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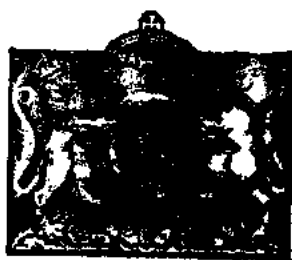
**From 21st March to 19th July 1946**

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**Vol. XXV**

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**OFFICIAL REPORT**



Lahore:  
Printed by the Superintendent, Government Printing, Punjab  
1946

**PRINCIPAL OFFICERS OF THE PUNJAB  
LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY**

*Speaker*

**The Hon'ble Diwan Bahadur S. P. Singha, M.A.,  
LL.B. (West Central Punjab, Indian Christian).**

*Deputy Speaker*

**Sardar Kapur Singh, B.A., LL.B. (Ludhiana East,  
Sikh, Rural).**

*Secretary*

**Sardar Bahadur Sardar Abnaasha Singh, Barrister-  
at-Law.**

*Deputy Secretary*

**Khan Bahadur Hakeem Ahmed Shujaa, B.A.**

# PUNJAB LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

## LIST OF MEMBERS

### PREMIER

The Hon'ble Malik Sir Khizar Hayat, K.C.S.I.,  
O.B.E. (Khushab, Muhammadan, Rural).

### MINISTERS

The Hon'ble Sardar Baldev Singh, Minister of  
Development (Ambala North, Sikh, Rural).

The Hon'ble Mr. Bhim Sen Sachar, B.A., LL.B.,  
Finance Minister (Lahore City, General, Urban).

The Hon'ble Nawab Sir Muzaifar Ali Qizilbash,  
Minister of Revenue (Lahore, Muhammadan,  
Rural).

The Hon'ble Chaudhri Lahri Singh, B.A., LL.B.,  
Minister of Public Works (Rohtak North, General,  
Rural).

The Hon'ble Mian Muhammad Ibrahim Barq,  
Minister of Education (Alipur, Muhammadan,  
Rural).

### MEMBERS

Abdul Ghafur Khan, Chaudhri (Shakargarh, Mu-  
hammadan, Rural).

Abdul Haq, Mian (Okara, Muhammadan, Rural).

Abdul Hamid Khan Sufi (Karnal, Muhammadan,  
Rural).

Abdul Hamid Khan Rana, B.A., LL.B. (Pakpattan,  
Muhammadan, Rural).

Abdul Hameed Khan, Khan Sahib (Muzaffargarh  
Sadr, Muhammadan, Rural).

Abdul Sattar Khan, Khan (Mianwali North, Mu-  
hammadan, Rural).

Ahmad Jan, Maulvi (North-West Gurgaon, Muham-  
madan, Rural).

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

Akram Ali Khan, Chaudhri (Tarn Taran, Muham-  
madan, Rural).

Ali Akbar Khan, Chaudhri (Kangra and Eastern  
Hoshiarpur, Muhammadan, Rural).

Allah Bakhsh Khan, Tiwana, K. B. Nawab Malik  
Sir, M.B.E. (Sargodha, Muhammadan, Rural).

Allah Yar Khan Daulatana, Khan Bahadur Mian  
(Mailsi, Muhammadan, Rural).

Anwar Khan, Rai (Jaranwala, Muhammadan,  
Rural).

Asghar Ali, Khan Sahib Captain Chaudhri (Gujrat  
East, Muhammadan, Rural).

Ashiq Hussain, Sayed (Dipalpur, Muhammadan,  
Rural).

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

Atta Muhammadan Khan, Sardar, B.A., LL.B.  
(Dera Ghazi Khan North, Muhammadan, Rural).

Aziz Din, Chaudhri (Lyallpur, Muhammadan,  
Rural).

Bachan Singh, Sardar (Ludhiana Central, Sikh,  
Rural).

Badlu Ram, Chaudhri (Rohtak Central, General,  
Rural).

Bagh Ali, Mian (Fazilka, Muhammadan, Rural).

Bahadur Khan Dreshak, Sardar, M.B.E. (Dera  
Ghazi Khan South, Muhammadan, Rural).

Bahawal Bakhsh, Chaudhri (South-East Gujrat,  
Muhammadan, Rural).

Barkat Ali, Malik (Eastern Towns, Muhammadan,  
Urban).

Barkat Hyat Khan, Sardar (North Punjab, Labour).

Bashir Ahmad, Mian, Bar-at-Law (Ferozepore  
East, Muhammadan, Rural).

Beli Ram, Thakur, B.A., LL.B. (Kangra East,  
General, Rural).

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

Bhagwan Das, Lala (Commerce and Industry).

Behari Lal Chanana, Lala (South-East Multan  
Division, General, Rural).

Budhan Shah, Pir (Khenewal, Muhammadan,  
Rural).

Dalip Singh, Thakur (Kangra South, General,  
Rural).

Dalip Singh Kang, Sardar (Lyallpur East, Sikh,  
Rural).

Daud Ghazanavi, Maulana (East Punjab, Labour).

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

Durga Chand Kaoshish, Pandit (East Punjab,  
Landholders).

Faiz Muhammad, Khan Bahadur Sheikh, B.A.,  
LL.B., M.B.E. (Dera Ghazi Khan, Central,  
Muhammadan, Rural).

Faqir Chand, Pandit (West Lahore Division,  
General, Rural).

Fateh Muhammad Sayyal, Chaudhri, M.A. (Batala,  
Muhammadan, Rural).

Fazal Haq Piracha, Khan Bahadur Sheikh  
(Bhalwal, Muhammadan, Rural).

Fazal Ilahi, Chaudhri (Gujrat North, Muhammadan,  
Rural).

Fazal Ilahi, Mr. (East Central Punjab, (Indian  
Christian).

Ganga Saran, Rai Bahadur Lala (Trade Union,  
Labour).

Ghazanfar Ali Khan, Raja (Pind Dadan Khan,  
Muhammadan, Rural).

- Ghulam Farid, Chaudhri, B.A., LL.B. (Gurdaspur East, Muhammadan, Rural).
- Ghulam Muhammad Shah, Syed (Jhang East, Muhammadan, Rural).
- Ghulam Mustafa Shah Jilani, Khan Sahib Makhdum Sayed (Lodhran, Muhammadan, Rural).
- Ghulam Rasul, Chaudhri (South-West Gujrat, Muhammadan, Rural).
- Ghulam Samad, K. S. Khwaja (Southern Towns Muhammadan, Urban).
- Gibbon, Mr., C.E. (Anglo-Indian).
- Gopi Chand Bhargava, Dr. (University).
- Guest, Mr. P. H. (European).
- Gurbachan Singh, Sardar (Ferozepore West, Sikh, Rural).
- Gurbachan Singh Bajwa, Sardar, B.A., LL.B. (Sialkot, Sikh, Rural).
- ✓ Gurbanta Singh, Master (Jullundur, General, Rural, Reserved Seat).
- Harbhaj Ram, Chaudhri (Lyallpur and Jhang, General, Reserved Seat).
- Hari Lal, Munshi, B.A. (Hons.), LL.B. (South-West Towns, General).
- Iftikhar Hussain Khan, Nawab (Ferozepore, General, Muhammadan, Rural).
- Inder Singh, Sardar (Eastern Towns, Sikh, Urban).
- Isher Singh Majhail, Sardar (Amritsar North, Sikh, Rural).
- Jagdish Chander, Mr. (Karnal North, General, Rural).
- Jagjit Singh Mann, Sardar (Central Punjab, Landholders).
- Jahan Khan, Chaudhri (North-West Gujrat, Muhammadan, Rural).
- Jahan Ara Shah Nawaz, Begum, M.B.E. (Outer Lahore, Muhammadan, Women, Urban).
- Jaewant Singh, Sardar (North-West Punjab, Sikh, Rural).
- Jiwan Lal, Pandit (South-East Gurgaon, General, Rural).
- Joginder Singh Mann, Sardar, M.B.E. (Gujranwala and Shahdara, Sikh, Rural).
- ✓ Kabul Singh, Sardar (Jullundur East, Sikh, Rural).
- Kale Khan, Raja (Rawalpindi East, Muhammadan, Rural).
- Karamat Ali, K. B., Sheikh, B.A., LL.B. (North-Eastern Towns, Muhammadan, Urban).
- Kartar Singh, Sardar (Lyallpur West, Sikh, Rural).
- Kehar Singh, Sardar (Jagraon, Sikh, Rural).
- Khair Mehdi Khan, Raja (Jhelum, Muhammadan, Rural).
- Khan Muhammad Khan Khatia, Mehr (Montgomery, Muhammadan, Rural).
- Kidar Nath Sehgal, Lala (Amritsar and Sialkot, General).
- Krishan Gopal Dutt, Chaudhri (North-Eastern Towns, General).
- Lehna Singh Sethi, Dr. (North-Western Towns, General, Urban).
- Man Singh, Jathedar, Sardar (Sheikhpura West Sikh, Rural).
- Mangoo Ram, Chaudhri (Hoshiarpur West, General, Rural, Reserved Seat).
- \*Manuel, Mr. P. (Anglo-Indian).
- Matu Ram, Chaudhri (Ludhiana and Ferozepore, General, Reserved Seat).
- Mehr Chand, Chaudhri (Hoshiarpur West, General Reserved Seat).
- Mehtab Khan, Chaudhri (South-East Gurgaon, Muhammadan, Rural).
- Mir Muhammad Khan, Rai (Samundri, Muhammadan, Rural).
- Mohan Lal, Mr. (Una, General, Rural).
- Mohar Singh, Rao Sahib Rao, B.A., LL.B. (North-West Gurgaon, General, Rural).
- Muhammed Abdus Salam, Mian (Jullundur North, Muhammadan, Rural).
- Muhammad Abdullah, Khan Sahib Mir (Mianwali South, Muhammadan, Rural).
- Muhammad Amin, K. S. Sheikh (Multan Division Towns, Muhammadan, Urban).
- Muhammad Arif Khan, Khan (Jhang West, Muhammadan, Rural).
- Muhammad Feroz Khan Noon, Malik Sir, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E. (Rawalpindi Division Towns, Muhammadan, Urban).
- Muhammad Ghulam Jilani (Gurmani, Mian (Muzaffargarh North, Muhammadan, Rural).
- Muhammad Hassan, Chaudhri (Ambala and Simla, Muhammadan, Rural).
- Muhammad Hussain, Sardar (Chunian, Muhammadan, Rural).
- ✓ Muhammad Hussain, Chaudhri, B.A., LL.B. (Sheikhpura, Muhammadan, Rural).
- Muhammad Iftikhar-ud-Din, Mian, B.A. (Oxon), (Kasur, Muhammadan, Rural).
- Muhammad Iqbal Ahmad Khan, Rai (Ludhiana, Muhammadan, Rural).
- Muhammad Jamal Khan Leghari, Khan Bahadur Nawab Sir (Tumandars).
- Muhammad Khurshid Khan, Rao, B.A., LL.B. (Rohtak, Muhammadan, Rural).
- Muhammad Nawaz Khan, Lt.-Col. Sardar Sir, K.C.I.E. (Attock Central, Muhammadan, Rural).
- Muhammad Nur Ullah, Mian (Toba Tek Singh, Muhammadan, Rural).
- Muhammad Rafiq, Mian (Outer Lahore, Muhammadan, Urban).
- Muhammad Raza Shah, Jeelani Haji Makhdumzada Syed (Shujabad, Muhammadan, Rural).
- Muhammad Sarfraz Khan, Chaudhri (Sialkot Central, Muhammadan, Rural).
- Muhammad Sarfraz Ali Khan, Raja (Chakwal, Muhammadan, Rural).
- Mohy-ud-Din Lal Badshah, Sayed (Attock South, Muhammadan, Rural).

\*Since resigned and his place taken by Mr. C. E. Gibbon.



- Mubarik Ali Shah, Major Sayed (Jhang Central, Muhammadan, Rural).
- Mumtaz Ali Khan, Sardar, B.A., LL.B. (Attock North, Muhammadan, Rural).
- Mumtaz Mohammad Khan Daulatana, Mian (Sialkot South, Muhammadan, Rural).
- Narinder Singh, Sant (Montgomery East, Sikh, Rural).
- Narotam Singh, Sardar, B.A., LL.B. (South-East Punjab, Sikh, Rural).
- Nasir Din, Chaudhri, B.A., LL.B. (Sialkot North, Muhammadan, Rural).
- Nasrullah Khan, Chaudhri (Amritsar, Muhammadan Rural).
- Nasrullah Khan Nasir, Rana (Hoshiarpur West, Muhammadan, Rural).
- Nau Bahar Shah, Sayed (Kabirwala, Muhammadan, Rural).
- Pancham Chand, Thakur, B.A., LL.B. (Kangra North, General, Rural).
- Parbodh Chandar, Mr. (Gurdaspur, General, Rural).
- Parkash Kaur, Shrimati Dr. (Amritsar, Sikh, Women).
- Partap Singh, Sardar, M.A. (Amritsar South, Sikh, Rural).
- Piera Singh, Sardar (Hoshiarpur South, Sikh, Rural).
- Prem Singh, Mahant (Gujrat and Shahpur, Sikh, Rural).
- Prem Singh, Chaudhri (South-East Gurgaon, Reserved Seat).
- Prithvi Singh Azad, Sardar (Ambala and Simla, Reserved Seat).
- Raj Muhammad Khan, Chaudhri (Hafizabad, Muhammadan, Rural).
- Rameshwari Nehru, Mrs. (Lahore City, General, Women, Urban).
- Ranbir Singh, Mehta (Ludhiana and Ferozepore, General, Rural).
- Ranjit Singh, Chaudhri (Hissar South, General, Rural).
- Rattan Singh Tabib, Chaudhri (Ambala and Simla, General, Rural).
- Rattan Singh, Sardar (Ferozepore North, Sikh, Rural).
- Rattan Singh, Sardar (Ferozepore East, Sikh, Rural).
- Roshan Din, Khan Bahadur Chaudhri, (Shahdara, Muhammadan, Rural).
- Sadiq Hasan, Sheikh (Amritsar City, Muhammadan, Urban).
- Sahib Dad Khan, Khan Sahib Chaudhri, B.A., LL.B. (Hissar, Muhammadan, Rural).
- Sahib Ram, Chaudhri (Hissar North, General, Rural).
- Sajjan Singh Margindpuri, Sardar (Kasur, Sikh, Rural).
- Salah-ud-Din, Chaudhri (Gujranwala North, Muhammadan, Rural).
- Samar Singh, Chaudhri (Karnal South, General, Rural).
- Sant Ram, Mr. (Jullundur, General, Reserved Seat).
- Sant Ram Seth, Dr. (Amritsar City, General, Urban).
- Sardul Singh, Sardar (Lahore West, Sikh, Rural).
- Said Akbar Khan, Raja, B.A., LL.B. (Gujar Khan, Muhammadan, Rural).
- Shahadat Khan, Rai (Nankana Sahib, Muhammadan, Rural).
- Shanno Devi Sehgal, Shrimati (South-Eastern Towns, General, Urban).
- Shaukat Hyat-Khan, Sardar (South-Eastern Towns, Muhammadan, Urban).
- Sher Singh, Chaudhri (Jhajjar, General, Rural).
- Shri Ram Sharma, Pandit (Southern Towns, General, Urban).
- Shiv Saran Singh, Sardar (Kangra and Northern Hoshiarpur, Sikh, Rural).
- Shiv Singh, Sardar (Gurdaspur North, Sikh, Rural).
- Sudarshan Seth (Eastern Towns, General, Urban).
- Sultan Ali Nangiana, K. B. Mian (Shahpur, Muhammadan, Rural).
- Sundar, Mr. (Karnal North, Reserved Seat).
- Sindar Singh, Chaudhri (Amritsar and Sialkot, General, Reserved Seat).
- Suraj Mal, Rao Bahadur Chaudhri, B.A., LL.B. (Hansi, General, Rural).
- Swaran Singh, Sardar, B.A., LL.B. (Jullundur West, Sikh, Rural).
- Tara Singh, Sardar-Sahib Sardar (Ferozepore South, Sikh, Rural).
- Tasadaq Hussain, Begum (Inner Lahore, Muhammadan, Women, Urban).
- Tilak Raj, Professor, M.A. (Rawalpindi Division, General, Rural).
- Udham Singh, Sardar (Amritsar Central, Sikh, Rural).
- Ujjal Singh, Sardar (Western Town, Sikh, Urban).
- Virendra, Mr. (West Multan Division, General, Rural).
- Wali Muhammad Gohir, Chaudhri (Jullundur South, Muhammadan, Rural).
- Waryam Singh, Sardar (Batala, Sikh, Rural).
- Wazir Muhammad, Malik, Inner Lahore, Muhammadan, Urban).
- Zafar-ul-Haq, Chaudhri (Rawalpindi Sadr, Muhammadan, Rural).
- Zafarullah Khan, Chaudhri (Gujranwala East, Muhammadan, Rural).
- Zafarullah Khan, Jhanian, Chaudhri (Ajnala, Muhammadan, Rural).

#### ADVOCATE-GENERAL.

Basant Kishen Khanna, Mr., Barrister-at-Law.

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# PUNJAB LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

FIRST SESSION OF THE 2ND PUNJAB LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

Thursday, 21st March 1946.

*The Assembly met at the Assembly Chamber at 12 noon of the clock. Diwan Bahadur S. P. Singha took the Chair, having already taken his oath before His Excellency the Governor.*

## OATH OF OFFICE.

*The following members were sworn in :—*

The Honourable Lieutenant-Colonel Malik Sir Khizar Hayat Khan Tiwana, Khushab (Muhammadan) Rural.

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

The Honourable Lala Bhim Sen Sachar, Lahore City (General) Urban.

The Honourable Nawab Sir Muzaffar Ali Khan Qizilbash, Lahore (Muhammadan) Rural.

The Honourable Chaudhri Lahri Singh, Rohtak North (General) Rural.

The Honourable Mian Muhammad Ibrahim Barq, Alipur (Muhammadan) Rural.

Nawab Iftikhar Hussain Khan, Ferozepore General (Muhammadan) Rural.

Sardar Kapoor Singh, Ludhiana East (Sikh) Rural.

Khan Bahadur Nawab Sir Muhammad Jamal Khan, Leghari, Tumbardars.

Maulana Daud Ghaznavi, East Punjab (Labour).

Malik Sir Muhammad Feroz Khan Noon, Rawalpindi Division Towns (Muhammadan) Urban.

Khan Bahadur Nawab Malik Sir Allah Bakhsh Khan, Tiwana, Sargodha (Muhammadan) Rural.

Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan, South-Eastern Towns (Muhammadan) Urban.

Sardar Ujjal Singh, Western Towns (Sikh) Urban.

Mian Muhammad Iftikhar-ud-Din, Kasur (Muhammadan) Rural.

Dr. Gopi Chand Bhargava, University.

Mian Mumtaz Muhammad Khan, Daulatana, Sialkot South (Muhammadan) Rural.

✓ Sardar Swaran Singh, Jullundur West (Sikh) Rural.

Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan, Pind Dadan Khan (Muhammadan) Rural.

Pandit Shri Ram Sharma, Southern Towns (General) Urban.

Major Nawab Ashiq Hussain, Multan (Muhammadan) Rural.

Khan Bahadur Sheikh Karamat Ali, North-Eastern Towns (Muhammadan) Urban.

Malik Barkat Ali, Eastern Towns (Muhammadan) Urban.

Chaudhri Muhammad Hasan, Ambala and Simla (Muhammadan) Rural.

Begum Jahan Ara Shah Nawaz, Outer Lahore (Muhammadan) (Women) Urban.

Begum Tassadaque Hussain, Inner Lahore (Muhammadan) (Women) Urban.

Rao Bahadur Chaudhri Suraj Mal, Hansi (General) Rural.

han Bahadur Mian Allah Yar Khan Daulatana, Mailsi (Muhammadan) Rural.

eth Sudarshan, Eastern Towns (General) Urban.

Mian Muhammad Nurullah, Toba Tek Singh (Muhammadan) Rural.

Sardar Jogindar Singh, Mann, Gujranwala and Shahdara (Sikh) Rural.

Khan Bahadur Sheikh Faiz Muhammad, Dera Ghazi Khan Central (Muhammadan) Rural.

Professor Tilak Raj, Rawalpindi Division (General) Rural.

Major Syed Mubarik Ali Shah, Jhang Central (Muhammadan) Rural.

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

Sheikh Sadiq Hasan, Amritsar City (Muhammadan) Urban.

Sardar Kartar Singh, Lyallpur West (Sikh) Rural.

Khan Sahib Sheikh Muhammad Amin, Multan Division Towns (Muhammadan) Urban.

Sardar Udham Singh, Amritsar Central (Sikh) Rural.

Khan Bahadur Sheikh Fazal Haq Piracha, Bhalwal (Muhammadan) Rural.

Lala Behari Lal, Chanana, South-East Multan Division (General) Rural.

Khan Bahadur Chaudhri Roshan Din, Shahdara (Muhammadan) Rural.

Mr. Probodh Chandar, Gurdaspur (General) Rural.

Sufi Abdul Hamid Khan, Karnal (Muhammadan) Rural.

Chaudhri Krishna Gopal Datt, North-Eastern Towns (General).

Syed Mohy-ud-Din Lal Badshah, Attock South (Muhammadan) Rural.

Mr. Virender, West Multan Division (General) Rural.

Khan Sahib Khawaja Ghulam Samad, Southern Towns (Muhammadan) Urban.

Sardar Partap Singh, Amritsar South (Sikh) Rural.

Khan Sahib Chaudhri Sahib Dad Khan, Hissar (Muhammadan) Rural.

Sardar Ishar Singh Majhail, Amritsar North (Sikh) Rural.

Sardar Kabul Singh, Jullundur East (Sikh) Rural.

Lala Kidar Nath Sahgal, Amritsar and Sialkot (General).

Munshi Hari Lal, South-West Towns (General).

Mian Muhammad Rafiq, Outer Lahore (Muhammadan) Urban.

Khan Sahib Captain Chaudhri Asghar Ali, Gujrat East (Muhammadan) Rural.

Mian Sultan Ali Nangiana, Shahpur (Muhammadan) Rural.

Mian Muhammad Abdus Salam, Jullundur North (Muhammadan) Rural.

Mian Bagh Ali, Fazilka (Muhammadan) Rural.

Rana Nasrullah Khan, Hoshiarpur West (Muhammadan) Rural.

- Khan Sahib Mir Muhammad Abdullah, Mianwali South (Muhammadan) Rural.
- Raja Muhammad Sarfraz Ali Khan, Chakwal (Muhammadan) Rural.
- Sardar Sahib Sardar Tara Singh, Ferozepore South (Sikh) Rural.
- Syed Ashiq Hussain, Dipalpur (Muhammadan) Rural.
- Sardar Sardul Singh, Lahore West (Sikh) Rural.
- Makhdumzada Haji Syed Muhammad Raza Shah Jeelani, Shujabad (Muhammadan) Rural.
- Shrimati Shano Devi Sahgal, South-Eastern Towns (General) Urban.
- Chaudhri Wali Muhammad, Jullundur South (Muhammadan) Rural.
- Mrs. Rameshwari Nehru, Lahore City (General) (Women) Urban.
- Sardar Muhammad Hussain, Chunan (Muhammadan) Rural.
- Shrimati Parkash Kaur, Amritsar (Sikh Women).
- Khan Sahib Abdul Hamid Khan, Muzaffargarh Sadr (Muhammadan) Rural.
- Sardar Bachan Singh, Ludhiana Central (Sikh) Rural.
- Chaudhri Fazal Ilahi, Gujrat North (Muhammadan) Rural.
- Sardar Gurbachan Singh, Sialkot (Sikh) Rural.
- Sardar Barkat Hyat Khan, North Punjab (Labour).
- Sardar Narotam Singh, South-East Punjab (Sikh) Rural.
- Chaudhri Muhammad Sarfraz Khan, Sialkot Central (Muhammadan) Rural.
- Sardar Indar Singh, Eastern Towns (Sikh) Urban.
- Mian Bashir Ahmad, Ferozepore East (Muhammadan) Rural.
- Chaudhri Sahib Ram, Hissar North (General) Rural.
- Khan Abdus Sattar Khan, Mianwali North (Muhammadan) Rural.
- Chaudhri Ranjit Singh, Hissar South (General) Rural.
- Rana Abdul Hamid Khan, Pakpattan (Muhammadan) Rural.
- Pandit Bhagat Ram Sharma, Kangra West (General) Rural.
- Sardar Jagjit Singh Mann, Central Punjab Landholders.
- Rai Bahadur Ganga Saran, Trade Union (Labour).
- Sardar Dalip Singh, Lyallpur East (Sikh) Rural.
- Chaudhri Raj Muhammad Khan, Hafizabad (Muhammadan) Rural.
- Sardar Jaswant Singh, North-West Punjab (Sikh) Rural.
- Chaudhri Fateh Muhammad Sayyal, Batala (Muhammadan) Rural.
- Sardar Waryam Singh, Batala (Sikh) Rural.
- Chaudhri Ghulam Farid, Gurdaspur East (Muhammadan) Rural.
- Mian Abdul Haq, Okara (Muhammadan) Rural.
- Sardar Sajjan Singh, Kasur (Sikh) Rural.
- Chaudhri Zafar-ul-Haq, Rawalpindi Sadr (Muhammadan) Rural.
- Thakur Dalip Singh, Kangra South (General) Rural.
- Khan Sahib Makhdum Sayed Mustafa Shah Jilani, Lodhran (Muhammadan) Rural.
- Mr. Beli Ram, Kangra East (General) Rural.

Syed Ghulam Muhammad Shah, Jhang East (Muhammadian) Rural.

Chaudhri Sher Singh, Jhajjar (General) Rural.

Chaudhri Aziz Din, Lyallpur (Muhammadian) Rural.

Sant Narindar Singh, Montgomery East (Sikh) Rural.

Raja Kse Khan, Rawalpindi East (Muhammadian) Rural.

Sardar Piara Singh, Hoshiarpur South (Sikh) Rural.

Sardar Ata Muhammad Khan, Dera Ghazi Khan North (Muhammadian) Rural.

Thakur Pancham Chand, Kangra North (General) Rural.

Mehr Muhammad Arif Khan, Jhang West (Muhammadian) Rural.

Dr. Sant Ram Seth, Amritsar City (General) Urban.

Mir Muhammad Khan, Samundri (Muhammadian) Rural.

Chaudhri Rattan Singh, Tabib, Arabala and Simla (General) Rural.

Sardar Mumtaz Ali Khan, Attock North (Muhammadian) Rural.

Pandit Durga Chand Koshish, East Punjab Landholders.

Chaudhri Salah-ud-Din, Gujranwala North (Muhammadian) Rural.

Mehta Ranbir Singh, Ludhiana and Ferozepore (General) Rural.

Rai Muhammad Iqbal Ahmed Khan, Ludhiana (Muhammadian) Rural.

✓ Sardar Gurbanta Singh, Jullundur (General) Rural Reserved Seat.

Chaudhri Ali Akbar Khan, Kangra and Eastern Hoshiarpur (Muhammadian) Rural.

Chaudhri Prem Singh, South-East Gurgaon (Reserved Seat).

Raja Khair Mehdi Khan, Jhelum (Muhammadian) Rural.

Chaudhri Mangoo Ram, Hoshiarpur West (General) Rural. Reserved Seat.

Mr. Fazal Ilahi, East Central Punjab (Indian Christian.)

Sardar Prithvi Singh Azad, Ambala and Simla (Reserved Seat).

Mr. P. Manual, Anglo-Indian.

Chaudhri Sundar Singh, Amritsar and Sialkot General (Reserved Seat).

Mr. P. H. Guest, European.

Lala Bhagwan Dass, Commerce and Industry.

Chaudhri Ghulam Rasul, South-West Gujrat (Muhammadian) Rural.

Sardar Gurbachan Singh, Ferozepore West (Sikh) Rural.

Chaudhri Mehtab Khan, South-East Gurgaon (Muhammadian) Rural.

Rao Sahib Rao Mohar Singh, North-West Gurgaon (General) Rural.

Chaudhri Jahan Khan, North-West Gujrat (Muhammadian) Rural.

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

Chaudhri Zafrullah Khan Jahanian, Ajnala (Muhammadian) Rural.

Mahant Prem Singh, Gujrat and Shahpur (Sikh) Rural.

Pir Budhan Shah, Khanewal (Muhammadian) Rural.

Sardar Shiv Saran Singh, Kangra and Northern Hoshiarpur (Sikh) Rural.

Maulvi Ahmad Jan, North-West Gurgaon (Muhammadian) Rural.

Sardar Shiv Singh, Gurdaspur North (Sikh) Rural.

- Malik Wazir Muhammad, Inner Lahore (Muhammadan) Urban.  
 Chaudhri Badlu Ram, Rohtak Central (General) Rural.  
 Chaudhri Bahawal Bakhsh, South-East Gujrat (Muhammadan) Rural.  
 Pandit Jiwan Lal, South-East Gurgaon (General) Rural.  
 Rai Shahadat Khan, Nankana Sahib (Muhammadan) Rural.  
 Mr. Jagdish Chandar, Karnal North (General) Rural.  
 Mian Muhammad Ghulam Jilani Gurmani, Muzaffargarh North (Muhammadan) Rural.  
 Mr. Mohan Lal, Una (General) Rural.  
 Raja Said Akbar Khan, Gujar Khan (Muhammadan) Rural.  
 Sardar Rattan Singh, Ferozepore North (Sikh) Rural.  
 Mehr Khan Muhammad Khan Kathia, Montgomery (Muhammadan) Rural.  
 Jathedar Man Singh, Sheikhpura West (Sikh) Rural.  
 Sardar Bahadur Khan, Dera Ghazi Khan, South (Muhammadan) Rural.  
 Pandit Faqir Chand, West Lahore Division (General) Rural.  
 Syed Nan Bahar Shah, Kabirwala (Muhammadan) Rural.  
 Sardar Kehar Singh, Jagraon (Sikh) Rural.  
 Chaudhri Abdul Ghafoor, Shakargarh (Muhammadan) Rural.  
 Sardar Rattan Singh, Ferozepore East (Sikh) Rural.  
 Rao Muhammad Khurshid Khan, Rohtak, (Muhammadan) Rural.  
 Chaudhri Harbhaj Ram, Lyallpur and Jhang (General) Reserved Seat.  
 Chaudhri Nasarullah Khan, Amritsar (Muhammadan) Rural.  
 Chaudhri Mehr Chand, Hoshiarpur West (General) Reserved Seat.  
 Chaudhri Akram Ali Khan, Tarn Taran (Muhammadan) Rural.  
 Mr. Sundar, Karnal North (Reserved Seat).  
 Chaudhri Nasar Din, Sialkot North (Muhammadan) Rural.  
 Mr. Sant Ram, Jullundur, General (Reserved Seat).  
 Chaudhri Zafrullah Khan, Gujranwala East (Muhammadan) Rural.  
 Chaudhri Matu Ram, Ludhiana and Ferozepore (General) Reserved Seat.  
 Rai Anwar Khan, Jaranwala (Muhammadan) Rural.  
 Lt.-Col. Sardar Sir Muhammad Nawaz Khan, Attock Central (Muhammadan) Rural.  
 Chaudhri Muhammad Hussain, Sheikhpura (Muhammadan) Rural.

### QUESTION HOUR.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan** (Pind Dadan Khan, Muhammadan, Rural :) After the oath-taking ceremony, the normal procedure of the House should be the asking of questions. I should like to have your ruling why the questions have not been included in the list of business for today. In this connection I invite your attention to rule 21 which relates to the taking of oath by members. This rule nowhere states that on the day of taking the oath questions and answers should not be taken up. The rule reads :—

Every member of a Provincial Legislative Assembly shall, before taking his seat, make and subscribe before the Governor, or some person appointed by him, an oath according to that one of the forms set out in the Fourth Schedule to the Act which the member accepts as appropriate in his case.



(Raja Ghanzafar Ali Khan)

This rule does not upset the normal procedure and does not prevent the normal procedure from being transacted by the House.

**Acting Speaker :** The honourable member is referred to rule 26 of the Legislative Assembly Rules—(Article 49 of the Punjab Constitutional Manual, Volume II, page 19.)

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** That lays down : —

Except as provided in the rules, the first hour of every sitting, after the swearing in of members if any, shall be available for oral answers to questions.

Under this rule there is no option to the House but to have one hour for questions immediately after the members have taken the oath.

My point of order is whether this Assembly is allowed to transact any other business except the asking of questions and the answering of questions. The rules have been violated in this respect and no question has been put on the list of business for today. Therefore I want you to enlighten me as to under what rules the House is being deprived of asking questions for one hour, as is clearly laid down in the rules.

**Acting Speaker :** The honourable member should mark the opening words of this rule which are :

"Except as provided in the rules."

Now I refer him to rule 5 of the Legislative Assembly Rules (Article 23 of the Punjab Constitutional Manual, Volume II, page 10). It reads :

"At the first meeting of the Assembly after a general election, the Assembly shall elect a Speaker after such members as are present have been sworn in."

Nothing could be clearer than this rule. Rule 26 must be read in the light of rule 5. It is quite clear that at the first meeting after a general election the Assembly has to elect a Speaker, after the members have been sworn in. The words "after the swearing in of members" appearing in rule 26 refer to the casual swearing in of members who get elected as a result of bye-election.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** I bow to your ruling. There will be another occasion when this question shall have to be raised again.

### ELECTION OF SPEAKER.

**Mr. P. H. Guest (European) :** Sir, I move

That Diwan Bahadur S. P. Singha do take the Chair of this Assembly as Speaker.

**Rao Bahadur Chaudhri Suraj Mal :** I second the motion.

**Acting Speaker :** Motion moved is—

That Diwan Bahadur S. P. Singha do take the Chair of the Assembly as Speaker.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** We have been put in a very embarrassing position inasmuch as the chair is occupied by a person who is one of the contesting candidates in the election. That could have been avoided and the Government should have thought it fit to put in somebody else as Chairman. My other submission is that I have to ask you a question whether you have been sworn in as a member or not. So far as I have seen the rules, according to the rules every member must be sworn in.

**Acting Speaker :** Let me state at once for the information of the House that I made and subscribed the oath before His Excellency the Governor and my signature appears first on the Roll of Members.

As regards his point of order, there is no rule whereby a person in the Chair cannot be proposed as Speaker. If there is any, I shall be very glad to be informed of it.

I have seen the rules. I have consulted legal authorities. If it is embarrassing for the honourable member, it is a hundred times more embarrassing for me, and I would have been very happy to have avoided it. If there was another person presiding, I would have had one more vote for myself. I did not know that I was being supported by a party till 11-15 this morning. As a point has been raised as to the question of propriety, I would like to make my position clear. As soon as I had been informed of it, I got into touch with His Excellency and suggested that, whatever the rules, I would feel very much easier in mind if someone else could be appointed.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** And His Excellency was adamant !

**Acting Speaker :** Order, order. Perhaps other arrangements could not be made in such a short time, and that is why I find myself in this embarrassing position.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** (Pind Dadan Khan, Muhammadan, Rural) : I propose the name of Malik Barkat Ali and move :—

That Malik Barkat Ali do take the Chair of the Assembly as Speaker.

**Sardar Shaukat Hyat-Khan** (South-Eastern Towns, Muhammadan, Urban) : I second it.

**Acting Speaker :** Any more proposals ? (The members signified, no). The question is :

That Diwan Bahadur S. P. Singha do take the Chair of the Assembly as Speaker.

*The Assembly divided : Ayes 91, noes 79.*

**AYES : 91.**

Ajit Singh, Sardar.

Allah Bakhsh Khan, Tiwana, Khan Bahadur

Nawab Malik Sir.

Bachan Singh, Sardar.

Badlu Ram, Chaudhri.

Bagh Ali, Mian.

Baldev Singh, The Honourable Sardar

Beli Ram, Mr.

Bhagat Ram Sharma, Pandit.

Bhagwan Dass, Lala.

Bhim Sen Sachar, The Honourable Lala.

Behari Lal Chanana, Lala.

Dalip Singh, Thakur.

Dalip Singh, Sardar.

Daud Ghaznavi, Maulana.

Dev Raj, Sethi, Mr.

Durga Chand, Pandit.

Faqir Chand, Mr.

Fazal Ilahi, Mr.

Ganga Saran, Rai Bahadur Lala.

Gopi Chand Bhargava, Dr.

Guest, Mr. P. H.

Gurbachan Singh Sardar (Ferozepore).

Gurbachan Singh, Sardar (Sialkot).

Gurbanta Singh, Sardar.

Harbhaj Ram, Mr.

Hari Lal, Munshi.

Inder Singh, Sardar.

Isher Singh Majhail, Sardar.

Jagdish, Mr.

Jagjit Singh Mann, Sardar.

Jaswant Singh, Sardar.

Jiwan Lal, Mr.

Jogindar Singh Mann, Sardar.

Kabul Singh, Sardar.

Kapoor Singh, Sardar.

Kartar Singh, Sardar.

Kehar Singh, Sardar.

Khizar Hayat, The Honourable Malik Sir.

Kidar Nath Sehgal, Lala.

Krishna Gopal Dutt, Chaudhri.

Lahri Singh, The Honourable Chaudhri.

Man Singh, Jathedar.

Mangoo Ram, Mr.

Manual, Mr. P.

Matu Ram, Mr.

Mehr Chand, Mr.

Mohan Lal, Mr.

Mohar Singh, Rao Sahib Rao.

Muhammad Abdullah, Khan Sahib Mir.

Muhammad Ibrahim, The Honourable Mian.

Muhammad Nawaz Khan, Lt.-Col. Sardar Sir.

Muhammad Rafiq, Mian.  
 Muzaffar Ali Khan, Qizilbash, The Honour-  
 able Nawab Sir.  
 Narinder Singh, Sant.  
 Narotam Singh, Sardar.  
 Pancham Chand, Thakur.  
 Parbodh Chandar, Mr.  
 Parkash Kaur, Shrimati.  
 Partap Singh, Sardar.  
 Piara Singh, Sardar.  
 Prem Singh, Mahant.  
 Prem Singh, Chaudhri.  
 Prithvi Singh, Azad, Sardar  
 Rameshwari Nehru, Mrs.  
 Ranbir Singh, Mehta.  
 Ranjit Singh, Chaudhri.  
 Rattan Singh, Chaudhri.  
 Rattan Singh, Sardar.  
 Rattan Singh, Sardar (Moga).  
 Sahib Ram, Chaudhri.  
 Sajjan Singh, Sardar.

Sant Ram, Mr.  
 Sant Ram Seth, Dr.  
 Sardul Singh, Sardar.  
 Shanno Devi Sehgal Shrimati  
 Sher Singh, Chaudhri.  
 Shiv Saran Singh, Sardar.  
 Shiv Singh, Sardar.  
 Shri Ram Sharma, Pandit.  
 Sudarshan, Seth.  
 Sultan Ali, Nangiana, Mian.  
 Sundar, Mr.  
 Sundar Singh, Sardar.  
 Suraj Mal, Rao Bahadur Chaudhri.  
 Swaran Singh, Sardar.  
 Tara Singh, Sardar Sahib Sardar.  
 Tilak Raj, Professor.  
 Udham Singh, Sardar.  
 Ujjal Singh, Sardar.  
 Virender, Mr.  
 Waryam Singh, Sardar.

