I wish to point out that for a poor province like this the appointment of so many Parliamentary Secretaries is not at all necessary. As we all know, they have very little work, if any at all, to do. But leaving Parliamentary Secretaries aside, is there anything that is done by the Parliamentary *Private* Secretaries, barring one or two gentlemen who have occasionally to answer questions for Parliamentary Secretaries in their absence. I for one do not find that they are doing any work whatsoever. It was said that these Parliamentary *Private* Secretaries are—and I speak subject to correction—managing the social side of the functions of Ministers. If that is really so, I cannot but condemn in too severe terms the expenditure that is incurred in the payment of salaries to these Parliamentary *Private* Secretaries to the extent of several thousands of rupees in managing only the social side of the functions of the Ministers. If they do any other official work, I hope some one of the Ministers will tell us what that work is and how many files these *Private* Secretaries have handled during the last 3 or 4 years. As I have said, we do occasionally see one of the Parliamentary *Private* Secretaries answering questions during the absence of a Parliamentary Secretary, but the Parliamentary *Private* Secretaries as such have got no official business to do and the sooner we do away with them, the better for all concerned. Government want to retain their services it appears only to rope in as many persons on the Ministerial benches as they can. Only yesterday, when an honourable harijan member raised an important discussion for the benefit of his community, at once a harijan member from the other side was put up and he not only tried to refute all those arguments but went to the length of expressing his fullest faith in Mr. Jinnah and in every member sitting on the Ministerial benches. Not only that, he raised the Ministers to the sky, for their having in their wisdom done so much for the harijan community. If this is the object of keeping the Parliamentary *Private* Secretaries in the employ of the Government, then I have no quarrel with them. They are in a majority and they can do what they like. What I do object to is, that there is no earthly reason why unnecessary pay should be drawn from the public exchequer and people continued to be employed when they have got no official business to do.

Now, coming to the Provincial Legislative Assembly, I find that the expenditure of Rs. 5,88,960 according to the revised budget of 1940-41 is going to be raised to Rs. 6,92,800, an increase of very nearly Rs. 1,99,000 over that of last year. It has been explained that this expenditure will be necessary because of the prolonged sittings of this House. I have not been able to see why on the contrary there should not be a decrease in this expenditure, considering the fact that the Congress Party as a body, consisting of 40 members, have withdrawn from this House and they are not drawing any allowance as such. I expected that there would be a reduction in the expenditure but on the contrary we find that there has been an increase. I may be permitted to say a few words with regard to the sittings of the Assembly. The Honourable Premier just a few days back asked the view of the House that the sittings of the Assembly should take place on Mondays, Tuesdays, Wednesdays and Thursdays and that Fridays and

Saturdays should be holidays. Nobody raised any objection to that proposal and it was unanimously accepted by the House, but still no motion so far has been brought by the Premier fixing the working of the Assembly from Monday to Thursday. The same old practice continues and we are sitting on Mondays, Tuesdays, Thursdays and Fridays. It may be asked, what difference does it make as in both cases, the Assembly will be in session four days in a week? My reply to these queries will be that as things stand at present, a great deal of money is spent on travelling allowances; when there is a holiday intervening, the members have the privilege and freedom to go to their homes and charge travelling allowances which are more than the amount of daily allowance to which they are entitled when they stay in Lahore. If I am not misinformed—although I speak subject to correction—it was as a result of the party pressure that was brought upon the Premier that he gave up his intention of moving in the House that the sittings of the Assembly will take place only from Monday to Thursday. To that intention not a single voice raised any objection at that time. After having an assurance and after having ascertained the wishes of the House in this manner and after having seen that not a single member of this House objected to that proposal, how is it that the Honourable Premier has not brought in a motion that we should sit on those days in order to save a few thousands of rupees? I hope some explanation will be forthcoming as to how this unanimous desire of the House was set aside and the old practice allowed to be continued.

Another matter to which I will presently refer though trivial in itself shows all the same which way the wind is blowing. There was a notice sent by a member from this side of the House that a certain day be observed as a holiday for census. When asked I gave it as my opinion that a special holiday was not necessary and the Premier announced on the floor of the House that the holiday will not be given. The House did not say a word. And then to my utter astonishment I found that the day was observed as a holiday costing the province nearly four thousand rupees. I would ask the Premier to enlighten this House on this point as to what had happened in the meantime that made him change his opinion in the course of one day. He had made a certain announcement on the floor of the House to which no objection was taken and if it was not, if I may take the liberty of saying so, as the result of the party pressure that was brought on him to declare this as a holiday which has cost us Rs. 4,000, I fail to see how else it could have happened? Where was the good of consulting this House and what was the good of announcing a decision if it was to be set at naught. The Premier had the right and power in the very first instance to declare a holiday. He did not do so, even after a notice was received by him, but gave a contrary decision and announced it on the floor of the House. My objection is that after having stated on the floor of the House that a holiday was not necessary, after having ascertained the wishes of the House that this holiday was not needed, the Honourable Premier still allows it to be observed as such, and does not respect the decision announced earlier to the House. I charge this Government for having deliberately wasted a sum of Rs. 4,000 as the result of the party pressure brought on

[S. Santokh Singh.]

the Premier in the meantime. There could have been no other reason for it. After the inauguration of provincial autonomy this Government were the custodians of the finances of the province, being an elected Government. It was after the provincial autonomy that the diet money of the honourable members was raised from Rs. 12-8-0 to Rs. 22-8-0 per day. I think it is too big an amount for a poor province like the Punjab. We should all set a better example to the province by voting for a reduction in this expenditure. The Ministers should take a lead in surrendering a part of their salary—I am not criticising their salaries as I am debarred from doing so—but nothing should stand in the way of the Ministers to surrender a part of their salary and set an example to their subordinates so that they may when the time comes—my opinion is that the time has already come—when they should be satisfied with a lesser salary and not the princely salary which they are drawing at the present moment. Who does not know that the salaries of the officers of the Indian Civil Service are too high and out of all proportions? Any Government which has the best interests of the province at heart cannot but do something to bring about a reduction in this expenditure. We have seen in other provinces that the Ministers' salaries combined do not come up to the figure which the Parliamentary Secretaries alone are drawing in this province. I do ask the Ministers in all sincerity and in all earnestness that they must be the first to surrender a part of their salaries to set some good example to the rest of the province. To enable other members to offer their views on such an important matter, I will not take more time of the House in dilating on the various items of excessive expenditure, although I have plenty of instances, but in order that other honourable members may offer their views I close my speech with the request and a warning to this Government that they must give to the expenditure side of the budget the attention that its importance deserves. Time will come when even with this majority they will have to explain to the province what they did towards the much needed retrenchment in expenditure which I think is top heavy. I do hope that once this matter has been brought up in this House something tangible will be done by the Government and that they will take necessary action on the retrenchment proposals without further loss of time.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: Demand under consideration, motion moved—

That the demand be reduced by Rs. 100.

M lik Barkat Ali (Eastern Towns, Muhammadan, Urban): Sir in supporting the cut motion which has been so ably moved by the Opposition Leader—

Premier: An unholy combination of Pakistan and Khalistan (laughter).

M lik Barkat Ali: It is nothing as compared to your unholy alliances. In supporting this cut motion I wish to draw the attention of the House to certain aspects of the policy pursued by the present Government which, if not altered, are bound irretrievably to damage the best and lasting interests of this province. The honourable mover has drawn the attention of the House to the circumstance, that notwithstanding the fact

that the report of the Retrenchment Committee was submitted as far back as September, 1939, this Government has done absolutely nothing to carry into effect even a single recommendation of the committee. I will not traverse that ground so well covered by Sardar Santokh Singh. I should desire, however, to emphasise another matter touched by him, namely, that this Government has been most unfair to the people of the urban areas in imposing the recent taxation which was absolutely unwarranted and unjustified. I have with me the speech of the Honourable the Finance Minister made on the 27th February, 1941. The data given in that speech are absolutely unchallengeable, and I will show to this House that according to the figures of the Finance Minister himself, there was ample scope, within the framework of the financial system, which has been inherited by the present Government from their predecessors, for undertaking, without resort to any fresh taxation, any number of schemes for the uplift of the zamindars and rural classes if this Government had been at all sincere in its professions of sympathy with the zamindars of the province. What are those figures? I will begin from the very beginning. I take up the budget of 1937-38. According to that budget a surplus of 2 lakhs in ordinary revenue account was estimated and in capital account a surplus of about 20 lakhs was estimated. Actually, confining myself to ordinary revenue accounts, the Government by the time that the year came to a close realised 32 lakhs as against the 2 lakhs which they had budgeted, and in capital account Government realised a surplus of 19 lakhs. This means that the Government realised something like 51 lakhs in the shape of surplus. Besides these 51 lakhs which the Government realised as against 21 or 22 lakhs estimated, you add a further sum of 55 lakhs which the Finance Minister by a stroke of the pen transferred to the Special Development Fund, and you find that the total surplus of the year was 106 lakhs, more than a crore. The Government has been telling us on the floor of the House that there are 17 lakhs poor zamindars who pay to the Government Rs. 5 or less as land revenue each. If the Government intended to extend relief to this section of the people, if they were at all sincere, surely 17×5 , i.e., 85 lakhs could easily have been found out of the one crore which they had realised.

I now come to the next year 1938-39. The Finance Minister estimated a surplus for this year of five lakhs. By the time the year was coming to a close, according to the revised figures, he faced a deficit of 27 lakhs. This House may remember that this year 1938-39 was the one when that most terrible and unprecedented famine visited the south-eastern parts of the province. I find from the speech of the Finance Minister that something like 55 lakhs was spent in this year on direct famine expenditure. These fifty-five lakhs were made up of nine lakhs taken from the Famine Relief Fund already in the possession of Government and forty-six lakhs were met from the ordinary revenue. Thus during this year the Government had to face an unprecedented and unanticipated expenditure of 46 lakhs from the general revenues. It will be admitted that famine is an unusual or extraordinary feature, not a normal feature of the province. If there had not been this famine, the province would certainly have made a surplus of forty-six lakhs minus the twenty-seven lakhs budgeted deficit, that is, nineteen lakhs. Now these are not merely my calculations. The Finance Minister himself admitted it in his budget speech. He said (I

[M. Barkat Ali.]

quote from his budget speech for the year 1939-40) that if the famine conditions had not obtained, the year's working would have shown instead of a deficit of 27 lakhs a surplus of 19 lakhs and the Famine Relief Fund would also have remained intact." The House may also further remember that in addition to this famine expenditure, there was another expenditure also which was not at all anticipated, to the extent of 16 lakhs of a non-recurring nature. If you add these 16 lakhs to the 19 lakhs to which I have referred, the province would have realised a surplus of 35 lakhs. This is not a mere statement of mine. Again I read out to you what the Finance Minister himself said in his speech—

The year 1938-39 but for the famine would have yielded a surplus of Rs. 19 lakhs even after meeting large expenditure of a wholly non-recurring and exceptional nature amounting to no less than 16 lakhs. If this expenditure had not to be incurred during the year, and it has been incurred once for all, our surplus would have been Rs. 35 lakhs (and this again is apart from the saving in extraordinary receipts of Rs. 21 lakhs) and our Famine Relief Fund would have remained intact. (*Assembly Debates, volume VIII, page 23*).

I draw particular attention of the Minister for Development to this, because one of the reasons he gave in support of the recent taxation measures was that we have had a succession of deficit years. The year 1938-39 is the first deficit year, speaking technically, but as I have already shown the deficit is merely on paper; really and normally, we would have had a surplus of 35 lakhs.