#### NOES : 79.

Abdul Ghafur, Chaudhri.  
 Abdul Haq, Mian.  
 Abdul Hamid Khan, Sufi.  
 Abdul Hamid Khan, Rana.  
 Abdul Hamid Khan, Khan Sahib.  
 Abdul Sattar Khan, Khan.  
 Ahmad Jan, Maulvi.  
 Akram Ali Khan, Chaudhri.  
 Ali Akbar Khan, Chaudhri.  
 Allah Yar Khan Daultana, Khan Baha-  
 dur Mian.  
 Anwar Khan, Rai.  
 Asghar Ali, Khan Sahib Captain Chaudhri  
 Ashiq Hussain, Sayed.  
 Ashiq Hussain, Major Nawab.  
 Atta Muhammad Khan, Sardar.  
 Aziz Din, Chaudhri.  
 Bahadur Khan, Sardar.  
 Bahawal Baksh, Chaudhri.  
 Barkat Ali, Malik.  
 Barkat Hyat Khan, Sardar.  
 Bashir Ahmed, Mian.  
 Budhan Shah, Pir.  
 Faiz Muhammad, Khan Bahadur Sheikh.  
 Fateh Muhammad Sayyal, Chaudhri.  
 Fazal Haq Paracha, Khan Bahadur  
 Sheikh.  
 Fasal Ilahi, Chaudhri.  
 Ghasanfar Ali Khan, Raja.  
 Ghulam Farid, Chaudhri.

Ghulam Jilani, Mian.  
 Ghulam Muhammad Shah, Sayed.  
 Ghulam Mustafa Shah Jilani, Khan Sahib  
 Makhdumzada Sayed.  
 Ghulam Rasul, Chaudhri.  
 Ghulam Samad, Khan Sahib Khawaja.  
 Iftikhar Hussain Khan, Nawab.  
 Jahan Khan, Chaudhri.  
 Jahan Ara Shah Nawaz, Begum.  
 Kale Khan, Raja.  
 Karamat Ali, Khan Bahadur Sheikh.  
 Khair Mehdi Khan, Raja.  
 Khan Muhammad Khan Kathia,  
 Mehr.  
 Mehtab Khan, Chaudhri.  
 Mohy-ud-Din Lal Badshah, Sayed.  
 Muhammad Abdus Salam, Mian.  
 Muhammad Amin, Khan Sahib Sheikh.  
 Muhammad Arif Khan, Mehr.  
 Muhammad Firoz Khan Noon Malik  
 Sir.  
 Muhammad Hassan, Chaudhri.  
 Muhammad Hussain, Sardar.  
 Muhammad Hussain, Chaudhri.  
 Muhammad Iftikhar-ud-Din, Mian.  
 Muhammad Iqbal Ahmad Khan, Rai.  
 Muhammad Jamal Khan Leghari, Khan  
 Bahadur Nawab Sir.  
 Muhammad Khan, Mir.  
 Muhammad Khurshid Ali Khan, Rao.

Muhammad Nurullah, Mian.  
 Muhammad Raza Shah Jeelani, Makhdum-  
 zada Haji Sayed.  
 Muhammad Sarfraz Khan, Chaudhri.  
 Muhammad Sarfraz Ali Khan, Raja.  
 Mubarik Ali Shah, Major Syed.  
 Mumtaz Ali Khan, Sardar.  
 Mumtaz Muhammad Khan Daulatana,  
 Mian.  
 Naser Din, Chaudhri.  
 Nasrullah Khan, Chaudhri.  
 Nasrullah Khan Nasir, Rana.  
 Nau Bahar Shah, Syed.  
 Raj Muhammad Khan, Chaudhri.

Roshan Din, Khan Bahadur Chaudhri.  
 Sadiq Hasan, Sheikh.  
 Sahib Dad Khan, Khan Sahib Chaudhri.  
 Salah-ud-Din, Chaudhri.  
 Said Akbar Khan, Raja.  
 Shahadat Khan, Rai.  
 Shaukat Hyat Khan, Sardar.  
 Tassadaq Hussain, Begum.  
 Wali Muhammad, Chaudhri.  
 Wasir Muhammad, Malik.  
 Zafar-ul-Haq, Chaudhri.  
 Zafarullah Khan, Chaudhri.  
 Zafarullah Khan, Jahanian, Chaudhri.

**Mr. Speaker :** (The Honourable Diwan Bahadur S. P. Singha) : Now I resume the Chair as a duly elected Speaker.

*(When the Honourable Premier rose to speak, there were shouts of 'shame, shame' from the Opposition benches).*

**Premier** (The Honourable Malik Sir Khizar Hayat) : Sir, as soon as my honourable friends opposite are calmed down, I want to congratulate you on your election to the Chair of this House. I am fully conscious that in accepting this office you have undertaken a very onerous duty. I know the circumstances in which I asked you to accept this duty and I did so for many considerations. I wanted that in the atmosphere prevailing in the House, a neutral belonging to the smallest minority should hold the Chair as an impartial man till an agreed solution was possible. I want sane thinking and communal harmony on either side of the House to prevail. Till then I request you, Sir, as a neutral, to undertake this task because I feel that by that time the fever that has got into the heads of my honourable friends opposite will come down. *(Interruptions)*. Raja Sahib just had a sip of water and if others on his side also have a sip of water, I am sure, they will begin to think calmly.

This post is held ordinarily by the majority community, and it was in the fitness of things that a Muslim should have occupied the Chair. I am neither trying to inflict on the House a Speaker from this side nor have I accepted a Speaker from that side. *(Interruptions)*. If communal harmony, mutual adjustment and an agreed solution become possible, I know you will be the first to vacate this office and allow the majority community to occupy it. In similar circumstances once the late Chaudhri Sir Chhotu Ram had also to occupy the Chair in order to get over some difficulty. The Speakership is an appointment which should be above party politics, and in order to keep it above party politics and command the confidence of all sides of the House I have asked you to accept this office as a neutral belonging to the smallest community ; and if my friends are level-headed enough they should welcome this solution. I am looking forward to an agreed solution and I am prepared to go out of office *(prolonged interruptions)* and bring them here. I did not want to leave the province to be governed under section 93. Whatever advance has been made in the Punjab the future historian will judge. The Punjab has been held up by competent observers as a model of working the reforms. *(Interruptions)*. As an outgoing Premier *(interruptions)* I hold it as a trust for you gentlemen till your fever gets down. I have every hope that sane thinking will prevail and that you will arrive at an agreed solution *(interruptions)* and then by a reasonably agreed solution you will be able to occupy the Chair which is your lawful due. I am sitting here as a trustee on these benches. It is thus my privilege. I congratulate you, Sir, on your election, and during these difficult times when temperatures are running so high I am sure you will command the confidence and respect of all reasonable sections of the House. When the Opposition benches are not suffering from any

[Hon. Premier]

malady or temporary fever they will also be responding to the healthy parliamentary convention of treating the Chair with respect. (*Applause.*)

**Mr. Speaker :** Honourable members, I would ask you for your courtesy to let me say a few words of thanks. I am deeply conscious of the honour done to me by the House by electing me to the Chair. It is the highest honour that can be bestowed on any member. My pleasure, however, is incomplete because of the existing circumstances. As the Premier has said that ordinarily this office would have gone to a Muslim as has happened in the past, I make it a condition precedent to my accepting this office that I shall hold it as long as the present circumstances exist and there is no agreed solution.

**Malik Barkat Ali :** You are only a stopgap.

**Sardar Partap Singh :** A defeated candidate could say nothing else.

**Mr. Speaker :** No, I am not a stopgap, but the duly elected Speaker of this House. Nevertheless as a Christian—whatever be our rightful expectation as a minority community and our claims on merits—I do not feel that I should stand in the way of a better understanding between communities and parties. So, take it from me that as soon as you have a Muslim acceptable to both sides of the House to occupy the Chair, nobody would be happier than myself to vacate the Chair. I cannot give of my best to the House working under the consciousness that the Chair I occupy is meant for a member of the Muslim community. (*Interruptions.*)

**Premier :** I am anxious for an agreed solution.

**Malik Barkat Ali :** No solution with you. (*Interruptions.*)

**Mr. Speaker :** The dignity of the Chair is the dignity of the House (*hear, hear*) and I request you to let me say the few words I have to say without interruptions and thus maintain the dignity of the Chair which is synonymous with your own dignity. I am new to this work and if I am to carry on satisfactorily it can only be with your co-operation, forbearance, tolerance and your assistance. As far as I am concerned I shall leave no stone unturned—in spite of the spirit which I am sorry to say, has been shown today and which I hope will wear off—to achieve proficiency in the discharge of my duties. I shall do my best to qualify to earn your approbation. Of one thing I am sure and that is that I shall hold the scales even between one man and another and between one party and another to the best of my light. So help me God.

#### SUPPLEMENTARY DEMANDS FOR GRANTS.

**Minister for Finance** (The Honourable Mr. Bhim Sen Sachar) : Sir, I beg to present the Supplementary Estimates for the year 1945-46. These demands are made on the recommendations of His Excellency the Governor.

#### MOTIONS FOR ADJOURNMENT.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** On a point of order. There are a number of adjournment motions on the agenda, and before any business starts those adjournment motions are to be taken up.

**Secretary :** Rule 43 of the Rules of Procedure lays down that—

“Leave to make a motion for the adjournment of the business of the Assembly for the purpose of discussing a definite matter of urgent public importance, must be asked for after questions and before the list of business for the day is entered upon”.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** May I ask you, Mr. Speaker, whether for all time we have to debate this and other matters with the Secretary of the Assembly.

**Secretary :** I was merely reading the Rule.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** I have very great respect for him personally, but it is a matter of principle and I will request you to take this upon yourself.

**Mr. Speaker :** The Speaker has got every right to utilise the services of the Clerk of the House. This is done in Parliament also. Coming to the question now before the House, the Rule which has already been read to the House is quite clear. Leave to make a motion for an adjournment of the business of the Assembly for the purpose of discussing a definite matter of urgent public importance must be asked for, after questions and before the list of business for the day is entered upon. As there are no questions today, and under rule 5 of the Legislative Assembly Rules, the business of the day, namely, the election of Speaker, is entered upon immediately after the swearing in of members, adjournment motions cannot be taken up.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** May I submit, Sir, that many occasions will arise when there will be no questions on the list of business. Does it mean that no adjournment motions will be allowed to be moved on those days ? You were just now inviting the co-operation of all the members of the House and I am only trying to help you. The only interpretation that can be given to your ruling is that if there are no questions on a particular day, there will be no adjournment motions. According to my contention, immediately after the election of the Speaker, questions should have been asked and answers given. But as the Secretary has not included questions on the list of business for today, I cannot insist on that point. But adjournment motions are there and I submit that regular business of the day should be started and leave be granted to move adjournment motions. You cannot link questions with the adjournment motions as there is nothing common between the two.

**Mr. Speaker :** The honourable member is overlooking the main business of the House for today. The first item was the swearing in of members and the main business was the election of the Speaker. This having been entered upon, leave to move adjournment motions cannot be asked for. If the adjournment motions are not moved today, it does not mean that they cannot be taken up on any other day. My ruling is confined to the first meeting after general election.

#### PAPER LAID ON THE TABLE.

**Premier (The Honourable Malik Sir Khizar Hayat) :** I lay on the table an ordinance to extend the validity of the Punjab Criminal Law (Amendment) Act, 1935.

#### HOURS OF SITTING.

**Premier (The Honourable Malik Sir Khizar Hayat) :** Sir I move—

That on and from Friday, the 22nd March, 1946, to the end of the session on the days of meeting other than Fridays, the Assembly shall meet at 12 noon and on Fridays, at 10.0 a.m. of the clock and the Speaker shall adjourn the Assembly without question put at 4.30 p.m. on days other than Fridays and at 1.30 p.m. on Fridays.

**Mr. Speaker :** Motion moved is—

That on and from Friday, the 22nd March 1946, to the end of the session on the days of meeting other than Fridays, the Assembly shall meet at 12 noon and on Fridays, at 10.0 a. m. of the clock and the Speaker shall adjourn the Assembly without question put at 4.30 p.m. on days other than Fridays and at 1.30 p.m. on Fridays.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan (Pind Dadan Khan, Muhammadan, Rural) (Urdu) :** Sir, I rise to oppose the motion moved by the Honourable Premier with all the emphasis at my command. I am really surprised to see that this motion carries the support of my honourable friends who are at present adorning the Treasury Benches and who are very faithfully obeying the whims and wishes of the Unionist Party. But these very members, let me remind you, have been during the last 8 years opposing

[Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan]

this motion, whenever it was moved by the Premier. They have been demanding a division on it. The vehement protests of Pandit Bhagat Ram Sharma, the spirited opposition of Sardar Kapur Singh and the eloquent speeches of Dr. Gopi Chand and Dewan Chaman Lal are still ringing in our ears. It is only a recent matter. It is not an old affair. (*An honourable member* : You are making great progress). Yes, we are forging ahead, and you are falling back. Man has been made to scale new heights and not to remain like stagnant waters. (*Interruptions.*)

I was submitting that the main reason why I am opposing this motion is that in spite of the fact that this Assembly is composed of educated people, a group of members is unjustly trying to prevent our lawyer members from pursuing their legal profession. A rule is after all a rule, and there should be a limit to the violation of rules. Originally the object of this rule was to provide facilities to the lawyer members, who have to appear in courts of law, so as to give them ample time to attend to their professional business as well as to discharge their duties as members of this august House. This was the idea underlying this rule. But there is a provision that if the Assembly so desired it could amend it. Now I ask honourable members opposite that instead of changing this rule every time the Assembly meets, why do they not get it permanently amended?

I would like to remind my honourable friends on the Treasury Benches that they are the representatives of their voters and are thus responsible to them. They would be well advised to pause and think as to what they are doing. The eyes of the whole world outside are rivetted on them and people are simply amused to see that the Congress and the Akalis have stooped so low. (*An honourable member* : You have been doing similar things). Why did you cry yourself hoarse over it then? The sole aim of this motion seems to be to debar our lawyer members from discharging their professional duties in the courts.

I want to ask you not to deprive your lawyer friends from carrying on their work by putting such obstacles in their way. You may agree with me or not, but for God's sake do not sacrifice principles. (*Interruptions.*) I want to assure the House that my party will always abide by rules and regulations. We will always respect them. The Congress Party's present attitude appears to be surprising. I fail to understand why 12 o'clock is fixed for the sitting of House. (*Laughter.*) With these words I beg to oppose this motion.

**Premier** (The Honourable Malik Sir Khizar Hayat) : Sir, may I say a few words. This motion is not a new motion. It has not been moved for the first time. It has been the practice now for a number of years to move this motion. I admit that once upon a time the time put down for the meeting of the Assembly was from 2 to 6-30 p.m., but everybody realised that that was not a convenient time. My friends are aware that in the time of the late lamented leader of the Unionist Party, Sir Sikander Hyat-Khan, 12 to 4-30 was the practice. Since then in every session we have moved this motion. I admit, as Raja Sahib says, that perhaps it would be better, instead of going on with this motion every time, to change the rules, but that is a question that can be gone into at leisure. At present the practice is there. The only reason that has been put forward by Raja Sahib is that some lawyers will be inconvenienced. The question is, should the convenience and private interest of a few individuals take preference over the public interest of the province? We have also to consider the wishes of the mufassil members who come from outside and who find the later hours very inconvenient. If we adjourn at 4-30 then these members can on the same day reach Gujranwala, Amritsar, Ferozepore and other places nearby. This time is more convenient to the general majority. There are two or three members, busy lawyers like my friend Malik Barkat Ali, who are busy in the High Court, who find 12 to 4-30 time inconvenient. I have not followed it, but how is it dishonourable to meet from

12 to 4-30 and how is it honourable to meet at 2 to 6-30? If the rule which has been made by this House, is not liked by most members, it can be altered by this House later. The rule says that such-and-such shall be the hours unless this House otherwise directs, and this House is now otherwise directing as it has been directing for four years in the past. I have not understood what is dishonourable in meeting at 2 o'clock.

The only point that Raja Sahib could bring out was that the Congress Party was at one time opposed to the change. (*Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan*: At all times). May I retort and say that Raja Sahib, who is opposing the motion today, was an ardent supporter of this very change? (*Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan*: I have improved and you have deteriorated). I have already stated that the public interests of the province should take preference over the convenience of the lawyers or this or that body. I am sure that honourable members on this side attach greater value to the public duties which they have undertaken to perform than to the fees which they get. If they are not prepared to sacrifice their fees for the sake of public duty, I would say they have no business to be members of this House. (*Hear, hear.*)

**Malik Barkat Ali** (Eastern Towns, Muhammadan, Urban): I want to make a statement through you. I want to know whether the Honourable Premier is aware of the fact that if the House meets from 12 to 4-30, as he wants the House to meet, in between there is prayer time and every Mussalman who says his prayer—unless he says that he is not a Mussalman, he has got to say his prayer—will be inconvenienced. It is not a question of the lawyer. Are you conscious of the fact that it is the supreme duty which you as a Mussalman owe to the Mussalmans of the province, unless you forswear all your Muslim affiliation?

**Premier**: I may remind my honourable friend that if there is a prayer time between 12 and 4-30, there is also a prayer time between 2 and 6-30. (*Some honourable members*: No, no.)

**Maulana Daud Ghaznavi**: There is prayer time between 2 and 6-30 p.m.

**Premier**: Prayer time intervenes between 12 and 4-30 and also between 2 and 6-30. On Friday we have earlier meetings and we have left Friday afternoons free. If you look up the proceedings you will find that my friends of the Muslim League did not object to the change when it was made. That is on record. So they have to give an explanation. If Malik Barkat Ali practises in the High Court the prayer time also intervenes. For the last four years we have been meeting between 12 and 4-30. May I remind members that it is not necessary for members to be sitting here throughout. Prayers have been held in the committee rooms and they can be held there again. Prayer time is an after-thought of an able lawyer who wanted to bring in extraneous religious consideration. The real point is what was put forward by Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan, that two lawyers feel it inconvenient. I hold that public interest should be the supreme consideration. As for prayers, there is nothing to stop my honourable friends from offering their prayers. They have got the committee room where they can pray. With these words I press the motion.

**Khan Bahadur Sheikh Fazal Haq Piracha** (Bhalwal, Muhammadan, Rural) (*Urdu*): Mr. Speaker, my friend Raja Sahib, has opposed the resolution on the ground that the proposed time would not suit the lawyer members of the House and consequently they would be put to great inconvenience. I oppose from religious point of view, i.e., in the proposed time for the sitting of the Assembly, Zuhar prayer would intervene and it is sure to be lost. I do not think that this time is suitable for the sitting of the Assembly, because if we agree to sit between 12 noon and 4-30 p.m., we are sure to lose the midday prayer. It has been said by the Honourable Premier that a room in this building has been allotted for the purpose. This does not solve the problem.

So far as the saying of prayers is concerned, perhaps the Honourable the Premier forgets that it is essential that they should be said with the congregation of fellow believers. In this connection I would request Maulana Daud Ghaznavi to give his opinion.



[K. B. Sh. Fazal Haq Piracha]

What would be the position if at the time of prayers all the Muslim League members go out to say their prayers? It would mean that proceedings would go on *ex parte*, without the Muslim League party taking part in the proceedings. I would, therefore, strongly oppose the motion moved by the Honourable Premier.

**Premier :** The committee room is spacious enough. At the same time those who like to say prayers individually can do so quite conveniently.

**Khan Abdul Sattar Khan** (Mianwali North, Muhammadan, Rural) (*Urdu*) Please do not try to injure our religious feelings. You are casting aspersions on us. Your paramountcy is only temporary. You are not standing on solid grounds. You can very easily adjourn the House for an hour for the purpose of saying prayers. It is perhaps your Anglo-Muhammadan attitude towards religion that makes it rather impossible for you to respect the religious feelings of the Muslims. It must be borne in mind that prayer when said with the congregation of fellow believers is more meritorious than the one said alone. Besides, I do not think we can do full justice to this religious duty in the committee room. Perhaps you are anxious to keep up your false prestige and this is why you are bent upon getting this motion passed. I would request that you should agree to the proposal that the Assembly should adjourn for an hour in order to enable the Muslim members to say their prayers.

I may inform the honourable members opposite that if this proposal is not carried through, the members sitting on this side of the House will take it as a grave insult. I am really constrained to remark that the honourable members opposite will not have to face any grave issues if they adjourn the House for an hour or so for saying prayers. I wish to make this point clear that in spite of the unholy alliance between the Englishmen and the Nawab, who has no respect for the Holy Quran, we are not going to forego our right to say prayers. During the time which has been proposed by the Honourable Premier for the sitting of the House, there comes the prayer time and we cannot afford to miss it. The Honourable Premier in the course of his speech said that he was willing to accommodate us, so far as the question of saying prayers was concerned, but I really fail to understand as to why the House cannot be adjourned for an hour or so for offering prayers. If the Assembly were to meet from 2 p.m. to 6-30 p.m., I think, no harm would be done. With these words, I strongly oppose the motion now before the House.

**Syed Nau Bahar Shah** (Kabirwala, Muhammadan, Rural) : Sir, I rise to oppose the motion now before the House. Before I proceed further, I wish to bring this point home to the honourable members opposite that the time of prayers has not been fixed by Malik Sir Khizar Hayat or Maulana Daud Ghaznavi. It has been fixed by God Almighty and our Holy Prophet. It really ill behoves a Muslim to utilise the time fixed for saying prayers for other vain pursuits. Hence it should be a solemn duty of every Muslim to offer prayers at the fixed hours. I do not see any reason as to why the so-called Muslim members opposite are very anxious to support the motion now before the House. I may also add that it is a veritable sin to ignore the time altogether fixed for saying prayers. We have not been created to devote our attention solely to worldly affairs. Rather we have been raised to worship our God, the Creator. Therefore we must utilise the time fixed for saying prayers in the true sense of the word. Let us think of our prayers first and then turn our attention towards other things of the world. It seems that the Honourable Premier has completely forsworn his allegiance to Islam. In the circumstances, I impress upon the honourable members opposite in general and the Honourable Premier in particular to change the proposed time with a view to enabling the Muslim members of the House to say their prayers. With these words, Sir, I resume my seat.

**Premier :** The only objection that has been advanced is about the prayer time in between. If that is the difficulty, we can meet it and find a way out as to how

the Muslim members can pray in between, but the question is whether the Assembly should meet from 12 to 4-30 or from 2 to 6-30. The prayer time comes in either case. (*Voices from the Opposition benches: No, no.*) Let us discuss the question of time on merits. They want to afford facilities to the Muslim members of this Assembly to pray in between. Well, that is a matter on which I can meet my honourable friends and try to find a solution. (*An honourable member: We do not meet Quislings.*)

**Dr. Gopi Chand Bhargava** Question be now put. (*Uproar*).

**Mian Muhammad Nurullah** : My point is that two main objections have been raised. (*Uproar*).

**Munshi Hari Lal** : When a member has proposed that the question be put, is it proper that the debate on the motion should continue ?

**Mr. Speaker** : It is for the Chair to decide whether the motion should be put to the vote of the House or not.

**Mian Muhammad Nurullah** : I was saying that two main objections have been raised, one on the ground of prayers and I am not going to press that any more because I feel that the Premier has lost all sense of religion and all sense of responsibility towards the Muslim nation. He has started from the very beginning to rule by breaking conventions and by breaking the rules made by the previous Legislative Assembly. The second point, breaking the traditions, conventions or rules will be the main point of my speech. (*Interruptions.*) Sardar Kapoor Singh has changed sides but I stick to what I have always said—and I say today as well—that the rules once made must be respected. The Premier by bringing this resolution is showing great disrespect to these rules, and, therefore, I press the point that conventions should not be broken in this manner. He has started by breaking a wholesome convention of 26 years—electing a non-Muslim Speaker. These rules were made not to be broken and I request that they must be adhered to. I gather from the Premier's speech that the Congress Party is practically in his pocket. I think they have begun to feel—as I have felt already—that though we have buried the Unionists outside in the constituencies, their spirit is haunting them here. I assert even now that the spirit of Unionists who have gone is prevailing in this House. (*Hear, hear.*) Those who used to oppose the spirit of Unionism—I mean the spirit of crushing public opinion, as shown in the case of the honourable member, who was asked to sit down because his point of order or his speech was not liked by the Premier—will, I hope, in future stand to the traditions and keep up the conventions already set up instead of getting them trampled upon by the spirit of the Unionist. With these words I press that the rules must be adhered to and respected.

**Premier** : One word as a personal explanation. I do not want to go into the question of breaking rules, I do not want to go into the question of Unionist rule or the Congress rule or the rule of the Coalition Party, but one thing I want to make quite clear and that is about the question of affording facilities for prayers. So far as the question of affording facilities for prayers is concerned, I am prepared to meet the wishes of honourable members opposite. Let there be no misunderstanding on that point. Please do not confuse that issue. I am prepared to meet the honourable members on that point but on the other question let the House decide.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan** : All right, let the House decide.

**Mr. Speaker** : The question is :—

That on and from Friday the 22nd March 1946, to the end of the session on the days of meeting other than Fridays, the Assembly shall meet at 12 noon and on Fridays at 10 a.m. of the clock and the Speaker shall adjourn the Assembly without question put at 4-30 p.m. on days other than Fridays and at 1-30 p.m. on Fridays.

*The Assembly divided : Ayes 90, Noes 78.*

**AYES : 90**

Ajit Singh, Sardar.  
 Allah Bakhsh Khan Tiwana, Khan Bahadur Nawab Malik Sir.  
 Bachan Singh, Sardar.  
 Badlu Ram, Chaudhri.  
 Bagh Ali Mian.  
 Baldev Singh, The Hon'ble Sardar.  
 Beli Ram, Mr.  
 Bhagat Ram Sharma, Pandit.  
 Bhagwan Dass, Lala.  
 Bhim Sen Sachar, The Honourable Lala.  
 Behari Lala Chanana, Lala.  
 Dalip Singh, Thakur.  
 Dalip Singh, Sardar.  
 Daud Ghaznavi, Maulana.  
 Dev Raj Sethi, Mr.  
 Durga Chand, Pandit.  
 Faqir Chand, Mr.  
 Fazal Ilahi, Mr.  
 Ganga Saran, Rai Bahadur Lala.  
 Gopi Chand Bharagava, Dr.  
 Guest, Mr. P. H.  
 Gurbachan Singh, Sardar (Ferozepore).  
 Gurbachan Singh, Sardar (Sialkot).  
 ✓ Gurbhanta Singh, Sardar.  
 Harbhaj Ram, Mr.  
 Hari Lal, Munshi.  
 Inder Singh, Sardar.  
 Isher Singh Majhail, Sardar.  
 Jagdish, Mr.  
 Jagjit Singh Mann, Sardar.  
 Jaswant Singh, Sardar.  
 Jiwan Lal, Mr.  
 Jogindar Singh Mann, Sardar.  
 ✓ Kabul Singh, Sardar.  
 Kapur Singh, Sardar.  
 Kartar Singh, Sardar.  
 Keher Singh, Sardar.  
 Khizar Hayat, The Honourable Malik Sir.  
 Kidar Nath Sehgal, Lala.  
 Krishna Gopal Dutt, Chaudhri.  
 Lahri Singh, Chaudhri.  
 Man Singh, Jathedar.  
 Mangoo Ram, Mr.  
 Manual, Mr. P.  
 Matu Ram, Mr.  
 Mehr Chand, Mr.

Mohan Lal, Mr.  
 Mohar Singh, Rao Sahib Rao.  
 Muhammad Abdullah, Khan Sahib Mir.  
 Muhammad Ibrahim, The Honourable Mian.  
 Muhammad Rafiq, Mian.  
 Muzaffar Ali Khan Qizilbash, The Honourable Nawab Sir.  
 Narinder Singh, Sant.  
 Narotam Singh, Sardar.  
 Pancham Chand, Thakur.  
 Parbodh Chandar, Mr.  
 Parkash Kaur, Shrimati.  
 Partap Singh, Sardar.  
 Piara Singh, Sardar.  
 Prem Singh, Mahant.  
 Prem Singh, Chaudhri.  
 Prithvi Singh Azad, Mr.  
 Ramoshwari Nehru, Mrs.  
 Ranbir Singh, Mehta.  
 Ranjit Singh, Chaudhri.  
 Rattan Singh, Chaudhri.  
 Rattan Singh, Sardar.  
 Rattan Singh, Sardar (Moga).  
 Sahib Ram, Chaudhri.  
 Sajjan Singh, Sardar.  
 Sant Ram, Dr.  
 Sant Ram Seth, Mr.  
 Sardul Singh, Sardar.  
 Shanno Devi Sehgal, Shrimati.  
 Sher Singh, Chaudhri.  
 Shiv Saran Singh, Sardar.  
 Shiv Singh, Sardar.  
 Shri Ram Sharma, Pandit.  
 Sudarshan, Seth.  
 Sultan Ali, Nangiana, Mian.  
 Surdar, Mr.  
 Sundar Singh, Sardar.  
 Suraj Mal, Rao Bahadur Chaudhri.  
 ✓ Swarn Singh, Sardar.  
 Tara Singh, Sardar Sahib Sardar.  
 Tilak Raj, Professor.  
 Udham Singh, Sardar.  
 Ujjal Singh, Sardar.  
 Virendar, Mr.  
 Waryam Singh, Sardar.

## NOES : 78.

Abdul Ghafur, Chaudhri.  
 Abdul Haq, Mian.  
 Abdul Hamid Khan, Sufi.  
 Abdul Hamid Khan, Rana.  
 Abdul Hamid Khan, Khan Sahib.  
 Abdul Sattar Khan, Khan.  
 Ahmad Jan, Maulvi.  
 Akram Ali Khan, Chaudhri.  
 Ali Akbar Khan, Chaudhri.  
 Allah Yar Khan Daulatana, Khan Bahadur Mian.  
 Anwar Khan, Rai.  
 Asghar Ali, Khan Sahib Captain Chaudhri.  
 Ashiq Hussain, Sayed.  
 Ashiq Hussain, Major Nawab.  
 Atta Muhammad Khan, Sardar.  
 Aziz Din, Chaudhri.  
 Bahadur Khan, Sardar.  
 Bahawal Bakhsh, Chaudhri.  
 Barkat Ali, Malik.  
 Barkat Hayat Khan, Sardar.  
 Bashir Ahmed, Mian.  
 Budhan Shah, Pir.  
 Faiz Muhammad, Khan Bahadur Sheikh.  
 Fateh Muhammad, Sayyad Chaudhri.  
 Fazal Haq Paracha, Khan Bahadur Sheikh.  
 Fazal Ilahi, Chaudhri.  
 Ghazanfar Ali Khan, Raja.  
 Ghulam Farid, Chaudhri.  
 Ghulam Jilani, Mian.  
 Ghulam Muhammad Shah, Sayad.  
 Ghulam Mustafa Shah Jilani, Khan Sahib Makhdumzada Sayad.  
 Ghulam Razul, Chaudhri.  
 Ghulam Samad, Khan Sahib Khawaja.  
 Iftikhar Hussain Khan, Nawab.  
 Jahan Khan, Chaudhri.  
 Jahan Ara Shah Nawaz, Begum.  
 Kale Khan, Raja.  
 Karamat Ali, Khan Bahadur Sheikh.  
 Khair Mehdi Khan, Raja.

Khan Muhammad Khan Kathia, Mehr.  
 Mehtab Khan, Chaudhri.  
 Mohy-ud-Din Lal Badshah, Sayed.  
 Muhammad Abdus Salam Shah, Mian.  
 Muhammad Amin, Khan Sahib Sheikh.  
 Muhammad Arif Khan, Mehr.  
 Muhammad Hasan, Chaudhri.  
 Muhammad Hussain, Sardar.  
 Muhammad Hussain, Chaudhri.  
 Muhammad Iftikhar-ud-Din, Mian.  
 Muhammad Iqbal Ahmad Khan, Rai.  
 Muhammad Jamal Khan Leghari, Khan Bahadur Nawab Sir.  
 Muhammad Khan, Mir.  
 Muhammad Khurshid Ali Khan, Rao.  
 Muhammad Nurullah, Mian.  
 Muhammad Raza Shah Jeelani, Makhdumzada Haji Sayed.  
 Muhammad Sarfraz Khan, Chaudhri.  
 Muhammad Sarfraz Ali Khan, Raja.  
 Mubarik Ali Shah, Major Syed.  
 Mumtaz Ali Khan, Sardar.  
 Mumtaz Muhammad Khan Daulatana, Mian.  
 Nasar Din, Chaudhri.  
 Nasrullah Khan, Chaudhri.  
 Nasrullah Khan Nasir, Rana.  
 Nau Bahar Shah, Syed.  
 Raj Muhammad Khan, Chaudhri.  
 Roshan Din, Khan Bahadur Chaudhri.  
 Sadiq Hassan, Sheikh.  
 Sahib Dad Khan, Khan Sahib Chaudhri.  
 Salah-ud-Din, Chaudhri.  
 Said Akbar Khan, Raja.  
 Shahaadat Khan, Rai.  
 Shaukat Hyat-Khan, Sardar.  
 Tassaddaq Hussain, Begum.  
 Wali Muhammad, Chaudhri.  
 Wazir Muhammad, Malik.  
 Zafar-ul-Haq, Chaudhri.  
 Zafarullah Khan, Chaudhri.  
 Zafrullah Khan Jahanian, Chaudhri.

**Premier :** Sir, may I make one submission on behalf of myself and my party to the honourable members opposite? As I have made it clear to the Opposition if they want adjournment during prayer time I will be agreeable. The other alternative I offer them is that they can have meetings from 10 a.m. to 2 p.m. when no prayer time comes in. They have the option either way. I am prepared to afford all reasonable facilities for prayers. These are the two alternatives, and I shall be agreeable to whichever they like.

*The Assembly then adjourned till 10 a.m. on Friday, 22nd March 1946.*



# PUNJAB LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

## FIRST SESSION OF THE SECOND PUNJAB LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

Friday, 22nd March 1946

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

### OATH OF OFFICE

The following member was sworn in :—

Chaudhri Samar Singh (Karnal South, General, Rural)

### STARRED QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

HAKIM LEKH RAM OF ROHTAK

\*1. **Dr. Gopi Chand Bhargava :** Will the Honourable the Premier be pleased to state whether any warrants of arrest are pending against Hakim Lekh Ram of Rohtak who had been declared an absconder in the 2nd Lahore Conspiracy Case and the Delhi Conspiracy Case ; if so, what action, if any, does he propose to take in the matter ?

**The Honourable Malik Sir Khizar Hayat :**

*First part—No.*

*Second part—Does not arise.*

RETURN OF TYPEWRITERS OF THE ALL-INDIA SPINNERS ASSOCIATION  
(PUNJAB BRANCH), ADAMPUR DOABA (DISTRICT JULLUNDUR)

\*2. **Dr. Gopi Chand Bhargava :** Will the Honourable the Premier be pleased to state whether it is a fact that typewriters of the All-India Spinners Association (Punjab Branch), Adampur Doaba (District Jullundur), were taken away by the police authorities in 1942 or 1948 and that they have not been returned so far to their rightful owners, if so, when is it proposed to return them to their owners and if not, why not ?

**The Honourable Malik Sir Khizar Hayat :**

*First part—Yes.*

*Second part—*The typewriters were confiscated to Government by an order of the competent authority. They have already been sold by auction and cannot therefore, be returned.

**Chaudhri Muhammad Hasan :** May I know when those orders were passed

**Premier :** I am glad to find that you are again championing the cause of those whom you have left.

**Chaudhri Muhammad Hasan :** I am much better than the Premier who has been thrown out by the Muslim community.

**Premier :** I have not been thrown out by the Muslim community. I have been returned by the Muslim community. (*Cheers from the Ministerial benches*). I have a record of being returned from three constituencies.

**Sardar Shaukat Hyat-Khan :** By the Police.

**Premier :** Unlike many members on those benches who have abused their constituencies in the name of God, Prophet and religion.

**Chaudhri Muhammad Hasan :** Unlike you who have been returned with the help of the officials and the Minister for Development who has been returned with the help of the Deputy Commissioner, Ambala.

**An honourable member :** Black market members. (*Laughter*).

**Chaudhri Muhammad Hasan :** Do you still call yourself a Mussalman ?

**Premier :** I am a better Mussalman than you are.

#### EXTERMENT ORDERS

**\*3. Dr. Gopi Chand Bhargava :** Will the Honourable the Premier be pleased to state—

(a) the names of persons against whom externment orders were still in force on 1st March 1946 in the Punjab and the dates on which those orders were passed ;

(b) whether it is proposed to cancel these orders, if not, the reasons therefor ?

**The Honourable Malik Sir Khizar Hayat :** (a) A statement is laid on the table.

(b) The matter is under consideration.

#### Statement

Serial No.	Particulars of the externees	Date on which the externment order was passed
1	Sardar <i>alias</i> Sardara, son of Behram, of Chamikani, District Peshawar.	23rd June 1942.
2	Qamar Din <i>alias</i> Papi, son of Umar Din, Gujjar, of Mohalla Mukarrab Khan, District Peshawar.	23rd June 1942.
3	Mohammad Yunis } sons of Nawab, Moghal of Mohalla Jagtan,	
4	Fazal Hussain } Peshawar City	16th July 1942.
5	Badshah Gul <i>alias</i> Badshah } sons of Shahzad Nur, of Bajore,	
6	Abdul Aziz <i>alias</i> Sheikhha } Tribal Territory	24th July 1942.
7	Qamar Gul, son of Indar Gul, Afghan, of Ahmed Khel, Peshawar City	18th October 1943.
8	Sahar Gul, son of Saleh Ahmad, Sultanzai, of Tribal Territory	15th December 1943.
9	Faqir Shah, son of Baland Shah, Syed, of village Sher Khan, P. S. Kohat Cantonment	15th December 1943.
10	Yagnawalkya <i>alias</i> Yagnawalkya <i>alias</i> Gurn <i>alias</i> Som Dutt <i>alias</i> Vijoy Kumar, resident of Somera, P. S. Jawan, District Aligarh, U. P.	16th February 1944.
11	Bharat Singh, son of Ganga Ram, of Ranjhawala, District Dehra Dun, U. P.	29th November 1943.
12	Ram Sumer Shukla, son of Ram Nakshatra, Brahman, of Bheri, P. S. Rudrapur, District Gorakhpur, U. P.	3rd July 1945.
13	Shashi Bhushan, son of Chander Kant, of Chitroli, Street Madho Ganj, Lashkar, Gwalior City	26th July 1945.
14	Jiva Ram Palwal <i>alias</i> Bamesh, son of Moti Lal, originally of Chabraman, District Fatehgarh, and now of Firczabad, District Agra, U. P.	27th September 1945.
15	Dwijendra Nath Bose, son of Satish Chandra Bose, of 38/2 Elgin Road, Calcutta	31st October 1945.

#### PRIVILEGE MOTION

**ALLOTMENT OF ROOM IN THE ASSEMBLY BUILDING FOR SENIOR SUPERINTENDENT OF POLICE.**

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan (Pind Dadan Khan, Muhammadan, Rural) :** Sir, before you call upon the Finance Minister to make his budget speech, I will request you to allow me to make a privilege motion. As you are aware, Sir, a privilege motion has precedence over everything else. It relates to a most unworthy practice which I noticed this morning as I came to the chamber. We know it fully well that there is hardly any freedom of thought, speech or action in the province.