I come to the next year 1939-40. The Finance Minister budgeted a deficit of 29 lakhs and the revised figures disclosed a deficit of 36 lakhs. The House may again remember that the famine afflicting the south-eastern parts of the province had protruded into this year also and the Government had to incur a direct expenditure of 74 lakhs on that famine instead of 87 lakhs. The Government had also to find Rs. 22 lakhs to give in the shape of remissions and suspensions. What do these figures show? They show that if this extraordinary expenditure of 74 lakhs had not been incurred the province would have normally within the frame work of its existing financial system and without resort to any extra taxation have realised a surplus of 38 lakhs, that is, 74 lakhs minus the 36 lakhs provided in the budget.

If you add to this the sum of 22 lakhs given in the shape of remissions and suspensions, the surplus comes to 60 lakhs. This is what the Finance Minister says in his budget speech for the current year—

In a word but for direct famine expenditure the year would have yielded a surplus of Rs. 38 lakhs after meeting supplementary expenditure and not taking into account special suspensions and remissions amounting to Rs. 22 lakhs due to famine. If we bear these suspensions and remissions also in view, the surplus would have stood at Rs. 60 lakhs.

I now come to the present year 1940-41 which is coming to a close. The Finance Minister estimated a deficit of 28 lakhs. He has announced according to his revised figures a surplus of 24 lakhs. The House may kindly remember that during this year according to the figures given by the Finance Minister a sum of Rs. 37 lakhs had to be spent on absolutely unanticipated expenditure according to the sweet will of this Government. Further, although this surplus of 24 lakhs has been announced, we find

that something like 18 lakhs has been transferred to the Special Development Fund. Therefore, if you calculate the figures, the position comes to this that the province earned a surplus of something like 89 lakhs, made up of 28 lakhs, deficit which has been wiped off, 24 lakhs surplus announced by the Finance Minister and 37 lakhs extra expenditure which was never anticipated or foreshadowed in the budget. Thus you will be pleased to see that the current year ends in a surplus of something like 89 lakhs. In the next year's budget, although the Finance Minister has announced a surplus of four lakhs, I want the House to note that so far as the income from the extra taxation is concerned only 10 lakhs have been put in as the estimated revenue. I am glad the Honourable Premier is here now and I would, therefore, request him to see whether the Government machinery could not have gone on without this extra taxation and whether relief could not have been given to the poor zamindars. These figures give me sufficient justification to appeal to Government to see that at least in the administration of these taxation measures, Government may show some sympathy to the poor people who are in the greatest distress. I would also appeal, if my appeal will have any value, to the Minister for Development to re-consider his notions of things and not to continue a prey, a most hopeless prey to ineradicable prejudices and bitter relentless hostility to urban interests.

I shall now leave the statistical aspect of the budget and turn to matters of administration which rapidly call for reforms which are overdue. I will draw the attention of the House to the fact that in this province the system of honorary magistrates and sub-judges still functions. I will not enter into lengthy theoretical arguments for and against the system. But I should like to mention this fact on the floor of the House that the Honourable Judges of the High Court unanimously submitted a recommendation to the present Government that this indefensible system of honorary magistrates and sub-judges should be abolished. I should have normally thought that this unanimous recommendation of the highest tribunal of the province would bind this Government. But nothing of the kind. More than a year has elapsed since the unanimous recommendation was submitted to the Government and nothing has been done so far in this direction.

Mr. Deputy Speaker : I would request the honourable member to confine himself to the motion under discussion.

Malik Barkat Ali : In this connection, if the Honourable Premier wanted a precedent, he had it in the neighbouring province, the North-West Frontier Province.

Mr. Deputy Speaker : The honourable member is not relevant.

Malik Barkat Ali : Sir, I am relevant. This cut motion has been tabled, as the note appended to the motion shows, expressly to discuss the general policy of the administration, and that policy is now under discussion. If the Honourable Premier wanted a precedent for the reform he had a very valuable one in his neighbouring province where as far back as the year 1937, to be more precise, on the 18th September, 1937, a resolution was unanimously adopted with the support of the Premier of that province that this system must be abolished.

[M. Barkat Ali.]

I will read out just three lines from his speech regarding the institution of honorary magistrates :—

In declaring the policy of this Government in this matter, I will say that it is to abolish the institution altogether.

This resolution was moved by a member of the Opposition and it was unanimously adopted.

The next matter to which I wish to draw the attention of the House is the very regrettable fact that in the matter of the separation of judicial and executive functions nothing has been done so far. I will not deal again with the theoretical arguments for or against this reform. I would ask the Honourable Premier to consider that even as far away as Assam it has been announced by the Premier of the Assam Government that he is taking steps shortly to separate the two functions. I have already said that I am not going to enter into a theoretical discussion of the *pros* and *cons* of this measure which was mooted years ago and which was eventually accepted even by the bureaucracy. They said :—

We accept the position and need of the reform but now that we are going to establish provincial autonomy, it is for the future autonomous Governments of the provinces to proceed in the matter and take the necessary steps.

Mr. Deputy Speaker : The honourable member is not relevant. This is not general discussion.

M lik Barkat Ali : This is general discussion of the administration.

Mr. Deputy Speaker : But the scope of the motion is not so wide as general discussion.

Malik Barkat Ali : In this connection, I will only draw the attention of the Honourable Premier to certain facts which have been given to me on very reliable authority from Jullundur. Those facts are these. On the 1st of April, 1940, there was a fight in a village called Heon, situated in the Nawashahr tahsil of the Jullundur district, between two factions. One of the factions was led by Wilayat Khan and the other faction was led by Karam Singh and others. Wilayat Khan went to report the case under section 324 of the Indian Penal Code to the Police. His report was not taken down. The next day the other party went to the thana and made a report. On the report of this party a challan was submitted to the court. I hold in my hand a copy of the judgment in the case. The magistrate acquitted the accused who had been sent up by the Police. When the head constable appeared as a prosecution witness and was asked why he did not take down the report of Wilayat Khan, his answer was that the Superintendent of Police had ordered him not to take down his report. When the sub-inspector came in the witness box, he admitted in his cross-examination that the case which he had challaned in the court was a false case. When asked why he challaned it, he said he did so under the orders of the Superintendent of Police.

(At this stage Mr. Speaker resumed the chair.)

The learned magistrate refers to these statements of the sub-inspector and of the head constable and says that both of them acted under the orders of the Superintendent of Police. The report of Wilayat Khan was not

recorded and a false case was submitted to court because the Superintendent of Police wanted that case to be submitted to court. The learned magistrate sent a copy of the judgment to the District Magistrate, who is also the Deputy Commissioner—and this is the point that I want to emphasise and draw the attention of the honourable members to—the District Magistrate instead of either holding an enquiry or calling for a report from the Superintendent of Police as to whether he had ordered this challan to be sent up, notwithstanding the report of the sub-inspector that it was a false case, instead of holding an enquiry as to why the head constable did not take down the statement of Wilayat Khan, what does he do?—he punishes the magistrate. Instead of taking action against the Police he virtually punishes the magistrate for his audacity in drawing the attention of the District Magistrate to these facts deposed to by prosecution witnesses and sending a copy of his judgment as he was bound to do, to the Deputy Inspector-General of Police, and to the District Magistrate. I will read out the order of the District Magistrate :

“ With effect from to-day Mr.—

I am not giving the name, but the Honourable Premier can find it out for himself, if he cares to—

An Honourable Member : Please let us have his name.

Malik Barkat Ali : Very well.

With effect from to-day Mr. Hamid-ud-Din is relieved of the charge of Police stations City, Rahon and Banga, and will try all 1st class complaint cases of Jullundur, Nakodar and Phillaur tahsils, as well as cases sent to him by me. He will also supervise the Copying Agency and Vernacular Record Room.

The first class cases of the Police stations mentioned will be re-distributed as follows—

An Honourable Member : Will the honourable member please give the name of the Superintendent of Police.

Malik Barkat Ali : I am not sure. I really do not know the name of the Superintendent of Police. I have got the judgment. The Honourable Premier can easily find out. Here is a District Magistrate, a member of the heaven-born service, Mr. A. A. Williams, District Magistrate, Jullundur. The order is dated the 7th January, 1941. These facts speak for themselves, and I would appeal to the Honourable Premier to have an enquiry instituted and if the position is as is stated by the Magistrate, to take suitable action not only against the Superintendent of Police but also against the District Magistrate. I have not the least hesitation in saying that this District Magistrate is absolutely unfit to be the district magistrate of any district.

The next matter in this connection to which I wish to draw attention is also connected with courts, namely, the set and deliberate policy of the Government to bar the access of people to the courts and to reduce the work of the courts as much as they possibly can. I find from the Supplementary Estimates for 1940-41 (second instalment) on page 27 that during the year in question 19 posts from the cadre of the Punjab Civil Service (Judicial Branch) had been reduced and 27 sub-judges had been transferred to the executive side to a magisterial work. It is also stated in this volume of Supplementary Estimates that the reason why Government

[M. Barkat Ali.]

had to do this was that "the number of money suits in the Punjab had decreased." Why had the number of money suits decreased? If this decrease were due to natural causes, I certainly would not object to the reductions in the cadre and the transfer of a number of sub-judges to the magisterial line. But are they due to natural causes? Are they not due to the fact that you have been withdrawing jurisdiction from the civil courts and have been conferring jurisdiction on panchayats?

Premier : No, conciliation boards.

Malik Barkat Ali : You have been conferring jurisdiction on your panchayats.

Premier : That has not had any appreciable effect so far.

Malik Barkat Ali : You have been conferring jurisdiction on debt conciliation boards because you have given them also the power of adjudication. This is a most serious feature of the policy pursued by the present Government, because as I look at things and as I view matters, it appears to me that it is a fundamental right that every person must have a right to go to the courts, no matter how unimportant he may be, no matter how humble he may be. It was said by Lord Simon the other day in the course of a speech that this right of the people to go to the courts freely is such a valuable right that a country in which this right does not exist cannot be said truly to enjoy real freedom.

Well, here in the Punjab this right of the individual citizen to go to the courts is being barred.

Premier : Only lawyers are barred and no one else (laughter).

Malik Barkat Ali : Please let me go on. I did not interrupt when you were on your legs. I was all attention. I say that where such conditions prevail you cannot be said to enjoy, in the words of Lord Simon, liberty. Sir, I respectfully submit in this connection that I am just reminded of the remarks of Mr. Amery that in the Punjab we have self-Government. But Mr. Amery did not know, sitting 6,000 miles away that in the Punjab it is not self-Government but an oligarchy—a Government of a few aristocratic families. (*Interruptions*). I respectfully submit that the light of the courts is the most wholesome, rectifying as well as revealing light that can be brought to bear on the dark and dingy corners of the administration. It is a scientific common place that light has the greatest sanitary influence in the world and if you want to make any place wholesome the best instrument you can use is the light of the sun. You let the rays come in so that they may scour away all the miasma that may be lurking in the corners of the room. Unless and until this light of the courts is permitted to beat on the dark and dingy corners of the administration, wherever they may exist, that administration cannot possibly be regarded as an enlightened administration. I really regret that the Government, instead of calling a halt to this policy, should continue and persevere in it.

The next matter which I wish to discuss relates to public services. I must say that since this Government came into power, there has been a steady deterioration in the public services. Let me make my meaning

clear. I say steady deterioration, because this Government, in order to consolidate its parliamentary position, has had no hesitation in using its officials, its revenue assistants, sometimes its deputy commissioners, to do propaganda work on the occasion of elections. We have had several by-elections in the province and I am bold to state and I state with all the responsibility that attaches to me as a member of this House, that there have been deputy commissioners—it is unnecessary to name them, this is not the place to name them, but I am within my rights in mentioning this fact—who have been going from door to door in order to canvass votes for the members recommended by the Unionist Party—revenue assistants going about to influence zaildars and lambardars and others.

Premier : I am afraid I must interrupt my honourable friend and strongly protest against the insinuations he is making. If there is any such case, there are two ways open to him. One is to send me an informal complaint and the other is to prosecute the persons concerned in a court of law.

Malik Barkat Ali : I will deal with that point.

Mr. Speaker : The honourable member has, probably unwittingly, made some remarks which are objectionable. For example, he said that a certain district magistrate is quite unfit to remain a district magistrate. That is not right. He may criticise the administration, he may criticise the conduct of officers in their official capacity but without making any insinuations. The honourable member is a learned lawyer and knows the rules.

Malik Barkat Ali : Deputy commissioners, revenue assistants and tahsildars have been scouring the countryside in order to do propaganda work.

Premier : I must again protest against these insinuations. The honourable member is making wild allegations and levelling charges against civil servants who are not here to defend themselves; and they are general and vague allegations.

Malik Barkat Ali : If the honourable member wants that these complaints should be investigated, obviously this is not the place for investigating those complaints. I am making these charges. Appoint an independent enquiry committee.

Premier : You cannot make charges here.

Malik Barkat Ali : I can.

Mr. Speaker : The honourable member is vague. To say that a tahsildar did this and did that is vague. There are so many tahsildars. The Government will not understand anything nor will the public understand anything. If he wants to make specific allegations and not mere vague allegations, as he is doing, I will request him to follow the proper procedure and move a substantive motion.

Malik Barkat Ali : I just want to draw your attention to the cut motions that figure on the agenda of to-day. There are a number of cut motions drawing attention to the policy of Government in utilising and using permanent officials for the purpose of influencing elections. That is

[M. Barkat Ali.]

the complaint to which I want to give voice and I declare that the studied policy of the present Government is to use these permanent officials for the purpose of consolidating its parliamentary position. No doubt the Premier must naturally be upset. I am in a position to make this statement that Parliamentary Secretaries have gone round. (Premier: Yes). Yes, and the Honourable Premier has been sending letters. He may write letters as the Leader of the Party. I am not objecting to that. As a leader of a party he is absolutely within his right in sending letters to non-officials. But, Sir, sending of messages—we are in a position to say this—we have been informed on very reliable authority—that messages have been sent through Parliamentary Secretaries to these permanent officials.

Premier : No, certainly not.

Malik Barkat Ali : You say, 'no'. It is no answer to me. You cannot satisfy this section of the House, you cannot satisfy the public outside by mere 'no.' If you want to satisfy the public outside, if you want to refute the charges that I am making, appoint a committee of independent men and let there be an enquiry into these complaints that the Government has been using its permanent officials for the purpose of influencing elections. It is only the result of that enquiry which will give us satisfaction, not your 'no'. Your 'no' is no answer.

Premier : Nor has your charge any substance.

Malik Barkat Ali : Let the House not accept my statement. I am giving expression to a complaint. Let that complaint be investigated. That is my request to you.

Premier : Why does not my honourable friend lodge a complaint in a court of law?

Malik Barkat Ali : These matters are not set right by courts. These are matters of policy which are determined and decided by Government.

Mian Muhammad Nurullah : Supposing I go to court, will the officer concerned be transferred at once from that district?

Premier : Certainly not. Do you mean to say that once you make an allegation I should transfer that officer without enquiry. Certainly not. Then if you want to get an officer transferred, the easiest thing for you will be to make an allegation against him. If you make this allegation outside the House I will ask the officer concerned to sue you and vindicate his position.

Malik Barkat Ali : It is not that these are new practices of the present Government. Complaints like these certainly existed in those countries which started democratic institutions. In England also they used to do like that. There were committees appointed as soon as the matter was brought to the notice of the House and the recommendations of those committees went so far in the direction of purification that a certain stage in the history of England some officials, for example, police officials, and postal officials, were deprived of the right of giving a vote. The matter was considered later and it was felt that they could not be disenfranchised in that fashion. The only thing left to them to-day in England

is the right to quietly come and cast their vote and if anybody takes into his head to canvass votes, if anybody tries to influence election, there are statutory safeguards, statutory punishments in addition to rules and regulations. Therefore, it is no good telling me that I should take my complaint to the Premier. Why should I bring my complaint to you, when I actually know that you are at the bottom and you are responsible for this situation? You want us to go and file complaints in courts. Courts are not the places where these things can be properly investigated. Now that I am dealing with public services, I desire to draw attention to another aspect of the matter, namely, that the public services are being recruited or are being exploited, to use the word of a great English statesman, Sir John Bright as "the outdoor relief department" of the present Government. Such a situation is not a new one. Things like this have been done before by English people also. When Walpole became the first Prime Minister he exploited these posts. He gave them to his relatives and to persons recommended by the members of his party. He distributed them as if that was a family concern. This drew the attention of the English people and when the evil became persistent and widespread, it was left to Sir John Bright to condemn this practice and the method of recruitment adopted as the outdoor relief department of the British autocracy. I will read out to you a very valuable extract from "English Government and Politics" by Fredric Austin Ogg at page 216. This is what he says in this book:—

Government in Great Britain of the 18th and 19th century was decidedly aristocratic. . .

Legislation at Westminster was a privileged affair of the leading members of a few governing families; justice and local government were largely in the hands of the propertied justices of the peace.

This description applies to the situation in the Punjab.

Justice and local government were largely in the hands of the propertied justices of the peace; and the national administration was entrusted mainly to persons who got their places by some sort of favoritism rather than in recognition of any particular capacity or competence. Many appointees to administrative posts had no claims other than that they were importunate constituents of influential members of Parliament—per chance useful aids at election time. Many were younger sons of powerful landholders or politicians. Many more were needy relatives or other more or less unpromising members of a magnate's entourage. Admission into the civil service, 'said an official report of 1853,' is indeed eagerly sought after, but it is for the unambitious and the indolent or incapable that it is chiefly desired. Those whose abilities do not warrant an expectation that they will succeed in the open professions, where they must encounter the competition of their contemporaries, and those whom indolence of temperament or physical infirmities unfit for active exertions, are placed in the civil service, where they may obtain an honourable livelihood with little labour and with no risk.

In fact the practice in those days was that as soon as there was a vacancy, intimation was sent to the member concerned who submitted his recommendation to the Government and the more inefficient the nominee, the more grateful was the member who recommended him. Now my learned friend Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang when dealing with this question of public services—

Mr. Speaker : The honourable member is aware that this is the second day of discussion of this demand and that it has to be put to the vote of the House at 4-30.

Mian Muhammad Nurullah : Two days mean nine working hours.

Mr. Speaker : No. If the honourable member expects any answer to the allegations and insinuations made by him, he should finish his speech.

Malik Barhat Ali : You are quite right. It is my duty to give time to the Premier or the occupants of the Treasury Benches to reply to my allegations. Now my honourable friend, Dr. Gokul Chand, discussed this question of the recruitment of public services and he took the view that it was really a question of one community gaining at the expense of the other, a question between Hindus and Muslims. I am sorry for my learned friend that he started false issues and false hares. It is not a question merely of Hindus and Muslims and Sikhs—not that I do not concede to my learned friend the right of bringing forward the grievances of his community, but if he had studied the situation more carefully, he would have found that it is not a case of Hindus *versus* Muslims, it is a case of nepotism and jobbery and the Muslim is as much a sufferer as the Hindu or anybody else. It is the competent and efficient members of the community, whether Hindus or Muslims or Sikhs, who are the greater sufferers in the matter of recruitment. The Honourable Premier was pleased to say : “ I do not recruit, I take the list supplied to me by the Public Service Commission.” I do not want to criticise the Public Service Commission, but is it a fact or not that the Public Service Commission has been instructed by the Government to give a certain number of marks to persons because they belong to particular families ? I desire to raise my voice against the importation of this consideration of families in appointing people to the public services. This may be the rule of bureaucracy.

Mr. Speaker : Has the honourable member got any proof that Government has given such instructions ?

Malik Barhat Ali : I have. I am in possession of proof and it is for the Honourable Premier to say whether importance is attached to family considerations or not.

Premier : To family services. But that is not the rule framed by me. It has existed from the very beginning though I want to further strengthen it.

Malik Barhat Ali : I want to raise my voice against that consideration and it is very sad to think that a popular premier, that a leader of a popular party should be encouraging such an irrelevant and undoubtedly unworthy consideration as that of family in the matter of services (*hear, hear*). I was submitting that this might be the rule of the bureaucracy, as the bureaucracy had to carry on its policy in face of a hostile opposition, but that should not be the way or method of a popular Government. The beauty of popular institutions is that you do not know where your men of the future are to come from and you do not care to know, so they be right men. You do not want to know where they are going to come from, whether from the farm or from the city. You do not care to know where they will come from, the avenue or the alley. You do not care to know whether they belong to this family or to that family. Therefore, you do not limit at any point your supply of new strength. You do not see that it has got to come from the blood, as one of the Ministers was pleased to say, the blood of a particular family or through the processes of a particular training or by

any way save by the native impulse and genius of the man himself. The humblest hovel may produce your greatest man. This is the process of life, this constant surging up of unnamed, unknown men from the bottom. Therefore, I respectfully submit that this policy of recruiting members of public services from certain families on the ground that those families in the past have rendered conspicuous services or better services than the others is, I respectfully submit, opposed to all democracy. As a matter of fact, it is against the very process of life, according to which people surge up from the bottom, and thus surging up shoulder their way to the front, not violently but gently. My complaint against this Government is that it is interfering with this process of life, and trying to obstruct by artificial and unnatural means the use of talent. I thank you, Sir, very much for the indulgence you have extended to me (*hear, hear*).

Khan Bahadur Chaudhri Riasat Ali (Hafizabad, Muhammadan, Rural): Sir, the honourable the Leader of the Opposition has forgotten that the Head "General Administration" contains the
 4 p. m. cost of administration of Government which is not debited to any particular head, like education, agriculture, police, jails, etc. He should remember that the expenditure on General Administration is in a way a certain expenditure of the departments which are not covered by any particular or single item of the budget. He has quoted figures on the floor of the House and I would also refer him to the same sacred book, which, I am afraid, he has not read very carefully. When quoting the figures from that book I would refer you to the report of the Retrenchment Committee, on which I myself had the honour of serving and I would like to refer him now to the following figures. He forgot that in the year 1920-21, the percentage of expenditure on 'General Administration' to the total expenditure of the province was 11 per cent. Six years later, that is, in 1926-27, it was reduced to 9 per cent and in 1931-32 it was still reduced to 10 per cent which means that the percentage on the general administration, which was spent by this provinces to the total expenditure, when compared with other larger provinces, the Punjab figure was the lowest even in 1931-32. Again in 1937, when this Government took the reins of office into its hands, it was reduced to 10.4 per cent. The total increase in the period of 20 years was only 21 lakhs, which developed in the course of 22 years and not during the course of period during which this Government was in office. Now, Sir, some of the expenses are due to the introduction of the Government of India Act, 1935, and this Government, as such, has no power and no control over that expenditure. So, it cannot in any way, so far as these items are concerned, be held guilty to that charge. First is the increase in the expenditure under the new Legislative Assembly. The Assembly was introduced by the constitution itself. The other item of expenditure was the expenditure on Public Services Commission, which alone stood at 1½ lakhs. Now, this again was an item which was due to the advent of the new constitution and not to an act of this Government. Another expenditure, which increased was 12 lakhs, under the "District Establishment," and 3 lakhs only during the 20 years in the 'Civil Secretariat.' Now, my honourable friend referred to the pay of the members of the Cabinet. He should remember that in the year 1936 that figure stood at 3 lakhs and 14 thousand rupees. In the year 1939-40, this figure

[K. B. Ch. Riasat Ali.]

was reduced to 2 lakhs 75 thousand. In these circumstances, the item of expenditure on the pay and allowances was reduced by one lakh and 12 thousand rupees, and not increased. So, his complaint so far as the question of these figures are concerned, is absolutely groundless.