**Mr. Speaker :** The rules do not allow any other business to be transacted today except questions and answers and the presentation of the budget.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** A privilege motion has precedence over every thing else.

**Chaudhri Muhammad Hasan :** If you refer to page 264 of May's Parliamentary Practice, you will find that a privilege motion can be moved at any time and without any notice.

**Mr. Speaker :** If the honourable member refers to page 58 of our Manual of Business, he will find article 167 which lays down—

On the day fixed no business shall take place except the presentation of the budget and the asking of questions and the giving of replies thereto.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** My submission is that the word "business" does not include a privilege motion. Business means the business laid down on the order paper. The rule is absolutely clear if you only care to read it. A privilege motion if it arises suddenly has precedence over everything else, it may be budget speech or any other matter. I would request the Premier not to be so unreasonable at least as to persuade the Speaker and force him not to allow a privilege motion. It concerns every member of the House including even the Congress Party.

**Dr. Gopi Chand Bhargava :** It is an insinuation. The Premier has not asked anybody to disallow the motion.

**Premier :** Raja Sahib has referred to me. I did not have a word about this matter with the Speaker. I have been quietly sitting in my seat.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** As the Leader of the House it is the duty of the Premier to draw the attention of the Speaker when any member wants to raise any matter relating to the privilege of the House. This is an attitude which any democratic leader of a House would take.

**Premier :** I shall certainly draw the attention of the Honourable Speaker when a privilege of the House is being infringed but I cannot be a supporter of imaginary privileges. (*Laughter*).

**Mr. Speaker :** What does the honourable member want to discuss?

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** This morning when I came to the House, I noticed that a room has been allotted to the Senior Superintendent of Police, Lahore. I saw written on the door 'For the Senior Superintendent of Police.' I do not know whether this has been done with your permission or whether the Government has trespassed into this sacred Chamber. The Senior Superintendent of Police has installed himself over the head of the members of this august House like punitive police. Whatever the unholy term of this coalition may be, even the Congress Party will realise that the whole thing is most objectionable.

**Mr. Speaker :** As the matter has been brought to my notice, I have taken cognizance of it. Being a custodian of the honour of the House, I shall give the matter my earnest consideration. I do not think a matter of this kind requires any speeches from the honourable members of the House. As I have said I shall deal with this matter and give my decision and if what I decide does not meet the wishes of the members of the House, I shall permit the motion to be moved, provided I have come to the conclusion that a privilege is involved.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** I want to know, Sir, whether this has been done with your permission or the Premier in charge of law and order has done it over your head.

**Premier :** I want to say one word. I have not got the facts with me, but this building is a Government building in which various offices are located. (*Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan : Foolish.*)

**Mr. Speaker :** I have not permitted the Opposition to argue the case and so I do not want the Government to reply. I have taken notice of it and I shall make a statement later and then open it for discussion if I find that a breach of privilege has occurred. Then the Premier will have an opportunity to make his statement, if necessary.



**Chaudhri Muhammad Hasan :** Is it open to the Honourable Speaker not to permit the privilege motion ?

**Mr. Speaker :** I shall have to decide whether it is a privilege motion.

**Munshi Hari Lal :** Is the word 'foolish' parliamentary ?

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** I repeat that it is foolish to say that this building belongs to the Government.

**Khan Bahadur Sheikh Faiz Muhammad :** I want to ask a simple question. Who is in charge of this building, the Speaker or the Premier ?

**Mr. Speaker :** It is not a point of order. The Finance Minister may proceed with his speech. (*Applause*).

(*At this stage the Members of the Opposition withdrew from the Chamber*).

### PRESENTATION OF THE BUDGET.

**Finance Minister (THE HONOURABLE MR. BHIM SEN SACHAR) :** I rise to introduce the budget for the year 1946-47 in very peculiar circumstances. The present Government was sworn in office only on the afternoon of the 11th instant. The budget proposals, strictly speaking, are not the proposals of the new Ministry because we have had no time to appraise them. The budget, as we found it, is being presented to the House. Consequently, the Government will have to review the various schemes of new expenditure contained in it. It is, therefore, possible that as a result of this review some of these proposals may have to be recast in material particulars.

In embarking upon a programme of post-war reconstruction and development the Ministry will have to satisfy itself that the Province is not committed to a scale of expenditure which its revenues cannot bear in normal times. The revenues which the Province has been enjoying during the last few years are in no sense normal. When conditions created by the war have returned even to a reasonable degree of normality the revenues are likely to shrink unless, in the meantime, we are able to take effective steps to improve and expand our existing sources of income and add to these as a result of industrial and agricultural prosperity in the Province. To what extent are we able to improve our agricultural yield so as to offset the adverse effects of falling prices and to what extent are we able to add to the industrial income of the people in the Province, the future alone can tell. But we must not be misled by the artificial prosperity which by its nature is short-lived. It follows that our main emphasis should be on productive schemes, the unproductive but essential ones being confined within the narrow compass of special Central grants or normal increases in the revenue. At present we are mainly dependent on agriculture for financing the needs of our Province. While we shall do everything possible to increase the productivity of the soil, we must remember we cannot hope to add to the amenities of life of the average Punjabi unless we concentrate on increasing his capacity to contribute to provincial revenues and for this we must address ourselves seriously and immediately to the task of developing the Province industrially. It is common knowledge that elementary needs of our people are not being met as they should be even on a low assessment of human needs. For their proper satisfaction we must either have more or spend less on non-beneficent departments. Some of the non-beneficent departments, notably the Police, swallow the biggest morsel of our revenues. No doubt with the present economic and social skeleton of society expenditure on Police is inevitable. But when the only justification for a large portion of this expenditure is found in the existence of mutual distrust and hate amongst the communities in the Province or in the low state of social life wherein the thief, the dacoit and the murderer flourish, it is time we sat down to consider if nothing could be done to prevent this waste and divert the consequent flow of savings to better purpose. True, expenditure on beneficent departments has considerably

increased during the last few years. But it cannot be denied that the existing provision of expenditure for medical relief, public health, education and other beneficent activities, judged by the standard of progressive nations, is wholly inadequate. We must, therefore, not merely save wherever and whenever we can, but at the same time add to the earning capacity of the Punjabis. We cannot meet the crying needs of the situation by merely attempting to take away more and more from the present limited incomes of the people. We must first add to their wealth if we desire to augment our resources. Our budgetary position is undoubtedly sound. But balancing the budget is not the only concern of a Government, much less that of a progressive Government. We may even have to devise special plans to stimulate private charity especially in the field of education and medical and scientific research in order to make the public voluntarily share the burden of the State. It will be the special concern of the Ministry to devise ways and means of improving the conditions of life of the backward classes in the Province and especially those of the Harijan class whose state of economic and social life is far from satisfactory.

As the Honourable Members are aware, the financial position of the Province is presented to the House on three different occasions: first, about a month before the commencement of the year to which it relates when estimates of income and expenditure are presented to the House: secondly, about a month before the close of the year to which the estimates relate when the revised estimates based on the actual working of nine months of the year are presented to the House and, thirdly, about eleven months after the close of the year to which the accounts relate. I shall, therefore, deal briefly with the accounts as finally made up for the year 1944-45, the revised estimates for the year 1945-46 and the estimates for the year 1946-47. It is regretted that the shortness of time at our disposal did not permit my presenting the budget at an earlier date, but let me assure the Honourable Members that this occasion will not constitute a precedent for curtailing the normal rights of the House in connection with the general discussion of the budget and voting of demands for grants.

#### 1944-45

Revised Estimates for the year 1944-45, as presented to the House this time last year, stood as below:—

					In lakhs Rs.
Revenue Receipts	--	--	--	--	22,49
Revenue Expenditure	--	--	--	--	21,10

indicating a revenue surplus of Rs. 1,39 lakhs.

The position according to the accounts is—

					In lakhs Rs.
Revenue Receipts	--	--	--	--	23,01
Revenue Expenditure	--	--	--	--	20,57

yielding a revenue surplus of Rs. 2,44 lakhs.

It would be remembered that towards the end of the year a sum of Rs. 2 crores was transferred to the Post-War Reconstruction Fund, Rs. 60 lakhs to the Peasants' Welfare Fund, Rs. 40 lakhs to the Special Development Fund and Rs. 15 lakhs to the Forest Reconstruction Fund. But for these transfers which in the aggregate amount to Rs. 8,15 lakhs, the surplus would have stood at Rs. 5,59 lakhs. The improvement of Rs. 1,05 lakhs in the Revenue Account was due to an increase of Rs. 52 lakhs in Revenue Receipts and a fall of Rs. 53 lakhs under Revenue Expenditure. On the side of Receipts the increase was mainly due to Provincial Excise which brought an

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additional revenue of Rs. 28 lakhs, to Land Revenue which accounts for Rs. 11 lakhs, to Taxes on Income which are responsible for Rs. 6 lakhs and to Forests and Electricity Schemes which account for Rs. 12 lakhs. On the expenditure side there was an increase of Rs. 11 lakhs under Police which was mainly due to smaller recoveries from the Government of India on account of war-time Police. There were, however, considerable decreases under other heads as noted below :—

					<i>In lakhs</i>
					Rs.
Civil Works	..	..	..	..	25
Stationery and Printing	..	..	..	..	10
Forests	..	..	..	..	6
Interest on Debt	..	..	..	..	9
Agriculture	..	..	..	..	5

At the time of the Revised Estimates the Extraordinary Receipts were estimated to be Rs. 6.05 lakhs ; the final figures, however, show Rs. 5.85 lakhs showing a reduction of Rs. 20 lakhs.

1945-46

The Budget Estimates for the current year were—

					<i>In lakhs</i>
					Rs.
Revenue Receipts ..	..	..	..	..	21,17
Revenue Expenditure	..	..	..	..	19,25

indicating a surplus of Rs. 1,92 lakhs.

The revised estimates as now presented to the House show the receipts at Rs. 22.63 lakhs and expenditure at Rs. 21.73 lakhs resulting in a surplus of Rs. 90 lakhs. This surplus has been arrived at after making a provision of Rs. 50 lakhs on the expenditure side for transfer to the Peasants' Welfare Fund and, but for this transfer, the surplus would have stood at Rs. 1.40 lakhs. It has also to be borne in mind that during the year increased expenditure had to be incurred in view of the increase in rates of dearness and war allowances as also considerable increased expenditure on Police and other departments in view of the revision of rates of pay.

The falling off of Rs. 52 lakhs in the revenue surplus is a result of increase in expenditure by Rs. 1.98 lakhs and an increase in revenue receipts of Rs. 1.46 lakhs. The increase of Rs. 1.46 lakhs on the receipt side appears mainly under the following heads :—

					<i>In lakhs</i>
					Rs.
Taxes on income received from the Government of India under the Niemeyer Award	..	..	..	..	44
Land Revenue	..	..	..	..	29
Forests	..	..	..	..	32
Other Taxes and Duties	..	..	..	..	13
Interest	..	..	..	..	42
Civil Works	..	..	..	..	22
Transfers from Famine Relief Fund	..	..	..	..	10

The above increases are counterbalanced to some extent by decreases under Provincial Excise (29 lakhs), Irrigation (20 lakhs), Miscellaneous (10 lakhs). The reasons for the increases and decreases are set forth in the Secretary's Memorandum.

On the expenditure side the increase is of Rs. 1.98 lakhs after excluding the amount of Rs. 50 lakhs transferred to the Peasants' Welfare Fund. The principal items responsible for this increase are—

	<i>In lakhs.</i>	
	Rs.	
Land Revenue .. .. .	..	12
Forests .. .. .	..	30
Interest .. .. .	..	8
General Administration .. .. .	..	22
Administration of Justice .. .. .	..	6
Police .. .. .	..	27
Education .. .. .	..	15
Medical .. .. .	..	6
Public Health .. .. .	..	9
Civil Works .. .. .	..	58
Famine .. .. .	..	15
Other heads made up of minor variations .. .. .	..	21

These increases are set off to some extent by decreases under Irrigation (Rs. 17 lakhs) and Agriculture (Rs. 9 lakhs). A large part of the increase under different heads is due to the revision of rates of war and dearness allowances after the budget had been framed and increase in the rates of pay of Provincial Services which have been revised from the 1st November 1945. The increase of Rs. 12 lakhs under Land Revenue is also due to increase in the pay of Kanungos and Patwaris with effect from the 1st March 1945. Under Forests the increase is mainly due to the purchase of machinery in connection with the Post-War Schemes. The increase under Police is mainly due to the revision of pay of the Upper Subordinates which has been given effect to from the 1st October 1945. The decrease under Irrigation is due to stoppage of Land Reclamation operations on the Lower and Upper Jumna Canals and the postponement of canalisation of the Sukh Bias. The decrease under Agriculture is mainly due to certain development schemes not having functioned to the extent they should have because of non-availability of material for percolation of wells and because of transport difficulties.

The Extraordinary Receipts were at the time of the budget estimated at Rs. 4.71 lakhs. According to the revised estimates the Extraordinary Receipts are estimated to be Rs. 6.06 lakhs showing an increase of Rs. 1.35 lakhs. The increase is due to the sale of plots of nazul land in the Bakh area of the Ludhiana district as well as high bids at the sales of land in the Sheikhpura, Montgomery and Jhang districts.

1946-47

The revenue position of the Budget is as follows:—

	<i>In lakhs</i>	
	Rs.	
Revenue Receipts .. .. .	..	21.80
Revenue Expenditure .. .. .	..	20.88
Surplus .. .. .	..	47

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This surplus is, however, likely to disappear as due to delay in the issue of orders regarding the revision of pay of Subordinate Services it has not been possible to make the necessary provision for the additional expenditure involved in the next year's budget. As compared with the revised estimates of the current year the receipts show a decrease of Rs. 1.33 lakhs and the revenue expenditure a drop of Rs. 90 lakhs. If, however, we take into account Rs. 50 lakhs transferred this year to the Peasants' Welfare Fund, the expenditure for the next year shows a drop of Rs. 40 lakhs only. On the revenue side there is a drop of Rs. 73 lakhs under Taxes on Income and this is due to the anticipated fall in the "divisible proceeds" of income-tax as intimated by the Government of India. Land Revenue shows a drop of Rs. 24 lakhs as due to inadequate rains in the winter usual provision has been made for suspensions and remissions. Excise and Forests also indicate a fall of Rs. 11 and Rs. 20 lakhs, respectively. The only noticeable increase (Rs. 20 lakhs) is under Electricity Schemes which is due to increased income on account of the taking over of the Lahore Electricity Supply Co. Interest also shows an increase of Rs. 13 lakhs and this is due to the realisation of full interest on investments in securities made this year.

On the expenditure side the drop of Rs. 40 lakhs is spread over many heads as explained in the Secretary's Memorandum. The noticeable increases are under Irrigation (Rs. 25 lakhs) and Police (Rs. 15 lakhs). The increase under Police is due mainly to the reorganization scheme of the Police Department and the revision of pay of the Provincial Police Service along with other Provincial Services. Under Irrigation the increase is due to larger provision made for works next year.

The new expenditure provided for the year 1946-47 is on a larger scale than in any preceding year. It stands at the figure of Rs. 3.34 lakhs, and is in addition to Rs. 5.05 lakhs provided under Post-War Schemes. The new revenue expenditure has been allotted to the various departments as follows:—

	<i>In lakhs</i>	
	Rs.	
Direct Demands on Revenue .. .. .	..	14.03
Irrigation .. .. .	..	40.73
Civil Administration .. .. .	..	63.02
Beneficent Departments .. .. .	..	55.5
Buildings and Roads .. .. .	..	21.8
Electricity Schemes .. .. .	..	63
Miscellaneous .. .. .	..	10.09

It would be worth while there to refer to some of the important schemes for which fresh provision is being made next year.

Under Direct Demands on Revenue, provision has been made for the staff for the re-assessment of land revenue of the Pakpattan Tehsil which has been long overdue and for the amalgamation of the Excise and Taxation Departments under a separate Excise and Taxation Commissioner. The temporary establishment employed for colonization operations in the Haveli Project and the Lower Chenab Colony Extensions is also being retained.

Under Irrigation, provision has been made for the remodelling and extending of certain drains to afford relief to water-logged tracts, as also for the remodelling and construction of distributaries and minors and for the Grow-More-Food Campaign.

**BENEFICENT DEPARTMENTS**

The expenditure on beneficent departments which stood at Rs. 2.87 lakhs in 1936-37 has steadily risen, till in 1946-47 it is proposed to spend over Rs. 6 crores.

**Education**—Provision has been made under this head for a grant to the Punjab University for dearness and war allowances to its employees. The staff both for schools and colleges as also the inspection staff is being increased. The Subordinate Educational Service (Women's Branch) is being re-organized on a time-scale basis. Provision has also been made for the provincialization of the District Board High Schools at Mitha Tiwana and for a grant to the District Board, Shahpur, for raising the District Board Middle School, Jhawarian, to the high standard.

**Medical**—Under this head provision has been made for the appointment of a wholetime Radiologist to meet the needs of the Victoria Jubilee Hospital, Amritsar. Provision has also been made for grants-in-aid to local bodies and missionary societies for improving and equipping existing hospitals and dispensaries. The staff of women in hospitals is also being strengthened.

**Public Health**—Under this head provision has been made for a grant for the extension of maternity and child welfare work and Rs. 2 lakhs are being sanctioned for grants for urban and rural sanitary works. A Nutrition Unit in the Kangra Valley is being established to ameliorate mal-nutrition in the valley. A separate organization is being set up for combating malaria in the Province.

**Agriculture**—Under Agriculture provision has been made for the supply of essential agricultural implements to demobilized soldiers at 25 per cent concession rates. The beneficial scheme of Mango Budding *in situ* is being continued and an Independent Sugarcane Section is being established at the Punjab Agricultural College, Lyallpur.

**Veterinary**—Under this head provision is being made for improving the milk supply of eight of the most important towns in the Province. To improve breeding it is proposed to purchase young bulls from the Haryana tract and rear them at the Hissar Farm for some months and then issue them to districts as approved bulls.

**Co-operation**—The additional staff in connection with rural reconstruction and women's work is being continued. The staff for the anti-erosion scheme including reclamation of *chqs* and waste lands and the organization of forest societies will be continued in certain hill and submontane districts. Provision has also been made for a grant-in-aid to the Punjab Co-operative Union to help in meeting the cost of dearness allowance to its staff.

**Industries**—Under this head provision is being made for the continuance of the several travelling demonstration parties for training in handicrafts, etc. Provision is being made for the grant of subsidies under the Punjab State Aid to Industries Act. The Government Demonstration Weaving Factory, Shahdara, is being made permanent. Provision has also been made for a scheme for extending mulberry plantation in certain additional areas in the Province to help the sericulture industry.

**Buildings and Roads**—Under this head a sum of Rs. one lakh has been provided for grants-in-aid to the District Boards for development of roads and bridges. Provision has also been made for additional staff for the Punjab College of Engineering and Technology, Lahore, which is being expanded with a view gradually to increase the number of vacancies in the University Engineering Degree Class from 40 to 120.

### POST-WAR RECONSTRUCTION

A special feature of the next year's budget is the large provision made for Post-War Development expenditure. As explained in the Secretary's Memorandum, Post-War Schemes for the development of the Province for the first five years at an estimated cost of Rs. 161 crores have been drawn up for the different departments and sent to the Government of India for scrutiny. In order to counteract deflation and unemployment, some of the schemes out of the five-year plan are being undertaken next year

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instead of 1947-48 as contemplated in the plan. Expenditure likely to be incurred on the Post-War Schemes during the current and the next year is as follows :—

	In lakhs		
	Current year	Next year	Total
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Revenue Expenditure .. ..	17	1,72	1,89
Capital Expenditure .. ..	1,10	6,15	7,25

The productive capital expenditure which amounts to Rs. 4,69 lakhs is being financed by loans from the Central Government. As regards revenue expenditure and unproductive capital expenditure, the Government of India have offered to make grants-in-aid equal to the expenditure actually incurred quarterly or half-yearly. A sum of Rs. 9,44 lakhs has accordingly been provided in the next year's budget as grants-in-aid from the Centre.

Details of new schemes under this head would be found in paragraph 15 of the Secretary's Memorandum. I need only refer here to some of the important schemes. Under Education provision has been made for a grant of Rs. 40,000 to the Punjab University for apparatus and equipment required for the Institute of Chemistry. Provision has also been made for a grant-in-aid of Rs. 30,000 to the Anjuman-i-Khadim-ul-Islam, Jullundur City, for the construction of a building for the Islamia College, Jullundur. A sum of Rs. 2.54 lakhs has further been provided for grants to the Boy Scouts Association for the Punjab College of Physical Education and Scouting, Walton and for the expansion of the Young Farmers Clubs Scheme for the Province. Under Medical, a sum of Rs. 83,000 has been provided for the opening of 60 additional subsidised dispensaries both for men and women. A large provision has also been made for opening 8 new rural dispensaries and for a grant-in-aid to the Red Cross Society for the construction of a Tuberculosis Hospital at Sargodha. Under Public Health, 54 Health Centres are being opened and a substantial grant-in-aid to the Municipal Committee, Sargodha, for the construction of drains and paving of streets, etc., is being given. A sum of about Rs. 10 lakhs is also being provided for the improvement of rural and urban water supplies and for the provision of skeleton drainage for Panchayat villages. Under Co-operation, a sum of Rs. 10 lakhs has been provided for the staff required for consolidation of holdings and revision of records of villages already consolidated. The Industries Department gets a sum of Rs. 14 lakhs for opening more industrial schools for girls and for re-organization of some industrial institutes. Under Miscellaneous, the main item of expenditure is in respect of Publicity Schemes and National Home Front. It also includes a sum of Rs. 63,000 for technical training of students overseas. Under Civil Works, a sum of Rs. 47 lakhs is being provided mainly for communications and construction of buildings for the Education and Medical Departments.

#### CAPITAL EXPENDITURE

The total capital expenditure provided in the next year's budget is Rs. 10,27 lakhs out of which Rs. 6,15 lakhs is for Post-War Capital Schemes. The actual expenditure as shown in the budget is Rs. 8,29 lakhs as a sum of Rs. 1,98 lakhs for unproductive capital expenditure is to be financed from the Government of India grants.

Some of the important schemes under execution are indicated below.

The Thal Project which is intended to benefit the Mianwali and Shahpur districts was started in the year 1939-40 and entered its second stage in 1944. Considerable progress has been made with the excavation of the Dullewala and Khizar branches

and the main line and it is hoped that the canal would be completed and opened for irrigation by October 1946. Stage III of the Project will be under taken as a Post-War Scheme and preparation of estimates for this stage is in hand.

On the Western Jumna Canal Extensions the Sunder Sub-Branch and Jhajjar and Dulerah Distributaries were re-opened in July 1945 and gradually raised to their full supply discharges. A sum of Rs. 8 lakhs is being spent on this canal in the current year and a further sum of Rs. 4 lakhs has been provided for the next year.

In regard to the Gurgaon Dams and Canal Projects it is proposed to construct 3 low dams at Damdama, Budkhal and Dhanj. Each of these dams is expected to irrigate 3,000 acres in the Gurgaon district. The Project is primarily a famine relief measure and estimated to cost Rs. 15 lakhs. The expenditure during the current year would be very small but next year about Rs. 3½ lakhs are being provided for this Project.

The Rasul Hydel-cum-Sialkot-Gujranwala-Lyallpur-Rawalpindi Project is designed to generate 22,000 Kw. of hydro-electric power at Rasul. This power is intended to be utilised for the operation of 1,860 tube-wells to be installed near the main channels of the Jhelum and Chenab Canals and for the supply of electricity in the districts of Jhelum, Gujrat, Sialkot, Shahpur, Gujranwala, Sheikhupura, Lyallpur and Jhang. The completion of the project is estimated to make 8,000 Kw. available for primary power to the Province and partially relieve the acute shortage of industrial power prevailing at the present time till the Mangla Hydro-Electric Scheme, Bhakra Dam and other sources of primary power are developed. Work on the electricity side of the Project has already commenced and the Heavy Plant Committee of His Majesty's Government have already allocated manufacturing capacity in the United Kingdom for the machinery and equipment required for the Project. On the irrigation side it is anticipated that 120 tube-wells will be completed this year. During the next year it is anticipated to instal 882 more tube-wells. A sum of Rs. 98 lakhs has been provided in the next year's budget for this purpose.

Special mention is necessary in regard to the Bhakra Dam Project. It is proposed to construct a 480 feet high Dam on the Sutlej at Bhakra with a live storage of three million acre feet for the improvement of irrigation in the famine-stricken areas of Hissar, Rohtak and adjacent districts. The Dam would also generate 160,000 Kw. of electric power which would facilitate the industrialization of the Province. The design for the Dam is being prepared in the United States of America and is expected to be completed by the end of June 1946. The construction programme of the Project would be framed after the design has been received in India. There are several other irrigation projects under consideration and these have been referred to in the Secretary's Memorandum. The estimates are also under preparation for certain electricity schemes.

A Factory for the production of ammonium sulphate is being set up by the Government of India at Sindri in Bihar. Participation in the Board of Management of this Factory is open to Provinces and States either by contributing a minimum capital of Rs. 25 lakhs or by guaranteeing an offtake of 25,000 tons of ammonium sulphate per annum. This Government is taking a capital share of Rs. 25 lakhs.

#### EXTRAORDINARY RECEIPTS

These receipts constitute a special feature of our provincial finances. They are exhibited entirely outside the ordinary revenue receipts and are not taken into



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account for meeting the ordinary revenue expenditure. The total from 1937-38 up to the end of 1941-42 came to Rs. 292.5 lakhs. The latest figures are—

						In lakhs
						Rs.
1942-43	..	..	..	..	..	2,00
1943-44	..	..	..	..	..	5,13
1944-45	..	..	..	..	..	5,85
1945-46 (Revised)	..	..	..	..	..	6,06
1946-47 (Budget)	..	..	..	..	..	4,54

making an aggregate for 5 years of Rs. 23,58 lakhs.

These receipts lend a great strength to our finances as they enable us to meet a large part of our capital expenditure without recourse to the loan market. They also furnish an effective support to our balances when they are threatened with depletion on account of exceptional circumstances such as famine.

#### WAYS AND MEANS POSITION

The provincial ways and means position continues to be sound. There were abundant resources during the year and advances aggregating Rs. 1.08 lakhs in all had to be taken for very short periods to meet unexpected demands. Balances surplus to the requirements were invested both in short period treasury bills and long term securities. The short term investments this year were comparatively small as large amounts had been invested in long term securities in order to earn a higher rate of interest. The purchase of treasury bills brought in an income of Rs. 30,000 while investments in long term securities helped the provincial exchequer to the extent of Rs. 69 lakhs.

#### OUR DEBT POSITION

The net debt position of the Province on the 31st March 1945 was Rs. 27.14 lakhs. During the current year a loan of Rs. 3 crores was raised in the market for financing productive capital expenditure on irrigation and electricity schemes including expenditure on provincial loans and advances. This loan was raised at an issue price of Rs. 99-8-0 and interest at the rate of 3 per cent per annum. After allowing for purchase of bonds from the amounts set aside every year for redemption of the loans and for direct repayments to the Central Government, the debt of the Province at the end of the current year is estimated to stand at Rs. 29.56 lakhs. During the next year Government propose to take a loan of Rs. 4.69 lakhs from the Central Government for meeting expenditure on Post-War Productive Schemes and the net debt at the end of the next year is estimated to be Rs. 33.86 lakhs. Against this debt our capital expenditure amounts to Rs. 66 crores. Of this capital expenditure Rs. 48 crores is on irrigation works alone which bring in a handsome return every year.

#### DEARNESS AND WAR ALLOWANCES

Last year my predecessor in his speech explained the various concessions that Government had granted to give relief to Government servants and pensioners. During the year the rates of both dearness and war allowances had to be raised further and the estimated annual cost on account of these allowances is now Rs. 2.71 lakhs. To give further relief to Government servants, Government during the year have revised the rates of pay both for Provincial and Subordinate Services. These revisions of pay are estimated to cost the provincial revenues over Rs. 80 lakhs, though, as already mentioned, most of this expenditure has not been taken into account in preparing the next year's budget.

## POLICE

It seems desirable to make a special reference to the Police expenditure which has gone up from year to year. In 1920-21 the Police expenditure was about Rs. 96 lakhs but it gradually rose to as much as Rs. 1,39 lakhs in 1940-41. Since then there has been rapid increase as shown below :—

						<i>In lakhs</i>
						<i>Rs.</i>
1941-42	..	..	..	..	..	1,52
1942-48	..	..	..	..	..	1,90
1948-44	..	..	..	..	..	2,16
1944-45	..	..	..	..	..	2,83
1945-46 (Revised)	..	..	..	..	..	3,09
1946-47 (Budget)	..	..	..	..	..	3,24

The rise during the current year is, I understand, solely due to revision of the pay of Upper Subordinates and to the grant of dearness and war allowances at enhanced rates. The increase next year is due to the reorganization scheme of the Police Department and revision of pay of the Provincial Police Service.

## OUR SPECIAL FUNDS

The surplus revenue balances that have accrued in recent years in the Revenue Account have not been allowed to lapse, but, whenever possible, these surpluses have been transferred to the various funds.

The Special Development Fund was created in 1937-38 with a sum of Rs. 55 lakhs. To this a sum of Rs. 13 lakhs was added in 1940-41 and Rs. 30 lakhs in 1941-42. During the next 3 years a sum of Rs. one crore was added to this Fund making an aggregate of Rs. 1,98 lakhs. The essential idea of this Fund is to further beneficent activity and ensure that particularly in years of stringency Beneficent Departments do not suffer any curtailment. Out of this Fund a sum of Rs. 88 lakhs has actually been spent up to 1944-45. A sum of Rs. 11 lakhs is likely to be spent during the current year and about Rs. 17 lakhs next year. In all an expenditure of Rs. 1,16 lakhs is likely to be incurred up to the end of the year 1946-47 leaving a balance of Rs. 82 lakhs in the Fund at the end of the year.

The Peasants' Welfare Fund was created in 1941-42 with Rs. 30 lakhs and during the next three years additions were made to it of Rs. 60 lakhs each year. A further addition is now made of Rs. 50 lakhs raising the total to Rs. 2,60 lakhs. Some plans, such as that of scholarships to children of small land-owners, have already been given effect to and several further schemes are under consideration.

A new fund called the "Forest Reconstruction Fund" was created in 1948 with a sum of Rs. 15 lakhs. To this a further addition of Rs. 15 lakhs was made during the year 1944-45. A fund known as the Post-War Reconstruction Fund was also started last year with a sum of Rs. 2 crores so as to finance Post-War Reconstruction Schemes. It has not been possible to make an addition to this fund during the current year.

## HYDRO-ELECTRIC SCHEMES

Last year my predecessor pointed out that according to the revised estimates for the year 1944-45 the net income from electricity schemes was Rs. 30.06 lakhs, while the interest payable during the year was estimated at Rs. 29.16 lakhs, bringing a net return of Rs. 90,000. The accounts for the year show that the net income from electricity schemes was Rs. 35.14 lakhs while the interest payable during the year was

(Finance Minister)

Rs. 29.22 lakhs bringing in a net return of Rs. 5.92 lakhs. The position according to the revised estimates for the current year is not so good as it ought to be but the budget estimates for the next year show that the net income from our electricity schemes would be Rs. 48.93 lakhs while the interest charges would be Rs. 32.34 lakhs. The Hydro-Electric enterprise has not been a paying proposition in the past but from the figures given above for the last one or two years it would be seen that this enterprise is likely to pay more than its interest charges during the years to come.

#### FOOD SITUATION

A reference should be made to the food situation in the Province. The prolonged drought and failure of winter rains has been a great calamity for the Punjab, as in normal circumstances we always get winter rains round about Christmas time and hardly ever so late as February and March. Even in irrigated areas the growth of wheat has been stunted and though the patchy rains in February and March have done a lot of good the condition of the crop is not likely to be the same as in normal years. This, coupled with the news of shortages and famine conditions all over the world, and more particularly in Southern India (Madras, Mysore and Bombay), appears to have created a panic in the Province and dried up the normal arrivals to the markets from rural areas. There has been panic buying and withholding both in urban areas and villages.

The present position is that, whereas there is probably enough wheat and certainly enough foodgrains in the Province as a whole to carry us through till the new crop comes in, local shortages have developed in a number of places which it is necessary for Government machinery to adjust. Certain measures have been taken by Government to conserve supplies and these measures will probably be described in due course by the Honourable Minister concerned and also the improvements which it is intended to effect in the system of control of markets and procurement of produce. The Government are fully conscious of the necessity of regulating the control of markets in a manner which should cause the least possible dislocation and inconvenience to the public in general and to the grower and the trader in particular.

Although my contact with the Finance Department extends literally to the proverbial ten days, this is no reason for my withholding appreciation of the devoted labour put in by every gentleman, from the highest officer to the lowest clerk, who had anything to do with the task of preparing the budget. As persons directly responsible for bearing the brunt of shaping and consolidating the budget they are entitled to our commendation. From all accounts I am satisfied that the Finance Department is very properly manned and that in time to come it will, under the guidance of its able and conscientious Secretary, Mr. B. R. Tandan, and assisted by a whole host of capable and willing co-workers in the shape of Deputy and Assistant Secretaries, Superintendents and Assistants, give an excellent account of itself.

The Honourable Members must not forget that for the execution of our plans we have to rely on the willing co-operation of the Services. The relations between the Services and the Legislature must consequently be of the happiest. The Services must be trusted and not interfered with lightly. The creation of an atmosphere of friendliness and good will in the Province is necessary if the Services are to function with devotion, dignity and impartiality. (*Hear, hear.*) Care should be taken to avoid dragging the Services into the vortex of party politics or else the money spent on them will fail to achieve its purpose.

The Services must, on their side, fully realize the sacredness of the trust reposed in them. Details of administration being in their hands they can contribute a great deal in creating a proper and happy atmosphere in the Province. It is, therefore, imperative that they should realize that their primary duty is to promote the interests of the common man in the Province regardless of the religious or party label he bears. (*Hear, hear.*)

## PRESENTATION OF THE BUDGET

The task that lies ahead of the present Government is very difficult indeed and calls for the support of every section of the people if the lot of the common man in the Punjab is to be bettered even though in a small measure. Viewed in the dreadful context of the impending food situation in the country the need for closest co-operation between political parties, the Services and the general public is ever urgent. I fondly hope we shall avoid recrimination and shed the unhappy complex of mutual distrust and devote ourselves unitedly and in a true spirit of service to the task of improving the conditions of life of the small peasant and the landless labourer in the field, the humble artisan and the worker in the factory, the shop assistant and the clerk at the counter and the man in the street.

Sir, I beg to present the Budget for the year 1946-47. (*Applause.*)

## PRIVILEGE MOTION AND WALK-OUT OF THE OPPOSITION

**Mr. Speaker :** Before I adjourn the House I would like to make a statement. I deeply regret the necessity which the Opposition has felt for withdrawing from the Chamber. I hope it is due only to a misunderstanding and nothing more. I had already pointed out that under Article 167 of the Punjab Government Constitutional Manual, Volume II, no business can take place to-day except the presentation of the budget and the asking of questions and the giving of replies thereto. But I told the honourable members on my left that I would give them an opportunity to move their privilege motion if necessary and that I wanted a little time to consider the whole matter. I had permitted them to point out what the point involved was. When they indicated the nature of the point they wanted to raise I was inclined to agree that it was a subject on which I should permit discussion but at the same time I pointed out that the nature and object of the point was such that debate was undesirable at this stage. I would also quote May's Parliamentary Practice in this connection. It is said on page 264

A privilege matter may also be brought forward without notice, before the commencement of public business, and is considered immediately, on the assumption that the matter is brought forward without delay, and that its immediate consideration is essential to the dignity of the house.

In my opinion the matter raised to-day was not such that it should be immediately considered. I had already stated that the Speaker is the custodian of the dignity of the House and as the matter related to the precincts of this Chamber I would consider the matter and then if necessary and if I thought that the matter was one of privilege, it would be proceeded with. It was not necessary that the privilege should be taken note of in the form of a motion. Again I quote from May who says :

"The quality of privilege, and the consequent right of immediate consideration, do not depend solely on the nature and object of the motion, but may be imparted or withdrawn by the circumstances that attend the motion."

When I gave the assurance to the honourable member I thought that he accepted it. It was only when the honourable member who spoke last proceeded to argue that I did not permit him to proceed. May further says :

Although, in some respects, a matter of privilege properly does not admit of notice, if a member can give notice, and the matter is a question of privilege, precedence is conceded to it.

I hold that this is a matter of which a member could give notice. No attempt was made even to casually mention the matter to the Speaker. I deeply regret that the Opposition has thought fit to walk out.

*The Assembly then adjourned till 12 noon on Saturday, 23rd March 1946.*

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# PUNJAB LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

1ST SESSION OF THE SECOND PUNJAB LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

SATURDAY, 23RD MARCH 1946

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

## PRIVILEGE MOTION

**Chaudhri Muhammad Hasan :** (Ambala and Simla, Muhammadan, Rural) : On a point of privilege, Mr. Speaker. Before questions are asked, I want to raise a privilege motion.

**Mr. Speaker :** After questions, please.

**Chaudhri Muhammad Hasan :** But a privilege motion can be raised even before you take up the questions. I refer you to Campion, page 47.

**Sardar Kapoor Singh :** You seem to have come prepared to-day.

**Chaudhri Muhammad Hasan :** I always come prepared. The question of disrespect to the House collectively or whether committed by a member or anybody else is dealt with at page 47.

**Mr. Speaker :** But I would refer the honourable member to Article 56 of the Manual of Business Procedure. According to this Article the privilege motion may be made after the questions.

**Chaudhri Muhammad Hasan :** It is 'may be made'.

**Mr. Speaker :** I give preference to our own rules and the honourable member does not lose anything by waiting for a few minutes. My ruling, therefore, is that I will listen to it after the questions.

**Chaudhri Muhammad Hasan :** All right, I am satisfied.

## STARRED QUESTION AND ANSWERS

BHARATI PRINTING PRESS, LAHORE

**\*5. Dr. Gopi Chand Bhargava :** Will the Honourable Premier be pleased to state —

(a) whether it is a fact that the premises of the Bharati Printing Press, Lahore, were searched by the police in December, 1942; if so, whether anything objectionable was found there;

(b) whether the proprietor of the above-mentioned press, Mr. Hari Krishna Premi, was arrested and detained under rule 129 of the Defence of India Rules; if so, the reasons thereof and the duration of his detention;

(c) whether the premises of the said press were again searched in February, 1943, if so, whether anything objectionable was found there;

(d) whether it is a fact that the said press was removed to the Government Printing Press, Lahore, and handed over to the authorities there in March 1943;

(e) whether the Government intend to return the said press to its proprietor, if so, when; if not, why not?

**The Honourable Malik Sir Khizar Hayat :** (a) Yes; some double line press type letters used in connection with the printing of objectionable hand-bills were found there.

(b) Yes; he remained under detention for 2 months in the interest of public safety and the efficient prosecution of the war.

(Premier)

(c) Yes; three presses, type letters in English and Hindi and some printed matters were found and taken into possession, as the press was being used to produce literature which was considered to be prejudicial to the efficient prosecution of the war, to the defence of British India and to the public interest and safety.