Another item was with regard to the Public Services Commission. Under this head, the expenditure was nil in 1936 and in 1939-40 it rose to the figure of 1.75 lakhs. In the same way there is another item of expenditure under general administration that is 'Expenditure in England.' In that I do not think that the Government as such has any control over the expenditure of those people who are drawing pensions or salaries or some sort of allowances under the law as it stands in England. That figure also rose from 4 lakhs and 16 thousand in 1937 to 5 lakhs and 23 thousand. This was only by way of quoting certain statistics on the floor of the House to prove that so far as the total increase of all expenditure on general administration is concerned, the Government as such after taking office, is not responsible for at least the lion's share out of the total increase for a period of 20 years. At least 14 lakhs of expenditure under this head is such over which this Government has no control.

The next item to which my honourable friend Sardar Santokh Singh referred was the expenditure which is daily increasing on the Legislative Assembly. To this, I think, he is equally responsible. The expenditure he complains has arisen from 5 lakhs to 6 lakhs and 20 thousand, that is to say, the expenditure has risen by one lakh and 20 thousand during the course of one year. For this, we, as members, are responsible. If he is very much keen on this point, a motion should come from the Opposition members, that they are prepared to forego their allowances to a certain extent, say to the extent of 50 per cent or 60 per cent or so. I think the Government will be prepared to meet them on their own ground. They prolong the proceedings of the Assembly by dilatory tactics without any rhyme or reason. They extend the sittings of the Assembly to an abnormal length without any particular reason. I do not think that it is the fault of the Government of the day, rather it is our own fault. As members we should not shirk to take this responsibility. We should not blame the Government for this when we should have the sense of responsibility and we should know how far we ourselves are guilty of that legal term, if I could use it, 'contributory negligence.'

So far as the question of abolition of Financial Commissioner or Commissioners is concerned, these questions are such, that if they are discussed on their own merits, we should have at least one day for each of these items for a full dress debate. I would not go into the merits of this case. But so far as the abolition or retrenchment of the posts of Commissioners is concerned, the views are now changed. Now they have a very heavy burden on their shoulders on account of the agrarian legislation. We have put so much work on them that practically unless there are very exceptional reasons and the Government is convinced by statistics and facts and figures in hand, I do not think that there is any *prima facie* case for the abolition of these posts. As senior officers their advice sometimes is indispensable to the district officers who are, comparatively

speaking, rather inexperienced and unless the policy of the whole division is co-ordinated under the guidance of an experienced officer like the Commissioner, I do not think that in these difficult times it is possible to run the administration. (*Hear, hear*). Some times it has been said that they act as a post office and complaints are passed from the heads of departments through them to the Minister concerned. I would say that it is absolutely difficult for the Chief Secretary to advise the various district officers as he is not expected to be so much in touch with them as a Commissioner is. I do not say that there is absolutely no reason for the reduction of a number of posts. The thing might be examined, and certainly will be examined by the Government at the proper stage, and the mere fact that on account of extraordinary reasons Government have not been able to find time to give its full consideration to the Retrenchment Committee Report, does not mean that the Report will be discarded or that it will never be considered because it is impossible for the Government to give any relief to the poor peasant, as is claimed by my honourable friend over there, unless money is coming forward and the only way in which the money can be made available is either by raising taxation or tackling the new sources of revenue or by way of retrenchment and as retrenchment is one of the most important sources for getting funds for giving relief, therefore, I have no doubt whatsoever that the Government will take early steps to consider all those questions which have been reported and recommended by the Retrenchment Committee without of course, impairing the efficiency and they will make every effort to do what is proper. As the Honourable Premier is now due to speak, I resume my seat.

Premier : Sir, I do not propose to detain the House very long and in any case there are only fifteen minutes left to me, so I will not even attempt to answer all the various points raised by my honourable friend but only take up one or two points which seem to me to be *prima facie* worth taking up. My honourable friend the Leader of the Opposition Sardar Santokh Singh, was trying to criticise the Government on the score that expenditure on general administration had gone up from 112 lakhs in 1937-38 to 121 lakhs, and that was the burden of his speech. He tried to dilate on it by citing various figures most of which were irrelevant and not germane to the actual argument he put forward. However, for his benefit, if he will allow me, I will tell him where the discrepancy has crept in. If he will look at the budgets of 1936-1937 and 1937-1938, and the present budget, he will find that in the case of expenditure on Legislative Assembly there has been an increase of five lakhs. Then there is a provision for elections amounting to approximately 92 thousand. Then there is an additional amount for the Public Services Commission amounting to nearly two lakhs. These items alone amount to 7½ lakhs. In 1937-38 the amount was 112 lakhs and now it is 121 lakhs. The items I have enumerated account for 7½ lakhs. It is not that the present Government has made the administration topheavy. It is because of the constitutional reforms that this additional expenditure had to be incurred. It is not possible to do without it. My honourable friend said that we should do away with the Assembly and reduce the staff. Even if I wanted to do so, I cannot do so because under the constitution we must have an Assembly ;

Hon'ble Premier.]

and if we had no Assembly, my honourable friend would not have had the opportunity of criticising the Government. So you will agree with me, that so far as these items are concerned, they are indispensable, and it is impossible for the Government to ignore them or to cut them or reduce them because the item under this particular sub-head—viz., Legislative Assembly—is carefully estimated every year; and every year the work increases and our sessions become longer and longer—and my honourable friend knows that in some cases a Bill which should have taken only three or four days took over four weeks. My honourable friend also remarked that the expenditure should be considerably cut down since the Congress Party is not there. It cannot possibly depend on or fluctuate with the walk-outs or walk-ins of the Congress Party. They are welcome here. I wish they would come and take their seats. It is not we who asked them to go away. As a matter of fact, if they had been here, they would have been of considerable help because they would have joined in the criticism—mostly unjustifiable criticism perhaps—which keeps the Government up to the mark and naturally we would have been only too glad of their assistance. Without opposition the Government would go stale. I am glad that my honourable friend and his colleagues are doing their duty very well, and I am grateful to them for they are drawing the attention of the Government to those points which require attention of the Ministers or the departments concerned; and I am glad to say that he has discharged his function as Leader of the Opposition, and his colleagues with him as members of the opposition, most creditably during this period (*hear, hear*) and I offer them my thanks and congratulations. As regards elections, there again I am helpless. I had to make that provision because, whether I want the elections to be postponed or not, under the present law we must hold elections before the expiry of five years. It is for the Parliament to amend the law; and since I cannot do it, I have perforce to make provision for them. Then there is the Public Services Commission. There again it is a statutory obligation on us and it has been provided in order to meet a very necessary machinery for the appointments to higher grades of service under a democratic form of Government. Every democratic country has got some kind of machinery analogous to the Public Services Commission, so that such unwarranted charges which my honourable friend Malik Barkat Ali levelled against the Government should be made impossible. Every democratic country has an independent body which has nothing to do with the administration of the Government, and which is responsible for making recommendations for appointment to the services. Therefore, even if I wish, and let me hasten to add that I do not wish it for a moment, we could not do without it. I am extremely glad that we have got a Public Services Commission, and I am also glad that that Public Services Commission is functioning impartially and efficiently. If my honourable friend has any grievance against the Public Services Commission, I cannot help it, but so far as I am concerned I can only repeat that we cannot do without a Public Services Commission. It is necessary to maintain the purity and efficiency of the services and to avoid unwarranted and malicious charges like those made to-day against the Government by Malik Barkat Ali.

Malik Barhat Ali : It is very easy to say that these are malicious or unwarranted charges.

Premier : Expenditure on this item is $1\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs, and thus the total of all these items is $7\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs. I should particularly like to draw the attention of my honourable friend, the Leader of the Opposition, to another item. If he had looked at the budget carefully he would have noticed that there is another big increase under this head, and that is with regard to District Administration—Sub-head E; mainly in the item relating to General Establishment. The expenditure under this sub-head during the last two years, leaving aside 1937-38, has gone up by nearly $4\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs, almost entirely on account of an increase in the number of subordinates. This increase is due because of the number of questions that my honourable friends ask; and additional staff has had to be provided in every district in order to cope with the increased work under the new constitution. Every year it has been necessary to add more staff to deal with this additional work. With a vigilant popular Assembly, as also on account of over-inquisitiveness of some members in this Assembly, the work must naturally increase. On an average every question asked by a member costs at least a hundred rupees; certain omnibus questions may involve even a bigger expenditure, say two or three hundred rupees, as they necessitate elaborate inquiries from all over the province, and several clerks have to be employed in the district and divisional offices, as also at the headquarters. I would, therefore, request the members that in future they should confine their questions to important and specific matters of public interest. At present they generally ask vague questions, which involve a great deal of unnecessary labour and expense. Vague and rambling questions do not help anyone but only add to the provincial expenditure. If honourable members come across any specific instance of maladministration or injustice, they should frankly state it and confine their question to that particular point. That would save time, expense and unnecessary trouble. I would request them to make their questions specific and to the point and we will try to give them answers expeditiously. Coming back to the budget, the total of these two additional items is $12\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs and the increase during the year is only 12 lakhs. So, according to the budget figures, we have, instead of increasing the expenditure, reduced it by $\frac{1}{2}$ lakh during the present year. I hope that will satisfy my honourable friend.

Malik Barhat Ali : What about retrenchment?

Premier : The report of the Retrenchment Committee is under consideration. But I am afraid it would be sometime before we can examine it critically as we have hardly any time on account of the Assembly Session and other official work. We are examining the recommendations relating to each department in the Council of Ministers; but several weeks would be required to complete the examination. Occasionally they are elbowed out of the weekly agenda because of some other urgent and important business. When we get some respite at Simla, we will be able to formulate our considered views. I, however, doubt if it would be possible to take action to any appreciable extent during the war. I am not in a position to commit Government to any definite line of action at

[Hon'ble Premier.]

present. But I can say this much that my colleagues, and in particular the Finance Minister, are fully alive to the need of curtailing unnecessary expenditure. The Finance Department are the most zealous and vigilant custodians of our finances, and do not normally allow any additional expenditure unless they are absolutely satisfied that it is essential and inevitable. I believe I have now dealt with the main points raised by my honourable friend, Sardar Santokh Singh.

Malik Barkat Ali gave us a learned discourse on the subject of fresh taxation. I admit that he is a very capable lawyer, an adept lawyer, but I was not aware that he had any pretensions in the financial sphere also. However, he had hardly spoken a few sentences when he gave himself away. He is one of those enthusiastic and exuberant amateurs who pose as experts in every field. He completely exposed himself when he stated that the Finance Minister had resorted to fresh taxation when there is a surplus of several lakhs. In the first place he ought to know that when the budget for 1939-40 was prepared, the Finance Minister could not possibly have anticipated this surplus, nor was he in a position to surmise that capital expenditure would have to be curtailed considerably on account of the war. How can one anticipate, in the absence of final accounts, whether the estimated figures of the previous year would tally with actuals. It is always easy to be wise after the event. My honourable friend has got the actuals before him which were not available when the 1939-40 estimates were prepared.

Malik Barkat Ali : Actuals only of those years accounts of which have been completed.

Premier : He was reading from the Finance Minister's speech. But that portion of the Finance Minister's speech dealt with the figures for the coming year, i.e., 1941-42, while my honourable friend quoted those pertaining to the years 1938-39, 1939-40 and 1940-41. When the Budget for 1940-41 was prepared the final accounts for even 1938-39 were not available. In the circumstances, how could he have anticipated a surplus in the 1940-41 budget? Therefore, my honourable friend must remember that it is not safe to dabble in finance unless one knows something about it. It is a very complicated business. Finance is a complex subject which requires careful and protracted study, as also the aptitude to grasp its intricacies. I am afraid, my honourable friend is hopelessly ignorant of even the elementary principles of this intricate subject.

Malik Barkat Ali : The accounts of 1938-39 have been completed.

Premier : I am also aware that the accounts for 1938-39 have been completed.

Malik Barkat Ali : What are the figures?

Premier : I do not keep all the figures in my head. I am not like a *lalbhujakkar*. I can only repeat that when the estimates for 1940-41 were under preparation those figures were not available. Now they are.

Then, Sir, he went out of his way to bring in the hackneyed subject of judiciary and executive. I need only refer him to the speech of the ex-Premier of Madras on the subject of separation of executive and judicial functions. I quoted that speech on the floor of the House on a previous occasion and I now commend it to his notice. Then he went on to complain that the institutions in civil courts had decreased. Because my honourable friend is a lawyer, he made a grievance of it. His grievance is undoubtedly genuine so far as the decrease in the work and fees of legal practitioners are concerned, but he must, in fairness to the people of this province, remember that millions of rupees will be saved to the poor people as a result of this decrease in litigation. Next he referred to conciliation boards and said 'You have taken away the jurisdiction of civil courts.' As a matter of policy, we have to some extent restricted their jurisdiction. Why? Because we want to revive the ancient and time-honoured system of panchayats in order to restore the prestige of the rural community. We aim at rehabilitating self-respect and honesty among the villagers through panchayats which are in a better position to sift the grain from the chaff, than the civil courts where lawyers try to confuse the issues. My honourable friend looks to England and France for precedents; we on this side of the House look for guidance to the glorious traditions of our ancestors, whose word once given was invariably honoured and was more valuable and sacrosanct than your registered deeds (*Cheers*). We must revive the old traditions and glory of our villages through panchayats, through co-operative societies and by intensive and extensive rural uplift work, and thus lay down true and stable foundations on which we can build a superstructure suited to the conditions and status of this great province of ours, and leave behind for the future generations a heritage worthy of the Punjab (*applause*).

Mr. Speaker : Question is—

That the demand be reduced by Rs. 100.

The motion was lost.

Mr. Speaker : The question is—

That a sum not exceeding Rs. 94,87,500 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the year ending 31st March, 1942, in respect of General Administration.

The motion was carried.

The Assembly then adjourned till 12 noon on Thursday, 13th March, 1941.

INDEX

Vol. XVI.

	PAGES.		PAGES.
A.		ASSISTANT SUB-INSPECTORS—	
ABSCONDERS—		Question re representation of	
Question re Police encounter with,		Jats, Rajputs and Gujjars	
in Rohtak district ..	207	among Inspectors, Sub-Ins-	
ABSENCE—		Inspectors and, of Police ..	67
Of Mr. Speaker ..	53		
ADJOURNMENT—		B.	
Motion re, ..	35		
ADMINISTRATOR, LAHORE MUNICI-		BANGA POLICE STATION—	
PALITY—		Question re refusal of the police	
Question re, silence order passed		at, to record report by Wilayat	
by, ..	57	Khan ..	59
ADVANCES—		BARKAT ALI, MALIK—	
Token Demand for loans and, ..	94—6	Budget motion re—	
ADVANCES REPAYABLE—		Government policy regarding	
Supplementary demand for, ..	93	scheduled castes ..	308, 309
AGRICULTURE—		Top heavy administration ..	376—87
Supplementary demand for, ..	89	Report of Public Accounts Com-	
AIR RAID PRECAUTION—		mittee for 1938-39 ..	17—22
Budget motion re Chief Officer,	91—3		
AJIT SINGH, SARDAR—		BAYEN—	
Budget, General discussion ..	232	Question re construction of a bund	
AKBAR ALI, PIR—		in the, in Nakodar near village	
Budget, General discussion ..	258—61	Malsian ..	272
AMJAD ALI SHAH, SAYED—		BHAKRA DAM—	
Bill, City of Lahore Corporation—		Question re, Scheme ..	28
Passage ..	130—33	BILL—	
Refusal to erect buildings ..	106	Question re Punjab Primary Edu-	
Budget motion re communal		cation ..	5
harmony ..	341—43	See City of Lahore Corporation	
ANGLO-VERNAICULAR SCHOOLS—		Bill	
Question re scheme of studies for		BUDGET—	
vernacular and, primary and		General discussion ..	154, 204,
middle schools ..	63		210—267.
ARMS—		Presentation ..	35—51
Question re licences of, ..	64	BUDGET MOTION re—	
ARREST—		Chief Officer, A. R. P. ..	91—3
Question re—		Communal harmony ..	321—31
And detention of Mr. Karam			334—64.
Singh, Mann, Barrister-at-law	1,27	Eastern Range ..	80-1
And detention of Sardar Chanan		Electoral roll of women con-	
Singh ..	28	stituency of Lahore city ..	364—67
Of Comrade Harkishan Singh		Failure to give effect to re-	
Sarjit ..	1	commendations of Darling	
ARTIFICIAL GHEE—		Committee ..	230.
Question re Colourization of, ..	154	Forest ..	71—4
ASSEMBLY—		General administration ..	77—80
Meeting of, on 28th February,		Government policy regarding	
1941 ..	6-7	scheduled castes ..	287—315
ASSEMBLY CHAMBER—		High Dams Circle ..	74—6
Question re estimated cost of		Ill-treatment of political op-	
metal railings for public		ponents by party in power ..	316—18.
galleries in, ..	153	Improvement of Tharanas	
ASSISTANT (S)—		and Bars in Lyallpur district ..	320-21
Question re appointment to post		Inclusion of scheduled castes	
of, through competition in		among statutory agriculturists	285—87.
Financial Commissioners' office	29		

PAGES.	PAGES.
BUDGET MOTION re—concl'd.	COMMUNAL PROPORTION—
Irrigation .. 93	Question re—
Irrigation Establishment .. 76-7	Among police officers .. 65-
Loans and Advances .. 94-6	Among Provincial Civil Service officers and Tehsildars .. 64
Top heavy administration .. 367-93	COMMUNAL REPRESENTATION—
Unemployment Committee Report .. 318-20	Question re, among Extra Assistant Commissioners, Tehsildars, Naib-Tahsildars and Excise Sub-Inspectors .. 279-
Watercourses .. 69-71	COMMUNIST LITERATURE—
Wrong replies to starred questions .. 280-85	Question re, .. 153
BUND—	COMPETITION —
Question re construction of, in the Boven in Nakodar near village Malsian .. 272	Question re appointment to post of Assistant through, in Financial Commissioners' office .. 29-
C.	CONSOLIDATION OF HOLDINGS—
CANDIDATE ZILLADARS—	Question re, in Ambala division .. 66-
Question re, .. 205	CO-OPERATION—
CENSUS—	Token demand for, .. 94
Question re enumeration of scheduled castes during .. 61	CRIME(S)—
CHAMAN LALL, DIWAN—	Question re—
Leave of absence .. 334	In Jakhal mandi and Railway Station near Hissar district .. 30-
CHANAN SINGH, SARDAR—	Question re photography for investigation of, .. 273
Question re arrest and detention of, .. 28	Teleprinters and Dictaphones for detection of, .. 334
CHHOTU RAM, THE HONOURABLE CHAUDHRI SIR	CRIMINALS—
Budget General discussion .. 252-258.	Question re Laboratory for forensic science for detection of, .. 273-
Budget motion re—	D.
Forests .. 73-4	DANDOT—
Government policy regarding scheduled castes .. 313-14	Question re destruction of natural sources of water supply to village, district Jhelum .. 206-
Unemployment Committee Report .. 319-20	DARLING COMMITTEE—
CITY OF LAHORE CORPORATION BILL—	Budget motion re failure to give effect to recommendations of, .. 280-
Allotment of time for, .. 69	DEMANDS FOR GRANTS—
Consideration .. 100-108	General Administration .. 280, 331, 334-93.
Passage .. 108-151	DEPRESSED CLASSES—
CIVIC GUARDS—	Question re Middle School scholarships reserved for, .. 35
Question re recruitment of, .. 32	DEPUTY COLLECTORS—
CIVIL SECRETARIAT—	Question re representation of Jat, Gujjar and Rajput, and Zilladars .. 67
Question re representation of Sikhs among gazetted officers in, .. 277	DEPUTY COMMISSIONER—
CIVIL WORKS—	Question re Muslim clerks in office of, Simla .. 64
Token demand for .. 94	DETENTION—
CIVIL WORKS OUTSIDE REVENUE ACCOUNT—	Question re arrest and, of Mr. Karam Singh, Mann, Barrister-at-law .. 27
Token demand for, .. 94	DETENTION—
CLERICAL STAFF—	Question re—
Question re representation of Muslims in teaching and, of Law College, Lahore .. 67	Arrest and, of Sardar Chanan Singh .. 28
CLERKS—	DICTAPHONES—
Question re Muslim, in the office of Deputy Commissioner, Simla .. 64	Question re teleprinters and, for detection of crimes .. 334
COLOURIZATION—	DISTRICT BOARDS—
Question re, of artificial ghee .. 154	Question re non-official Presidents for, .. 274-
COMMUNAL HARMONY—	
Budget motion re, .. 321, 334-64	