(d) Yes.

(e) The seized articles were returned on 6th March 1946.

#### "THE NEW PUNJABEE"

\*6. **Dr. Gopi Chand Bhargava** : Will the Honourable Premier be pleased to state whether it is a fact that a security has been demanded from the 'New Punjabee' an English weekly of Lahore; if so, the amount so demanded and the reasons therefor?

**The Honourable Malik Sir Khizar Hayat** : Yes; Rs. 1,000 for publishing in its issue, dated the 20th October 1945, an article headed "My Holy Pilgrimage" which offended clauses (b), (bb) and (f) of subsection (1) of section 4 of the Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act, XXIII of 1931, as amended by subsection (3) of section 6 of the Defence of India Act, 1939.

#### LEGAL PRACTITIONERS ON THE CROWN LIST

\*4. **Dr. Gopi Chand Bhargava** : Will the Honourable Minister of Finance be pleased to state —

(a) the names of the High Court advocates and legal practitioners in the Province who were on the Crown list on the 19th of January 1946;

(b) the names of those, if any, who have been removed from the list after that date and the reasons therefor?

**The Honourable Mr. Bhim Sen Sachar** : (a) A statement containing the required information is placed on the table.

(b) Mr. Nand Lal Bhalla and Mr. R. C. Soni. The circumstances regarding their removal are being looked into.

*Names of the High Court Advocates and legal practitioners who were on the Crown list on the 19th January 1946.*

- |                                  |                                       |
|----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1. Mr. R. C. Soni.               | 21. Mr. Bishan Narain.                |
| 2. Mr. A. G. Maurice.            | 22. Mr. Bashir Ahmad.                 |
| 3. Mr. S. N. Bali.               | 23. Mr. Shabir Ahmad.                 |
| 4. Chaudhri Asadullah Khan.      | 24. Mr. Jamil Aghar.                  |
| 5. Mr. Anant Ram Khosla.*        | 25. Sardar Harbans Singh.             |
| 6. Malik Muhammad Amin.          | 26. Mr. Narotam Singh.                |
| 7. Mr. Hem Raj Mahajan.          | 27. Mr. A. N. Grover.                 |
| 8. Mr. Khurshid Zaman.           | 28. Sardar Sahib Sardar Jhanda Singh. |
| 9. Mr. Sarv Mittar Sikri.        | 29. Mr. Qamar-ud-Din.                 |
| 10. Mr. Bhagwan Das Mehra.       | 30. Mr. Allah Din Malik.              |
| 11. Mr. Ram Parshad Khosla.      | 31. Mr. K. A. Hamid.                  |
| 12. Mr. Mohammad Amin Khan.      | 32. Mr. Daya Kishan Mahajan.          |
| 13. Mr. Nand Lal Salooja.        | 33. Mr. Khushwant Singh.              |
| 14. Mr. H. L. Soni.              | 34. Mr. Eric H. Banerji.              |
| 15. Mr. V. N. Sethi.             | 35. Mr. Nand Lal Bhalla.              |
| 16. Mr. S. C. Manchanda.         | 36. Mr. Madan Mohan Lal.              |
| 17. Mr. Vir Sen Sawhney.         | 37. S. Harbans Singh Deabia.          |
| 18. Sardar Kartar Singh Chawla.* | 38. Sayed Wajid Ali.                  |
| 19. Mr. Vishnu Datta.            | 39. Sardar Gurdev Singh.              |
| 20. Mr. S. Abdul Aziz.           | 40. Mr. Ghulam Rasul Khan.            |
|                                  | 41. Mr. Manzur Qadir.                 |

\*They are at present working as Assistant Legal Remembrancers.

## STARRED QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

**Chaudhri Muhammad Hasan :** Is this R. C. Soni the same gentleman who appeared as a special Public Prosecutor in cases in mofussil courts, such as Sargodha, Ludhiana, Simla, etc.?

**Premier :** Did he appear against the honourable member ?

**Chaudhri Muhammad Hasan :** I had not done anything. He will appear some day against you.

**Premier :** I know many people will appear against me but I refer to you.

**Chaudhri Muhammad Hasan :** You will be condemned. You will not be saved.

## STATEMENT LAID ON THE TABLE

### ACTION AGAINST CORRUPT OFFICIALS

**Secretary :** \*Statement showing action taken against corrupt officials in the Punjab during the period from 1st April 1944 to 31st March 1945 is laid on the table.

## PRIVILEGE MOTION

### ALLOTMENT OF ROOM IN THE ASSEMBLY BUILDING FOR SENIOR SUPERINTENDENT OF POLICE

**Chaudhri Muhammad Hasan :** Yesterday it was brought to your notice that a room in the Assembly Chamber . . . .

**Mr. Speaker :** Is the honourable member referring to the question raised yesterday ?

**Chaudhri Muhammad Hasan :** Yes.

**Mr. Speaker :** Yesterday I promised that I shall consider whether a privilege was involved in the question raised by Raja Ghazanfar Ali. I have given the matter my very careful consideration and I find that no breach of privilege is involved. My reasons are these. There is a distinction between the Chamber Hall itself and the Chamber Building as a whole.

**Khan Bahadur Mian Allah Yar Khan Daulatana :** Do you want to give part of this Chamber ?

**Mr. Speaker :** The privilege of members is confined to those parts of the House which are appropriated for the special use of members only. As regards the remaining building, the question of privilege only pertains to the Speaker, who is there as your representative. I have not had any necessity to consult the Honourable Premier or anybody else on the Government benches on the subject because I found that the room had been allotted in consequence of my own orders and, therefore, I take full responsibility for the presence of the Senior Superintendent of Police.

**Chaudhri Muhammad Hasan :** So, you have brought him here.

**Mr. Speaker :** Order, please. I had given orders to the Secretary to get in touch with the Senior Superintendent of Police in order to ensure that no member of the House was obstructed in any manner on his way to the Assembly. I considered it necessary to do so under the special circumstances prevailing. Such a precaution is in accord with an established Parliamentary practice of great antiquity.

**Chaudhri Muhammad Hasan :** Is it the Parliament that you are speaking about or is it about any other Assembly ?

**Mr. Speaker :** I refer the honourable member to May's Parliamentary Practice, page 180. There it is stated :—

To facilitate the attendance of members without interruption, both Houses, at the commencement of each session, by order, give directions that the Commissioner of the Police of the metropolis shall keep, during the session of Parliament, the streets leading to the Houses of Parliament free and open, and that no obstruction shall be permitted to hinder the passage thereto of the lords or members.



(Mr. Speaker)

When tumultuous assemblages of people have obstructed the thoroughfare, lobby or passages, orders have been given to the local authorities to disperse them.

When the Senior Superintendent of Police came to the Assembly office after the Secretary had got in touch with him, he — the Senior Superintendent of Police — suggested that instead of a subordinate of his being here, he could be here himself if so desired, (*hear, hear from Opposition benches*) provided he could be allotted a room wherein he could attend to his office work. The suggestion was accepted, as it was in the interest of the House that in an emergency, the senior most officer should be readily available. No privilege has been violated as there is no distinction between the Senior Superintendent of Police, as an officer of the Government and a Secretary to the Government.

**Chaudhri Muhammad Hasan :** There is much difference.

**Mr. Speaker :** Administratively there is no difference. Even before during my predecessor's time, rooms have been allotted in the Assembly precincts to Secretaries to Government and others. The presence of police in the precincts of the Chamber, as you know, is already recognised not only by usages of Parliament but by the usage adopted in this House and the Central Assembly. If the Senior Superintendent of Police had stood in the passage or in the entrance or somewhere else, the honourable member would have had no objection and considered it no breach of privilege. Instead of wasting Government money by the Senior Superintendent of Police being here doing nothing, he was permitted to proceed with his routine office work while in attendance at the Assembly. I fail to see how this has worsened the situation.

**Chaudhri Muhammad Hasan :** It was never allotted to a police officer by your predecessor. It is allotted by you now. Do you see no distinction between a Government officer and a police officer?

**Mr. Speaker :** The point is whether a privilege has been violated. Had the Government installed the Senior Superintendent of Police on the precincts of the Chamber, I would have taken a very serious view of the matter and would have had no hesitation in getting the room vacated at once.

**Chaudhri Muhammad Hasan :** Sir, I do not want to challenge your ruling but I want to bring to your kind notice that whatever is done . . . .

**Pandit Shri Ram Sharma :** Can your ruling come under discussion?

**Chaudhri Muhammad Hasan :** At the very beginning I said that I do not want to challenge your ruling, but all the same you will be pleased to find that the precincts of the Assembly are not different from the rooms in this building. The question is that the precincts of the Assembly should be free for the access of the members.

**Mr. Speaker :** I have gone into the matter and after studying everything, I have come to the conclusion that there is a very clear distinction. If the honourable member will come to my room I will show him the authority.

**Chaudhri Muhammad Hasan :** Will you kindly explain it here what book you consulted and what authority you consulted.

**Mr. Speaker :** May's Parliamentary Practice for one. Now, there should be no further discussion on this subject.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** May I make a suggestion? Cannot the office of the Senior Superintendent of Police be fixed in a small tent in the lawn opposite?

**Mr. Speaker :** I would also like to tell the honourable members that I am accessible to them for advice in this matter, but I shall not permit discussion of my ruling on the floor of the House. The matter lies in my discretion. I am willing to consult the honourable members not on the basis of privilege, but from the point of view of propriety, if they so desire. I am definite that this is not a privilege motion.

but still I am prepared to look into the matter and discuss it with party leaders and change the *bandobast*, if necessary.

**Chaudhri Muhammad Hasan :** Are you available alone or with the Premier ?

**Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan :** Who asked for the police aid in this House ?

**Chaudhri Muhammad Hasan :** What has the Honourable Finance Minister to say on this point ?

**Mr. Speaker :** I have had no consultation with the Honourable the Premier and have said all I have to say.

#### ADJOURNMENT MOTIONS DURING BUDGET SESSION

**Mr. Speaker :** There are 26 adjournment motions of which notices are given. It would be presumptuous on my part to go behind the ruling of my illustrious predecessor. He had given the ruling that when there were adjournment motions which could be discussed during the general debate or when the general administration was being considered, then there was no necessity of discussing adjournment motions separately. So I see no reason to make a departure from that well-established practice.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** I hope you will follow your predecessor and will give me time to place before you my point of view on this very important question. It is not a thing which can be taken so lightly. In accordance with the practice of this House, adjournment motions had been allowed at least fifty times during the budget discussion.

**Mr. Speaker :** I am quite willing to go into the matter. I am too fresh to this job to go beyond that. My ruling may be taken to be confined to to-day's sitting only. Show me the practice but not here in the House. I am prepared to revise my ruling if you can show that the practice of my predecessor was different. The honourable member should proceed with the general debate on the budget.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** If you want us not to take part in the proceedings and want the Government to run away with this budget, we are prepared to do so. But let me say that as long as we are here sitting on this side of the House we will not allow any infringement of the rules.

**Mr. Speaker :** If the honourable member gives me any reason for their urgency, then I will give him an opportunity.

**Chaudhri Krishna Gopal Dutt :** For the information of the House I may point out that there is a confirmation of your ruling in a province which is being ruled by the Muslim League. The other day this question was brought before the Sind Legislative Assembly by the Opposition Party in Sind and the Speaker gave the ruling that during budget discussion he would not allow any adjournment motion to be moved in the House. This is in a Province which is being ruled by a Muslim League Ministry. Why should the Opposition here complain of a ruling which has been given under the regime of a Muslim League Ministry in Sind ?

**Mr. Speaker :** There is no question of the Muslim League or any other league. I have given my ruling for to-day and I will not allow any further discussion on this point. (*Hear, hear from the Treasury benches.*)

**Khan Sahib Sheikh Muhammad Amin :** When the member from the other side spoke, the Honourable Speaker allowed him and heard him patiently. He should also hear the point of view of this side.

**Mr. Speaker :** I have heard with patience the remarks of both the sides.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** I have given notice of about 15 adjournment motions and I should be given an opportunity to convince you about the desirability of bringing them forward. Do you think that it is fair to pass them over like that ? It happens nowhere in the world.

**Mr. Speaker :** Raja Sahib, your name appears first on the list to speak on the budget discussion.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** Sir, I have no other option but to bow to your ruling.

#### BUDGET—GENERAL DISCUSSION

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan** (Pind Dadan Khan, Muslim, Rural) (*Urdu*) : Sir, I have been deputed by my party to open the general discussion on the budget to-day. For me it is a great pleasure. At the very beginning, I must draw the attention of this honourable House to the fact that this day is a very happy day. To-day is the 25th of March, the day celebrated all over India as Pakistan day. I appeal to Muslims, in particular those sitting on the Ministerial benches, and other communities in general to join me in my fervent hope that God Almighty may grant us Pakistan within this year and that we may have a free Hindustan and a free Pakistan. I hope my Muslim friends sitting over there will also say "amen" to this prayer of mine.

Coming to the budget I have to say only this much that the Honourable Minister of Finance himself says in his Budget speech that he has no sympathy with it. So the new budget is like a baby which is not claimed by any one, in this House at least. The Honourable Finance Ministers says, "The Budget proposals strictly speaking, are not the proposals of the new Ministry".

*(At this stage the Honourable Premier left the House.)*

Sir, you seem to be very strictly following the precedent of your predecessor. May I invite your attention to page 383 of Volume I, dated the 21st June 1937? While the Opposition opened the general discussion of the Budget, the then Premier left his seat, just as the Premier has done now. Chaudhri Krishna Gopal Dutt, who has now degenerated politically, was in possession of the House. He said :—

Before I speak may I suggest that Honourable Ministers should be in their seats while the members of the Opposition are replying to the Budget.

The Speaker gave a ruling and said :—

That is the practice of the House. I hope the Honourable Premier will return soon.

The Speaker immediately sent for the Premier and asked him to sit and hear the speeches. I hope you will follow your predecessor.

**Mr. Speaker :** I would refer the House to Hansard, Volume 326, page 404. It is a recurring phenomenon that during budget debates members while speaking complain of the absence of Ministers from the House. So far as the Speaker is concerned it is not a matter for the Chair. But as my predecessor gave a ruling, I will bring it to the notice of the Premier.

**Minister for Finance** (The Honourable Mr. Bhim Sen Sachar) : May I draw your attention to the fact that at this stage we are dealing with the general discussion of the Budget, and as Finance Minister it is I who has got to reply to the debate. There is no need for the Premier to be present here.

**Mr. Speaker :** I have drawn your attention that it is on good authority that the Speaker is not concerned; but as I have said I will bring it to the notice of the Premier; it is not for me to order him. My predecessor said 'I hope he will return soon'.

**Sardar Ujjal Singh :** May I submit that that was in connection with a demand for which the Minister was responsible.

**Mr. Speaker :** I cannot on the spur of the moment give my ruling. The point has been brought to my notice and I am willing to bring it to the notice of the Premier. That is all. After I have gone through the whole affair and seen as to what was the occasion for such protests in the past and with what result, then I shall

be in a position to give my considered opinion. I am not prepared to-day to go beyond bringing to the notice of the Premier the desire of the Opposition that he should be present in the House during the general discussion of the Budget.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** I know, Sir, it was the duty of the Congress Party to protest against such action of the Leader of the House. I do not know, why my honourable friend Chaudhri Krishna Gopal Dutt is mum to-day. Formerly, he used to be very eloquent on such points. *(Cheers.)* So far as the Budget is concerned, as I have already stated, the Honourable Finance Minister has apologised for it. He says that he has nothing to do with this Budget. Therefore I congratulate Mr. Tandan and his subordinates for preparing this Budget on their own responsibility. That duty is to present figures and facts only. They cannot lay down a policy. It is not the duty of an I. C. S. officer to lay down policy for a Government. The Honourable Finance Minister says that he has presented the Budget to the House as it was handed over to him by the Finance Secretary. *(At this stage the Honourable Premier entered the House.)*

**Premier :** Sir, I hear that a question has been raised about my absence here. I want to make it plain that there is no authority under the sun that can force me to be in my seat. The House has one authority and that is that they can throw me out of office. To be here or not to be here is my decision. I would not have ordinarily come back, but a question has been raised and the ruling, if ever given, is wrong and I challenge it. Sir, no ruling can force me to be here. That is my view point, but in deference to my friend Raja Sahib, for whom I have great respect, I would oblige him and be present in the House.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** There is no rule which can force you to be present here. Even the ten crores of Muslims cannot force you.

**Premier :** I am trying to act as a good Musalman before God and man according to my conscience. I cannot be cowed down by anybody.

**Mr. Speaker :** I have quoted an authority that it is not obligatory for the Premier to be present but my attention was drawn to a ruling of my predecessor and I said that I would draw the attention of the Premier to that ruling. It is not a question of my ruling. I have given no ruling so far.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** So far as the Budget is concerned the Honourable the Finance Minister could have, if he had felt his responsibility, prepared a much better budget than the one he has presented to this House. He could have held out a hope to us that in spite of the fact that he had very little time to prepare the Budget, still he would do his best to improve upon it. But he has done nothing of the sort. It appears that the Budget had already been printed and my friend by putting down his seal on it has taken the whole responsibility on his shoulders. I ask, is it or is it not true?

**Minister for Finance :** I have not put my seal on it.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** I never knew that a well read person like the Honourable Mr. Bhim Sen Sachar would disown all responsibility for introducing the Budget Estimates for the year 1946-47. Now I ask him whether these introductory remarks are his or whether they have been written by Mr. Tandan. If these remarks are his, then could he not give an assurance to this Assembly that he would do his utmost to recast the whole budget in due course of time? I may remind him that in the year 1937 when this Assembly was newly set up, its first session was held in April and in spite of the fact that the Budget for the year had been certified by the Governor, still the Honourable the late Premier Sir Sikander Hyat-Khan observed that no democratic party was in duty bound to accept the budget which had been prepared under the direction of the Governor and in pursuance of that he declared that the session of the Assembly would be held as soon as possible and the budget would be presented

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to the House in accordance with the wishes of the party in power. Consequently the Assembly session was held in July at Simla and the whole of the budget was presented to the House and passed. I ask, could not the Honourable the Finance Minister have given such an assurance to the House in his Budget speech that after careful consideration this budget would be presented in full in the month of April or May with such amendments as would be in consonance with the policy and programme set out in their party's manifesto? This is what he could very easily have done. But I regret to say that he has done nothing of the sort.

Now, Sir, the Honourable the Finance Minister has laid great stress on the productive schemes and so far as protective schemes are concerned, which from our point of view are very essential, he has not even touched them. This is what he says:

It follows that our main emphasis should be on productive schemes, the unproductive but essential ones being confined with the narrow compass of special Central grants or normal increase in the revenue.

So far as I have been able to understand it this means that the unproductive or the protective schemes which are very essential and which are capable of meeting the needs of the people should not be taken in hand. As against that he would take only those schemes which would bring in greater return in the form of interest and which are productive from the point of view of the market. This Budget, to say the least is a reflex of the *bania* mentality of the Minister for Finance. I assure him that if he prepares the Budget with this *bania* mentality he would not be able to do any good to the province of the Punjab.

Now let us proceed further. The Honourable the Finance Minister has observed in the concluding portion of his speech:

The task that lies ahead of the present Government is very difficult indeed.

This sentence occurs at the end of his speech which I accept as a statement of fact with a small amendment, that is, I would substitute the word "impossible" for the word "difficult". I assure you, Sir, that it is impossible for such a Coalition Government or for the matter of that for such honourable members who are sitting on those benches to prepare the budget of a municipality, much less of a province. After all what is this Coalition? What are the parties forming this Coalition and fancy who is their leader? (*interruptions*). The Honourable Malik Sir Khizar Hayat is he your leader (*Interruptions*).

**Lala Kidar Nath Sehgal :** He is not our leader.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** Are you not functioning under Malik Sir Khizar Hayat Khan's leadership?

**Lala Kidar Nath Sehgal :** No, we are not functioning under him. *Hear hear from the Opposition benches.*

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :**

آگے آگے دیکھئے ہوتا ہے کیا      ابتداءً عشق ہے روتا ہے کیا

**Premier :** We are colleagues.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** But you are functioning under him? I ask, is Malik Khizar Hayat Khan your leader or not?

**Lala Kidar Nath Sehgal :** This is a Coalition Ministry.

**Premier :** We on this side are all colleagues. (*Interruptions*).

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** You must hear what I have to say.

**Mr. Speaker :** No interruptions, please.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** I would request my friends to give me a patient hearing otherwise I warn them that when speeches will be made from that side we will

interrupt them so much that it will be difficult for my friends to speak and no amount of intervention from the Senior Superintendent of Police or even the additional police will desist us from interrupting them. If they have a reasonable point to raise, let them come forward with it, otherwise they should not interrupt me.

**Mr. Speaker :** What has that got to do with the general discussion of the Budget? I cannot allow that to be discussed.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** After all who is their leader except Malik Sir Khizar Hayat Khan? I take it that he is their leader. But my friend refuses to admit this fact.

**Lala Kidar Nath Sehgal :** This is a Coalition Ministry. (*Interruptions.*)

**Minister for Finance :** (The Honourable Mr. Bhim Sen Sachar) : Sir, I declare from this place as the leader of the Congress party that we have coalesced with the other two parties and the Honourable Malik Sir Khizar Hayat Khan is our leader — leader of the Coalition party (*Hear, hear from the Congress benches.*)

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** I was not referring to my friend Mr. Bhim Sen Sachar. He is unnecessarily becoming heated. So far as he is concerned, his leader is Sir Bertrand Glancy. I think the following verse has been composed by a poet for him only :

توڑن کا لگت مچھ خضر دلا دے سچر  
(امدادائی کے لئے مچھ انجن بنا دے نورس)

**Mr. Speaker :** I would request the honourable member to withdraw that remark.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** I withdraw.

What I wish to know from the honourable members opposite is this whether or not Malik Khizar Hayat Khan, who happens to be their so-called leader, is actually representing any party in this House, in the true sense of the word? (*Interruptions.*) Sir, I would like to make this point clear and I make bold to submit that so long as the Honourable Premier does not represent any party in the real sense, he can in no way be termed as the leader of the present Coalition Party. (*Interruptions.*) What I wish to prove is this that the honourable members opposite should not be surprised to see one fine morning their so-called Coalition Ministry fall like a house of cards. The reason for this is not far to seek and that is this. The present Coalition is a fraud and section 420 could apply to all the members who have formed this so-called alliance. (*Interruptions.*) (An honourable member : That is unparliamentary.) (*Interruptions.*) If it is so, then let me substitute the word "deception" for "section 420". I think no proof is required to further elucidate this point.

I was submitting that the Honourable Premier poses himself as the leader of the so-called Unionist Party, which has coalesced with the Congress and the Akali Parties in forming the government of the Province. But I wish to know what has become of the Unionist Party and who is the leader of that party. It will not be out of place to mention here that almost all the Muslim members of that party have joined the Muslim League camp and they are sitting here with us on this side of the House in the capacity of Muslim League Party members. (*A Voice from Treasury benches :* They have been converted). The Unionist party no longer exists now. As I have already submitted, almost all the Muslim members of the Unionist Party are sitting here on these opposition benches. They have announced in public their unflinching faith in Pakistan. I would like to ask these honourable members to let me know whether they subscribe to this view of mine. (*Cries of 'amen' from the Opposition members.*) (*Interruptions.*) Let me bring this point home to the Honourable Premier that these honourable members, who were once pillars of the Unionist Party, are now staunch supporters of Pakistan and that is why they are sitting here with us. The Honourable Premier did not join with these members in saying 'amen'. In the circumstances I cannot understand how he can become the leader of the so-called Unionist

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Party when all its members are sitting on this side of the House. In this connection, I am reminded of a couplet which runs as follows :—

داغ نراق محبت شب کی جلی ہوئی اک شمع رہ گئی تھی سو رہ ہی خاموش ہے

It is as clear as daylight that the Honourable Premier with four or five Muslim members with him cannot claim to represent the Muslims of the Province. The present Coalition cannot be called a coalition in the true sense of the word, because it is a combination of heterogeneous elements each diametrically opposed to the other, without anything being common between them. So far as the Congress party is concerned, I wish to submit that it has joined with only a few members of the minority parties. After all which is that principle or manifesto or programme that is common to all the three parties? They have only one common factor and that is this. They are united in their hatred of the Muslim League. Let me bring this point home to them that they are sacrificing the aspirations of one hundred million Muslims of India. I wonder how any party which is not a majority party, can frame any programme or form any Government under the false pretensions of ameliorating the condition of the masses and with this objective in view be successful in doing it, when the majority party is sitting on this side of the House. I may assure the Honourable Premier that we have no hatred or grudge against him and his colleagues. We are fully aware of the delicacy of the present situation. I appeal to him that he should realise the unrepresentative standing he has and not sacrifice his community for his selfish ends. (*Interruptions.*)

**Mr. Speaker :** I have given you great latitude. Please say something new.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** Sir, I am of opinion that until we have an all-parties government, it is well nigh impossible to work for the betterment of the masses in the province. The principle on which this all-parties government should be based has already been enunciated fully by the leader of our Party, Nawab of Mamdot, while offering the hand of co-operation to the minority parties. In fact, we invited the leaders of the Congress Party to co-operate with us as the representative body of the Hindus only, as was amply proved by the recent elections in the province. Our offer was extended to such an extent that we gave them an option of nominating their Ministers to the Cabinet and form the government with our party which is the majority party in the province. (*Interruptions.*) Now I wish to prove that the Congress is out and out a Hindu body. The recent elections all over India stand testimony to the correctness of this statement of mine. There is not a single Muslim who has been elected on the Congress ticket. (*Interruptions.*) May I ask what right the Congress Party had to patronize the nationalist Muslims and give them the Congress ticket to seek success in the recent elections, with a view to rule over the Muslim minority of India? Does it not incidentally prove that the Congress, by patronising the nationalist Muslims and by their subsequent failure to secure any seat on that ticket, is not in any way representing the Muslims in India?

Now about the Akalis. So far as they are concerned, we have great respect for them and it is a matter for great pride that Qaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah expressed in explicit terms that he is prepared to give them the right of self-determination. (*Hear, hear, from Opposition benches.*) The Akalis want the right of self-determination and their due share in the formation of the Cabinet. So far as the former is concerned, Qaid-i-Azam has already expressed his consent to it in unequivocal terms. As regards the latter we have conceded and are always willing to concede them their right demands. Now may I ask my Akali friends whether the present Coalition Ministry is going to allow them to have their rights, especially the right regarding the Sikh State? (*Interruptions.*) (*An honourable member from the Treasury benches:* Have you any authority to dish it out to them?) I may repeat for the information of the honourable member that the Qaid-i-Azam has already expressed his consent.

to it. I wish my honourable friend Giani Kartar Singh were present in the House. Unfortunately he is absent to-day. He said that the negotiations between the Akalis and the Muslim League failed because we were not prepared to side-track the issue of Pakistan. I would very much wish to ask my Akali friends that since they could join hands with Malik Khizar Hayat who also happens to be a supporter of Pakistan, how is it that they could not agree to coalesce with us? It will not be out of place to mention here that Sardar Baldev Singh went to see Malik Khizar Hayat Khan and informed him that the Muslim League had offered them legitimate rights. Since these terms were the offshoots of the Pakistan demand, they disagreed to coalesce with them. He further told him since he also was a supporter of Pakistan, how could any amicable settlement be arrived at between the Unionists and the Akalis? And to this Malik Khizar Hayat Khan replied in these words :

میرے اسلام کو اک قریۃ ماضی سمجھو

(Consider my faith in Islam a bygone episode.)

Would you let me know whether you are a Muslim?

**Premier :** You should not speak thus of a Muslim.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** I hold you for a Muslim even now, but it is a pity that being a Muslim you do not join hands with us. You are misled by others. It is perhaps for the sake of the Ministry that you made a coalition with the Congress and the Akalis. If you do not realise your mistake even now, I am sure you will lower yourself in the public estimation. The only honourable course for you is to come and join your own brethren. I would ask the Congress members of the House whether they do not remember Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru's speech delivered at Jhansi where he made a mention of the Unionists. A couple of days back, in a speech made at Jhansi, he said that the Congress cannot bear to sit by the side of the Unionists.

**Sardar Kapoor Singh :** Do you not sit with the Unionists in the House?

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** But I am not a member of the Congress. It is you who have sacrificed your principles for the sake of ministry. The Honourable Lala Bhim Sen Sachar asserts that he will soon prove his efficiency about the compilation of the budget. But I would ask him to tell us what sort of a budget he desires to prepare. Will it relate to the bankruptcy of the Punjab or the British imperialism? We desire to serve the country. But this is absolutely contrary to the desires of those who are ever after establishing their power in the province. I wish that the day soon comes when our friends opposite would issue orders for arresting and hand-cuffing us.

Now, I would make a reference to Maulana Daud Ghaznavi. At the time when our negotiations were in progress with the Congress, he placed undesirable conditions before us. But in the end he surrendered to the Unionists and the Akalis unconditionally and merged in them beyond distinction. He is dead against his fellow believers and his activities are mainly directed towards uprooting Islam.

I would invite the attention of the Honourable Premier to the fact that the British Cabinet Mission is about to visit this country. In what capacity would he meet them? Whose representative would he call himself? The Muslims of India have Qaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah as their true representative. For God's sake the Premier should not try to usurp the rights of ten crores of Muslims at this critical juncture. I admit that he has succeeded in forming a Ministry, but at the same time I would request him to realise the exigency of the time to come. India at present is passing through a critical stage, it is even now a golden chance for him to reform himself. His group is no group at all and has no leader. He is happy that his residence is well guarded by armed police, and that nobody can see him. But I would ask him, how long will this state of things continue?



**Premier :** The allegation is incorrect.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** He may say whatever he likes, but

بر رسولان بلاغ باشد و بس

He is ever after his personal interests. He does not realise the responsibility that rests upon his shoulders. On our part we feel that we are responsible for the protection of the rights of all parties without any distinction of caste and creed.

Now, Sir, addressing the Christians I would say that in spite of the fact that the Honourable Malik Khizar Hayat Khan has given them the speakership, they should never be unmindful of their rights.

**Sardar Kapoor Singh :** Please address the Honourable Speaker.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** I say they have to live in this country, they have their interests in this country, they have their commercial interests, they have their trade interests. They belong to an association which has a certain standing. They must be guided by principles.

**Mr. Speaker :** Please address the chair.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** Their community should not say that they are not interested in anything. They must be guided by certain high principles. They should realise that in the Punjab we are a majority party, we are a majority community and we are prepared to give the fullest rights to minorities. But if their policy is that they will stand by whichever government there is, I can assure them that they will realise that that policy will not take them further.

**Sardar Kapoor Singh :** What about Sind ?

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** We will give them every protection.

**Sardar Kapoor Singh :** You were saying that you will do this and that.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** Sir, I was submitting that a permanent alliance among different political groups could be achieved only if there were certain principles common to them all. I would ask my friends opposite to come and join hands with us, because we do have certain principles on the basis of which a lasting alliance can be contracted. But they are not prepared to give us a hearing, because since the formation of a Coalition ministry, principles to them have become a thing of the past. They were after the ministry and they have achieved their goal. Those high-sounding principles of the bygone days can safely go to dogs now. But let me sound a note of warning here. A ministry which is formed at the cost of basic and vital principles is nothing much to be proud of.

Sir, I fail to understand why they do not shed this mantle of hypocrisy and come out in the open in their true colours. When we say that the Muslim League and we the Muslim Leaguers are the only representatives of the Musalmans, why do they not admit the fact that they are the representatives of the Hindus, just as the Akalis are the representatives of the Sikhs ? How very straightforward and clear everything would become. For no reason on earth they are making an unnecessary mess of the whole thing.

I am proud to say that we on this side of the House have certain principles and we always stick to them. We do not sacrifice our principles for the sake of ministries. We are Punjabis and as such we love our province and are proud of it. We want that in the interests of the province and for the welfare of our countrymen there should be a government strong and united, formed on the basis of some lasting and common principles and not just a hotchpotch of heterogeneous elements as the present Government is. Only a government formed on the former pattern can be expected to improve the hard lot of the peasant and the poor. The only difference between us here and the honourable members sitting on the Government benches is that whereas we want to serve the people, they want to rule them.

Again, Sir, they have adopted the policy of 'divide and rule' which the British Government have so long been employing here. Even the British Government, forced by the world opinion and finding it of no further use, have given up this policy. But my friends opposite have borrowed from the British armoury their discarded weapon for use against their own countrymen. They have placed their personal interests before those of their country. I would advise them to pause and think whether the direction in which they are drifting is the one which will lead them to the salvation of their country.

Coming to the budget again I would submit that it is a very prosaic and stale affair. Sir Manohar Lal's budget, if nothing else, was never boring and flat as the present one is. Beauties of the language, the smart and well-knit sentences, the appropriate and tickling use of the right words were always a relishing feature of his speech. The present budget can very appropriately be called a *dal roti* budget. (Laughter.)

Then as is evident, no provision has been made in the budget for the thousands of demobilised soldiers who will be returning to their homes shortly. Can my honourable friend Malik Khizar Hayat, the avowed champion of the warrior classes, explain this omission? We used to hear much tall-talk about the safeguards of the interests of the ex-soldiers. Is it that he has begun to hate them because they have cast their lot with the Muslim League, I ask him?

**Premier :** Rest assured, it is my first concern, as it has always been and as it will always be to watch sedulously over their interests.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** Please let alone these false pretensions. We have had enough of them. People are sick of hearing your false promises which never materialise. They are not prepared to believe even the fundamental truth that may fall from your lips, so much so that if you tell them that God is one, they will pause and think twice before they believe your statement. (Laughter.) You cannot deceive all for all times. You can be well likened to a doctor who had been nicknamed Doctor Tony by his friends. His only distinction was that anybody on whom he practised his art was sure to meet his death even before it was due. Someone had said about him :

تو نے تمہارے ہاتھ میں گویا قضا کے ہاتھ اک توڑ جس کو دے دیا فی القار کر دیا

(Laughter). Then again if the British Government were to raise you to the *gadi* of some state, you are sure to outshine even a despot of the blackest memory. (Opposition cheers.)

**Premier :** The British are more indebted to you than to anybody else, because through your ill-advised utterances you are responsible for the present communal bitterness. You are merely acting as pawns to perpetuate British rule in India.

**Begum Jahan Ara Shah Nawaz :** The British are indebted not to us, but to the Congress.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** Sir, the minds of the honourable members on the Government benches always run on the wrong tracks. For example, if a thief broke into my house and I gave him a blow on his head and a scuffle ensued, they would pronounce that the fault lay with me. (Laughter.) Similar type of justice is being administered in the Punjab and the reason perhaps is that the Honourable Premier is in charge of law and order. (Laughter.) I really fail to understand why they cannot let us alone in our Pakistan and rest content with their Hindustan. I would humbly request the honourable members opposite to give up their prejudiced opposition to our demand and not to let their selfish considerations impair their sense of justice and fairplay. They should join hands with us with open hearts and open minds. Let us form a stable and popular ministry. (An honourable member : I wish there were some.

(Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan)

truth in your words.) Do you mean to say that all the truth and wisdom of the world is contained in what the members opposite say? (*Laughter.*) I was saying that if they accede to our demands and pool with us, I am sure we could bring the British rule in India to an end within six months. (*Hear, hear.*) But, Sir, motivated by selfish considerations they are going the other way.

اے تو یہ تو میری بہتر گمانست

Then, Sir, I come to another matter. As you are perhaps aware, out of a total number of 520 elected members of the Legislatures all over India, including those of the Central Assembly, 450 have been returned on Muslim League ticket. Now, what does it show? It proves clearly and beyond any shadow of doubt that the Muslim League and the members elected on its tickets are the only representatives of the Musalmans. Even now if my honourable friends opposite do not consider them as such, then it is nothing but sheer obstinacy on their part.

Now I want to make an appeal to my Muslim brothers sitting on the Government benches in general and to the member from Sargodha, Mian Sultan Ali, in particular. I ask them to give up their present anomalous position and to make a sacrifice by coming over to their right place. I have addressed him because he belongs to a community which commemorates that unique sacrifice made for the sake of principles and in the name of Islam and God. That great sacrifice teaches us to place our principles, religious or otherwise, above all worldly possessions. They should learn a lesson from that sacrifice and act upon that lesson.

Next, I want to make it clear once for all that we are not running after ministries. The proof of it is that we have stood firm on our principles and have not sacrificed them for the sake of a ministry. We are not after the gains that a ministry can offer nor are we after the fat salaries. But if and when, by the grace of God, we do come to power, we shall see to it that our ministers are such people as are above any temptations and can treat with contempt the very thought of any misuse of power for the sake of selfish ends. And if a poor man like me becomes a minister, his standard of living will be such that he will be able to carry on within the income earned with the sweat of his brow and would not stoop for his personal gains. Our primary aim is to serve the people and not to rule and lord it over them.

Sir, I was telling my friends opposite that they should be more practical and abstain from childish talks. (*Interruptions.*) If we did not do anything, then it does not mean that you too should not do anything. I would like to make an earnest request to you in the interest of the province that you should free the province as early as possible from the curse of the honorary magistrates. You should be bold enough to welcome every good suggestion in the interest of this province. I want to assure my friends that such reforms do not stand in need of any financial consideration. Only one or two lines on an ordinary paper are quite sufficient for their abolition. You should waste no time in liberating the poor zamindar from the unjust clutches of these tyrants. After the formation of the ministry it was your first duty to take immediate steps in this direction. I want to know from them, as to what they have been doing so far. They were expected to do something constructive and useful, and to-day they ought to have come forward with many constructive achievements and not empty-handed. But, Sir, they have been doing nothing except moving to and fro in motor cars and keeping an eye upon the members of the Legislature so that they do not desert them. I am pained to say, Sir, that one of the great achievements of the present ministry is that to-day the Senior Superintendent of Police, Lahore, is in virtual possession of the Assembly Chamber.

Sir, now with your permission, I want to ask my honourable friends there as to what they have done for the ex-soldiers. What has happened to the Indian National Army? Was it an election stunt only? I declare with pride that we are the real

champions of their cause. They deserved a better treatment from you and you ought to be ashamed of your present attitude towards them.

I very well remember that the late Sir Sikander Hyat-Khan announced three or four committees on the very day he accepted office. But my honourable friends who used to boast so much and created so much fuss about everything, are to-day sitting silent. They have done nothing so far except that they have distributed some offices among a handful of people. Can you liberate India by distributing some offices among people and doing nothing else? I dare say, Sir, that very hard times are ahead and the country is going to face a crisis of very grave nature. With all their patriotic feelings they have not cared to devote even a few lines to this aspect of the question. What are they going to do in order to face this crisis? It appears from their silence that they are going to do nothing. It is totally contradictory to their taste.

I felt ashamed when I read in the Honourable Finance Minister's speech only this that industries will be started. I remember that Sir Manohar Lal used to quote Shakespeare and make great declarations but achieved nothing. You will agree with me, Sir, that the Finance Minister has tried to evade the issue and has tried to shift the focus with one or two soothing sentences. He says that industries will be started. Does this vital need of our province demand so much attention only? Does he feel satisfied with this much only? We ought to have come forward with startling suggestions and a programme of unprecedented character. He should be more serious towards these crying needs of the province and do something constructive.