PAGES.	PAGES.
DISTRICT BOARD SCHOOLS—	F.
Question re Muslim and Non-Muslim teachers in, and Government Schools, in Rawalpindi district .. 279	FAIZ MUHAMMAD, SH.—
DISTRICT INSPECTOR OF SCHOOLS—	Bill, City of Lahore Corporation, Suits against the Corporation .. 105
Question re, at Attock .. 60, 61	FAZL ALI, KHAN BAHADUR NAWAB—
DIWALI—	Budget, General discussion .. 240
Question re gamblers arrested in Haryana district during, of 1940 .. 98	FEES—
E.	Question re share of Doctor in charge, Beri Civil Hospital, in .. 4
EASTERN RANGE—	FREE CONCESSIONS—
Budget motion re .. 80-1	Question re preferential treatment to sons of Gazetted Officers of Education Department in, and Scholarships .. 98
EDUCATION CODE—	FEMALE TEACHERS—
Question re scholarships under section D, Chapter V of. .. 63	Question re, at Lahore .. 66
EDUCATION DEPARTMENT—	FIELD QANUNGOS—
Question re preferential treatment to sons of Gazetted officers of, in fee concessions and scholarships .. 98	Question re recruitment of, in Jullundur district .. 269
ELECTIONS—	FIRE-ARMS—
Question re postponement of, of district boards and municipal committees .. 55	Question re unlicensed, recovered by police in Sargodha .. 54
ELECTORAL ROLLS—	FORESTS—
Budget motion re, of women constituency of Lahore City .. 364-67	Supplementary demand for, .. 71-4
ELECTRICITY SUPPLIES—	G.
Supplementary demand for, .. 89-90	GALLERIES—
ENFORCEMENT—	Question re estimated cost of metal railings for public, in Assembly Chamber .. 153
Question re, of Pure Food (Amendment) Act .. 4	GAMBLERS—
EXCESS DEMANDS, 1938-39—	Question re, arrested in Haryana district during Diwali of 1940 .. 98
Famine .. 25	GAZETTED OFFICERS—
Irrigation (Capital) .. 25	Question re preferential treatment to sons of, of Education Department in fee concessions and scholarships .. 98
Superannuation allowances and Pensions .. 25	GENERAL ADMINISTRATION—
EXCESS EXPENDITURE—	Demands for Grants, .. 280-331, 834-93.
Statement of, authenticated by Governor .. 99	Supplementary demands for .. 77-80
EXCISE—	GENERAL ELECTIONS—
Supplementary Demands for, .. 71	Question re postponement of, of local bodies .. 272
EXCISE SUB-INSPECTORS—	GHAZANFAR ALI KHAN, RAJA—
Question re communal representation among Extra Assistant Commissioners, Tahsildars, Naib-Tahsildars and, .. 279	Budget motion re communal harmony .. 321, 322, 325-329.
EXPENDITURE—	Irrigation Establishment .. 76-7
Supplementary statement of, authenticated by Governor .. 208-10	GHREE—
EXTENSIONS—	Question re colourization of artificial, .. 154
Question re, in service to Ministerial staff of Punjab Civil Secretariat .. 269	GIRLS' SCHOOLS—
EXTRA ASSISTANT COMMISSIONERS—	Question re Government, in Ambala Division .. 5
Question re—	GIRLS STUDENTS—
Appointment of, in Ambala Division .. 66	Question re Muslim and non-Muslim, studying in Government Normal School, Rawalpindi .. 278
Communal representation among, Tahsildars, Naib-Tahsildars and Excise Sub-Inspectors .. 279	

PAGES.	PAGES.
GOKUL CHAND NARANG, DR. SIB— Budget, General Discussion .. 154—98, 217, 219, 221, 222, 224, 225, 227, 240, 241, 244, 245, 246, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258,	GURMUKHI— Question re maintenance of schools by local bodies with Hindi or, as medium of instruction .. 208
Budget motion re— Communal harmony .. 362-63 Inclusion of Scheduled Castes among Statutory Agricul- turists .. 285-86, 287	H. HANDICRAFTS— Question re introduction of useful, in Primary and Middle Schools 4 HARKISHAN SINGH SARJIT— Question re arrest of Comrade, .. 1 HARNAM DAS, LALA— Bill, City of Lahore Corporation, Passage .. 136-37, Budget motion re— .. Government policy regarding scheduled castes.. 287—93, 294, 300, 302, 303, 311—13.
Report of Public Accounts Com- mittee for 1938-39 .. 14-5, 22—4.	Inclusion of scheduled castes among statutory agriculturists 285
GOPAL SINGH (AMERICAN), SARDAR— Budget motion re Government policy regarding scheduled castes .. 298—302	HEADMISTRESS— Question re complaint against, Municipal Girls' Middle School, Hansi .. 59
GOVERNMENT GIRLS' SCHOOLS— Question re in Ambala Division.. 5	HIGH DAMS CIRCLE— Budget motion re .. 74-5
GOVERNMENT HIGH SCHOOL— Question re, Deterioration in, Gurgaon .. 62	HINDI— Question re— As medium of instruction in Schools .. 4 Maintenance of schools by local bodies with, or Gur- mukhi, as medium of instruc- tion .. 208
GOVERNMENT NORMAL SCHOOL— Question re Muslim and Non- Muslim Girl students study- ing in, Rawalpindi .. 278	HORSES— Question re, shot dead in Muni- cipal areas .. 271
GOVERNMENT SCHOOLS— Question re Muslims and Non- Muslim teachresses in district board and, in Rawalpindi district .. 279	HOSPITAL— Question re share of Doctor in charge, Bari Civil Hospitals, in fees .. 4
GOVERNMENT SERVANTS— Question re retirement of, after 25 years' service .. 2	HUNGER STRIKE— Question re, by Sardar Teja Singh, Swatantar .. 3
GOVERNMENT SERVICES— Question re representation of Muslims in, in Simla dis- trict .. 64	I.
GREY CANALS— Question re representation among employees of Ferozepore .. 277	ILL-TREATMENT— Budget motion re, of political opponents by party in power.. 316—18
GRIEVANCES— Question re, of zamindars of villages Nawal, Dhiba, Wandhi, Bhimranwali, and Kalci in Mianwali district .. 270	INSPECTORS— Question re representation of Jats, Rajputs and Gujjars among, Sub-Inspectors and Assistant Sub-Inspectors of Police .. 67
GUJJARS— Question re— Representation of Jat, and Raj- put Deputy Collectors and Zilladars .. 67 Representation of Jats, Raj- puts, and, among Inspectors, Sub-Inspectors and Assistant Sub-Inspectors of Police .. 67 Zamindari scholarships to, of Gurgaon district .. 99	INVESTIGATION— Question re photography for, of crimes .. 273
GURBACHAN SINGH, SARDAR BAH- DUR SARDAR— Budget, General discussion .. 198—201	IQBAL MEMORIAL HIGH SCHOOL— Question re representation of Chaudhri Rahmat Ullah for recognition of, Karnal .. 34
	IRRIGATION— Token demand for, .. 93
	IRRIGATION ESTABLISHMENT— Supplementary demand for, .. 74—7

	PAGE.		PAGE.
J.		LAND(s)—	
JALAL-UD-DIN AMBER, CHAUDHRI—		Question re—	
Bill, City of Lahore Corporation.		Acquisition of, for Western	
Passage ..	134—36	Junna Canal and Sirhind	56
JAT(s)—		Restoration of, in Ambala	
Question re—		Division under Restitution	
Representation of, Gujjar and		of Mortgaged Lands Act ..	29
Rajput Deputy Collectors			
and Zilladars ..	67	LAND REVENUE—	
Representation of, Gujjars and		Supplementary demand for, ..	69—71
Rajputs among Inspectors,		LAW COLLEGE—	
Sub-Inspectors and Assistant		Question re representation of	
Sub-Inspectors of Police ..	67	Muslims in teaching and clerical	
JHATKA MEAT—		staff of, Lahore ..	67
Question re supply of, to Sikh		LEAVE OF ABSENCE—	
prisoners in Gujrat Jail ..	333	Of Chaman Lall, Diwan ..	334
		Of Kartar Singh, Sardar ..	154
		Of Muhammad Hayat Khan	
		Noon, Nawab Sir Malik ..	334
K.		LICENCES—	
KARAM SINGH MANN, MR.—		Question re, for arms ..	64
Question re arrest and detention		LITERATURE—	
of, ..	1, 27	Question re communist, ..	153
KARTAR SINGH, SARDAR—		LOANS—	
Leave of absence, ..	164	Token demand for, and advances	94—6
KHAKSARS—		LOCAL BODIES—	
Question re Arrest of, ..	31	Question re postponement of	
KHIZAR HAYAT TIWANA, THE HON.		general elections of, ..	272
MALIK—			
Bill, City of Lahore Corporation—		M.	
Allotment of time for, ..	69	MAGISTRACY—	
Consequential amendments ..	107-08	Question re reference to, in Police	
Passage ..	140—50	Administration Report ..	97
Unoccupied premises ..	103—05	MAGISTRATE—	
Budget, general discussion ..	220—27.	Question re strictures by, at Jul-	
		lundur against police ..	59
	263, 264.	MAINTENANCE ALLOWANCE—	
Budget motion re ill-treatment		Question re, for Comrade Mangat	
of political opponents by party		Ram ..	205
in power ..	316, 317	MANGAT RAM—	
Chief Officer, A. R. P. ..	92	Question re maintenance allow-	
Eastern Range ..	80-81	ance for Comrade ..	205
Loans and advances ..	95-6	MAHOHAR LAL, THE HON'BLE SIR—	
KIRPAL SINGH, SARDAR—		Budget, general discussion ..	264—67
Question re placing, of Jhelum in		Budget, Presentation ..	35—51
'C' class ..	271	Budget motion re wrong replies	
		to starred questions ..	284-85
L.		Excess Expenditure, Statement	
LABORATORY—		of, ..	99
Question re, for forensic science		Report of Public Accounts Com-	
for detection of criminals ..	273	mittee for 1938-39 ..	710—22.
LAHORE ALLOWANCE—			
Question re stoppage of, to officials		Supplementary Demand—	
of High Court, Lahore ..	58	Advance repayable ..	93
LAL SINGH, SARDAR—		Agriculture ..	89
Budget, general discussion ..	246, 247	Electricity schemes ..	89
Budget motion re—		Excise ..	71
Communal harmony ..	321—25	Forests ..	71
Wrong replies to starred ques-		General administration ..	77
tions ..	283	Irrigation Establishment ..	74
Chief Officer, A. R. P. ..	91-2	Land Revenue ..	69
Police ..	81, 82, 83,	Medical ..	89
	88-9.	Miscellaneous ..	91
Report of Public Accounts Com-		Police ..	80
mittee for 1938-39 ..	10, 18, 24,	Stationery and Printing ..	91
	25.	Superannuation allowances and	
		pensions ..	90

	PAGE.		PAGE.
MAKOHAR LAL, THE HON'BLE SIR—concl'd.		MUHAMMAD NURULLAH, MIAN—concl'd	
Supplementary Estimates, Presentation of, ..	7	Improvement of Tharans and Bars in Lyallpur district ..	320-21
Supplementary statement of expenditure authenticated by Governor ..	208-10	Unemployment Committee Report ..	318, 319
Token Demand—		Watercourse ..	69-70
Civil Works ..	94	Wrong replies to starred questions ..	280-282
Civil Works, outside revenue account ..	94		
Co-operation ..	94	Electricity Schemes ..	90
Irrigation ..	93	General Administration ..	77-8
Loans and advances ..	94	Eastern Range ..	80
Public Works Department (Buildings and Roads Establishment) ..	94	Irrigation ..	93
		Irrigation Establishment ..	76
MEDICAL—		Loans and advances ..	94-5
Supplementary Demand for, ..	89	Report of Public Accounts Committee for 1938-39 ..	19, 20
MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION—		MUKAND LAL PURI, RAI BAHADUR—	
Question re—		General administration ..	78-79
Changes in, in Municipal Girls Middle School, Hansi ..	60	Police ..	83-86
Hindi as, in schools ..	4	MUNICIPAL AREAS—	
Maintenance of schools by local bodies with Hindi or Gurmukhi as, ..	208	Question re horses shot dead in, ..	271
MISCELLANEOUS—		MUNICIPAL COMMITTEE—	
Supplementary Demand for, ..	91-3	Question re—	
METAL RAILINGS—		Removal of water stand post by, Rewari ..	97
Question re estimated cost of, for public galleries in Assembly Chamber ..	153	Working of Rohtak, ..	54
MIDDLE SCHOOL SCHOLARSHIPS—		MURDERS—	
Question re, reserved for depressed classes ..	35	Question re number of, committed by Odes ..	55
MINISTERS—		MUSHTAQ AHMAD GURMANI, KHAN BAHADUR MIAN—	
Question re visit of, to Mianwali district ..	53	Report of Public Accounts Committee for 1938-39, consideration of, ..	19
MODEL FARMS—		MUSLIM(S)—	
Question re, in Ambala division ..	53	Question re—	
MOHY-UD-DIN LAL BADSHAH, S.—		Appointment of, Extra Assistant Commissioners in Ambala division ..	66
Bill, City of Lahore Corporation, Passage ..	140	Representation of, in Government services in Simla district ..	64
MOOLA SINGH, SARDAAR—		Representation of, in staff under Medical Officer of Health, Amritsar ..	274
Budget motion re, Government Policy regarding scheduled castes ..	295-98	Representation of, in teaching and clerical staff of Law College, Lahore ..	67
MORTGAGED LANDS ACT—		MUZAFFAR KHAN, KHAN BAHADUR CAPTAIN MALIK—	
Question re restoration of lands in Ambala division under Restitution of, ..	29	Budget, general discussion ..	201-04, 210-11.
MOTION—			
Re adjournment ..	35		
MUHAMMAD HAYAT KHAN NOON, NAWAB SIR MALIK—			
Leave of absence, ..	334		
MUHAMMAD NURULLAH, MIAN—			
Assembly, meeting of, on 28th February, 1941 ..	7		
Bill, City of Lahore Corporation, Passage ..	133		
Budget motion re—			
Communal harmony ..	321		
Failure to give effect to recommendations of Darling Committee ..	280		
High Dams Circle ..	74-5		
Ill-treatment of political opponents by party in power ..	316-17		

	PAGE.		PAGES.
O.		Q.	
OBJECTIONABLE LITERATURE—		QANUNGOS—	
Question re Houses searched	54	Question re recruitment of Field,	269
in pr vince for, ..		in Jullundur district ..	
ODES—		QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS—	
Question re number of murders	55	ABDUL HAMID KHAN, SUZI—	
committed by, ..		Question re representation	
		among employees of Grey	
		Canals, Ferozepore ..	277
P		ABDUL RAB, MIAN—	
PENSIONS—		Question re—	
Supplementary Demand for		Construction of a bund in the	
Superannuation allowances	90	Beyen in Nakodar near	
and ..		village Malsian ..	272
PHOTOGRAPHY—		Recruitment of Field	
Question re, for investigation of		Qanungos in Jullundur	
crimes ..	273	district ..	269
POLICE—		AJIT SINGH, SARDAR—	
Question re strictures by City		Question re placing Sardar	
Magistrate, Jullundur, against,	68	Kirpal Singh of Jhelum in	
Supplementary Demand for, ..	80--89	'C' Class ..	271
POLICE ADMINISTRATION REPORT—		BAEKAT ALI, MALIK—	
Question re reference to Magist-		Question re—	
rates in, ..	97	Nomination of Sub-Divi-	
POLICE ENCOUNTER—		sional Officer, Kasur, as	
Question re, with absconders in		member of Kasur Muni-	
Rohtak district ..	207	cipal Committee ..	274
POLICE OFFICERS—		Non-Official Presidents for	
Question re communal proportion		District Boards ..	274
among, ..	65	Refusal of Police at Banga	
POLITICAL OPPONENTS—		Police Station to record	
Budget motions re ill-treatment		report by Wilayat Khan ..	59
of, by party in power ..	316--18	Strictures by Magistrates at	
POSTPONEMENT—		Jullundur against Police..	59
Question re, of elections of District		FAQIR CHAND, CHAUDHRI—	
Boards and Municipal Commit-		Question re—	
tees ..	55	Candidate zilladars ..	205
PRIMARY EDUCATION—		Nominations to P. C. S. ..	27
Question re, Bill ..	5	FAZAL DIN, KHAN SAHIB CHAUDH-	
PRINTING—		RI—	
Supplementary Demand for Sta-		Question re—	
tionary and, ..	91	Representation of Muslims in	
PROFESSIONAL TAX—		staff under Medical Officer of	
Question re, Imposition of, by		Health, Amritsar ..	274
District Board, Gurgaon ..	207	GHULAM SAMAD, KHAN SAHIB	
PROVINCIAL CIVIL SERVICE—		KHAWAJA—	
Question re Nominations to, ..	27	Question re—	
PUBLIC ACCOUNTS COMMITTEE—		Acquisition of Land for Wes-	
Report of, for 1938-39, consider-		tern Jumna Canal and	
ation of, ..	7--25	Sirhind Canal ..	56
PUBLIC WORKS DEPARTMENT (R. &		Appointment of Muslim	
R. ESTABLISHMENT)—		Extra Assistant Commis-	
Token Demand for ..	94	sioners in Ambala Divi-	
P. C. S. OFFICERS—		sion ..	66
Question re communal proportion		Bhakhra Dam Scheme ..	28
among, and Tahsildars ..	64	Communal proportion among	
PUNJAB CIVIL SECRETARIAT—		Police Officers ..	65
Question re Extensions in service		Communal proportion among	
to ministerial staff of, ..	269	Provincial Civil Service	
PURANAND, MASTER—		Officers and Tahsildars ..	64
Question re arrest of, ..	57	Consolidation of holdings	
PURE FOOD (AMENDMENT) ACT—		in Ambala Division ..	66
Question re enforcement of, ..	4	Enforcement of Pure	
		Food (Amendment) Act ..	4
		Government Girls' Schools	
		in Ambala Division ..	5

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS—
CONTINUED.

GHULAM SAMAD, KHAN SAHIB
KHAWAJA—*concl.*

Question re—

Introduction of useful Handi-
crafts in Primary and
Middle Schools ..

4

Model farms in Ambala Divi-
sion ..

53

Postponement of elections
of district and Municipal
Committees ..

55

Representation by Chaudhri
Rahmat Ullah for recogni-
tion of Iqbal Memorial High
School, Karnal ..

34

Restoration of Lands in
Ambala Division under
Restitution of Mortgaged
Lands Act ..

29

Visit of Ministers to Mianwali
District ..

53

GOKUL CHAND NARANG, DR. SIR—

Question re Scheme of studies for
Vernacular and Anglo-
vernacular Primary and
Middle Schools ..

63

GOPAL DAS, RAI BAHADUR LALA—

Question re—

Appointment to post of
Assistant through competi-
tion in Financial Commis-
sioners' office ..

29

Arrest and detention of
Mr. Karam Singh, Mann,
Bar-at-law ..

27

Punjab Primary Education
Bill ..

5

Retirement of Government
servants, after 25 years'
service ..

2

HANS RAJ, BHAGAT—

Question re Middle School
Scholarships reserved for
the Depressed Classes ..

35

HAERNAM SINGH, CAPTAIN SODHI—

Question re representation of
Sikhs among Gazetted
Officers in Civil Secretariat ..

277

LAL SINGH, SARDAR—

Question re—

Number of murders com-
mitted by Odes ..

55

Radio sets for village uplift ..

207

Sikh processionists of Sar-
godha ..

55

Supply of Jhatka meat
to Sikh prisoners in
Gujrat Jail ..

333

MOHY-UD-DIN LAL BADSHAH,
SAYED—

Question re District Inspector
of Schools at Attock ..

60-61

MOOLA SINGH, SARDAR—

Question re Enumeration of
scheduled castes during census ..

61

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS—
CONTINUED.

MUHAMMAD ABDUL RAHMAN
KHAN, CHAUDHRI—

Question re—

Arrest of Comrade Harkishan
Singh, Surjit ..

1

Arrest of Comrade Karam
Singh Mann ..

1

MUHAMMAD AKRAM KHAN, KHAN
BAHADUR, RAJA—

Question re destruction of na-
tural sources of water supply
to village Dandot, District
Jhelum ..

206

MUHAMMAD NURULLAH, MIAN—

Question re arrest and detention
of Sardar Chanan Singh ..

28

MUHAMMAD SARFRAZ KHAN, CHAU-
DHRI—

Question re representation of
Muslims in teaching and
clerical staff of Law College,
Lahore ..

67

MUHAMMAD WILAYAT HUSAIN,
JEELANI, MAKHDUMZADA HAJI
SAYED—

Question re Extensions in service
to ministerial staff of Punjab
Civil Secretariat ..

269

MUHAMMAD YUSUF KHAN,
KHAN—

Question re—

Horses shot dead in muni-
cipal areas ..

271

Laboratory for forensic
science for detection of
criminals ..

273

Levy of Road Tax on Nurpur-
Shahan road ..

58

Muslim and Non-Muslim
girl students studying
in Government Normal
School, Rawalpindi ..

278

Muslim and non-Muslim
teachers in District Board
and Government Schools
in Rawalpindi district ..

279

Photography for investiga-
tion of crimes ..

273

Teleprinters and Dictaphones
for detection of crimes ..

334

MUKAND LAL PURI, RAI BAHADUR

Question re maintenance of
schools by local bodies with
Hindi or Gurmukhi as me-
dium of instruction ..

208

MUZAFFAR KHAN, KHAN BAH-
DUR CAPTAIN MALIK—

Question re grievances of zamin-
dars of villages Namal,
Dhiba, Wandhi, Bhimranwali,
and Kalri in Mianwali
district ..

270

PAGES.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS—
CONTINUED.

RANPAT SINGH, CHAUDHRI—

Question re—

Representation of Jat, Gujjar
and Rajput Deputy Collec-
tors and Zilladars ..

67

Representation of Jat, Rajputs
and Gujjars among Ins-
pectors, Sub-Inspectors
and Assistant Sub-Inspec-
tors of Police ..

67

SADIQ HASAN, SHAIKH—

Question re—

Licences for Arms ..

64

Muslim clerks in office of
Deputy Commissioner,
Simla ..

64

Representation of Muslims in
Government services in
Simla district ..

64

SAHIB DAD KHAN, KHAN

SAHIB CHAUDHRI—

Question re—

Female teachers at Lahore
Strictures by City Magis-
trate Jullundur, against
police ..

66

68

SANTOKH SINGH, SARDAR SAHIB

SARDAR—

Question re—

Arrest of Master Purnanand
Handcuffing of Lala Sant
Ram Seth ..

57

57

SATYA PAL, DR. —

Question re S. Sadhu Singh, a
detenue in Amritsar fort ..

333

SHRI RAM SHARMA, PANDIT

Question re—

Arrest of Khaksars—

31

Changes in medium of instruc-
tion in municipal Girls Mid-
dle School, Hansi ..

60

Colourization of artificial
ghee ..

154

Communist literature ..

153

Complaint against Head Mis-
tresses, Municipal Girls
Middle School, Hansi ..

59

Crime in Jakhal Mandi and
Railway Station Area,
Hissar district ..

30

Estimated cost of Metal
Railings for public gal-
leries in Assembly Cham-
ber ..

153

Gamblers arrested in Har-
iana districts during
Diwali of 1940 ..

98

Hindi as medium of instruc-
tion in schools ..

4

Houses searched in province
for objectionable litera-
ture ..