Now I will draw the attention of ex-critics of the "Black Bills" and now allies of the supporters of the "Golden Bills" to the woeful tales of Red Fort, Delhi. I want to know what has gone wrong with our friends and why they are silent over this matter? We wanted to take up this question through a resolution on a non-official day, but Sir, these lovers of democracy have not allotted a Thursday for non-official business, but fixed the oath taking ceremony on Thursday. I want to know, whether that could not be fixed for Tuesday, so that we could make use of one Thursday? But, Sir, they were afraid and did not want to face the House over this issue. In order to usurp one Thursday, my democratic friends enlisted the Governor's support.

My leader, the Nawab of Mamdot, had given notice of a resolution to discuss the atrocities committed in the Lahore Fort. But no time is being given to discuss it. It seems this Government, even this Congress Coalition Government, shirks that discussion. Then notice of another resolution to discuss the condition of the starving masses of the Province was given by our respected leader, the Nawab of Mamdot. But even that vital issue has been evaded by this Government. It was the duty of the Government to allot a separate day for the discussion of this matter of food. We wanted to discuss the food situation of our own vast agricultural Province, as well as the help that we can give to our neighbours in the present critical situation which this country is facing. But what is the attitude of the Government? Not only have they not given a separate day for that discussion, but they have allotted only two days for the general discussion of the budget.

کونئی مرے کوئی حیوے      ستورا گہرل پقتا پوے

But why should they give any day for such discussions? Their only object was to get the Ministry and they have achieved it. Otherwise, why did they not say to the Governor that two days for the general discussion of the budget are not at all sufficient? But let me come to the budget again. What a budget! Just figures put together!! It does not go beyond additions and subtractions. It is an office budget.

**Minister for Finance :** Every budget is an office budget.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** My Hon'ble friend does not consider it objectionable. He possesses the quality of self-realisation in a high degree. Therefore, he confesses his faults promptly. I would like to draw the attention of the Government to the fact that during the last session, only 19 sittings of the Assembly were held.

[Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan]

Let this so-called democratic and progressive Government of my hon'ble friend, Mr. Bhim Sen Sachar, see to it that another session of the Assembly is called forthwith. He himself says in his budget speech, "But balancing the budget is not the only concern of a Government, much less a progressive Government". This Government is for eight or ten days more. (*Interruptions.*) That is true. Therefore, let it do something solid for the benefit of the masses. The Hindi Press will not be able to fool the public for a long time with its bogus front-page headlines. Before long the public will ask them as to what their achievements are. I say this to my hon'ble friend, the Finance Minister. He was the last Congress man to act against the restrictions imposed on him by the then Government and attend the Assembly session. He came to the House to express his sorrow on the death of the late Ch. Sir Chhotu Ram. The only tribute that he paid to the deceased was that he had saved India from being divided.

این کار از تو آید و مردان پزین کنند

That was his only achievement, and there his bravery ended. He did not come to the Chamber the next day. (*Interruptions.*) Finance Minister : I did come here on the next day). How far? To the Library? Because I know it for certain that he never entered the Chamber after that day. He might have come to the Library and that too, because there was no Senior Superintendent of Police in this building at that time, otherwise he would have been arrested at the very gate. Well, Sir, as I was submitting, these things will not help the Government any longer. They will have to do some real work for the masses. May I ask them as to what the aims and objects of the Congress are and when they are going to put them in practice? Let me inform my hon'ble friend that if we, the majority party, had not been treacherously deprived of our due right, what we would have accomplished by now. Should I tell him what a civilised and progressive Government should do? (*Interruptions.*) We had given notice of a resolution asking that all the cases against the Indian National Army should be withdrawn, but the Government has not given any time for the consideration of the resolution. I ask the Government whether it is prepared to allot a day for this purpose, so that this matter may be brought up before the House for its consideration. But this Government will not do that, because now it is no longer the same Congress Party that sat on these benches.

آن قدخ شکست و آن مانی نماند

Now it is another Congress. To-day its President, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, is preaching about like this. Do not observe any 'hartal'. Do not come out in processions. Do not shout slogans. Do not embarrass the British. Be law abiding. How can they allow a discussion on the Indian National Army now? But let me warn them not to tax our patience too much. It is not too late yet. Even now they can mend matters. Even now Malik Khizar Hayat Khan can set right all the wrongs he has done. Let him consider this matter over and over again. He should not jeopardise the interests of the ten crores of Muslims. Fortunately, Qaid-i-Azam is in Lahore to-day. Let him go to him and say, "Qaid-i-Azam, my differences with you are of provincial nature only. So far as the all-India matters are concerned, I too, like all other Muslims of India, consider you as my leader. The recent elections have proved beyond doubt that the overwhelming majority of the Muslims is behind you and your policy and they are against me and my policy". Let him admit it. Admission of truth is also a divinely act. It can in no way be construed as a sign of weakness. At present the Mussalmans are passing through very critical times and the need of the hour is that Malik Sahib should come here and sit on these benches. Let me tell him that intransigence is not a matter to be proud of. I ask, are these the elected Ministers who dare not go to the Anarkali bazar for shopping purposes? Are these the elected Ministers who cannot go out without an armed escort? Very soon they shall have to resort to the use of armoured cars. Are these the popular Ministers that

even the Honourable Premier when he has to go out of this House is accompanied by a police officer with a pistol hanging round his neck? I may tell my honourable friend Barq Sahib and the Honourable Premier that a person can never be honoured if he cuts himself away from his own community. Honour is that which comes from God or which is done to one by one's own community. I warn the Honourable Premier that if at this time the Muslims suffer and there is bloodshed, the entire responsibility for that will be on his shoulders. Let him rise and be courageous enough to act like a true Muslim and join our ranks. At this very time our Qaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah is in Lahore. I assure him that he does not harbour any ill-will against anybody. He, in fact, is our true well wisher. If he goes to him, Qaid-i-Azam will receive him in the same manner as before, provided he goes there with an open heart and accepts the truth. If he does so he will become literally the light of our eye. The Muslim community knows how to forgive. No doubt Muslims shout slogans of *Murdabad* before his bungalow but I assure him that if he comes back to our fold he will hear shouts of *zindabad* even before the dusk creeps in. I am offering this piece of advice to him as a brother and I hope he will not take it ill. It is with this end in view that I sent for him because as a sincere friend I wanted to make this appeal to him that it is time for him to realize the gravity of the situation and come back and join with us and thus strengthen the ranks of Muslims. I know that some time ago he wrote to the Nawab of Mamdot that if any understanding could be arrived at between the different parties by his standing aside, he would be only too glad to do so. I appreciate the spirit in which he has written the letter but I may tell him that if in making this offer his intention was that we should accept his contention and set up an all-parties Ministry, he was entirely mistaken.

اے خیال است و حال است و جنوں

I will tell him the reason why. Even now his companions sitting there amidst these hotchpotch elements look as if a marriage party of weavers has arrived in the city of Lahore. (*Laughter*). They are only five in number and seven with the help of glasses. It is with difficulty that I have been able to locate them. (*Interruptions*). Any how he made that offer, but does he not realize that it was impossible to form a ministry on the lines suggested by him? I ask, how was it possible to form a ministry consisting of 80 Muslim League members, 50 Congress members and 20 others, and so on? What was his object in making that offer? Their creeds are different and their political ideologies are different. Then what was he driving at? After all there should be something in common between the coalescing parties. Even now the Congress party has adopted an attitude which is beyond our comprehension. It is indeed very strange that instead of directly approaching him and asking him to sign the Congress creed, the Congress party has adopted the role of an ostrich, who when somebody wanted to load him pretended to be a bird and when asked to fly replied, have you ever seen a camel fly? Yet Malik Sahib has coalesced with them. He is now caught in their nest. But I assure my Congress friends that they cannot prevent a Muslim from talking to and seeing other Muslims. Even though he has coalesced with them, yet he is being disowned by those very men. I ask, if he had been sitting on these benches in the capacity of our leader, could he have ever expected any one of us to get up and say: 'No, no, you are not our leader'. That is what an honourable member over there has said with whose party the Honourable Premier has coalesced.

**Sardar Kapoor Singh :** May I know, Sir, whether any time limit has been fixed for the speeches?

**Mr. Speaker :** I have allotted time to both sides of the House and have left it to them to distribute it as they like among their respective speakers.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** To-day I have read in the special gazette of the Honourable Premier, that is, the *Shahbaz*, that Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan indulges in idle talk. I do not exactly remember the word which the *Shahbaz* has used and probably it was that I should say something which should appeal to the other party.

(Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan)

I do not know what I should talk about. I may remind my friend that we are not fighting for our own selfish ends. We do not want to bring him low in order to gain those offices for ourselves. We are only reminding him of his duty at this critical period. We are only making an appeal to Malik Sahib to come to this side and guide the Muslims. I may assure my friends that we have no spirit of revenge in us. We have no ill-feeling against him. Those who joined us two years ago or ten or fifteen days ago or those who will join us to-day or to-morrow will be equally respected and honoured. Ask Shaikh Faiz Mohammad and other honourable members who joined us only the other day, what respect we have for them and how we honour them. We make no difference between one who comes to-day and those who joined us two years ago. I appeal to him in the name of Islam to come and join our ranks.

We know how budgets can be prepared, budgets which are for the good of the Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs, ruralites and urbanites. We know how budgets are prepared and what jugglery is performed with figures. I say, who does not know how such budgets are prepared? Do not Hindus know it, do not Muslims know it, do not Sikhs know it? Yet my friends think as if they have done a great thing by presenting this budget. Is it what they are proud of? Come out, why are you so silent? Why have you become so pensive? I say so long as there is not an elected Government in this province which can command the confidence of 55 per cent of the population, no good budgets can be prepared. A Government which excludes representatives of 55 per cent of the population from the administration of Government is not worth the name. I ask is that the definition of democracy? I am not a very well read person but with whatever little learning I have I cannot conceive of a Government being called a democratic Government which has a majority of six or seven votes on its side but does not command confidence of 55 per cent of the population. Let me remind my Sikh friends, not the Congress Sikhs but the Akali Sikhs, that 90 per cent of their workers, who had been working along with us during the elections in the rural areas, are astonished as to what had happened to their representatives and whither they had gone. This is the opinion of the of their workers. I ask, can His Excellency the Governor, boast of establishing a stable Government? Is this an established Government? (Pandit Shri Ram Sharma: Is there an established Government in Sind?) What is my friend talking about?

من چه سرائیم و تذکره من چه می سرائد

If anything is done in Sind, does it follow that the same should be done in the Punjab? I may remind my friend that this is the Assembly Chamber and not an arena for indulging in wordy warfare. However my submission is that my friends should seriously consider the fact that the casting of a few votes in the lobbies can never decide the fates of nations. (Hear, hear.)

May I seek this information from the hon'ble members sitting opposite in general and the Hon'ble Premier in particular whether any schemes contemplated by the present Cabinet can be successful in ameliorating the condition of the masses of the province when 55 per cent of the population have no representation in it? (Interruptions.) I would request the hon'ble members opposite to lend me their ears and not be impatient with the proceedings of the very first day when they have a hard time to face in the very near future. We have only just begun to expose the present Coalition. What I wish to submit is this that the present so-called Cabinet should collapse.

**Chaudhri Krishna Gopal Dutt:** The hon'ble member should know that this House is not Mochi Gate.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan:** Nor is this Shahalmi Gate. I would request the Hon'ble Premier not to stand in our way. He has deserted his community. It is but meet and proper on his part to join our camp again.

**Premier:** I am prepared to get out and disappear on condition that 55 per cent of the population come to an amicable agreement with 45 per cent population of the province.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** Let you and the other Muslim members sitting opposite cross the floor of the House and we will see that an amicable settlement is arrived at soon after you do so. (*Cries of hear, hear, from the Opposition benches.*) (*An hon'ble member :* What has happened in Sind?)

**Premier :** Raja Sahib, just one word. The Coalition is only in connection with the provincial sphere. Each group retains complete freedom of opinion as regards the future constitution. That I told you in the morning. On that there are no differences. Now let us come to an adjustment. I cannot force 55 per cent to come to an agreement with 45 per cent, nor have I the power to force 45 per cent to coalesce with 55 per cent. I can invite all parties to co-operate. If that comes about, I am prepared to get out and disappear. What more can I do?

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** Thank God, better sense is gradually beginning to prevail upon the Hon'ble Premier. The only unfortunate thing is that he is weak in mathematics like myself and that is perhaps the reason why he cannot differentiate between 55 per cent and 79 which is the strength of this side of the House. I wish to bring this point home to the Hon'ble Premier that he has sacrificed the genuine representation of the Muslims for about 50 non-Muslim members by sitting on those benches there. (*Interruptions.*)

**Premier :** Sir, I only rise to explain. I have never claimed to be a mathematician. Raja Sahib may claim himself to be one, but I know what he is. Anyhow I admit he is better versed in mathematics and arithmetic than I am. (*Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :* I failed thrice.) I never appeared. The reason why I am here is this, that a great Musalman—Sir Fazl-i-Husain, left a message for the Punjab as to how to run the provincial administration. That message, that creed, has flourished with the life-blood of that great leader, Sir Sikander Hyat-Khan. I am here only to keep that creed going and in order to keep the communities together. I have no personal ambition. None at all. As soon as you have adjusted yourselves, I am out of it. But if you do not, I have a trust which I have to carry out. Howsoever unpleasant it may be, I have got to discharge this duty. I desire nothing more than that the League and the Congress should come together and administer the province on the basis of communal amity.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** I am amused to hear the Hon'ble Premier quoting Sir Fazl-i-Husain formula. I am reminded of a scene in a certain picture where Laurel and Hardy, the English comedians acting as soldiers on the fighting front get deeply drunk in a trench. They are supplied with all the amenities of life and they remain drunk for a period of six months. During this period the war ends. The two fighting parties enter into a treaty but oddly enough after six months our two heroes come to themselves again. They wonder as to where the enemy had evaporated. In the same way the Hon'ble Premier is repeating the same joke by holding fast to a policy which is too old to be followed now. In the year 1919 Sir Fazl-i-Husain under the dyarchical system, with the help of 8 or 10 nominated members and with the co-operation of a few rural representatives was successful in forming a majority. Now that Act has long ceased functioning and our Hon'ble Premier still continues to stick to that Act. Sir Fazl-i-Husain evolved the formula in the year 1919 and conditions in the province are changing ever since. My hon'ble friend Malik Khizar Hayat Khan is lured with the office he is holding now. May God give him a long lease of premiership.

**Premier :** May God rid me of it. The late Sir Fazl-i-Husain evolved a formula for the harmonious governance of the province. This was implemented and worked out with the life blood of the late Sir Sikander Hyat-Khan. It has now fallen to my lot to continue that good work. I am following that line only. Now allow me to have a peep into your political past. You were elected on the League ticket in 1937 and the lure of office brought you over to the Unionist benches and now by becoming



[Premier]

a Leaguer you have become a 'momin', whereas according to you I am a sinner and a 'kafir'. May God pardon you as well as me! (*Cheers from Treasury Benches.*)

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan:** Let us thank God! Our Hon'ble Premier feels elated at being cheered up by the hon'ble members sitting opposite. But God willing, the time will not take long when you shall have to come to our side. (*At this stage the Premier left the Chamber.*) Let him go, he has heard what I have said.

Now I wish to address the Hon'ble Finance Minister. I think we have no objection in addressing him as the leader of his party. So far as the present budget is concerned, it cannot at all be called a true budget of this province. In fact the Hon'ble Finance Minister is ashamed of labelling it as the budget of this province. I think he will bear me out when I say that he has had no hand in preparing the present budget, nor has had the present Cabinet.

I would request the Hon'ble Mr. Bhim Sen Sachar that in view of the example set by the late Sir Sikander-Hyat Khan, he should call an urgent meeting for the re-discussion of the budget and its recompilation which may be most beneficial to the public. The budget requires a thorough overhauling. We find that Government instead of doing good to the public intends to suck their blood. The present budget is a reflection of the Finance Minister's *bania* mentality. I would request Government to take pity on the poor people living in rural and urban areas.

So far as the budget is concerned, I would say that we have never seen one prepared with such carelessness and irresponsibility. I would assert that the present Finance Minister and his colleagues can never present a satisfactory budget. The main object of this Ministry is to continue in office. They do not care for the good of the public. Still I would ask the Congress members of the House to keep in view the fact that their present power and prestige are only temporary. They are not on solid ground. Perhaps the Congress members seem to forget that ultimately they will have to join hands with us. I would ask my non-Congress friends sitting on the opposite benches to be a bit more careful about their future. They should not allow themselves to be entangled in the Congress fraud. They should realise that these people are anxious to usurp the rights of the deserving persons in order to establish their Government in this province.

At this stage I would say a few words to Maulana Daud Ghaznavi. The Maulana should not think that he has been elected to the Assembly on his own merits. He should be thankful to us for the fact that we did not set up a candidate to contest the election. It is due to our kindness and favour that to-day the Maulana is sitting on the ministerial benches. The idea underlying this move was that we desired to have at least one Musalman who should belong to a party which is the sole representative of the Hindus. So we found that person in the Maulana. It is a matter of great pleasure that the Maulana has somehow or other been elected.

**Maulana Daud Ghaznavi:** The Muslim League used all its might and opposed me tooth and nail but I have come here after dashing down their hopes to the ground. They have shown no favour to me. I was elected on the strength of the majority of the votes.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan:** Anyhow, the Maulana has come here against the will of God.

**Maulana Daud Ghaznavi:** The will of God is apparently against them. My success proves that I have come here through the grace of God. It is just possible that my presence may be against the will of their God.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan:** Oh, the Maulana is denying even God!

**Maulana Daud Ghaznavi :** They know only too well what they are saying.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** Let the Maulana say what he likes.

After all he is an inexperienced hand. I shall not say anything without his permission.

**Maulana Daud Ghaznavi :** What are you saying, Raja Sahib ?

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** Now, Sir, I would ask Government whether it is a fact that the Hon'ble Ministers had been sworn in before security was demanded from the Lahore daily "*Nawa-i-Waqt*". I think not, for if it had happened before that the justification should have been there. I would invite their attention to a Persian saying :—

در چه بر خد نه پسندی به دیگران پسند

I would also ask them whether any steps have so far been taken against corruption and black marketing.

### ADJOURNMENT FOR ZOHAR PRAYERS

**Sardar Shaukat Hyat-Khan :** (South Eastern Towns, Muhammadan, Urban); Sir, I beg to move :

That the Assembly do stand adjourned from 2 to 2-30 p. m. for Zohar prayers and half an hour be added to the time at the end of the day for the rest of the session.

**Mr. Speaker :** Motion moved is :

That the Assembly do stand adjourned from 2 to 2-30 p. m. for Zohar prayers and half an hour be added to the time at the end of the day for the rest of the session.

**The Hon'ble Lala Bhim Sen Sachar :** I have no objection.

**Premier :** I had made an offer on the very first day that my hon'ble friends of the Opposition might choose one of these alternatives, either half an hour's adjournment (if the House met from 12) or the House meeting from 10 to 2. I have just been informed by Mian Ahmad Yar Khan Daultana that they would like the House to adjourn for half an hour for prayers and I readily give my consent.

**Mr. Speaker :** The question is :

That the Assembly do stand adjourned from 2 to 2-30 p. m. for Zohar prayers and half an hour be added to the time at the end of the day for the rest of the session.

*The motion was carried.*

*The Assembly then adjourned till 2-30 p.m.*

*The Assembly re-assembled at 2-30 p.m. of the clock. Mr. Speaker in the chair.*

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** Sir, before I resume my speech I want to make a few submissions by way of personal explanation. Just now my attention has been drawn to the fact that during my speech, before the House adjourned for prayers, I said something to the effect that the honourable members sitting opposite were frauds. If I have really given utterance to these words, I now very respectfully withdraw them. I never meant to injure anybody's susceptibilities or hurt anybody's feeling. I really regret having uttered these words, if at all I did.

Now, through you, Sir, I would draw the attention of Honourable the Finance Minister to the fact that the Coalition Ministry came to power only ten days back, but the 'feats' they have performed during this short period are such that one cannot boast of them. Indeed no Government on the face of the earth with such tall talk of principles and programmes could have taken steps as the present Ministry has. They have been shouting from house tops that they would champion the cause of civic liberties and that they would see to it that every citizen enjoyed his full rights and that all the four freedoms were granted to one and all. In the past they have always been protesting

[Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan]

against any restrictions being imposed by the then Government either on individuals, or organisations or on the press. But as soon as they themselves have grasped power, they have relegated all those good intentions and pious wishes to the realm of oblivion. Here is the first act of the installed liberty-loving Coalition Government. They have called upon *Nawa-i-Waqt*, an Urdu daily of Lahore, to deposit a security of Rs. 2,000. Of course, there is nothing strange about a newspaper being asked to deposit a security. But what is strange about it is the way it was done and the reason why it was done.

Now, this newspaper *Nawa-i-Waqt* is being published for the last eight years. For the first four years it appeared as a weekly paper and for the last four years as a daily. During these eight years not a single occasion arose when the Government found it necessary to administer a warning to it. Its record has been immaculate and unimpeachable. Recently in a press conference the Home Secretary to the Punjab Government told the representative of this paper that he intended to take some drastic action against it. By this drastic action he meant to convey that either the Editor of the paper would be prosecuted or the paper would be called upon to deposit a security. Later he did carry out this threat. But the order demanding the *Nawa-i-Waqt* to deposit the aforesaid security was dated the 14th of this month. Since at that time negotiations between the Muslim League and other parties were going on, this order was withheld. When the Coalition Ministry was formed and the aforesaid negotiations broke up, immediately after that the orders were released.

Now I will read out the words to which objections were taken and on the basis of which the security was demanded. The alleged objectionable article appeared in the issue of the 12th March 1946, under the caption **مالک شہید**. It reads:—

ہم سب واقعات ان کی آنکھیں نہیں کھول سکے۔ مالک شہید کی شہادت ان کی آنکھیں کھول سکے۔

By the word 'ان' are meant the members of the Unionist Party. Further on, there is another sentence to which objection has been taken. It reads:—

اس کے اصحاب قاتل ملک خضر حیات ہیں

Now, as every sane-minded person can understand, the word 'قاتل' has been metaphorically used. It does not require a genius to grasp the implication of these words. To my mind the only reason that motivated this drastic action was that this paper was sympathetically inclined towards the aspirations of the Muslim League. To-day when liberty of speech and liberty of the Press is being jealously guarded in all the democratic countries of the world, this Government is assuming autocratic methods to suppress these very liberties. I condemn this policy of the Government in the strongest possible terms. Sir, these things are used as metaphors and nothing serious or grave is meant by them. In order to illustrate my point of view I will quote an illustration. The *Civil and Military Gazette* of Lahore too wrote a leader in this connection and there it held the Leaguers totally responsible for this catastrophe. Does this mean that the Leaguers went there and murdered Mohd. Malik? Then, in the latter portion of the same leader, the Editor of *Nawa-i-Waqt* advised his readers to be peaceful and forbade them to do anything unruly. I want to know whether this leader preaches peace or whether it antagonises the feelings of its readers against their fellow countrymen. Government must fully explain the reasons for this unjust action of theirs.

Sir, to-day we have met here under the rule of section 144. It is totally shameful on the part of the Congress party and I wish that they had not been a part of this ugly partnership and responsible for these misdeeds. I know that the present coalition is vainly trying to crush and suppress the feelings and spirit of the Muslims by these methods. But I assure you, Sir, that we are not at all displeased over these small things, because we are not killing only one or two birds with one stone but we are killing four with one stone. The notorious Unionist Party has met with its natural death and along with it has been decided the fate of the brave Jats of the Ambala divi.

sion. Congress and Akalis too have pooled their fortunes and every day this coalition is being exposed and is nearing its end which will for ever free our province from such strange combinations.

The foundations of this new Congress Government are very weak. My honourable friend who has just interrupted me was not here when these foundations were laid but the other members of this Party who were here at that time do know it. They know it for certain, because they themselves never wanted to make these foundations strong. How can they hope to build a strong and lasting structure on these weak foundations? They have done everything just to satisfy the vanity of Malik Khizar Hayat Khan. He wanted to show that he could form a Government after betraying his own brethren, and they have helped him in doing that. After doing all that, why do they not go a step further? Why do they not advise Malik Khizar Hayat to come to the right path? (*Interruptions*). God willing we still hope to save him from the present trap. Although the Police do guard his house, yet even the Police do not prevent us, his friends, from seeing him. The worst enemies of Malik Khizar Hayat Khan are his so-called friends who are sitting with him on those benches. They have no sympathy whatsoever with him. To us Malik Khizar Hayat is a brother, but to them he is a mere tool. If he comes to our fold even at this late hour, we will give him a place in our hearts. (*Interruptions*).

I was saying that a definite policy for education in the Province ought to have been put forward in the budget. We are now thoroughly fed up with the West and following its system of education blindly. That policy has been a complete ruin for us in the past. (*Loud interruptions*). Although the dress of my honourable friends there is not western, yet their thoughts, feelings and even gestures are all western. (*Hear, hear*).

**Mr. Speaker :** From the time of the honourable member only five minutes are left.

**Raja Chazanfar Ali Khan :** As I was putting, Sir, the Government ought to have put forward some educational policy in the budget. At the time of elections, we promised to the electorate that we would provide religious and other education for all the Muslim children and that education would be free and compulsory. The present Ministry should do that for the Muslims in particulars, and for Hindus and Sikhs also if they so demand it. But nothing about Education is said in this budget. Then, we had promised our voters that we would be doing away with capitalism. (*Interruptions*). So far as industries are concerned, we are pledged to the nationalisation of industries. Is this Government also prepared to take that step? Do something, my friends, before your regime ends. We had promised to the people at the time of elections that we shall see to it that no security is demanded from any person, nor is he arrested or interned, unless he is first tried in a court of law. But the present Government has acted quite contrary to that. We had promised that everything possible would be done for the poor tenants. We had promised that Government would encourage industries in general and would help the cottage industries in particular, but this Government has shown no sympathy towards this thing. Let the Government if it has any sympathy for the freedom of the people, prove it by excepting from the restrictions of the Arms Act all those who pay Rs. 100 as land revenue, who are graduates and who are income tax payers. (*An honourable member : Why not all?*) Let it be all. I request the Government to give due consideration to all these things and act in a way which may be honourable for them as well as for their children to come, so that they and their coming generations may feel proud of their actions. In conclusion, I thank the House for the courtesy shown to me and the interest taken in my speech. If any part of my speech has offended any person or any section of the House, let me assure them that it was never my intention to do that.

With these words I resume my seat.

**Chaudhri Krishna Gopal Dutt :** (North Eastern Towns, General) (*Urdu*) : Mr. Speaker, on account of the provoking speech of my honourable friend Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan, the time table of speeches fixed for the general discussion of the budget this morning had perforce to be changed. Previously it was decided that I should express my views on Monday and discuss the merits and demerits of the budget after studying it in greater detail. But after the inflammatory speech of Raja Sahib by which he has tried to incite communal feelings in this House and through this House in the whole of the province it has become necessary that a befitting reply be given without any loss of time. And for this purpose I have been asked by my party to lay before the public the true position of my Party. My position is a little awkward one. I confess that I have not risen to defend this budget. (*Hear, hear* from the Opposition benches). I have risen to speak in connection with it. I wish we had discussed to-day the budget and the economic principles involved in it and as to how best we could have turned it to our advantage. If we had done so and had pointed out to the Honourable the Finance Minister that the budget which he had presented under extraordinary circumstances fell short of the needs of the people from this or that point of view and in the light of our criticism had given him our valuable suggestions, that would have been much better. I listened to the speech of Raja Sahib very calmly and in spite of the fact that reference was made to me more than once I held my own and I do expect the same kind of courtesy from my honourable friends opposite. (*Interruptions*). Just listen. I do not intend deliberately to refer to anything which may incite hatred between different groups. That is not my object at all. However I was submitting that Raja Sahib has not touched upon the merits of the Budget and has not put forward any useful suggestion at all. Rather to-day he has made a speech which could be expected of only a back bencher. It was never expected of a front bench leader that he would rise to make such a speech as the one the Raja Sahib has made to-day. I think the standard of speeches expected of a front rank spokesman of the Opposition Party is much higher than that. I have great respect for Raja Sahib. He is my old friend and he used to make speeches of a higher order. I do not know what has happened to him that to-day on the general discussion of the Budget he has made such a speech as demagogues generally indulge in. Sir, if we look at the Budget from the point of view which is common between us and my friends, that is the political, economic and the financial point of view we will find—and I have no hesitation in saying—that this budget is a disappointing one. (*Hear, hear* from the Opposition benches). This is not my opinion alone. The Honourable the Finance Minister has explained this clearly in his speech. He has made no secret of the fact that this budget has been presented under extraordinary circumstances and that there was no other alternative for him but to have presented the budget as he found it. I dare say even if the Muslim League had been in power and sitting on these benches they would have put their seal to this budget. (*Hear, hear* from the Treasury benches and shouts of no, no from the Opposition). Sir, my friends are saying no, no. Probably they do not understand what they are saying. They own that if they had been in power they would not have put their seal on the budget and presented it to the House. They say so because they are ignorant of the significance of what they are saying. If that is their contention, may I ask as to what is being done in other provinces. What is being done in Sind? (*Interruptions*). If you compare the Budget presented in Sind with that of the Punjab you will find that the Punjab Budget is, at least I can say so, a thousand times better than the Sind Budget. (*Hear, hear*, from the Treasury benches). I have studied the Sind Budget in detail and have found it wanting in many respects as compared to the Punjab Budget. Here, my friends allege that Government is perpetrating atrocities on the people and that the securities of newspapers are being forfeited. May I ask what is your Muslim League Government doing in Sind? Have not securities been forfeited and demanded from newspapers in that Province?

And I ask whether blood has not been split there? Then what is their grievance? Why is it that they are so very restive? They are disturbed and perturbed because in the Punjab, government is not in their hands. (*An honourable member: What an argument!*) To-day the grapes have become sour. Why have they become so? If they have become sour I have not made them so, nor has Malik Khizar Hayat Khan made them sour. If they are sour to-day it is you who have made them so and the responsibility for that lies on you and you alone.

**Begum Jahan Ara Shah Nawaz:** I want to put a question to the honourable member. I want to know who in 1931 when the Muslim delegation to the Round Table Conference asked for 51 per cent representation in the Punjab and Bengal, turned down that proposal? Was it not Mr. Gandhi or somebody else? At that time there was no question of any Pakistan involved in that proposal.

**Chaudhri Krishna Gopal Dutt:** The lady member has put a question to me. Even if she had not put the question she would have got an answer to her question in my speech, and if even after my speech some doubts had remained I would have been only too glad to remove them with whatever knowledge I possess. I was saying that if the grapes have become sour the responsibility for that does not lie on Lala Bhim Sen Sachar or on anybody else from this side. He, who knows the real facts knows it for certain that the responsibility for the breakdown of the negotiations between the Punjab Congress Party and the Punjab Muslim League Party lay somewhere else. After all when the negotiations for the formation of Ministry had concluded almost successfully, who intervened and sabotaged them? Was it Malik Sir Khizar Hayat Khan or Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad or Mr. Jinnah? (*Interruptions*). Sir, there is a large number of persons in the Congress party and I am one of them who are yearning to come to an agreement with the Muslim League. This is a hard fact. My honourable friends sitting there may say what they like. If they are not in power to-day whose fault is it? There is no disguising the fact that in the Congress party there are persons who believe that in this province peace and tranquillity can be maintained only with the unity of Hindus and Muslims. (*Hear, hear*). We should not be blind to the fact that the Congress and the Muslim League agree that the condition of the masses should be bettered. In fact both Muslim League and the Congress leaders were keen to sink all their differences for the smooth running of a Congress-League Coalition. The terms were also settled between Mr. Sachar and the leader of the Opposition, representing Congress and League respectively, in the presence of Maulana Azad, the Congress President, (*Loud uproar*) when under some extraneous influence the settlement was sabotaged (*Loud uproar from the opposition benches*). There is very little time at my disposal and I pray that the honourable members opposite will hear me patiently. I have heard Raja Sahib with patient and keen attention. It is but natural that I too should expect Raja Sahib to give me a patient hearing in return.

Now we have to see as to who are responsible for the prevailing condition of the province, or in other words who are responsible for the breakdown of the negotiations for an amicable settlement between the Punjab Muslim League and the Punjab Congress Party. The main issue on which Mr. Jinnah got the negotiations failed was that the Muslim League did not want any Congress Muslim to have a seat in the Cabinet, as was suggested by the Congress Party. There were other minor differences as well, which were propped up and which most of the honourable members must have come across in various newspapers. Now we have to see as to how far the Muslim League is responsible for the break-down of these negotiations. (*Loud uproar*).

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan:** Sir, We beg to differ. (*Interruptions*).

**Chaudhri Krishna Gopal Dutt:** I know Raja Sahib since 1921. I remember how while sitting on the Unionist benches, he used to tackle all problems with utmost

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calmness. I would request him to be quite calm and not get provoked at honest and unprejudiced criticism. There was already a possibility of a settlement in India between the two major parties. (*Loud uproar from the Opposition benches*). I insist on saying that there was a scope for an amicable settlement between the two parties. (*Uproar*). Your position has become critical and precarious. (*Loud uproar*).

**Mr. Speaker :** Order, Order.

**Chaudhri Krishna Gopal Dutt :** Sir, I was just explaining the reason of the failure of the negotiations. The Congress Party was not given the right to nominate any Muslim for a seat in the Cabinet. I own that this was absolutely not a vital point for the Muslim League to break the negotiations. If the honourable members are honest in their convictions, then the most proper thing for them would be to bid good-bye to the League and join hands with us in running the present Government with a view to uplift the poor masses irrespective of their persuasions. (*Loud uproar and interruptions from the Opposition benches*). (*An honourable member :* How is it that Maulana Daud Ghaznavi was not given a seat in the Cabinet?) Let me inform the honourable members opposite that Maulana Daud Ghaznavi was not given a seat in the Cabinet, not because the leaders of the other parties in the Coalition had refused to take him as one of the Cabinet ministers, but because he had to perform more important and onerous duties in the capacity of the Provincial Congress President. In fact, Maulana Azad also subscribed to this view. (*Loud uproar*). The entire blame for the break down of the negotiations for a Congress-League alliance rests on the Muslim League and not on the Congress. (*Cries of no, no from the Opposition benches*).

Keeping in view the communal tension in the province, I would like to ask the honourable members opposite as to what is the big use in moving such adjournment motions and privilege motions as are instrumental in creating confusion worse confounded, and in reading all reactionary articles in this House except this that they want to still worsen the communal atmosphere in the province. We all know that the Congress and Raja Sahib's party at present are going along two parallel lines which never meet. It is but imperative for a settlement to be reached, that both Congress and League should make some amicable adjustment in their demands and meet half-way. It is then and then alone that a possibility of a settlement can be envisaged. There is no reason why even at this critical hour when the British Cabinet Mission has arrived here to decide the future of India, the Muslim League and the Congress should not approach each other in the good faith of arriving at a just and honourable settlement. But alas, the most unfortunate thing is this that the honourable members opposite do not consider Congressites as their brethren. After all there is the same blood running in the veins of Hindus and Muslims. They are sons of the same soil. (*Interruption*). Can you deny the fact that you are creating dissensions from time to time?

Sir, I was saying that if the Hindus and the Muslims of this Province do not come to an understanding, the gulf between them would be widened. They are arousing the worst religious feelings of the ignorant masses which lead to fighting and bloodshed. They are creating differences in the name of God.

Sir, my friends occupying the Opposition benches are laughing. They should bear in mind that mere laughter would not do. Fusion of culture is a matter of great importance. Fusion of civilizations and cultures produces a composite nation. If you study the history of the world you will come to know that many nations have been the product of cultural fusion. I would like to tell my friends that looting of shops and murders in the Province are events which the public can never forget. Is there any one of them prepared to come forward to put an end to such disturbances?

Now, Sir, regarding the honourable Malik Khizar Hayat Khan, I would say this much that it is only through his sacrifice that the province has been saved from Section 98 and the bureaucracy has agreed to transfer power to the Congress to some extent. He has saved the administration of the province from deterioration. (*Uproar from the Opposition benches*).

They may go on shouting in the name of religion. Their newspapers have published a news in bold letters that we do not let them say prayers. It is absolutely wrong. They themselves and their newspapers are carrying on false propaganda in order to mislead the Muslim masses. Many of them do not actually say prayers, but in order to arouse the religious feelings of the Muslim masses they say that we are standing in their way. How false, incorrect and shameful it is! I would urge upon the Muslim League to publish a list of those who offer their prayers regularly, so that the truth in its nakedness may come before the eyes of the masses.

Sir, I would like to mention one thing more about my friend Raja Sahib's remarks which he made in connection with the agitation against the Honourable Malik Khizar Hayat Khan. They are giving out that the agitation is not against the Hindus but that it is only against Malik Khizar Hayat Khan. Sir I know that the agitation in question is not against the Honourable Malik Khizar Hayat Khan at all. In fact it is against the Hindus who have come into limited power as a result of the formation of a strong Coalition Party. My friends opposite are trying to show that they attach no importance to the powers which have been transferred to the Hindus. (*Uproar from the Opposition*). Sir, I do not think that in reality it is so, for the power is in the hands of the Coalition and not in the hands of the Hindus. Similarly, if the Congress were to form a coalition with the Muslim League, nobody would call it a League Government. As to the present coalition, I would say that the Muslim League alone is responsible for bringing about the Congress-Akali-Unionist Coalition. We did our best to coalesce with the Muslim League, but in spite of our persistent efforts, they declined to join hands with us.

Sir, I do not want to prolong the discussion and I will try to be as brief as I can. In reply to Begum Sahiba's question I would submit that Begum Shah Nawaz played a very creditable role in the Round Table Conference. But now a great change has come about in her and she has given up the traditions of her parents, who did not make any invidious distinctions between the Hindus and the Muslims. What I want to say is that the Begum Shah Nawaz of to-day is not the Begum Shah Nawaz of the Round Table Conference. She enquired about the Congress attitude in the Round Table Conference. Sir, the fact is known to the world that in the Round Table Conference, Mahatma Gandhi gave a blank cheque to the Muslims provided they supported independence of India. (*Cheers*). It is a pity that the Muslim representatives declined to avail themselves of this most generous offer and played into the hands of the British. (*Hear, hear*).

Now, Sir, before I finish my speech I would like to make two or three submissions with regard to the Budget. I would particularly like to draw the attention of the honourable Mr. Bhim Sen Sachar to what I am going to say. In the beginning of the Provincial Autonomy in this province I put forward a suggestion to the effect that the provincial budget should be placed before the House in the form of Finance Bill. But the then Government did not think it fit to accept this proposal. Now, Sir, as you must be aware, in all the self-governing countries of the world, or let us say in all those countries where democratic Governments are in power, they do not present a budget as we do here; instead, they present a Finance Bill. To-day I repeat my proposal and request the Honourable Finance Minister to give it a careful consideration.



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Then Sir, our present Budget is said to be a surplus Budget, but the fact is that this Budget does not include the expenditure incurred in connection with the revision of Government servants scales of pay.

**Minister for Finance :** That is what I have said in my Budget speech.

**Chaudhri Krishna Gopal Dutt :** I fail to understand the reason why this expenditure has not been included in the Budget. Had this expenditure been included in the Budget, we would have had a deficit Budget instead of a surplus one. Let me assure the Honourable Minister for Finance that there is nothing to be ashamed of a deficit Budget. If we withhold the money and do not spend it for the betterment of the poor and thereby show a surplus, it is of no value. But if on the other hand we make provisions for the welfare of the backward and the poor, and if thereby we have a deficit Budget, well, we should be proud of it.

Then again as we all know hundreds of thousands of demobilised soldiers will be coming back very soon, and in consequence thereof unemployment is bound to increase manifold. But for this emergency no provision has been made in the Budget. So long as Government do not take it upon themselves to provide employment to the common people, the province cannot become prosperous and happy. In the days gone-by Budget used to be in the hands of a group of reactionary people. They had their own methods of dealing with the Budget, but our methods will be totally different from theirs. The present Budget has been presented under extraordinary circumstances. But I assure the House that when we assume full powers and when we prepare the Budget after our own heart's desire and in our own way, it will be a totally different Budget and will bear a socialistic colour. (*Hear, hear*).

I would also like to submit that in the Budget which has been presented by Honourable Minister for Finance the estimates have been prepared according to the current market prices. I ask, if prices change tomorrow, what will be the result? An answer to this question has nowhere been given in the present Budget. If after two or three months there comes about an appreciable fall in the prices—and let me warn the House that in view of the economic conditions prevailing in the world such a fall is very probable—then this Budget will be of no value.

Now, I want to place a suggestion before the House. It is that a committee of economic experts such as Professor Brij Narain, etc. should be set up, which should visualise and present before honourable the Finance Minister the economic conditions and prices likely to prevail in the near future.

I had no mind to participate in the discussion to-day because I was due to speak on Monday, but as the Raja Sahib said certain things which provoked us, therefore in reply to them I had to say things which could come only from a person whose susceptibilities had been deeply injured. I regret to say that the Raja Sahib has spared no efforts in passing poisonous and trenchant remarks against us. He hurled all sorts of insults at us and later on regretted and withdrew them. He was pleased to say that the Indian National Army agitation was nothing but a political stunt. In this connection I would like to tell him that whatever political zeal and life they have in them at present is all due to the I. N. A. agitation. I. N. A. instilled a new life into the Congress. (*Hear, hear*). Then he said that the Congress had died a political death. I warn him against the utterance of this sentence. The Congress is a sacred organization of this country. The Congress is alive. It is a pity that he used these words against the biggest political organisation of this country, an organisation with which his party was only recently trying its level best to come to an agreement. The only thing I can say in this connection is that it does not behove a member of a big and powerful political party to use such words against

an equally big and powerful political organisation, no matter what and how deep their mutual differences. (*Cheers*).

**Sardar Shaukat-Hyat-Khan :** On a point of personal explanation. My honourable friend, during his speech, made an insinuation which I think it is incumbent on me to clear up. He said that while the negotiations were going on between my party and the leader of the party sitting opposite, some of the leaders of this party agreed to the terms given to them by the leader of the All-India Congress. I think this is a vile insinuation. Not a single member of the deputation that waited on the leader of that party ever showed an inclination or desire that they agreed to what was given to them. I deny that insinuation and tell my honourable friend that in future they should be careful before they make any such insinuation on political parties and their leaders.

**Chaudhri Krishna Gopal Dutt :** On a personal explanation. He knows better than I, because he knows what things happened with Mr. Jinnah which I do not know.

**Sardar Shaukat Hyat-Khan :** Mr. Sachar is there. Ask him.

**Maulana Daud Ghaznavi** (Eastern Punjab, Labour) (*Urdu*) : Sir, I have been listening to the honourable members who turn by turn spoke in this House very attentively but am forced to admit that I have been disappointed by the trend and level of the debate. I found Raja Sahib's speech nothing but a combination of strange words and sentences. It does not deserve any praise and I assure him that when tomorrow it will be reported in the press it will earn no praise for him. (*Interruptions*).

Much has been said about our present coalition by my honourable friends there but I cannot hesitate to declare that it was my earnest desire to see an ideal coalition between the Congress and the League and I assure you, Sir, that nobody was more desirous and keen for the achievement of this goal than I was. I sincerely thought and felt that we must raise a joint voice and we must work together jointly for the betterment of our people. But alas, we could not achieve this end and I must tell you who withheld us from doing so. At first we started our negotiations with the League party. We spent many days and nights in this connection. We seriously wanted a good and stable ministry, and were not prepared to permit section 93 for a moment. We suggested that there should be a cabinet of ministers and as the number of Leaguers in the House was as much as the joint strength of Akalis and the Congress, we offered half the number of the Ministers to the League and the other half we wanted to distribute between ourselves. Was this formula not a just formula? Was it not based on equity? Thus we wanted to form a strong and useful ministry in this unfortunate province of castes and creeds. We were anxious to avoid the danger which proved fatal to the Simla Conference. That is why we came forward with this proposal. (*Interruptions*). I say, could there be any formula more fair and just than this? But even that was rejected. For what reasons? Obstinacy, prejudice and fanaticism. Otherwise, there was no reasonable ground to reject it. (*Cheers from Government benches and prolonged interruptions from the Opposition*). How times change. Today we are called traitors, and by whom? By these Nawabs and sons of Nawabs, who cannot bear the pain of a thorn for any high ideal. But I refuse to take notice of their remarks. (*Hear, hear*). They have fought their elections with the money of Soviet Russia and with the help of the Communists. Even my honourable friend Shaikh Sadiq Hasan calls me a traitor. Perhaps he does not remember that it was we who saved his life and the life of his kith and kin during Martial Law days. (*Interruptions*).

**Mr. Speaker :**—May I again tell the Leader of Opposition that if this noise continues the Reporters will not be able to report the speech.

**Maulana Daud Ghaznavi :** I was saying, Sir, that even now we are anxious to bring about an understanding between the Congress and the Muslim League. (*Prolonged Interruptions*).

**Mr. Speaker :** I appeal to the Opposition benches to show the normal courtesy to the Government benches.

**Maulana Daud Ghaznavi :** I know that what I say is not welcome to my honourable friends over there but they should not feel so perturbed and uneasy. (*Interruptions*). Now if the Akali-Congress Coalition is in power, the League is to blame none but itself. I feel, and every fair-thinking man feels like that, that if they are deprived of the Ministry it is because of themselves and their friends. (*A Voice : Why are you not in the Cabinet now ?*)

**Begum Jahan Ara Shah Nawaz :** May I ask him a question through you, Sir ? Why do not the Nationalist Muslims withdraw and facilitate a compromise between the Congress and the Muslim League ? They say they have made so many sacrifices for the sake of their country. Let them make this final sacrifice and end the whole trouble.

**Maulana Daud Ghaznavi :** I shall gladly answer the question just put to me. As I have already stated, at Simla the Muslim League refused any seat to be given to the Nationalist Muslims from their quota. They said, "The Congress may give them a seat from their own quota if they are so generous." (*Interruptions*).

We avoided to create that situation here. But the Muslim League did not agree to a seat being given to the Nationalist Muslims from the quota of the Congress. Therefore, it was only the fanaticism of the Muslim League that stood in the way and so no reply was forthcoming from the other side. In the meantime I made it quite clear to Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. .... (*Interruptions*).

**Mr. Speaker :** After having delivered two hours' speech I would request the honourable member to listen to others also.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** He is quite happy with us.

**Maulana Daud Ghaznavi :** No, I am not quite happy. I resent this running commentary. I regret that my friends are casting good manners to the wind. Anyhow in the meantime I made it quite plain to Hazrat Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. (*Loud interruptions*). (*Voices : Why do you call him Hazrat ?*) He is my leader and I have every right to call him as such. Look to our broad-mindedness that we call your leader as Qaid-i-Azam because you call him as such, but you grudge me even mentioning the name of my leader with respect. There should be some limit to narrow-mindedness. (*Uproar and interruptions*). (*A voice : We call him as Rashtrapati*).

**Mr. Speaker :** I have more than once pointed out that when one member is speaking, it is not desirable that 20 other members should interrupt him. I appeal to the House to keep order. If this thing continues I shall have to ask some one to withdraw from the House. I have given the House the utmost limit of latitude.

**Maulana Daud Ghaznavi :** However, I made it quite clear to Maulana Abul Kalam Azad that if the Muslim League and Congress alliance was falling through because of me I was quite prepared to sacrifice my own interests not once but a thousand times. (*Voices : Is that so ?*)

**Sardar Shaukat Hyat-Khan :** Then it was your dishonesty.

**Mr. Speaker :** The word 'dishonesty' is unparliamentary. The honourable member should withdraw it.

**Sardar Shaukat Hyat-Khan :** I withdraw.

**Maulana Daud Ghaznavi :** The honourable members who were present there at the time admitted this fact in their private meetings that that was the best suggestion that could have been made and they regretted that their High Command did not agree to it. (*Interruptions*). I, therefore, think that I could not have done more than that. If this offer was spurned away the responsibility for that lies on you and you alone.

Now I come to the question of the lady member over there. She says that she admits that the nationalist Muslims have made many sacrifices according to their own point of view. Yes, we have a record number of sacrifices to our credit. My family has been making these sacrifices ever since the time of the inauguration of the Khilafat movement. She may differ with our point of view but she was quite right when she remarked that we made these sacrifices from our point of view. However, I may point out to her that we did make these sacrifices and for a much better cause. As I have observed already I pointed out to Maulana Abul Kalam Azad that if I stood in the way of any understanding being arrived at between the Muslim League and the Congress I was prepared not once but ten thousand times to make this sacrifice. But there was a question of principle involved in it. The Congress claims to represent Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Christians and others and if they had accepted this thing that would have amounted to a reflection on their claim to represent all the communities. Therefore, the Congress High Command was not prepared to agree to it and thus bow before you. I am of the opinion that the attitude which the Muslim League High Command and the Punjab Muslim League adopted was solely responsible for the breakdown of the negotiations. Raja Sahib observed that the Congress is a Hindu body. I want Raja Sahib to get a first class ticket for Peshawar and board the Frontier Mail and he will reach Peshawar in no time. When he reaches there he will find that 95 per cent population of that province consists of Muslims. There the Congress is in power and the Muslim League does not command the confidence of the people. (*Uproar*). After Raja Sahib gets satiated with his visit to that province he should then divert his attention to Sind. (*Raja Sahib: Why not Bengal?*) I will take you there also. (*Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din: You will be defeated there.*) Mian Sahib is at heart with us and he has gone there only for the sake of election. (*Hear, hear, from the Treasury benches*).

**Mian Muhammad Iftikhar-ud-Din:** If Hindus give you money that does not mean that they are with you as well.

**Mr. Speaker:** The honourable member has no right to interrupt. He can reply to all these things when he is on his legs.

**Maulana Daud Ghaznavi:** If my honourable friends sitting opposite take the trouble of visiting Sind, they will discover to their utter disappointment that Muslim League is not the sole representative body of the Muslims. There the Muslim candidates have had an easy walk-over in the recent elections on the Congress tickets. The same has been proved in the United Provinces (*Interruptions*). Let my honourable friends opposite take the earliest train and verify for themselves the truth of my statement. (*Uproar*). (*An honourable member from the Opposition: What about Bengal?*) The honourable member is requested not to get impatient. It will not be before long that I send him even there. (*Interruptions*). Sir, I was submitting that in the United Provinces many Muslims have been successful in sweeping the polls on the Congress ticket. (*Interruptions*).

Now Bengal. Even there the Muslim candidates on Congress tickets are successful in the elections and more success is anticipated for other Muslim candidates on the same ticket. This clearly shows that the Muslim League is not the sole representative body of the Muslims in India. Honourable members opposite are labouring under a gross misconception if they think that the Muslim League is the sole representative body of the Muslims. (*An honourable member: You are a traitor.*) (*Loud uproar from Opposition benches*). Yes, I am a traitor to the honourable members opposite in general and their leader Mr. Jinnah in particular, who are foreigners to all tenets of Islam. (*Loud uproar*). Yes, I am a traitor to their leader Mr. Jinnah who drinks to the last drop. (*Interruptions*). Yes, I am a traitor to them who do not say their prayers or keep the holy fasts or perform Zakaat. (*Interruptions*). Yes, I am a traitor to those who drink like fish. (*Cries of shame from the opposition benches*). I am not a traitor like the honour-

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able members opposite. (*An honourable member* : You are a *milat farosh*, a traitor, and a follower of the Pirs.) (*Interruptions*).

**Pandit Shri Ram Sharma** : Sir, may I know whether it is according to the parliamentary practice to use the expression *milat farosh* in regard to an honourable member of this House. I would request you to give your ruling about it. (*Cries of 'sit down', sit down'*.)

**Maulana Daud Ghaznavi** : It has been said from the Opposition benches that the present Coalition Ministry has within a very short time since its coming to power promulgated section 144 in the city of Lahore and that it has demanded security from '*Nasra-i-Waqt*', an Urdu daily. I beg to inform the honourable members opposite that the precautionary measures taken in Lahore were not done with any vindictive motive, but simply to avoid any unwholesome situation endangering the lives and property of innocent Hindus and Mussalmans, just as had happened in Bengal during the League regime. There the capitalist Muslim Leaguers committed atrocities on the poor Bengalis irrespective of their religion or faith. And in other provinces the blood of Khaksars had stained the very soil and even now if the honourable members sitting opposite take the trouble of going to these areas, they will disillusion themselves with the truth of my statement. The honour of all these happenings is bestowed upon the Muslim League regimes in those provinces and those regimes have in turn the honour of the patronage of the honourable members sitting opposite in general and Raja Sahib in particular. (*Uproar*). Now take the case of the Frontier Province. During the Muslim League regime in that province, corruption, bribery and mal-administration were rampant. Why, may I ask, was not the Muslim League Party successful in coming to power later on? It is clear as the day light that now the Congress Ministry in the province is functioning to the utmost satisfaction of the masses. The honourable members sitting opposite, who have been rolling in luxury and comfort, making such remarks, should try to search their hearts and see that their conscience has been blackened by their dirty deeds in the past. They have been responsible for the bloodshed of the Muslims. They should first try to listen to the still small voice of reason and then justify the need of promulgating section 144 in the city of Lahore for the maintenance of law, peace and order.

**Lala Behari Lal Chanana** (South-East Multan Division, General, Rural (Urdu) : Sir, it is my pleasant duty at the very outset to congratulate the Honourable Finance Minister, not for the reason that the budget after passing through so many normal stages is now before us in its final form, but for the moral courage with which he endorsed the budget already prepared by the department concerned before its presentation to the House. In his note the Honourable Finance Minister has clarified the policy as required by Raja Sahib. If some one out of malice says that the Finance Minister has not clarified the policy, I would call it a baseless allegation and would not consider it a fault of the Honourable Lala Bhim Sen Sachar, but that of Raja Sahib himself. It reminds me of a motto which runs as below :

"We know that you are in a hurry, but even hurry takes time."

To remark about a ministry which has come into existence very recently and is only a few days old, that it has not accomplished the task expected of it, is besides the point and consequently does not debar us from offering our congratulations.

Sir, I will, undoubtedly agree with the Opposition on the point that this province is going to face some great economic problems very soon. It is, therefore, our duty to rise to the occasion and do things which may facilitate the solution of these problems. The steps to be taken in this connection should not be discussed for the sake of discussion, but should be straight away put into practice, so that after some time we may be able to show to the world the results of our labour. I admit that even hurry takes

time but still I am sure that the present coalition party would not be slow in carrying out its plans like its predecessor. I must say at the same time that the present circumstances call for immediate action. We find that the economic fabric of the province is altogether broken, and to rebuild it and bring it up to the mark, productive scheme should be adopted. The last nine years' experience tells us that the Government have entirely failed in ameliorating the economic condition of this province. Do you know, what is it, after all, due to? In my humble opinion, generally there are two reasons for the failure of a Government. First, the Government does not pay heed to the Opposition and their suggestions, and secondly, the members of the Government party follow their leader blindly.

With regard to the first point I would appeal to the Muslim League benches to come forward with constructive suggestions for the better administration of the province, and to the Honourable Lala Bhim Sen Sachar that he should fully consider those suggestions and try to give them practical shape where necessary. He should not disregard them because of the fact that they emanate from the Opposition. To Raja Sahib, I would say that the circumstances with the Coalition Party are not similar to those that have been with the Unionist party under Sir Sikander Hyat-Khan or after him under the present Premier. The members sitting on this side do not consider their leader a dictator as has been the practice in the past. They would neither follow him nor vote for him blindly, but would bring to light the loopholes in his Government. Raja Sahib says that Section 420 is applicable to the members of the Coalition Party but I think it is equally applicable to him as well. I appreciate the suggestions of Raja Sahib and would like to say that we will not vote blindly for anybody like himself.

The black bills were passed to our detriment by the last government with the connivance of Raja Sahib and his colleagues. Let me make it clear to him that if we have joined this Coalition now, we have not done so with our eyes shut. We have joined the Coalition after having given full consideration to all the aspects of the matter. As a matter of fact that undesirable element which was responsible for that legislation has crossed the floor and gone over to the opposite side.

Now I shall read out paragraphs 6 and 11 column 1 of our manifesto which is as follows :—

"To tackle the problems of rural indebtedness by arranging cheap credit through co-operative societies and by other means both in rural and urban areas. To distribute justly and equitably the burden of taxation according to capacity."

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** Has your manifesto been published?

**Lala Behari Lal Chanana :** Yes. You can read it in the *Tribune* by spending two annas.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** Let me have it. Here are two annas.

**Lala Behari Lal Chanana :** No, you cannot have this one even for a rupee.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** Black-marketing, eh? (*Laughter*).

**Lala Behari Lal Chanana :** I want to make it clear to the House that no efforts will be spared in getting those hardships and iniquities removed which have been imposed on us through those black bills and similar legislation as a result of the discriminatory policy of the past Government. But now that the distinction between urban and rural classes has vanished on account of the above mentioned manifesto and a fair treatment to all has been declared by the leader in the following words :—

"The policy to be pursued by the Coalition Ministry in the economic sphere will continue to be objective of the up-lift of back ward classes and areas, rural as well as urban."

If I find that urban people are capable of bearing additional burden of taxes, I will support any measure to this effect.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** Will you kindly translate it for me ?

**Lala Behari Lal Chanana :** I am really no match for you in this respect. I have neither the ability nor the time to do so.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** As a matter of fact I have not been able to follow you. Kindly translate it for me.

**Sardar Kapoor Singh :** Spend two annas and everything will be clear to you.

**Lala Behari Lal Chanana :** Raja Sahib had raised the question that when the British Cabinet Delegation arrives in India, how would we be able to face them and in what capacity should we go to meet them. In this connection I would like to submit that the Delegation will see everything for themselves. They will find that the Punjab, the sword-arm of India and the sword-arm of Pakistan is not under the Muslim League regime. But I would like to make it clear that if the Muslim League is not in power here, it is not because it has not been given an opportunity to join the Coalition, but because the Muslim Leaguers themselves have not tried to win the confidence of the non-Muslims here. Anyway, let us put aside these controversies and try instead to put forward some constructive proposals about the Budget.

Now, if we want peace and prosperity in the province, it is imperative that we give to the food problem the anxious care it demands, and exercise full and rigorous control of the foodstuffs. The present conditions are such that I am constrained to remark that mill-owners, contractors and highly placed Government officials are practically the only people who take good food and enough of it. The rest, i.e., about 96 per cent of our population are constantly worried about the procurement of their 'dal roti'. Therefore, it is quite in the fitness of things that in the present circumstances a budget should be essentially and basically a 'dal roti' budget.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** Is there enough provision for 'dal roti' in the present Budget ?

**Lala Behari Lal Chanana :** Not quite as much as there should be. (*Laughter*). Now, so far as food grains are concerned, our province is luckily a surplus province. But if, God forbid, famine does break out here, then we and we alone will be held legally and morally responsible for it. Therefore, it is our duty to devise a procurement scheme whereby neither the grower nor the trader nor the consumer should suffer.

Coming to the controls imposed on various necessities of life, I would submit that the glorious army of controllers has come to believe in controls for their own sake. Had I ample time at my disposal, I would have shown you how these controls imposed on various commodities are superfluous. In the interests of the people in general most of these controls should be abolished immediately.

Coming to the black-market, my submission is that black-market comes into being invariably with the connivance of Government officials. Therefore I would request the Honourable Minister for Finance that whenever he receives any complaints regarding black-market, he should start with the assumption that Government officials had a hand in it.

**Mr. Speaker :** The honourable member's time is up.

**Lala Behari Lal Chanana :** Sir, I wanted to say many things more, but unfortunately the time at my disposal has come to an end (*Interruptions*).

(*The honourable member having been given more time, continued*).

I have found one thing disappointing in the budget. I noticed that dearness allowance has been given to the Government servants and has been extended many times. I wonder why the Government did not make a careful survey in the beginning and adopt bold measures in this direction. You will fully agree with me that the

condition of the subordinate servants is the worst. Once, while travelling in train I discussed this aspect of the question with an Additional District Magistrate I asked him to tell me that if there was a humble Government servant drawing sixty or seventy rupees a month and having a family of 8 or 9 dependants, could he live on Rs. 2 a day? There were only two ways out, one was suicide in order to avoid the issue and the other was corruption in order to face the liabilities. I do not advocate amenities for them. I want that they must be assured a bare living at least.

In conclusion, I would lay the greatest stress on the Government taking immediate steps to provide relief to the masses of the community who are suffering from suffocation due to mal-administration. In this connection some of the concrete proposals I offer to make on behalf of the backward classes both urban and rural are :

First, that the Peasant Welfare Fund that is accumulating should be disbursed in a generous manner and not allowed to accumulate as I find in the budget.

Secondly, dealers of small turnovers, who constitute a very big percentage of the total number of assesseees assessed to sales tax, should be exempted from the payment of sales tax by raising the exemption limit from the present meagre figure of ten thousand rupees to at least forty thousand as this, while providing relief to this deserving section of the urban community, will not effect materially the budget income under this head as the loss of revenue on account of this exemption will hardly exceed a couple of lakhs of rupees and the saving on account of collection charges for this amount will go a long way to set off this loss of revenue. Moreover, the withdrawal of the exemption previously enjoyed by the manufacturers will provide very large amount running into several lakhs as an additional amount in the coming years.

Thirdly, exemption from sales tax of articles of mass consumption should be liberally extended in view of the present critical times of dearth which will afford relief to the urban and rural masses who have to bear the burden of this tax.

**Sardar Kabul Singh** (*Jullundur East, Sikh, Rural*) (*Punjab*): Sir, I know that it was not possible for the Ministry to do anything during the few days. But being a representative of the public and knowing the hopes and wishes of the masses at large, I cannot help appealing to the Ministry to act with courage and strength. As Raja Sahib put it, Government should pay attention to the civil liberties. If it is a progressive and civilised Government, it should set at liberty all the prisoners who have been put in jails without trial. That should be done without any further delay. It will better the provincial atmosphere.

So far as the budget is concerned, I must say that the thickly populated area of doaba has completely been ignored. The level of water in the wells of this area is gradually going down, and if nothing is done in time, I am afraid this happy and prosperous land shall be turned into ruins. The Government is bringing forth new projects for the desolate lands of the Province, they should also think out some scheme to prevent this land from being desolated.

Then, Sir, there are punitive police posts in so many villages of that *ilaga*. That is very regrettable. No Government, much less a progressive Government, can feel proud of such things. Why should the whole village suffer for the actions of a single person? Why terrorise people in that way?

Raja Sahib, in the course of his speech, remarked that the Indian National Army agitation was only a political stunt on the part of the Congress. I assure him that that is not so. I feel it from the core of my heart that to try the I.N.A. men is an insult to the whole country. It is a challenge to India. But Raja Sahib should know that this whole affair was started by the kindness of Sir Firoz Khan Noon, who was Defence Member at that time. However, if our friends have come to the right path now, we shall be only too glad to work with them for the release of the I. N.A. Lal Qila has been a butchering place for human beings. An Enquiry committee



[S. Kabul Singh]

should be set up to look into this whole affair, and proper action should be taken against the officers involved in that sordid business. I hope this Government will recommend that to the Central Government. What Raja Sahib has said to-day, we have been feeling and saying for the last so many years. I am glad he has changed but I wish he had changed earlier. (*Cheers*). He says something should be done for the poor peasants. We, too, are of that opinion. Rather, we go a step further. We say the land should be evenly distributed. No one should possess 80 villages. Yes, such changes shall be brought about by this progressive Ministry of ours, and if it will not prove a progressive Ministry, we will be the first to denounce it. We are not their yes-men. (*Hear, hear*). We have not accepted offices for the lure of power. I know a long time is required to undo the wrongs of our predecessors. But I must request them to act immediately. They may do very little, but that little must be done without any delay. (*Interruptions*). They should bring about a change in the mentality of Government servants, especially the Police. They should be made to feel that they are public servants and not masters. The Government should take the masses into confidence. Their interests should be looked after. In short, every thing possible should be done to meet the reasonable demands of the people.

*The Assembly then adjourned till 12 noon on Monday, 25th March 1946*

# PUNJAB LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

1ST SESSION OF THE 2ND PUNJAB LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

MONDAY, 25TH MARCH 1946

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

## STARRED QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

### MURDERS IN LAHORE

**\*7. Munshi Hari Lal :** Will the Honourable Premier be pleased to state :—

(a) whether any reports were received of murders in the months of January, February, and in the beginning of March, 1946, alleged to have been committed on the highways and in public places within the limits of the Lahore Corporation ;

(b) if so, the number of such murders and the number of cases in which the culprits have been traced ;

(c) whether any special measures have been taken by the Government to guard the public against such offenders, if so, the nature of such measures ?

**The Honourable Malik Sir Khizar Hayat :** (a) and (b). There were a large number of false rumours of murders having been committed on the highways and in public places within the limits of the Lahore Corporation in the months of January, February and March 1946, but actually only one murder was reported, namely the Nedou murder. The accused in this case have not yet been traced.

(c) Yes, extensive patrolling by combined Civil and Military Police was instituted as a preventive measure throughout the affected areas.

**Chaudhri Muhammad Hasan :** May I know the time of the murder of Mr. Nedou ?

**Premier :** This does not arise out of the answer that I have given. It is a separate question.

**Chaudhri Muhammad Hasan :** It does arise out of the answer that has been given. A murder was committed in broad daylight but the police has not yet been able to trace the culprits. Is it not disgraceful ?

**Premier :** I am not able to give the exact time of the murder. However, I can correct the honourable member. The murder was not committed in broad daylight, but at night.

**Mr. Speaker :** The Premier is not necessarily prepared for the supplementary question.

**Chaudhri Muhammad Hasan :** How has he been able to say now that the murder was committed at night ? Has somebody whispered to him just now ?

**Premier :** I have many sources of information including whispers. (Laughter).

### CORRUPTION IN THE CIVIL SUPPLY DEPARTMENT

**\*10. Munshi Hari Lal :** Will the Honourable Minister for Development be pleased to state whether any cases of corruption in the Civil Supplies Department, Punjab, have come to the notice of the Government, if so, how many cases, criminal or departmental, have been instituted against the offenders by the Government and with what results ?

**The Honourable Sardar Baldev Singh:** A statement containing the required information is laid on the table.

CASES OF CORRUPTION IN THE CIVIL SUPPLIES DEPARTMENT

*Criminal*

1. Convictions .. .. .	2
2. Acquittals .. .. .	7
3. Cases under trial .. .. .	7 including one Civil Supplies officer.
<b>Total</b> .. .. .	<b>16</b>

*Departmental*

1. Dismissals & discharges .. .. .	20 (including one Civil Supplies Officer).
2. Reversions .. .. .	10
3. Enquiry being held at present .. .. .	23 (including 2 Civil Supplies officers).
4. Increment stopped .. .. .	1
5. Warning issued .. .. .	1
6. Resignations accepted .. .. .	9
7. Cases in which charges not proved .. .. .	3
<b>Total</b> .. .. .	<b>67</b>

**Chaudhri Muhammad Hasan:** Is it a fact that one Sadhu Singh was transferred from Ambala on account of lack of control and lot of corruption?

**Minister:** It does not arise out of the answer that I have given. If the honourable member gives notice of a definite question I shall endeavour to answer it.

**Chaudhri Muhammad Hasan:** I knew that the Development Minister would say so.

REMOVAL OF MUNICIPAL COMMISSIONERS FROM THEIR OFFICES

**\*8. Munshi Hari Lal:** Will the Honourable Minister for Public Works be pleased to state:—

(a) whether any Municipal Commissioners in the province were removed from their office during 1942, 1943, 1944 and 1945 for absents themselves from the meetings of their respective Municipal Committees consequent upon their detention under the Defence of India Rules, if so, their number and names respectively;

(b) whether Government intend to remove the disabilities caused by such removal, if not, why not?

**The Honourable Chaudhri Lahri Singh:** (a) No member was removed from any municipal committee during 1942, 1943, 1944 and 1945, on account of absence from meetings of the committee in consequence of detention under the Defence of India Rules.

(b) Does not arise.

**Pandit Bhagat Ram Sharma:** May I know if enquiries were made with regard to the Dharmasala Municipal Committee where Pandit Kishan Chand was removed from his office?

**Minister:** I require notice for that.

## ADJOURNMENT MOTIONS DURING BUDGET SESSION

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** Before we proceed to discuss the Budget generally I would like to make a submission with regard to the adjournment motions given notice of by the members of the Opposition. You will remember, Sir, that the ruling that you gave the day before yesterday was confined to that day only. We have already lost one day and that means that an opportunity of discussing one adjournment motion has been denied to us. I would request you, Sir, to take up the adjournment motions and allow them to be discussed. In regard to the allowing of adjournment motions during Budget, I would invite your attention to a number of rulings of your predecessor when he allowed adjournment motions to be discussed on the floor of the House during Budget right from the year 1938 to 1945. There was, perhaps, only one occasion when the Speaker did not allow an adjournment motion to be brought forward. Leave to make a motion for the adjournment of the business of the House was sought by Diwan Chaman Lall and when leave was refused, the Congress Party staged a walk-out from the House. Except for that solitary instance there was not a single occasion where adjournment motions were not allowed to be discussed. Only last year during Budget session I gave notice of an adjournment motion regarding the attitude of Government in banning the procession of the President of the All-India Muslim League and the Speaker allowed that motion although it could not be discussed because the requisite number of members did not stand up. In the year 1940, Mr. Gauba moved an adjournment motion on the firing on khaksars during the Budget session and the motion was allowed. I can quote many similar cases when adjournment motions were allowed to be discussed during Budget session.

**Mr. Speaker :** The day before yesterday I stated that my ruling was based on the rulings of my illustrious predecessor. I did not allow the matter to be discussed on the floor of the House and requested the honourable member to discuss the matter with me in my office room. He came to my room less than 15 minutes before 12 noon. Had he come earlier I would have considered the matter. I am convinced that it is not necessary that adjournment motions should not be allowed to be moved during Budget (*Hear, hear from the Opposition Benches*). But there is a conflict of practice and I have not yet considered the matter in all its aspects. I have not yet gone through the rulings of my predecessor as it requires time. I would also consider which adjournment motions can be allowed to be moved during the Budget session. There can be some important matters on which the Opposition might like to have a division in the House. I have to examine the adjournment motions from that point of view also. I regret I have not been able to apply my mind to this important matter. Had the Leader of the Opposition come to me earlier—I was in my room till half an hour after the House adjourned the day before yesterday and at 9-45 a. m. this morning—I would have gone through the whole matter with him and given my considered opinion. I shall give the matter the consideration that it deserves and let the House know the decision that I arrive at to-morrow.

**Khan Bahadur Sheikh Karamat Ali :** Will you consider the matter to-morrow or give your ruling?

**Mr. Speaker :** I shall give my ruling to-morrow.

## BUDGET—GENERAL DISCUSSION

**Chaudhri Muhammad Hasan** (Ambala and Simla, (Muhammadan) Rural) (*Urdu*) : Sir, it is highly unfortunate that I have to address you to say certain things which are not very pleasant. I will begin my speech with a verse from the late Allama Iqbal which very appropriately applies to some of the members sitting on the Treasury benches :

[Ch. Mohd. Hasan]

و جمع میں تم ہو نصاریٰ تو تمدن میں ہندو  
یہ مسلمان ہیں جنہیں دیوانہ کے شرمائیں یہود

**Mr. Speaker :** The day before yesterday I allowed great latitude to Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan and he discussed things, some of which were not quite relevant to the subject under discussion. But today I will not allow this thing to be repeated.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** Sir, I want to make it clear that during the general discussion on Budget every subject on the face of the earth can be brought under discussion. In this particular case, for example, how this Coalition has been formed, what is the policy of the Congress, what is the policy of the Akalis, what is the policy of the Coalition, all this is perfectly relevant, and I am sure there is not a single word in my speech which, by any stretch of imagination, could be considered to be irrelevant to the discussion of the Budget.

**Chaudhri Muhammad Hasan :** Raja Sahib in his speech the day before yesterday called the Coalition Party an incongruous combination, but I will call them by other names. For example, there are some who can be called Governor-sabhai, and there are others whom one may name as Hindu-sabhai and then there is still a third category of them who are known as Singh-sabhai. In the first category are those members who are the henchmen of the Governor and dance to whichever tune he plays. While those in the second category always wait for a sign from the Honourable the Finance Minister to move or not to move, to speak or not to speak and so on; those in the third category are under the influence and tutelage of the Honourable the Minister for Development. All of them are very faithful and obedient in their own ways. But apart from them all there are some three or four members who owe allegiance to nobody and are everything by themselves. Now you might as well ask how and why this classification has come about. I will explain it to you in a few minutes, and I am in a position to do so because I have had the honour of working with them as their comrade and thereby know their ins and outs.

**Mr. Speaker :** The honourable member is not relevant.

**Chaudhri Muhammad Hasan :** All this is very relevant because it will show you that this hotch potch of heterogeneous elements cannot possibly prepare a good budget. They cannot possibly think in terms of the poor, the peasant and the backward. The reason of it is that each one of them has his own personal and particular interests before him. Hence they cannot be expected to prepare a budget whereby the underdog should have a chance of improving his condition.

**Mr. Speaker :** The Finance Minister has already himself admitted that this Budget is not his Budget, and that he is carrying somebody else's baby. When the new Budget comes, then it will be time to say that this party is responsible for this Budget and that it is not capable of preparing a budget.

**Chaudhri Muhammad Hasan :** Even if the Finance Minister says that this is not his Budget, even then we have every right to criticise this Budget in view of the fact that the Budget has been presented by him.

As I was submitting, these people cannot possibly prepare a good budget, because their interests and ambitions are conflicting. Some of them are always worried about what pleases and what displeases the Governor. They cannot think of anything else. Others have the interests of the urban and the trading classes before them. There are still others who always think in terms of their Singh Party and seem to have developed an obsession for the iron and steel business. In such a scheme of things, obviously there is no place for the suffering masses for whom nobody seems to care a jot.

Now I come to yet another category which includes Pandit Shri Ram Sharma, Master Kabul Singh and Pandit Bhagat Ram Sharma. Their pitiable plight can aptly be illustrated by this line :-

پوردرگار یوں ہی کوئی ناتوان نہ ہو

They want to say certain things, but they cannot. Their hearts are seething with rebellion, but their tongues are tied. They are in constant fear of the Honourable Finance Minister and Sardar Kapur Singh. They feel everything, but they cannot give utterance to it. They are in a very unenviable position and one can only have pity on them. Certainly they cannot be said to have forgotten the days when at the hands of this very Unionist Party, with which they have formed a coalition, they used to be victimised. They were hurled into jails where they kept rotting without being given a hearing. Outside, their near and dear ones fell ill and died, their daughters had to be married and they were married, but no reason on earth was good enough to secure their release, not even on parole. Have they forgotten all that? If not, then how is it that they stooped so low as to form a coalition with their erstwhile enemies? Now their tongues are tied. Perhaps they have been gagged with a seat in the cabinet, and I am afraid if the Unionists give them the Deputy Speakership also, they will be able to buy their souls. (*Uproar.*)

Now I come to Chaudhri Krishna Gopal Dutt who is a Hindu Sabhaite. (*An honourable member* : You have had a very good somersault.) My friend from Ludhiana is talking of somersaults, perhaps because he himself has had quite a number of them. (*Laughter.*) Anyway, I will deal with these somersaults at some length later on. Well, I was saying that during the years 1943, 1944 and 1945, Chaudhri Krishna Gopal Dutt wrote a number of letters to Dr. Gopi Chand. In these letters, besides other things, he wrote to the effect that he (Dr. Gopi Chand) was responsible for introducing him into politics for which fact he was very grateful to him. But, he complained, he did not relish the negotiations Dr. Gopi Chand was carrying on with the Unionist Party. He could not tolerate them. Here is that same Chaudhri Krishna Gopal Dutt feeling happy and contented over this unholy coalition. I am in possession of all these letters and will release them to the Press very shortly.

Then again, when Chaudhri Chhotu Ram died I was acting as the leader of the Congress Assembly Party. One day sitting in Vira Hotel, which is owned by Mr. Prabodh Chandar, I made a statement to the effect that Chaudhri Chhotu Ram was a nice man. No doubt a world of difference existed between us, but I did not want to talk ill of the dead. I also added that he had done great good to the Jats of Rohtak. This statement leaked out and a strong protest was raised against it. Then again, so far as my memory goes Chaudhri Krishna Gopal Dutt and the honourable Minister for Finance have always been dubbing the Unionist Party as a group of reactionary people and the enemies of the urbanite and the *bania*. But alas, these very people have now come under the spell of the same Unionist Party. God help them.

Then there is Seth Sudarshan, a strange man. When the Congress Assembly Party elected me as its Leader, he came to me and asked me to go one step back and become the Deputy Leader. He also asked me to consult him in whatever I did, but I made it clear to him that I would do nothing of the sort, because I acted on the dictates of my conscience. The incident I have related above is just an indication of their mentality. He went on secretly negotiating with Honourable the Minister for Development for diverse reasons and I cannot definitely say how many contracts in connection with the iron and steel business were granted. (*Uproar.*)

**Mr. Speaker:** The day before yesterday I allowed a great deal of latitude to the members of the House. I allowed Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan to give vent to his feeling

[Mr. Speaker]

although he made statements which were not quite relevant to the Budget. I would request the honourable members to help me in keeping order. Had I not been a member of the House before and seen what has happened in the past, perhaps I would not have allowed what happened here the other day. I would request honourable members not to say things which do not concern the Budget or the administration of the province.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** Sir, I refuse to admit that I said what was not relevant to the Budget. If you care to read the rulings of your predecessor, you will find that during the general discussion of Budget everything which is connected with the Province can be said. In the House of Commons there is a Committee of Supply and on the Supply Bill everything can be discussed. According to the rulings of your predecessor, the general discussion is equivalent to the discussions in the Committee of Supply where everything on earth is relevant. I submit that the political aspects are very important and can be discussed during the general discussion. How this Coalition has been formed, what is the policy of the Congress, what is the policy of Akalis; what is the policy of the Unionists, all these matters are of utmost importance and perfectly relevant.