54

Hunger-strike by Sardar
Teja Singh Swatantra ..

3

Imposition of Professional
tax by District Board,
Gurgaon ..

207

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS—
CONCLUDED.SHRI RAM SHARMA, PANDIT—
concl'd.

Question re—

Maintenance allowance for
Comrade Mangat Ram ..

205

Police encounter with
absconders in Rohtak
district ..

207

Postponement of General
elections of local bodies ..

272

Recruitment of Civo Guards

32

Reference to Magistracy in
Police Administration Re-
port ..

97

Removal of water standpost
by Municipal Committee,
Rewari ..

97

Share in Fees of Doctor in
charge, Beri Civil Hospital ..

4

Silence order passed by
Administrator, Lahore
Municipality ..

57

Unlicensed fire-arms re-
covered by police in Sargo-
dha ..

54

Working of Rohtak Muni-
cipal Committee ..

54

SUMER SINGH, CHAUDHRI—

Question re—

Deterioration in Government
High School, Gurgaon ..

62

Preferential treatment to
sons of Gazetted Officers
of Education Department
in fee concessions and
scholarships ..

98

Scholarships under section
D, Chapter V of the Edu-
cation Code ..

63

Stoppage of Lahore allow-
ance to officials of High
Court Lahore ..

58

Zamindari scholarship to
sons of Gujars of Gurgaon
district ..

99

TARA SINGH, SARDAR—

Question re Communal repre-
sentation among Extra
Assistant Commissioners,
Tahsildars, Naib-Tahsil-
dars and Excise Sub-
Inspectors ..

279

R.

RADIO SETS—

Question re for village uplift ..

207

RAHMAT ULLAH—

Question re representation of
Chaudhri, for recognition
of Iqbal Memorial High
School, Karnal ..

34

	PAGES.		PAGES.
RAJPUT(S)—		RULING—concl.	
Question re—		Miscellaneous—	
Representation of Jat, Gujjar and, Deputy Collectors and Zilladars ..	67	Discision of the House not to be criticised ..	12-13, 175, 176
Representation of Jats, and Gujjars among Inspectors, Sub-Inspectors and Assistant Sub-Inspectors of Police ..	67	If an amount is passed by the House and authenticated by Governor, its payment cannot be questioned by the House later ..	14, 17-18
RASHIDA LATIF BAJI, BEGUM—		It is unparliamentary to caste reflections on a member of the Assembly ..	324
Bill, City of Lahore Corpora- tion—		Members may criticise the ad- ministration or the conduct of officers in their official capacity, without making insinuations ..	383
Passage ..	124—130	Unparliamentary language— The word "silly" in reference to a member, unparliamentary ..	192
Budget motion re—			
Communal harmony ..	337—39		
Electoral roll of women con- stituency of Lahore City ..	364—67		
RECOGNITION—			
Question re, Representation of Chaudhri Rahmat Ullah for, of Iqbal Memorial High School, Karnal ..	34		
REPORT—			
Of Public Accounts Committee for 1938-39, consideration of ..	7—25		
REPRESENTATION—			
Question re, of Muslims in staff under Medical Officer of Health, Amritsar ..	274		
RESTITUTION OF MORTGAGED LANDS ACT—			
Question re restoration of lands in Ambala Division under, ..	29		
RETIREMENT—			
Question re, of Government ser- vants after 25 years' service ..	2		
REVENUE ACCOUNT—			
Token demand for Civil Works outside ..	94		
RIASAT ALI, KHAN BANADUR CHAU- DHRI—			
Budget motion re top heavy ad- ministration ..	337—89		
ROAD TAX—			
Question re levy of, on Nurpur- Shahan road ..	58		
RULING—			
Budget—			
Members cannot seek legisla- tion or executive order during debate on ..	285, 287		
To spend first and get the sanc- tion of the House to the ex- penditure later, practice of the Government ..	23		
Budget General discussion—			
Extension of time for Finance Minister's speech ..	266		
Time limit for speeches ..	215, 219		
Debate—			
Every member, expected to state facts which he knows or be- lieves to be correct, not ex- pected to inquire into every matter personally and then make a statement ..	173		
		SADHU SINGH, S.—	
		Question re, detenue in Amritsar Fort ..	333
		SANTOKH SINGH, SARDAR SAHIB, SARDAR—	
		Absence of Mr. Speaker ..	53
		Assembly, Meeting of, on 28th February, 1941 ..	7
		Bill, City of Lahore Corporation—	
		Passage ..	108—15
		Unoccupied premises ..	100—03
		Budget, general discussion ..	247
		Budget motion re—	
		Communal harmony ..	329, 330
		Forests ..	71—73
		Government Policy regarding scheduled castes ..	309—10
		Top heavy administration ..	367—76
		Wrong replies to starred ques- tions ..	282—83
		Report of Public Accounts Com- mittee for 1938-39, Considera- tion of, ..	9—21
		SANT RAM SETH, LALA—	
		Question re handcuffing of, ..	57
		SCHEDULED CASTES—	
		Budget motion re—	
		Government policy regarding, Inclusion of, among statutory agriculturists ..	287—315 285—87
		Question re enumeration of, during census ..	61
		SCHOLARSHIP(S)—	
		Question re—	
		Middle school, reserved for de- pressed classes ..	35

	PAGES.
SCHOLARSHIP—<i>conold.</i>	
Question re—	
Preferential treatment to sons of Gazetted Officers of Educa- tion Department in fee con- cessions and, ..	98
Under section D, Chapter V of Education Code ..	63
Zamindari, to sons of Gujars of Gurgaon district ..	99
SCHOOL(s)—	
Question re—	
Introduction of useful handi- crafts in primary and middle ..	4
Maintenance of, by local bodies with Hindi or Gurmukhi as medium of instruction ..	208
Representation of Chandbri Rahmat Ullah for recognition of Iqbal Memorial High School, Karnal ..	34
SHAH NAWAZ, MRS. J. A.—	
Bill, City of Lahore Corporation— Passage, ..	138-39
SHANDEE HYAT-KHAN, THE HON'- BLE MAJOR SIR—	
Absence of Mr. Speaker ..	53
Assembly, Meeting of, on 28th February, 1941 ..	6-7
Budget General discussion ..	227-52
Budget motion re—	
Communal harmony ..	329-30, 343-63.
Government policy regarding scheduled castes ..	302-09
High Dams Circle ..	75
Top heavy administration ..	389-93
Water-courses ..	70,71
General administration ..	79
Motion re adjournment ..	35
Police ..	86-88
SIKHS—	
Question re representation of, among Gazetted Officers in Civil Secretariat ..	277
SIXH PRISONERS—	
Question re supply of Jhatka meat to, in Gujrat Jail ..	333
SIXH PROCESSIONISTS—	
Question re, of Sargodha ..	55
SILENCE ORDER—	
Question re, passed by Adminis- trator, Lahore Municipality ..	57
SIRHIND CANAL—	
Question re acquisition of land for Western Jumna Canal and, ..	56
SITA RAM, LALA—	
Bill, City of Lahore Corporation Passage ..	115-24
Budget motion re communal harmony ..	330-31, 334-37.
Loans and advances ..	95, 96
SOHAN LAL, RAI RAHADUR LALA—	
Budget, general discussion ..	261-63
Budget motion re communal harmony ..	339-41

	PAGES.
SPEAKER, MR.—	
Absence of, ..	53
STATEMENT—	
Supplementary, of expenditure authenticated by Governor ..	208—10
STATIONERY AND PRINTING—	
Supplementary demand for ..	91
STRUCTURES—	
Question re—	
By Magistrate of Jullundur against police ..	59
By City Magistrate, Jullundur, against police ..	68
SUB-DIVISIONAL OFFICER—	
Question re nomination of, as member of Kasur Municipal Committee ..	274
SUB-INSPECTORS—	
Question re representation of Jats, Rajputs and Gujjars among Inspectors, and Assistant Sub- Inspectors of Police ..	67
SUMER SINGH, CHAUDHRI—	
Budget, general discussion ..	215—19, 232—
Budget motion re wrong replies to starred questions ..	284
SUPERANNUATION ALLOWANCES AND PENSIONS—	
Supplementary demand for, ..	90
SUPPLEMENTARY DEMAND—	
Advance repayable ..	93
Agriculture ..	90
Electricity schemes ..	89—90
Excise ..	71
Forests ..	71—74
General Administration ..	77, 80
Irrigation Establishment ..	74—77
Land Revenue ..	69—71
Medical ..	89
Miscellaneous ..	91—93
Police ..	80—89
SUPPLEMENTARY ESTIMATES (2ND INSTALMENT)—	
Presentation of, for 1940-41 ..	7
T.	
TEACHERSSES—	
Question re Muslim and non-Mus- lim, in District Board and Gov- ernment Schools in Rawalpindi district ..	279
TEACHING STAFF—	
Question re representation of Mus- lims in, and Clerical Staff of Law College, Lahore ..	67
TAHSILDARS—	
Question re—	
Communal proportion among P.C.S. officers and, ..	64
Communal representation among Extra Assistant Commis- sioner, Naib-Tahsildars and Excise Sub-Inspectors ..	279

PAGES.	PAGES.
TEJA SINGH SWATANTAR—	VILLAGE UPLIFT—
Question re hunger strike by Sardar, .. 3	Question re Radio sets for, .. 207
TELEPRINTERS—	W.
Question re, and Dictaphones for detection of crimes .. 334	WATER STANDPOST—
THAKKAS AND BARS—	Question re removal of, by Municipal Committee, Rewari .. 97
Budget motion re improvement of, in Lyallpur district .. 320-21	WATER-SUPPLY—
TOKEN DEMAND—	Question re destruction of natural sources of, to village Dandot, district Jhelum .. 206
Civil Works .. 94	WESTERN JUMNA CANAL—
Civil Works outside Revenue Account .. 94	Question re acquisition of land for, and Sirhind Canal .. 56
Co-operation .. 94	WILAYAT KHAN—
Irrigation .. 93	Question re refusal of police at Banga police station to record report by, .. 59
Loans and advances .. 94-96	WOMEN CONSTITUENCY—
Public Works Department (Buildings and Roads Establishment) .. 94	Budget motion re electoral roll of, of Lahore City .. 364-67
TOP HEAVY ADMINISTRATION—	WRONG REPLIES—
Budget motion re. .. 367-93	Budget motion re, to starred questions .. 280-85
U.	Z.
UJJAL SINGH, SARDAR BAHADUR, SARDAR—	ZAMINDARS—
Bill, City of Lahore Corporation—	Question re grievances of, of villages Namal, Dhiba, Wandhi, Bhimranwali and Kalri in Mianwali district .. 270
Exemption from property-tax .. 106	ZAMINDARI SCHOLARSHIPS—
Budget, general discussion .. 211-15	Question re, to sons of Gujars of Gurgaon district .. 99
UNEMPLOYMENT COMMITTEE REPORT—	ZILLADAR(S)—
Budget motion re, .. 318-20	Question re—
UNPARLIAMENTARY LANGUAGE—	Candidate, .. 205
The word "lies" when used with reference to a member is unparliamentary .. 228	Representation of Jat, Gujjar and Rajput Deputy Collectors and, .. 67
Use of the words جھوٹ بول رہے .. 303	
in reference to speech of a member is, ..	
V.	
VERNACULAR SCHOOLS—	
Question re scheme of studies for, and Anglo-Vernacular Primary and Middle Schools .. 63	