**Chaudhri Muhammad Hasan :** Sir, I was submitting that some of those honourable members who really championed the cause of the Hindu-Muslim unity were not given the Congress ticket for the elections and the others were ill-advised and were asked to get their votes cast in favour of Achhuts and thus they too missed the bus. (*Interruptions*). In this way many good people could not come in and to-day we find no difference between the Hindu Mahasabha and the Congress. The Hindu Mahasabha's aim is the uplift and service of the Hindus and the same is the aim of the present Congress Party. When I joined the Muslim League the entire Hindu press declared me a traitor. Mahashe Krishna, the editor of the Daily Partap, very much rejoiced over my exit and condemned me right and left as a traitor. Sir, my fault was this much only that I recommended Mr. Sehgal to Dr. Mahmood at the residence of Mian Ittikhar-ud-Din and opposed Mahashe's son, Mr. Virindra. Sir, I do not attach importance to these base condemnations and I now declare that those people are the real traitors who have sacrificed their principles and are doing what they ought not to do. I call them Hindu Sabhaites. My honourable friend, the Development Minister is a Singh Sabhai, because he is a custodian of the Sikh interests. There is another party, which is led by Malik Sir Gadar Hayat Khan. They are Governor Sabhais. (*Shouts of 'withdraw, withdraw'*). Sir, I withdraw the words "Gadar Hayat Khan". I was submitting that the entire Congress Party with the exception of Maulana Daud Ghaznavi, is a Mahasabha Party. I ask them, what is their programme? Whose development and betterment have they got in their minds? They were fully exposed at the time of Diwan Chaman Lall's election to the Central Assembly. They gave it in writing to Dr. Narang that they would always oppose Pakistan and Maulana Daud Ghaznavi too signed it and supported the anti-Muslim policy. The Congress party has ceased to be the Congress party and now it is nothing else but a branch of the Mahasabha. (*Interruptions*).

Sir, you will permit me to say that the present coalition Government is totally unfit and has not got the ability to present a good budget. It has fallen an easy prey to favouritism and other shortcomings.

To-day the ten crores of Muslims are behind the Muslim League and no one who is outside it can ever be popular with the Muslims. They say there are Nawats in the Muslim League but I assure them they are not in it for their 'jagirs'. They have joined the Muslim League because they are Muslims and Muslim League is the only political body that represents the Muslims of India. Is it not a fact that this Ministry is a crippled one because the Muslim League is out of it? There is no

one in the Ministry to present the Muslims and guard their interests. No doubt the interests of Hindus and Sikhs are quite safe in the hands of this Ministry, but so far as Muslims are concerned, it is impossible for the present Ministry to be of any use to them. I congratulate the Hindus and the Sikhs that they have been able to rope in Malik Khizar Hayat Khan and now they can safely trample over the interests of the Muslims in the province.

Now coming to the Budget, I must say that it is not at all a good Budget. Our rural areas are very badly in need of medical relief but no provision has been made for that in this Budget. What is the reason? The reason is that Malik Khizar Hayat who could feel for villages does not possess any funds and Mr. Bhim Sen Sacher who is in charge of funds cannot feel for rural areas. So Malik Khizar Hayat is helpless in this matter too, as he is in most others.

Now Sir, I want to bring it to the notice of the Ministry, especially of my friend Chaudhri Lahri Singh that on the 5th of March last Chaudhri Bhola Singh was murdered in broad daylight and until now no one has been arrested in this connection. He was murdered because he was opposing Chaudhri Ram Sarup, the Unionist candidate. That is why no action is being taken against the culprits. I draw the attention of my friend Dr. Sant Ram Seth, who is sitting on Government benches, to this fact. It pains me when I see my old friends who had been oppressed and put in jail by the Unionists, sitting with those very men on the same benches. Similar is the case with my honourable friend Chaudhri Krishna Gopal Dutt. His health has been ruined in the jail. He and his friends were not allowed to see their family members in hospitals. They were not released on parole even on the death of their near and dear relatives. And now they have been made to sit on the same benches with those very persons who have been the cause of all those troubles to them.

**Mr. Speaker :** Only two minute more.

**Chaudhri Muhammad Hasan :** As I was submitting Sir there is a state of terror and lawlessness in the province and my honourable friends of the Congress Party are sitting calmly in their offices. Where are their high principles now? They used to say that their struggle was for the freedom of India. Why have they given it up now? But they never wanted to be free. They only wanted to establish Hindu raj with the help of the British bayonets. They want to make Muslims their slaves. (*Voices : It shall never be.*) Yes, it shall never be. Now that the Unionist Party is under the leadership of Doctor Gopi Chand Bhargava, the Congressmen are forced to sit silent, and agree to what the Unionist Party says. (*Chaudhri Krishna Gopal Dutt :* We are still prepared for a compromise with you.) I wish my honourable friend had as much influence in the Unionist Party as Doctor Gopi Chand has. He cannot be of any use. (*Interruptions.*) My honourable friend, the Finance Minister says that the Congress Party members are not oppressed. Is it not oppression that a member of their Party says that Malik Khizar Hayat is not their leader and the honourable Finance Minister says "He is." I know why I am not permitted to carry on for another few minutes. The fact is that the Congress Party is afraid of me because I know their innermost secrets.

جس کے بعد کئی کئی

With these few words, Sir, I resume my seat.

**Pandit Shri Ram Sharma** (Southern towns, General, Urban) : Sir, we have discussed in the House the budget of this year day before yesterday and today also the discussion continues. The discussion was started by Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan the day before yesterday, and Chaudhri Mohd. Hasan has also made a speech in this connection today. I have heard the budget speeches of both these friends of mine with bewilderment. The way in which they delivered their speeches did not become these veterans. The tone of the speeches made in this House should be higher. What would be the impression of those who had come here to see the Assembly functioning? After all it is an august House where the representatives of the province come to discuss matters for the good of the people. We must always keep in view the dignity of the House



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If they want, I can congratulate these friends of mine for reducing the Assembly to the level of a cinema house or a meeting outside Mochi Gate. Most of their speeches were personal attacks, propaganda and mud-throwing. I am glad that my Party heard all that patiently and did not answer their remarks. Silence was the only answer. My party has once again proved by their silence that they are not perturbed by such petty things. My first submission is that it is not quite clear whether that speech was a budget speech or a political propaganda speech. Sir, so far I never had any opportunity of hearing speeches from the Muslim League platform although I have often read reports of such speeches in the papers. But to-day I got an inkling as to how speeches are made from the Muslim League platform. I also remember that during the last session of the Assembly when I was in jail similar speeches used to be made here. I read reports of the proceedings of this House in the newspapers which were supplied to me in jail. At that time a particular honourable member was very well known and the shouts of "*lota, lota*" were often heard in this House. After all how can my friends give up those old habits? This is not a question of one '*lota*' but of so many on the Opposition benches (Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan: Do you mean to say that all honourable members over there are '*lotas*'?) (*Laughter*). No on your side.

Then my honourable friends remind us of our principles. I say that among those who remind us of our principles, there are half a dozen honourable members who although they fought on some ticket on election they quietly went over to the other side. Now these very people remind us of our principles. (An honourable member: You forget that you were elected on the Congress ticket but you have lined up yourself with the Unionist Party.) There is nothing inconsistent in that. These Nawabs and these big landlords, the blood suckers of the poor have suddenly become the champions of the poor. These very people sat for the last 8 or 9 or at least 7 years on these benches and claimed to champion the cause of the poor. Now when they have not been able to get into power again and have gone into the opposition, they remind us of our principles. I tell them it is not the principles but actions which matter. So far as principles are concerned, even the Unionist Party has put down very good principles on paper. (*Laughter*). The principles of the Muslim League are also very good. So far as they are on paper we admit that they are very good. But what are your actions? What matters is as to how you put those principles into practice. So far as the forming of Government is concerned I may remind my friends that till recently we used to sit on those benches. We have now come to this side. Let them count as to how many Ministers there are in their ranks who served in the old Unionist Government. My friends Raja Sahib and Chaudhri Muhammad Hasan have criticised Government, but they forget that most of the Ministers, Parliamentary Secretaries and members of that Government whose misdeeds they have recounted to-day were people who are now adorning the Opposition benches. They are not on this side but on that. It has been alleged that atrocities have been committed and the poor people have been subjected to great *zulam*. I may tell them that some of those who were responsible for all that *zulam* left these benches two years ago and some have crossed the floor only two or three weeks ago. Therefore their mere saying that they have been subjected to this or that *zulam* will not lead them anywhere. After all who are these champions of justice and freedom? I say that among these so-called champions of justice and freedom there is a large number of persons who at least for seven years occupied these benches and who perpetrated untold cruelties on the people and now have gone over to that side. It is they who are responsible for all the misdeeds and the whole blame for them lies at their door.

Further, it has been said that Government has not been able to prepare the budget because the Coalition party consists of hotchpotch elements whose principle and creeds are different from each other, and after all how could one expect of this *chun*

*chun ka murabba* to prepare the budget? I know why you call this Government a hotch-potch Government. You failed to form Government and when the Congress, the Akali and the Unionist parties succeeded in forming a coalition you call it a hotch-potch Government. I ask when the Muslim League ignoring the Congress party formed Government in Bengal with the help of the Europeans which remained in office for a long time, was it not a hotch-potch Government? Then when in Sind the Muslim League formed a Ministry with the help of the Hindu Mahasabha was it not a *chun chunka murabba*? Why are they astonished if a coalition consisting of the Congress, the Akalis and the Unionists has been formed in this province? They have never inquired why the Muslim League coalesced with the Hindu Mahasabha in Sind and carried on the Government for three or four years. My friends cannot think of such matters. They know only how to pick holes in other peoples garments. When it is their turn they do not shirk from coalescing with the Hindu Mahasabha or even the Europeans and they see nothing wrong in it. They only know how to criticise others. They harp on the same theme day in and day out that the Congress is a Hindu body and so on and so forth, because it refused to accept the tall claims of the Muslim League. The other day my friends were carrying on negotiations with Malik Khizar Hayat Khan and if he had done what they wanted him to do, then everything would have been all right from their point of view. Again they held talks with my friend Sardar Kartar Singh and if some understanding had been arrived at between the Sikhs and the Muslim League, then that would have been all right. Not only that. Here are my Harijan friends sitting. They were followed by my friends at the railway station, in the streets and bazars, wherever they went they were followed. The Muslim Leaguers even went in search of them to Congress places with Gandhi caps on. The Nawab of Karnal followed some of them day and night and offered money and held out lure of offices to them in order to win them over to the side of the Muslim League. But my Harijan friends spurned their filthy money and the offices offered to them and they turned these Nawabs away and told them that they were not prepared to have anything to do with them. And you who have been indulging in all those things remind us of our principles (*Hear, hear*). I regret very much to say that my friends have not hesitated in attacking the Honourable Speaker. My honourable friend Chaudhri Muhammad Hasan stated that although the Honourable Speaker was by religion a Christian but by habit he was a Hindu and that he was very kind to them.

**Chaudhri Muhammad Hasan:** On a point of personal explanation. That verse of Iqbal is about Muslims and not about Christians. What I said was:

وضع میں ام ہو نصاریٰ اور تمدن میں ہندو

**Mr. Speaker:** I do not want any explanation.

**Pandit Shri Ram Sharma.** So far as Malik Khizar Hayat Khan is concerned, I may tell them that in wooing him they have even beaten the English in cajoling the Americans and in threatening him they have left even Hitler far behind. On the one hand they made appeals to him to come and sit on their side. "For God's sake," they said, "Come here, why have you gone over there leaving us aside, for the sake of Islam come here." On the other hand when he did not respond to their appeals, they held out threats to him and said that very soon he would have to resort to the use of armoured cars. How can we appreciate all this? I do not think that by importing such things into the budget discussion any good will be done to Muslims or Pakistan would be established or that the freedom of India will be achieved. So far as the observations of my friends about the achievement of freedom are concerned, the less said the better.

Now I come to the Coalition Ministry. After all what is this Coalition? The word coalition means a temporary combination for special ends between political parties that retain their distinctive principles. I admit that some of the principles of the Unionist party are not in accord with the Congress party's principles but there is one principle on which we agree. (*Interruptions*).

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That principle is we should keep ourselves above communalism. (*A voice: Enmity of Islam.*) We know that the best way to run the Government in the Punjab or in India is that all the communities should coalesce together and form a government. That will be the Government which will ameliorate the condition of the poor people. So far as the question of improving the lot of the poor is concerned, there is not much difference between the principles of the Muslim League and that of the Congress. We should not be surprised at what has happened in this province. In Bengal, where the Congressmen were behind the bars, the Muslim League united with Europeans and formed the Ministry. In Sind they coalesced with the Hindu Mahasabha for getting into power. We do not, as you do, believe in sacrificing our conscience for the sake of gaining power or forming the ministerial cabinets. You have no reserves. You are any time prepared to lick the shoes of the Britishers to seize power as you did in Bengal and Sind (*Loud uproar*).

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** On a point of order, Sir, “لچاؤ” (licking the shoes) is unparliamentary.

**Mr. Speaker :** I am glad that the honourable member has raised this point, because yesterday a lot of unparliamentary language had been used and I did not take notice. I hope the honourable member will withdraw these words.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** You should be vigilant.

**An honourable member :** On a point of order, Sir.

**Mr. Speaker :** He is replying to your speech.

**Pandit Sri Ram Sharma :** Sir, I am happy to see that you have pointed out to me my mistake at the right time. I beg to withdraw those words. It seems so strange that while criticising the budget the honourable members have begun to speak of civil liberties. Most of the honourable members sitting opposite, who were members and ministers of the then party-in-power, are now claiming to be the custodians of civil liberties of the people. We are not blind to the recent happenings in provinces where the Muslim League was holding power. Let me make it clear that the Congress has been fighting for the last so many years for the civil liberties of the people—nay more, for Purna Sawaraj of India as a whole. We, on this side of the House, think it very undesirable and against the higher principles of freedom, that Section 144 should have been promulgated in Lahore, or that security should have been demanded from ‘Nawa-i-Waqt’ or that a room should have been kept reserved for the Senior Superintendent of Police in the same building where we were to fight for the civil liberties of the people. But let me say that the responsibility of all this rested on the League shoulders, who have justified it with their intentions and actions.

It is said that Maulana Azad has been responsible in flaring up Hindus and Muslims against each other in the Punjab. (*Loud uproar from the Opposition benches*). I emphatically declare that it was not so. On the other hand, I know that there were some of the honourable members sitting opposite, whom I saw with my own eyes instigating Muslim students to take in processions the effigies and shout communal slogans. (*Loud uproar*). They wanted to flare up communal tension just to enable other members from attending the Assembly Session. (*Uproar*). If Government had not taken due precautions, the situation in Bengal should have been repeated here too. (*Uproar*). There the members had to attend the Assembly Session with their beds, while there was firing going on in the city. Such demonstrations are condemnable and these should be stopped altogether in the interests of the public peace and tranquillity. The responsibility of all such outbursts of communal hatred rests on the Punjab Muslim League and the honourable members sitting opposite in particular. (*Loud uproar from the Opposition benches*). (*An honourable member from the*

*Opposition benches*: What about the security demanded from the Chopra Printing-Press ?). (*Uproar*). As to your vivisection demand. Congress is not for the Balkanisation of India, particularly so, when all over the world smaller nations are uniting to form federations. Unfortunately, we have here our friends opposite who are now bent upon going against the common desire for uniting together under one banner. They want to split India into smaller, yet smaller states. This is one of the basis of our disagreement with the honourable members sitting on the Opposition benches. We do not subscribe to their view that the Muslim League is the sole representative body of the Muslims. They want that all Muslims should share their viewpoint, and that any Muslim who does not do so has no right to shoulder the responsibilities of administration. The honourable members opposite so often, in the course of their speeches made references to Maulana Daud Ghaznavi. (*Loud uproar from the Opposition benches*). Let me inform them that if they give up the idea of league's sole representation then we are prepared to unite with them. (*Loud uproar*.) They should announce, as the Akalis have that they do not stand for Sikh's sole representation and that the Congress represents all shades of opinion in India. (*Uproar*). (*An honourable member from the Opposition benches*: Have the Akalis too announced it ?)

Now I come to the administration of the province. There are many defects in the administration of the province, especially in the Police and the Civil Supply Department. We want that we should be able to serve the poor in the true sense of the word. If my honourable friends opposite also have the same end in view, then they must co-operate with us. But it seems that they are bent upon fault finding, only with a view to form their own Government.

So far as the budget is concerned, I wish to submit that it was prepared before the Coalition was set up. I fail to understand what the honourable members opposite mean by the repetition of the same criticism over and over again. All that we want is that we should be given a chance to make up for the wrongs done by the honourable members sitting opposite during the last eight years when they used to adorn the seats we are occupying now. Let them give us about six months or a year and they will themselves see what we are capable of. I would appeal to my honourable friends opposite that they should maintain a high standard of speeches made in this Assembly and not make it a market-place affair.

As regards certain expressions of my honourable friend Chaudhri Muhammad Hasan, I think the best course will be to take the least notice of them. I am sure that but for the hasty decisions taken by my honourable friend Maulana Daud Ghaznavi, he would have been sitting with us on this side of the House.

**Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan** (South-Eastern Towns, Muhammadan, Urban): Sir, I rise to speak about a class which I think is the secondmost aggrieved class after the Muslims of the Punjab, I mean those valiant sons of the Punjab who were sent by many ruses by the Premier to the battle fields to fight for democracy and freedom for the people of the world. Sir, those soldier sons of the Punjab, whose number is not in thousands but in millions, were sent out by the Premier of this province to fight other people's battles. They were given many promises, and they were shown many things which would be given to them on their return; but to-day after fighting victorious battles, after defeating the enemy, after having gone through the hardships of battle in Libya and the East, after having reduced Hitler's great empire to nothing, they come back to find that the great soldier Premier of this province had betrayed them by not carrying out the promises which he made to them. The Premier, the so-called leader of the martial classes, has been standing up in his seat to defend the soldier sons of the Punjab, but to-day when he finds himself in a peaceful world to bring about which the brave soldiers of the province have made tremendous sacrifices, he forgets them. Now what does he do? He does not reward the services of those brave soldiers who did so much in the battlefields,

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but he recognises the services of those people who helped him in a different battle field. He does not reward the services of those who fought the battle of freedom but those who remained loyal to him in the battle of enslavement which went on in the Punjab during the last general election. (*Hear, hear*). The Premier has given many rewards indeed, but to whom? Where are those promises that he made to the brave sons of the Province when they were fighting for freedom and for democracy? The figures that have been supplied to me reveal that as many as 247,000 soldiers are going to be demobilised in the Punjab up to the end of May this year. May I ask the Premier what he has done in regard to their re-employment or re-settlement? How many exchanges have been opened? What funds have been ear-marked for them? What lands are going to be granted to them? What enactments does he intend bringing forward for the betterment of the ex-soldiers? I have taken great pains to go through these big volumes of the budget to find out what is going to be done for the ex-soldiers. I find one entry in the budget that has been presented by this Government. (*A voice: Mahajan Government!*) (*Laughter*). On page 261 of the Supplementary Estimates, I find that a 'huge' sum of twenty-six thousand and odd rupees has been put at the disposal of the Government of India by the honourable the Finance Minister for an Employment Exchange for the ex-soldiers. Then I come to the post-war reconstruction plans. I will quote some facts and figures from the very book that has been supplied to us by this Ministry. The concessions that they are going to make to the soldiers are:—

1. Immediate award of land grants to Punjabi soldiers, sailors, and airmen decorated for acts of gallantry in the present war.
2. Reservation of 78,000 acres of good colony land for rewards to soldiers for services rendered during the war."

Imagine 78,000 acres of land being reserved for one million sons of the soil who have done so much to win the war!

Next comes the provision of rest-houses.

"For a long time the need has been felt to provide serving soldiers and ex-soldiers with rest-houses at district and in some cases tahsil headquarters. . . . . The rest-houses will be divided into three different categories according to the importance of the district as a recruiting area. . . . ."

What a great re-settlement scheme!

Then come scholarships.

"Grant of 15 stipends each year of the value of Rs. 50 per mensem each tenable for 4½ academic years to deserving ex-servicemen or their sons for education in the Punjab Veterinary College, Lahore."

Fifteen stipends to a million people! What a generous offer indeed!

"The Agricultural Department have drawn up schemes to help ex-servicemen who may desire to settle down on land and adopt improved methods of farming. . . . ."

And just note what they are going to provide the numberless ex-militarymen with:—

"25 lakhs plants to be supplied to ex-servicemen. . . . . and ten students, sons of ex-service men, who possess requisite qualifications, to be admitted for free education in the Punjab Agricultural College, Lyallpur."

These are the great concessions that the honourable Premier is going to give to the brave sons of the soil who have made great sacrifices.

Now I come to how these lands have been distributed. Most of the ex-M.L.As. of the Unionist Party who were defeated in the last general election have been rewarded by the grant of lands for their services not to the province but to the Unionist Party and for their loyalty to the reactionary Premier who is trying to throttle the freedom-loving peoples of the Province. I have noticed that as many as 18 people in the Premier's own constituency have got one square of land each not for the war services but for services rendered to the Premier in his election. Then there is a Deputy Commissioner in this Province who has out-heroded Herod in helping the Unionist Party,

though fortunately, he has not been able to return even a single member from the district on that ticket. His mother-in-law has been awarded four squares of land for the great services rendered by her son-in-law to the Unionist Party. (*Shame, shame*). If the Premier challenges me, I am prepared to name the person.

**An honourable member :** Who is he ?

**Sardar Shaukat Hyat-Khan :** He is the Deputy Commissioner, Jhang. The great service for which this lady has been granted four squares of land is that her husband had been serving in the 1914—19 War and she has been rewarded after 25 years. As a matter of fact the only service that has been rendered is that her daughter is married to the Deputy Commissioner, Jhang. This Government, this Congress-Akali-Unionist Coalition Government, or probably it was the care-taker Government under Malik Khizar Hayat, who granted this land is to say the least, a dishonest Government.

**Mr. Speaker :** The word 'dishonest' is unparliamentary. The honourable member should withdraw it.

**Sardar Shaukat Hyat-Khan :** Then I say that this Government has not been straight in giving that land to the M. L. As. who are sitting in this very House on the Government benches, so that the Government is able to buy their allegiance. (*Minister for Development :* Some are sitting on that side also.) In that case it is a great credit to them that in spite of the lure of squares of lands, they are sitting with their own community. (*Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :* Some are clever, some are fools.)

I challenge the Hon'ble Premier once again to deny this fact, that he has given squares to M. L. As. during the time he was going to form the Ministry.

Then the Prime Minister, the great soldier Premier of the Punjab who has been making such big promises, what has he done? Even the officials in the Punjab and—I can say on very good authority—even fair-minded British officers to-day are saying that rewards are not being given for services to His Majesty's Government but for services to the Unionist Ministry during the elections.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** We shall resume those lands. It will be the duty of any democratic government to do that.

**Sardar Shaukat Hyat-Khan :** Then I come to the Employment Exchange. As I have mentioned 247,872 soldiers are due to be back in the Punjab by the 1st of May and this is the end of March. What have my honourable friends done to ameliorate the conditions that are prevailing? What have they done to receive these soldiers? How many grants of land have they given? What industrial enterprises have they launched for the soldiers? What employments have they created for the soldiers? None. Too true, because they are not interested in the soldiers. They were only interested in sending them in order to win favours of the British Government and now all the Ministers and the Honourable Premier have gone back on their pledges that they will be looked after. (*An honourable member :* It was your father who set the ball rolling.) Why then does not the Premier fulfil the promises made by his predecessor to the soldiers? It is not only the Muslim soldiers, but also Hindu and Sikh soldiers who have been betrayed by Government. There are 869 officers who are coming back and are being demobilised by the 1st of May. What employments have been given to them? How many officials are sticking to the decision of the Cabinet that cent per cent services will go to the soldiers? They are only being offered Rs. 120 when they come back. Just fancy, General Staff Officers when they come back to the Punjab, they are being offered Rs. 120 only! Officers, who have been acting as Majors, as Commanders of regiments, as General Staff Officers, do not like the offer. They refuse it and the jobs are being filled by people who were Unionist helpers in the elections and Unionist henchmen.

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Then there are 3,297 Indian officers, the V. C. O.'s who are coming back to the Punjab. And what has the Government done? How many employment exchanges have been opened, and how many services offered? Has there been any plan prepared by the Honourable Premier for their reception? Not even a welcoming hand has been offered to them, not even a scrap of paper can be found in the post-war re-construction Secretariat for the rehabilitation of soldiers. For four years when the war was on, they said they could not pass any new legislation. Now the war is over, it has been over for nearly a year, but this Government has taken no measures to receive these soldiers. They say, the Government of India is doing it. Did they send these soldiers, these sons of the Punjab, on the responsibility of the Government of India No. The Honourable Premier and the Honourable Minister sitting beside him went out and forced them to join the Army on giving them all sorts of false promises. I will not dilate on that subject. There is no provision in the budget. There is no machinery to receive the soldiers. We are told that there are other people who are going to take responsibility for them and see that these soldiers get their return. These soldiers have been betrayed. Government have done them in the eye. They have done all sorts of illegal things and are still doing.

**Minister for Development :** There are others also who got squares of land.

**An honourable member :** Having got the land they have gone over to the other side. (*Laughter*).

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** Sardar Sahib, we will resume them. You, who have acquired them through ill means will have to forego them.

**Lala Kidar Nath Sehgal :** What did the honourable member do when he was a minister?

**Sardar Shaukat Hyat-Khan :** When I became a Minister, the first thing I did was to ask the Cabinet to create a Post-War Reconstruction Department and to devise rehabilitation schemes. My proposals were accepted, but the ministers have not been able to carry them out.

**Mr. Virendra :** What about the Q brothers? Does the honourable member remember what he did?

**Sardar Shaukat Hyat-Khan :** I will tell him what I did. I held out an offer for Government to take me to a court of law and I hold out that offer to-day.

My time is short but I would like to say one word for the Indian National Army. My friends opposite have welcomed them and have made a great show of them. They have made great speeches in praise of them, and now when the time has come for this Party to move a resolution demanding the release of the Indian National Army-prisoners who have fought so well under the misguidance or guidance of their leaders they are opposing it. The resolution runs thus :

This Assembly recommends to the Government to convey to the Government of India and His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, the strong resentment of all classes and creeds in general and martial classes of the Punjab in particular at the I. N. A. trials and urge them to release Captains Abdul Rashid and Burhan-ud-Din forthwith.

This resolution was by my Party who wanted to do something practical. We wanted to say to the Government of India that we are united in demanding their release, but that side of the House, those very Congress gentlemen who were full of sympathy for these I. N. A. men, did not allow this resolution to come up. They would not allow any non-official day to discuss that very important resolution which means the saving of many a man's life. If they are really interested in the I. N. A., if they are real friends of the I. N. A., let them demand of the Premier and the Ministry to give a date, so that we can show our resentment to the whole world, to the

British Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief and get the I. N. A. men released. There is very important business in Delhi, but the lives of 30,000 I. N. A. men are more important. If they have genuine sympathy with the I. N. A. let them support us and get a day for the discussion of this resolution.

**Mr. Dev Raj Sethi** (Lyallpur and Jhang, General, Rural) (*Urdu*): Sir, for the last two days I have been listening to the provocative and unreasonable speeches of my friends opposite. (*Interruptions*). Permit me to say that their entire eloquence and valour is due to their disappointment for Ministry. There is no truth behind the high sounding criticisms by my honourable friends over there. I ask them to think over their own ideals and past misdeeds and then throw stones at others. I want to ask my honourable friend Sir Firoz Khan Noon, what did he say at San Francisco? He behaved there as a reactionary and tried to torpedo the praiseworthy efforts of our noble sister Mrs. Vijay Lakshmi Pandit. (*Interruptions*).

I cannot forget for a moment the glorious deeds of my honourable friend over there. How can I accept his present "patriotic" attitude when his career for the last twenty years leads me to nothing but disappointing conclusions only? Sir, a microscopic study of my friends sitting opposite will show that some of them are honorary magistrates. Some of them or, I should say, many of them are big landlords and title holders. I am surprised to hear from them that all these patronages in the form of honorary magistracies, etc., should be abolished for ever. Do they really mean it? I cannot hesitate to say that they have come here by instigating communal hatred and playing with the cheap sentiments of the masses. I ask them to learn a lesson from the Hyderabad State incidents where recently fanatics burnt the palace of the Nawab of Chhattari.

During one year the area affected by water-logging in the districts of Jhang, Lahore and Multan amounts to 575,721 acres. Let us for argument's sake suppose that one acre is worth Rs. 500 only. Even then this means the loss of so many crores of rupees to the Province in one year.

Now I come to the condition of Civil Supplies Department in the Punjab. People are suffering a lot on account of inefficiency and corruption in this department. That should immediately be attended to, so that the poor people may not suffer any more. Then Sir, the rationing of wheat and rice at the rate of 8 chhataks per head in Lahore and other cities and towns of the Province means a great inconvenience to the Punjabis. We are not accustomed to take rice normally, except in illness. This thing must be ended at once. If Government does not possess adequate quantity of wheat it should go to the big zamindars and request them to give their wheat to Government for the common good of the people. I know for certain that big zamindars do possess wheat in sufficient quantity for that purpose. Let my honourable friends on this and that side of the House exercise their personal influence and get it for Government, so that no one in the Province may suffer from starvation.

My third point is about the I. N. A. soldiers. I agree with my honourable friends opposite that Captain Abdur Rashid must be released. I further request the Provincial Government to make some arrangements for the I. N. A. soldiers along with other demobilised soldiers of the Army. When Government is already considering schemes for the benefit of 70 to 80 thousand demobilised soldiers, it will not require much effort to do some thing for the 15 thousand I. N. A. men.

One point more Sir, and I finish. I have seen in to-day's paper that a security of one thousand rupees has been demanded from the Chopra Printing Press, Lahore. I do not know who is responsible for that. I want to make it clear that the antecedents of Lala Jagat Narain, the owner of that Press, are the same as ours. Whether his antecedents are good or bad, they are the same as those of most of the members on this side of the House. If Government does not like us or our antecedents, we are prepared to vacate these benches. Lala Jagat Narain is a true servant of his country. He has



**(Mr. Dev Raj Sethi)**

been serving the cause of the country for the last 25 years. He has sacrificed his all for the sake of his country during these years. His personality demands that he be allowed to continue as Keeper of his Press without this security of one thousand rupees. I think this security has been demanded on account of some old prejudice.

At the end, I would appeal to the Opposition to leave these fire-works now and attend to the business of the House seriously in a statesmanlike manner. With these words, Sir, I conclude my speech.

**Malik Sir Muhammad Feroz Khan Noon** (Rawalpindi Division, Towns, Muhammadan, Urban) : Sir, before I make my remarks about the budget, I should like to clear one misunderstanding which seems to have become a sort of disease with some of my countrymen. The press has been vilifying me ever since I went to Europe last year that I made a statement in San Francisco that India was a free country and, therefore, we did not want freedom. There is nothing further from the truth and only those who understand the press in this country can realise how such falsehoods can spread and can be believed by gentlemen who appear to be intelligent. What happened was that in the War Cabinet in London I made a statement, when talking about India and our right to go to the International Organization where only free countries and sovereign countries are allowed to go, that we in India had developed a long way on constitutional lines since the year 1920, and that we were at that moment almost a dominion and ready to become a free and full dominion. My object in making that statement was perfectly understood by the American pressmen that my object in stating that was that India was almost a dominion and that Great Britain had to take only a small step forward to make us absolutely free. I am glad to say that what I stated then is coming almost true now because you have a British Cabinet Mission here to make you definitely free and I hope that in future all this irresponsible talk and statements about a man who claims to have served his public loyally for twenty-five years will stop and that this is not allowed to go on simply because I happen to belong to one religion and you belong to another and, therefore, what I say must be always wrong and what you say must be right. Sir, with these few remarks I wish to divert your attention to the budget which is before us now. A great deal has been said on both sides as to why one party or the other should hold office. There will be very cogent arguments advanced from this side and there will be very cogent arguments advanced by the other side as to why either of them should or should not be in office. I feel that the party opposite are exercising their legitimate and lawful right in sitting on those benches and forming a Ministry. They have got a majority behind them and, therefore, they can lawfully claim to have the right to form the Ministry and for forming that Ministry the people on this side should not have any objection so far as the legal aspect is concerned leaving alone the moral aspect or objection which the League might have against some of the Muslim members joining hands on the other side. I am not so much thinking of the people inside this House as to who should hold office. I am thinking of the people outside this House who are vitally affected by the men who hold office and in whose hands the destiny of the public lies. I want to examine whether the Government opposite are capable of fulfilling that trust — that great and responsible trust — which the public has placed in our hands and your hands to provide them with a Government which will make them free from fear and free from want and guarantee to them freedom of conscience and freedom of worship. I want to examine the aspect whether the party opposite will be able to discharge their responsibility, through their executive action, towards the electorate. The Congress Party, which is the main party on those benches, ought to rule the Government today. The Congress Party have always stood for high principles. They have always stood up for the poor and they want to see that the wealth is distributed so evenly that want disappears from this country. But we in opposition like to know whether that Congress Party is going to uphold those high principles,

whether they are going to act up to their ethics or whether they are going to be pulled down from that high pedestal and from their resolve by a handful of people whose activities in the last two or three years, so far as the administration is concerned, are despicable. If you are going to rule in this Province, well and good. Good luck to you and God speed to you! Please stand on your principles and act according to your own dictates. But I ask, are you going to rule with the help of five or six people who put you in jail and who are responsible for the most reactionary Government? (Hear hear.) Have you joined hands with them in order to find jobs for yourselves or have you joined hands with them in order to serve the people? If latter is the case, all respect and honour to you; provided that in this case you are not going to be blackmailed by the small group of people whose main effort, during the last 2 years of their administrative life, has been how to keep themselves in office, whether by hook or crook or by means fair or foul. You know as well as we do what is happening in the Province. You have contact with the masses. We also have contact with the masses. You represent the people and have an approach to the public. We also represent the people and have an approach to the public. May I know who will guide you? Are the Unionist party going to be your guide or are you going to guide the Unionist party? If you are going to guide the Unionist party in the administration, good luck to you, and if you are to be guided by the Unionist party, God help you.

**Chaudhri Krishna Gopal Dutt :** We will guide them.

**Malik Sir Muhammad Feroz Khan Noon :** My fear is that the Congress party is not going to lead the Unionist party and that at every step they are going to be blackmailed by these 6 men. I know how. I know a case where an Indian Government servant saved the life of a British I.C.S. officer from an infuriated bull in a village street. Next Christmas he said to the Englishman "Give me some thing." He gave him 2 squares of land. Next Christmas he again demanded some thing and he was promoted to the P.C.S. But as the demand for more and more reward by that person increased, the Englishman who had been saved said : "I wish I were dead". That is going to be the plight of the Congress party. Every time you would like to go forward, the Unionist party will pull you back. To save your ministry you will have to agree. Then I shall ask you whether you will not be in the same position as that Indian officer for you will be sorry for your alliance with this reactionary body. For the last one year I noted that the whole administration of this Province had been at a stand-still and not a stroke or work was done. I would like to know how Mr. Sachar is going to meet this situation, because he is the man who leads the party and others are his adjuncts. The responsibility of this Government is on Mr. Sachar and not on the Leader of the Unionist Party. Are the Congress the body that will wag the tail or is the tail going to wag the body. If the Leader of the Congress party fails to exercise proper and due influence in the administration, then shame on the Congress party. For the last one year the Unionist leader has done nothing but travel all over the Province organising his election campaign and transferring officers from one place to another in order to suit the party convenience. I have been to many villages, in Rohtak, Karnal, Hissar, etc. and have spoken to the villagers there. I said to them, "For God's sake, help the Congress and not the Unionists, because we want a clean party and a clean fight and that all the Hindus should unite in one party and all Muslims should join one party." The zamindars have said, "Sir, we want to help the Congress as you say, but our lands will be confiscated". So there is fear all over as that of Gestapo and Hitler in the minds of the services and the villagers in the Punjab. I have spent six months in travelling all over the Province and found that people are lacking in courage due to official pressure. They are looking for a Government where they will be assured freedom of action and speech and freedom from fear. In broad day light Muslim Leaguers' cattle were stolen and they were

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told by the Unionist party, "Here are the stolen cattle, give us the votes and take them away". This is the Government with which Mr. Sachar is allying to-day. There are about 7 P.C.S. officers who have remained posted to high places during the last 2 years in an officiating capacity but have not yet been confirmed by the Unionist Government. Why, because the Government wanted to see their worth during elections. (*Interruptions.*)

**Mr. Speaker :** I would like to draw the attention of the honourable member to May's Parliamentary Practice, page 323 footnote. There it is said :—

"See also the Speaker's remarks in ruling out of order the discussion on allegations of bribery and corruption at an election before expiration of the period during which an election petition could be lodged 64—Parliamentary Debates 45868."

The honourable member is developing that point.

**Malik Sir Muhammad Feroz Khan Noon :** I am not alleging any bribery or corruption.

**Mr. Speaker :** This amounts to corruption. This is a thing which can be alleged in an election petition that official pressure was used or officers were transferred for that purpose.

**Khan Bahadur Sheikh Karamat Ali :** Why do you not construe it like this that instead of calling it a charge of bribery or corruption, we should say that there is lack of supervision over the officers of this administration and that the administration in the province is absolutely slack.

**Mr. Speaker :** It depends on how you express it.

**Malik Sir Muhammad Feroz Khan Noon :** All that I am pointing out to the Leader of the Congress party is that the administration has gone to dogs because the public servants, who are serving in this Province, have been used for one political party. Therefore, it is now your duty to raise the morale of the public servants and to make them feel that they are there for the service of the public and that they are not the servants of one political party only. That was the object with which I was mentioning these cases and drawing the attention of the Congress party that their foremost duty should be to create confidence in the minds of public servants and the public and tell them that it is the party which is ruling and its rule is in the interest of the public at large and that they do not intend to foist on the public a clique of handful of unprincipled men, who by fair means or foul want to keep themselves in power. Sir, there seems to be such a great conflict of ethics and principles between the Congress and the Unionist party that I cannot imagine how this unholy alliance can work for the betterment of the people who have sent them into this House. I take the case of education. No country in the world has a right to be called civilised unless it can give education to its children, boys and girls. This Province has been crying for compulsory primary education and unless you give education you are not civilised. How can you give education to your children unless you have funds for it? Is the Congress party going to raise more funds for this purpose? That action is unpleasant and you will be pulled back by a few Unionist Ministers. If you do this you will be unpopular and you will be thrown out of office. Your main object is how to hold offices. But your main object should be to serve the people. We want an assurance from you that you will take necessary steps to make arrangements for giving education to people at large. This Government has been at such a stand-still that a very valuable source of revenue has been squandered. Tobacco tax could have been imposed by this Government. But the Government of India are levying the tax on tobacco and thereby raising large sums of money from the agriculturists of this Province. That money is going into the coffers of the Government of India. Have you ever had the imagination to impose this tax in this Province and keep that money for this Province? The levy of this tax by the Government of India on irrigated areas producing tobacco is absolutely illegal and not

in accordance with the law passed by them. Are you accepting the position that the levy by the Government of India is just? If not what are you doing to claim that money for your Province?

On the other hand, take the case of agriculture. Now agricultural income tax is a provincial subject. There are people who are very poor with an average holdings of 5 acres of land. They want relief in their land revenue. There are rich people who make lakhs of rupees and are not paying a penny by way of tax. There you are coming into clash with the party that you have put in office. Are they going to lead you by the nose, or are you not going to take steps to make them agree with your aims in order to improve the administration of the Province? Then take the case of law and order. Are you going to stand by your principles or by the principles of the Unionist party? Here we have the case of an honourable member of this House who is being prosecuted — he is an elected member from Jhelum — because he appealed in the name of religion, to the people to vote for him. The Unionist Government has issued a circular that any person who may have brought in the name of religion in the elections should be prosecuted. The Unionist party have not brought into force the second part of the same section which says that if any Government servant exercises undue influence he should also be prosecuted. Are you going to allow the Unionist Government to do this, or are you as the champions of justice and fairplay going to take up cudgels on behalf of the electorate who have suffered ignominy, torture imprisonment and handcuffing at the hands of these officials, or are you going to be led by the Unionists? How are you going to keep the balance? I wish you to keep these things in view. If you cannot discharge your duty honourably then you should leave those Benches and join with us in order to have a cleaner administration and serve the public and not keep in power a clique of people whose main object is to see how they can continue in office. I want to ask the leader of the Congress party as to his policy with regard to the treatment of members of this House. Are you going to adopt the same policy and the tricks that the Unionist party adopted in the past? I will give you an example. In the case of additional electoral rolls the Unionists told their friends to get their electoral rolls added but never gave any information to the rest of the Province until one week before the final preparation of the electoral rolls. Again, in the case of the land-holders constituency nobody knew that the ballot papers were going to be posted until 10 days before the elections. These are small things, but we are bringing them forward in order to know as to what would be your policy. Are you going to play tricks with us that the Unionist party have been playing?

Sir, I want to ask the leader of the Congress party his views on the following points. It tomorrow there is a question that the private canals in the Shahpur district where I also happen fortunately or unfortunately to own a canal in part — are a menace to the ordinary people, and that some of the Unionists who are in power own those canals, are you going to stand for the poor people and not allow the canal owners to charge 25 per cent of the gross income as water rate, and refuse to be led by the nose by the people on your left whom you have put in office? The lambardars and zaildars are a relic of the old and they are appointed by the Deputy Commissioners and hold office at their pleasure. Are you going to modernise the system or continue this system? Are you going to abolish the honorary magistrates a step for which the country is crying, or are you going to keep these old things in existence in order to help your colleagues in their elections?

There is one other point and that is about the industrialisation of the Province. No country can raise the standard of living of its children unless at least 10 per cent of its people are employed in industry. Even agriculture cannot be a paying occupation unless there is industry and the town population to absorb its produce. The policy of the Unionist party is that industrialisation leads to socialism, that it leads to labour troubles and administrative difficulties. They are not for industrialisation. In America

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all the textile mills, which used to be near Chicago, have moved down south where cotton is growing and where labour is cheap. There is no reason why the cloth produced in all the textile mills of Ahmedabad should not be produced in the Punjab. I know the Unionist party will not do any such thing because it leads to socialism. I know certain textile mill-owners who wish to establish mills here also but they are not given permission. On the other hand, I know of a case where a licence to set up a textile mill was given by the Unionist Government to a man who had never had to do anything with industry. Are you going to stand this jobbery and corruption and see that political services are rewarded in this way?

I have many other things to say, but as there is no time I should like to say one thing in the end. In this unfortunate province the constitution, whatever its worth, has been defied in the past. The last session of this legislature was held over a year ago. That was the last budget session. This second budget session is being held only for 9 days. What a time for the legislature to deal with all the big problems? Are you going to allow the Unionists, your colleagues, again to trick the public and the electorate and avoid discussion of the Budget and other public problems in order that they may hold office without interruption? The right of interpellation is the most important right in the hands of the legislature, but in this province we are being deprived of that right as we cannot ask questions because there is no session. We cannot bring forward any resolutions because there is no non-official day. Now the responsibility for this does not lie on the shoulders of the Governor. The responsibility for this lies on the shoulders of the Premier because the Governor does as the constitutional head of the province what the Premier tells him to do. Are you going to be led by the nose by the Premier and continue to make the constitution a farce? If the legislature is not to meet, it would have been better if we had not been elected.

There is one last question I want to ask. A certain ordinance about the Criminal Law Amendment Act is laid on the table of the House. Under the Government of India Act whenever an ordinance is laid on the table of the House it is for the House to reject the ordinance and that ordinance ceases to have the force of law. If the House is deprived of the right of expressing an opinion on that ordinance, then you are depriving us of a constitutional right given to us by the Government of India Act. Is this a constitutional Government or the Government of a clique who want to trick us? I wait to hear the views of the Congress party. (Applause).

*The Assembly then adjourned till 2-30 p.m.*

*The Assembly re-assembled at 2-30 p.m. of the clock. Mr. Speaker  
in the Chair*

**Premier** (The Honourable Malik Sir Khizar Hayat): Sir, I had no intention to take part in the debate as this day is generally reserved for the Minister for Finance. Certain criticism has been levelled against me and I consider it my duty to say a few words in reply to that criticism. Before I proceed to deal with the criticism, I would like to congratulate the Minister for Finance on the Budget that he has presented to the House. It was said that it was a departmental Budget, and in a sense all budgets are departmental budgets. The Honourable Minister for Finance has drawn a true picture of the finances of the province and in doing so has done what could possibly be done in such a short time.

**Chaudhri Muhammad Hasan**: He has not taken the responsibility for it  
**Premier**: He has presented it as he inherited it. There is nothing to stop the Ministry revising the Budget. I would like to submit to the House that only reference to the Budget speech does not reveal anything, unless honourable members go deep into the Budget and study the memorandum prepared by the Finance Secretary. There are many schemes and very good ones in the Budget.

**Malik Barkat Ali :** Why should you force the Finance Minister to present a Budget for which he refrains from taking responsibility? This is something extraordinary.

**Premier :** It is as he inherited it and we will revise it as the circumstances demand.

**Malik Barkat Ali :** Is it fair for the honourable gentleman of the position of a Minister of the Crown to do something for which he is not prepared to take responsibility? It is the duty of the Finance Minister to see that not a pie more is raised and not a pie more is spent than the exigencies of the province require. If the Finance Minister is not prepared to say that, why is he being forced to put himself in that position?

**Premier :** Honourable members on this side of the House know their duty. The Finance Minister has accepted the responsibility of adopting the Budget. What he said was that he had inherited certain things but he will be revising when the circumstances require. An honourable member of the calibre of Malik Barkat Ali should know that it is open to a Ministry to revise a Budget and put it before the House again in the revised form whenever it likes.

At this stage, I would confine myself to congratulating the Finance Minister for having presented the financial position of the province as it is.

Now, Sir, I will explain the circumstances which led to the formation of the present coalition. I would not have done so but the criticism that has been levelled against me from the other side has compelled me to make a few observations in this connection. I shall try to be as brief as possible. As a single largest group it was the duty of the honourable members opposite to arrive at some settlement.

**Sardar Shaukat Hyat-Khan :** You stood in the way of a settlement.

**Premier :** I waited for days and days to see if any settlement was made between the Congress and the Muslim League, but when I saw that they had failed, I intervened.

**Sardar Shaukat Hyat-Khan :** You are a quisling.

**Mr. Speaker :** I shall not permit such an expression to be used.

**Premier :** Let him say what he likes.

**Khan Bahadur Sheikh Karamat Ali :** Supposing, Mr. Speaker, somebody has to build an argument by means of which he can prove that a certain individual is definitely a quisling and nothing more than that, how can you prevent him from doing so?

**Mr. Speaker :** In this case no argument was being built.

**Sardar Shaukat Hyat-Khan :** The ex-Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill, used that word many times in the House of Commons.

**An honourable member :** Not against a member of the House.

**Premier :** I do not mind. If my patriotism brings me that epithet, I welcome it. But I must say that quislings are those who are spreading Hindu-Muslim disunity. (Hear, hear from the Ministerial benches).

I was submitting, Sir, that I came in when the Congress and the Muslim League could not reach at any settlement. I again repeat that as soon as an adjustment is arrived at between them, I shall not hesitate to get out.

**Sardar Shaukat Hyat-Khan :** As soon as you go out, a settlement will be made.

**Premier :** I shall not try to reply to the retorts made by the honourable members opposite as they bring down the level of the debate.

[Premier.]

It was stated that nothing has been provided for in the Budget for the ex-soldier. It seems, Sir, that honourable members over there have not cared to study the Budget. If they had, they would have found that large sums have been set apart for the ex-soldiers.

**Sardar Shaukat Hyat-Khan:** Yes, twenty-six thousand rupees and 78,000 acres of land.

**Premier:** Then, Sir, I was accused of making promises to the soldiers and leading them on to war and not keeping those promises. I submit that the promises were made by my illustrious predecessor, the late Sir Sikander Hyat-Khan.

**Sardar Shaukat Hayat-Khan:** I wish you keep them.

**Premier:** I stand by those promises and on the floor of the House I assure you that I shall see that the interests of the ex-soldiers are safeguarded and they get the fullest consideration. Sufficient money has already been provided in the Budget and I do not understand this *wa-wela* before the thing has occurred, that is before the soldiers return.

**Sardar Shaukat Hayat-Khan:** 240,000 soldiers are going to be demobilised and you say nothing has occurred.

**Premier:** My young friend is worried for nothing. He does not realise that the ex-soldier is not the concern of the Provincial Government only. The Provincial Government is responsible only to a very limited extent and it is the duty of the Defence Department, their employer, to look after them. We are doing and shall continue to do our best because they are Punjabis and we advised them to join.

**Sardar Shaukat Hyat-Khan:** In providing gun fodder!

**Premier:** My beloved cousin, the ex-Defence Member is not in his seat at the moment, otherwise I would have been able to show how we in the Punjab had been pressing for the settlement of ex-soldier and where the delay occurred. I can assure you that the accusation of not doing anything for the ex-soldier does not fall on us, it falls somewhere else. As I said the ex-Defence Member is not in his seat. He has been crippled physically by an accident and has been further crippled by a long range-telephone message. (Laughter).

**An Honourable Member:** Is it not personal?

**Mian Muhammad Iftikhar-ud-Din:** We do not get message from the Government House.)

**Premier:** I have made no personal reference. I only said that a long range-telephonic message stands in his way. Why get upset over that? Why should they be worried about telephone messages. I shall not name anybody. It was an accident which crippled him physically. It was an accidental message that crippled him politically. Let my friends be not upset over what I have said. He will soon get over it. (Interruptions). I am as good a Musalman as any one of you. I am prepared to be judged before God and man. I was saying that that great man, that great Musalman Sir Fazl-i-Husain, laid down a line of action. That was followed. I am here to serve the Muslims according to that creed, and as soon as I find that they have suffered in the least, you will not find me here. In the meantime I will go on.

A war-time government is a different form of government from a peace-time government. Even so, I can claim that you will find that the Punjab Government has been very liberal during the war. Since the end of war, we have been trying to change from a war-time to a peace-time government, and we have been doing so progressively. We were the first, if I am not wrong, to declare the Congress a legal body when it was illegal. Not that I knew that one day-politics would make us strange-bed-fellows—we should be together. We were the first to release political prisoners.

I might add, that now all political prisoners in the Punjab except three have been released, and I can assure you that if any one of these is proved to be a political worker he will be released. Orders against all externees except a few who have criminal tendencies have been withdrawn.

Even to those externees who are non-Punjabis, we have shown liberality. We want to give full liberty to all.

So far as the question of freedom of speech and press is concerned, while full liberty has been given during the past several months, I am sorry to say that it has been abused by some people who have excited communal passions. My friends opposite know—I am neither giving a warning nor threatening, I am calling their attention to the extent that they have preached violence—that no other Government worth the name would have allowed it to the extent we have done. This was for special circumstances and thinking that sanity would soon prevail. I have to appeal to them to take note that they are equally responsible with us in preserving the peace and in the maintenance of law and order in the province. We have gone to that extent, merely to show that we are giving liberty of speech and liberty of press.

**Malik Barkat Ali :** What about the *Nawa-i-Waqt* ?

**Premier :** That I shall deal with separately.

Tnen Raja Sahib, who is not in his seat to-day, yesterday made certain references to honorary magistrates. He said that they should be abolished. Quite a number of them have already been abolished from this side by going over to the Opposition. I find that I am one of the few solitary ones left on these benches, but if my Honourable friends want us to abolish them, let them pass resolutions to that effect in their party meetings, and let me have them. (*Interruptions*).

**Sardar Shaukat Hyat-Khan :** Give us time to pass the resolution.

**Premier :** Pass a resolution in your party meeting, so that you cannot use it as a weapon against us or an argument against us. Pass it on to me and it shall receive my best consideration. (*Interruptions*).

Then he went on to say that there are some canal owners who charge 25 per cent of the income. I know there are land-owners that charge 50 per cent, there are others who charge 40 per cent and there are some who charge 25 per cent. So far this House has not cared to take away the right of private property. If ever my honourable friends wish, let them pass a resolution and send it to us and it shall receive our best consideration. Do not put it on to us. But please act first on what you resolve.

**Sardar Shaukat Hyat-Khan :** We will pass it in this House. Give us time. (*Interruptions*).

**Premier :** I am again referring to the speech of my well beloved cousin who is not in his seat. He praised the Congress. I can well appreciate it. After the long distance call there should be praise for the Congress. But may I ask, what was he before these elections ? How many years did he sit on these benches as a Unionist ? Why did he flee after having had the cream of Unionism and stand on a communal ticket ? I had the foolishness or die-hardness not to have changed colour. I was a Unionist and I am a Unionist.

So, Sir, my endeavour is to give this province, until the main communities get together, the best government we can in these difficult circumstances, the best government for the uplift of the people, irrespective of caste and creed ; in reality a government of the Punjabis, by the Punjabis and for the Punjabis. This is the ideal for which I am working. I have followed and mean to follow the lead of those great Punjabis (May their souls rest in peace)—Sir Fazl-i-Husain and Sir Sikander Hyat-Khan.



**Malik Barkat Ali :** How can those invocations help you ?

**Khan Sahib Abdul Hameed Khan** (Muzaffargarh, Sadar, Muhammadan, rural) (*Urdu*): Sir I have heard the speeches of my honourable friends over there and cannot hesitate in saying that my Congressite friends profess one thing and practise another. I am sure you will agree with me when I declare that it is in the vital interest of the province that there should be a League-Congress coalition. But the Congress, on account of its anti-Islamic feelings, is opposing it. Every day we used to listen from them very high sounding patriotic declarations. To-day when they have got a chance, they have joined hands with the Unionist reactionaries. They have formed the Ministry with the help of five or six traitors. I ask them, whom do they represent ? They do not enjoy the confidence of their community. The Congressites are co-operating with a party which is not representative in its character. Their allies cannot get even Ministers. The posts have been uselessly advertised.

I do not know what I should say about this Budget. Nobody is accepting its responsibility. In this budget nothing is suggested for the benefit of the poor or the welfare of other classes. They have harped on the old reactionary theme and they ought to be ashamed of it.

**Mr. Speaker :** The honourable member's time is over.

**Sardar Uddham Singh** (Amritsar, Central, Sikh Rural): Sir, before I say anything about the Budget, let me congratulate the Coalition Party on assuming the responsibility of Government. (*Ironical cheers*). The persons who used to think in other ways are more on these benches now. I mean the persons who put us in jails, who imprisoned us in forts, have begun to think differently to-day. They have begun to think like human beings, like good citizens. We who had been crying for the poor farmers, we who were beaten by the Police on the bridge of Amritsar, we who are the real well-wishers of the farmers are sitting on these benches to-day. (*Interruptions*). They were the persons who put Mahatma Gandhi and others in jails and who did not care for his life at the time of his hunger strike. We are glad they are no more on these benches to-day.

Every one knows that in the provincial exchequer, the greatest share is of those who till the land with their own hands, who are petty traders and who are labourers. And what is their position ? One word is sufficient to state that. It is hopeless. These poor classes were eagerly looking forward to the formation of a Ministry which might have sympathy for them. (*Interruptions*). The present Government is of those who had been working for the uplift of the masses for the last fifteen to twenty years. Only they can realise the difficulties of the poor farmers. The farmers of this land are poor, under debt and victims of litigation. Their standard of living is very low. Unless some special efforts are made to improve their lot, the condition of the province cannot become better, because they are the people who produce raw material and supply it to others. To-day they are under countless taxes, and most of them are quite unreasonable. As they are illiterate, have no press of their own and are scattered over a vast area, their voice does not reach any body. One can well understand the land revenue and the water charges, but there are so many other taxes which cannot be called reasonable by any stretch of imagination. According to section 41, Government excepted water and salt from every duty. In the judgment of a case in Hissar in 1891, it was stated that Government had no right to interfere in the matter of salt. Section 91 read with this judgment makes it quite clear that Government cannot levy tax on water. This tax is unreasonable and must immediately be withdrawn. Then another point. After levying tax on water there is absolutely no justification for *hasiyat* tax. I agree with my honourable friend Sir Firoz Khan Noon that the *zaildars* and *lambardars*, etc. should be elected and not nominated. I must add that *panjotra* is an additional unreasonable burden on the farmers. In addition

to it they have to pay *chaukidara* as well. The poor farmers are over-burdened with tax. They cannot think of improving their lot.

Another difficulty of the villager is that no medical aid is available to him. It would be much better if Government encouraged the medical system of the land and helped the people through it. It will surely decrease infant mortality which is higher in villages than in cities.

A few years back, the Doaba was the most fertile area in the whole of the Punjab, but to-day on account of there being no water in the wells of that area, it is becoming desolate. According to Article 558 of the Constitutional Manual, no revenue should be realised from that land. (A voice: Now when you yourself are on Government benches, why do you not observe that rule?) We will certainly do it. (Hear, hear).

At the end, I request Government not to build bungalows for the mobilised soldiers. This sum of one crore of rupees should be spent on making them able to earn their own living and leading a progressive life. I. N. A. men must also be taken care of along with the soldiers of the regular forces.

The corruption in the Revenue department must also be eradicated. In this department every body from patwari upwards is corrupt and the whole burden ultimately falls on the shoulders of the farmer of the province. (A voice: Sardar Sahib, you should come to the Opposition benches.) I would have gladly accepted the advice of my honourable friend, but I am afraid if I go to those benches, he will leave the House.

**Raja Said Akbar Khan** (Gujar Khan Muhammadan Rural) (Urdu): Sir, the speech of my honourable friend Sardar Udham Singh has reminded me of an old story of a person who went out of his country and after a considerable number of years when he came back to it he did not know that Government had changed and he came to know of it only when he went to the bazaar to purchase something with old coin which nobody was prepared to accept. My friend, it appears, has suddenly arisen from a deep dream of peace. He has made a speech which should have been made from the Opposition benches. He does not know whether he is sitting on the Opposition benches or on the Treasury benches and he does not know whether he is opposing Government or supporting it. When I was a student at college I heard much about the Congress and whenever I listened to the stories of its efforts which it was making for winning freedom for this country, I was carried away by them. But to-day to my surprise I find that the same Congress has selected a person as their leader who repeats like a parrot the following verse from morning till evening:

راج اکبر کا اس شخص نے بہتر سمجھا      جس نے ہر گورے کو لغنت گورنر سمجھا

Sir, I used to take great interest in the speeches of the Opposition and particularly the speeches and vigorous speeches of my honourable friend Chaudhri Krishna Gopal Dutt. I perfectly remember that on one occasion when a Criminal Investigation Department officer entered the Assembly building and went into the Library for making inquiries about the whereabouts of Diwan Chaman Lall an adjournment motion was moved in this House and a great hue and cry was raised. To-day in the same Assembly building a room has been allotted to the Senior Superintendent of Police and his staff, and nobody has raised a voice against it. To-day my honourable friend Chaudhri Krishna Gopal Dutt has not made any protest. His lips are sealed. His speech was not like the speeches which he used to make when he was on the opposition benches. I have seen my honourable friend Mr. Kidar Nath Sehgal for the first time to-day. I have read about his sacrifices which he has made for the country

[Raja Said Akbar Khan.]

and I swear by God I was very greatly moved by them and I had the greatest respect for him. But to-day I am amazed to see where he is sitting and who is his leader. My honourable friend Malik Sir Feroz Khan Noon has made a very fine speech to-day and I may point out that the Muslim League has brought about such a change in its members that the knight who has been condemned by my friends so much has made such a good speech. Even the Honourable the Finance Minister Lala Bhim Sen Sachar came to his seat to congratulate him on his speech and I thought that after that speech the standard of the speeches would improve on that side but my hopes were unfounded.

It is beyond my comprehension to understand what this Coalition is. Is it a Coalition Ministry or a hotch-potch government or *chun chun ka murabba*? This Coalition Ministry reminds me of a verse by Akbar which truly depicts it. It runs:

دوستی کا آج بارو رہ گیا بہ اعتدال  
جس کا تو حاسد ہے اس کا جو ہے حاسد تیرا یار

My honourable friend Raja Sahib has also reminded me of a verse by Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal. It says:

من ازین بیش نہ گویم ، کفن دزد چند  
بر نقسیم قبور انجمن ساخته اند

This, in fact, is a party of *kafan chors* and as many casualties have taken place among the Unionists, they made this coalition in order to distribute among themselves the graves. After all what are we doing to-day? We are protesting against those very *zulams* against which my friends used to protest so loudly. The Muslim League held out a hand of co-operation, they offered the support of 80 members who are very good debaters and it was but proper for my friends to accept this offer and thus by joining together they should have put an end to all such atrocities once and for all. But it is a pity that instead of doing that my friends have thought it fit to be a party to such *zulams*. It is often said that the Congress is for the liberty of the press. My honourable friend Raja Sahib has protested against the demand of a security from the *Nawa-i-Waqt*. This is a newspaper which has created such a name for itself in the field of journalism that if you go out with a lamp in your hand to find a paper like it you will not be able to do so. I tell you that this is a paper which does not even desist from criticising the League High Command. It has more than once criticised the policy of the League High Command and very trenchantly too. This paper is being suppressed. The pity of it is that Chaudhri Krishna Gopal Dutt is here and he has not said a word against this action of Government. Instead of condemning the high handedness of Government he referred us to the happenings in Sind and Baluchistan. What is the good of going over the sandy tracts of Sind and Baluchistan and taking all this trouble? Why does he not tell us that he does not want these evils to be eradicated? Why does he not tell us that when the Congress got a spell of 2½ years of Bacha Saqa's reign in the United Provinces, it suppressed as many as 80 papers? The demand of security from the *Nawa-i-Waqt* is only the beginning. Wait and see what is coming in the future.

Now I come to another matter. Section 141 has been promulgated in Lahore. This is a section which my friends used to call as the most retrogressive legislation and against which they used to protest daily on the floor of the House. To-day this very section has been promulgated in Lahore and nobody raises a voice against it. Do they want to hear this verse from us?

جفا جو عشق میں ہوتی ہے وہ جفا ہی نہیں  
ستم نہ ہو تو محبت میں کچھ مزا ہی نہیں

Do they think that by suppressing the *Nawa-i-Waqt* they would crush the whole Islamic press?

میر یا نامع نے ہم د قید اچھا دن سی یہ جنوں عشق کے انداز چہٹ جائینگے کیا

If my friends think that they would be able to crush the Islamic press by employing such methods, they are mistaken. We are not like them that one day we will sit here and to-morrow we will go there simply for getting offices. We have come here with a set purpose and a set programme. My friends tell us that amidst our ranks we have members who were till recently on the Treasury benches, but I think they are misinformed. There is nobody amongst us who has supported this Government in the manner in which they are supporting. We are to-day sitting in the Opposition and we shall continue to do so till by God's grace we achieve Pakistan. Sir, when we protest against the promulgation of Section 144, my honourable friend could very well have said "Do you not know that we are those brave people who when the Congress Ministry came into power in the United Provinces and the Assembly session was on and a crowd of labourers struck work in Cawnpore, yes, those very labourers by whose labours and by whose toils and by whose sacrifices we were enabled to occupy that high pedestal, the labourers whom we ourselves taught to go on strike and due to whose strikes we got 3 years' spell of Government in that province, did not hesitate to open fire on them, and who are you?" If he had argued like that then I would have said nothing. After all what love have these people for the labourers? The poor people in the Thal area are being ruined and nobody cares. The course of the canal is being diverted and as a result of that a large tract of land belonging to the poor people is being taken away from them for the passage of the canal merely to provide water to the lands of the Honourable Malik Sir Khizar Hayat Khan. The lands of the people have been destroyed as they are now under water. I protest against this to the party which claims to be the champion of the poor, but who cares? I am surprised and doubt this whether this is the same Congress at whose session, held at Coochabehn, that great lover of freedom Maulana Muhammad Ali presided. Is this the same Congress whose President once Dr. Ansari was. Is this the same Congress whose President was Hakim Ajmal Khan? Is this the same Congress for which my honourable friend Mian Muhammad Iftikhar-ud-Din wasted 10 years of his precious life?

Now let me make a few submissions about the present Jirga system. For the information of the honourable members I may say that though I do not belong to Mianwali district, I know much about it. The Deputy Commissioner of that district nominates zaildars and lambardars according to his own sweet will. There are many glaring defects in the present Jirga system and the sooner they are removed the better it will be. There is no justice administered under the existing system. In fact there is nobody to make proper inquiries, nobody to defend the innocent victims of this system and none whatsoever to administer law based on justice and equity. I do not suppose that the honourable member, Sir Feroz Khan Noon, who has just now expressed his ideas, has wasted his time. I appeal to my Congress friends sitting opposite that they should strongly protest against the atrocities committed under the existing Jirga system. But why should they unnecessarily take the trouble of lodging protests, when they can follow the path of least resistance by accepting the offices of honorary magistrates or a few squares of land and be happy with them for their life to come? (An honourable member from the Opposition benches: They should be given depots as well in view of their services). I am really thankful to the honourable member for reminding me about the depots.

Take the case of sugar and cloth depots. There is corruption, loot and plunder going on in the Civil Supply Department in the rural areas. It will not be out of place to mention here that I belong to that area where 95 per cent of the young men are army

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recruits. Most of them have come back to their native villages after being for seven years at the front either in Malaya or other places outside India. They have no civilian clothes to clad themselves with and no amenities of life are easily made available to them. Most of them require essential commodities in connection with their marriages, but I am constrained to remark that there is hardly a place where they can procure them except at black-market rates and that too is very rare. They go to tahsils, but there is nobody to listen to their grievances. All the depots have been given to those zaildars and lambardars who have been the strong supporters of the Unionist bureaucrats. After travelling a long distance, poor villagers are made to wait for a pretty long time for their rations and cloth. This is not all. They are not supplied with rations or cloth unless and until they make some contribution towards the Zamindara League Fund. After they are compelled to satisfy their lust for money, the cloth is sold to them at four times the control rate.

**Mr. Speaker :** The time of the honourable member is over.

**Mr. Mohan Lal :** (Una, General, Rural) (Urdu) : Sir, before I express myself I would request the honourable members opposite, who have for the last two days amply satisfied themselves by unburdening their hearts of the pangs of failure in forming a ministry, that they should now settle themselves down to the task of handling effectively the problem of abysmal poverty and absolute penury in this province. Whether it be the poor Muslim, the poor Hindu or the poor Christian the problem that is most vital to and common amongst them all is the problem of their empty stomachs. All poor people have common problems without any distinction of caste, creed or colour. At least the honourable members opposite must suspend all these petty prejudicial activities, for the sake of the poor Muslims whom they are in the House to represent. (Uproar). To-day one of the knights sitting on the opposite benches has also managed to wheedle out of himself some tears of sympathy for the poor masses. But I presume that they were only crocodile tears. (Voices from the opposition benches : No, they were full of feeling for the masses). Here I cannot do better than quote the following couplet :—

نہ خنجر زینکا نہ تلوار اُن سے      مہ بازو مہرے آئے ہوئے

(Laughter and Uproar). I smell insincerity in the honourable member's speech. He is a hypocrite and is like a wolf in a lamb's clothing. (Loud uproar). Such people can have no sympathy for the poor. They can never sponsor any good proposal for the amelioration of the masses. I would like to impress upon the honourable members representing the rural population that I will welcome any tangible and substantial proposal suggested by them. When the honourable rural representatives were previously occupying these benches belonging to the Unionist Party, they had failed to do any thing substantial for the poor people they represented and were simply acting as the yes-men of the Unionist Government. (Loud uproar). (An honourable member from the Opposition benches : What about the present Coalition?). I shall refer later on to some defects in the present Coalition.

And now about the Budget itself. I am surprised to find that so far no provision has been made in it to meet the genuine demands and immediate needs of the people belonging to Una tahsil. Similarly there are many other tahsils in the Punjab which have been overlooked. In some tahsils, whole tracts of land have been inundated and no precautionary measures whatsoever were taken by the previous Government either to compensate the flood-stricken people for the loss they suffered or to take preventive measures to stop recurrence of any such havoc. In the circumstances I would suggest to the Honourable Finance Minister that he should pay special attention

towards these affected areas at the time of revising the budget. It is the same unfortunate area where people, for want of adequate supply of water, have had to content themselves with the stagnant water in dirty pools, and also appeal to the Honourable Minister of Health that he should provide these unfortunate people with some sort of drinkable water and special attention be paid to this matter. Many new departments which were established could not function satisfactorily for want of adequate funds. There are many departments which are and have been a great strain on the finances of the province. For instance, the Police Department has been unduly draining the revenue of the province. Now that the times have changed completely it will be most expedient to curtail the police force and particularly the Civic Guards. They should be demobilised immediately.

Now about the administration. We have a very top-heavy administration here in this province. In fact there is no equitable adjustment in the salaries. Either Government servants are paid too much or too little, with the result that corruption is prevalent in every department amongst the low-paid subordinate services. As long as there is no increase in the salaries of the subordinates and a considerable decrease in the salaries of the highly paid officials, it is impossible to stop corruption in services. I would, therefore, earnestly request the Honourable Ministers and also the honourable members of the House that they should give a lead by volunteering themselves for an adequate reduction in their salaries and allowances, respectively. It will not be out of place to mention here that the Congress Working Committee had fixed the salary of the Ministers at Rs. 500. I would entreat the honourable members opposite that if they have any sympathy for the Muslim masses they should also support this proposal and fix the monthly allowance of the honourable members at Rs. 50 to Rs. 60 instead of Rs. 300. After all we have not come here to amass money but to speak for and serve the dumb millions of our country men (*An honourable member from the Opposition benches*: The honourable member should have suggested this before the present Coalition was set up.) The amount thus saved can be utilized for the benefit of the masses.

**Mr. Speaker** The time of the honourable member is over. He should wind up his speech now.

**Mr. Mohan Lal**: Very well sir, I have to obey your orders. I do not wish to add anything more and I resume my seat.

**Syed Mohy-ud-Din Lal Badshah**: (Attock South, Muhammadan, Rural) (*Urdu*): Mr. Speaker, I find that the Budget has already been discussed a good deal. Therefore I do not think it necessary to say anything more about it.

Sir, the Honourable Finance Minister has mentioned that the present Budget is an illegitimate child left to him by his predecessor and therefore no responsibility rests on him. I would say that in spite of the fact that it has not been prepared by him, the responsibility for its presentation to the House rests on his shoulders.

I remember, Sir, that the Congress at one time declared that when they came into power, all the sources in the country would be nationalised. But we are astonished to see that they are following the same course which had been adopted by the Unionist Government. We find that land worth thirty crores of rupees has so far been sold in this province. During this year even, Government intend to dispose of land worth four crores and a half. I am, therefore, in a position to warn Government that they should not be proud of such income, for it is similar to the state of a family that disposes of its property and calls itself a capitalist body. Sir, I would ask my friends opposite whether anyone of them is prepared to accept this justification. If the amount received from the sale proceeds of land were to be excluded from the Budget, it becomes a deficit one. Besides that, it is strange that in spite of a receipt of thirty crores, the debt stands as it was. I would like to ask Government whether they are justified in calling this receipt an income.

[S. Mohy-ud-Din Lal Badshah]

In the Budget, Sir, the receipts on account of Excise have been shown as Rs. 2½ crores. Is there any civilised government on the face of this earth which can be proud of this income? They demoralize the people through the sale of liquor. I would remind them that the Congress had put an end to the sale of liquor in its majority provinces. In this province we find that my friends opposite are proud of this income. I do not think that income through such a nasty thing can any way be beneficial.

Through the sale of land, Sir, they will receive 4½ crores, but the expenditure on education is shown as 2½ crores. The income through education is shown nowhere. How beneficial it would have been if the income from excise at least were to be spent on education. In England, the expenditure per head on Education is Rs. 38-2, but in the Punjab it does not exceed 12 annas. How pitiable it is that they have not increased even a single pie for education.

Now, Sir, I would bring to the notice of the Honourable Minister for Development that in the Post-War Reconstruction schemes a good deal has been provided for *kabadi* fields and playgrounds, but we find nothing for the districts which supplied innumerable soldiers. Similarly we find nothing for those military men who shed their blood on the battle field.

As regards the medical aid, I would say that the Government have recently set up only 60 dispensaries, i.e., 30 for men and 30 for women all over the province. But I would like to ask the Minister concerned whether such a small number can render satisfactory aid to such a vast province. I would therefore request the Government to provide sufficient funds and increase the number of dispensaries to meet the needs of the entire province.

Besides that, Sir, we find that Government have done nothing for the tenants and the labourers. This is exclusively against the Congress programme. They have been saying that the Congress would remove the grievances of the poor as soon as it comes into power. Have they done anything so far?

**Chaudhri Sher Singh** (Jhajjar, General, Rural) (*Urdu*): Sir, my honourable friend Sardar Shaukat Hyat-Khan took pains to discuss at length the problem of the ex-soldier and the Indian National Army. Being an ex-military officer himself, he is naturally sympathetically inclined towards them and I congratulate him for harbouring such sentiments for them. When he returned from the Army, he was appointed a Minister, but later on he thought fit to go over to the Opposition. I am sure if the Muslim League had not stood in the way, Major General Shah Nawaz would also have been a Minister here. (*Hear, hear.*)

Then, Sir, my honourable friends on the Opposition benches have shown their willingness to concede the demand of Khalistan to the Sikhs. Had there been some truth in what they say, there would have been no cause of conflict left, but I regret to say that their words do not run on all fours with their actions. As a matter of fact they are painting that part of the map green where the Sikhs are in a majority, and thus they are contradicting themselves. Only if they were true to their professions and were to concede our demands to-day, all our problems could be solved in a minute.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan**: Do you accept our demand of Pakistan?

**Chaudhri Sher Singh**: If you believe that your interests would not be safe in other hands, how can the destinies of eight crore Hindus be entrusted to you? I would like to tell the members opposite that they are solely responsible for the present conflict.

Coming to the Budget, I would submit, Sir, that this Budget is nothing but a Secretariat budget. It bears no revolutionary colour that it should have borne, and there is much room for improvement in it. First of all Malik Khizar Hayat was

pleased to remark that ample provision had been made in the Budget for the ex-soldier. I regret to say that what has been provided is not sufficient. (*Cheers from the Opposition benches.*)

Now I would like to make a few suggestions about the Budget. First, the provision that has been made for the Boy Scouts Association is unnecessary. I might as well remind the House of what Baden Powell, the Head of this Association, has said about Indian Boy Scouts. He once remarked that Indians did not make good scouts. (*Hear, hear from the Opposition benches.*) In my opinion it would have been far better if this big sum had been earmarked for the Hindustan Boy Scouts Association. (*Cheers from the Opposition benches.*) Then Sir, a sum of Rs. 82,000 has been provided for the National Home Front which was formerly known as the National War Front. I think this money should be spent on adult education. (*Cheers from the Opposition benches.*) Even the sum of Rs. 93,000, earmarked for the Boy Scouts Association, could be utilised with far greater advantage on adult education. (*Cheers.*) I am constrained to remark that the people employed in the National Home Front are always running after squares of land. (*Ironical cheers.*) My third suggestion is with regard to the Bhakra Dam. This scheme requires the urgent and anxious consideration of Government. They would be well-advised to expedite the work in connection with the laying of a highway from Nangal to Bhakra. I would urge upon Government to take this matter in hand and give it a speedy disposal because with this scheme are linked the future happiness and prosperity of millions.

**Gyani Shiv Saran Singh** (Kangra and Northern Hoshiarpur, Sikh, Rural) (*Punjab*): Mr. Speaker, from both sides of the House diverse points of view have been presented and debated upon about the present Coalition. Therefore, I will not dwell upon this matter any more.

My friend Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan was pleased to remark that he and his colleagues represented the 10 crore Musalmans of the country and that they wanted Pakistan. Much has been said on this subject also and I will not take any more time of this House in discussing it. Then in the course of his speech he was kind enough to tender certain advice to the Akalis, for which we are very grateful to him. He also cursed the *Achhuts* for having joined the Coalition. In short his speech was a strange medley of diverse subjects. He also pointed out that the present ministry had no constructive programme before it. In this connection I would submit that we have come into power only recently. Give us time to settle down. It will take time to uproot the injustices that have been done so long by his party. Only give us time and then judge us.

As regards the budget, Raja Sahib was pleased to call it a 'dal roti' budget. My submission is that our primary aim is to see that one and all get a stomach-full of 'dal roti'. Our first concern is to ensure two satisfying meals a day for the poor and the depressed who are at present feeling a great difficulty in keeping their bodies and souls together. We do not want any *pulao* budget or any meat budget. We do not want a budget in which only the fortunate few should lead a luxurious life at the cost of starving millions. We agree with Raja Sahib in his calling it a 'dal roti' budget and are quite happy over it. If every one gets enough of 'dal roti' every thing else will be all right.

Then Sir, Raja Sahib said that he and his party had taken it upon themselves to uproot the evils of corruption, black market and hoarding. I was much pleased to hear these pious intentions from them. Thank God that they have also, by going over to the Opposition, thought of exterminating these evils. When they sat on this side of the House, they never paid any heed to these matters. Whereas the Congress was all the time trying to do something about it they kept mum and said or did nothing. But now that they have gone over to that side their eyes have also opened, and they



[Gyani Shiv Saran Singh]

have also begun to make tall claims. I pray to God that these pious intentions remain with them for long and they do not throw them up if and when they come over to this side.

Then, Sir, Raja Sahib and his party called a division when the Premier moved a motion regarding the hours of meeting. I was really surprised over it, because in the past this very motion has always been moved and a division was never called. Even in the last budget session no objection was raised against it (*Voices from the Opposition benches: It was*).

**Khan Bahadur Sheikh Karamat Ali:** (North-Eastern towns, Muhammadan) Urban) (*Urdu*): Mr. Speaker, before I start my speech I want to declare that the Honourable Premier does not enjoy the confidence of his community.

As far as the Budget is concerned I do not know what I should say about this fatherless budget. The Finance Minister has refused to take responsibility for it and has declared with apologies that he presented it as he found it. Then I ask him why is he presenting it when he is not prepared to take responsibility? There is no reason why one should be ashamed of this responsibility. When they can adopt Malik Khizar Hayat Khan, who is a traitor and quisling of the first order, why do they not adopt this Budget? The reasons are obvious. They know the real value and worth of this Budget, and, therefore, they are shirking to take responsibility. It is simply disgusting and disappointing.

Sir, when I see their pitiable condition in the matter of the selection of Ministers, I pity them. This "Progressive party" wanted to appoint one Muslim as a Minister but nobody was forthcoming. They had only one educated Musalman left among them and that was Nawab Sir Allah Bakhsh Tiwana. That Nawab with his innocent and pious looks spends his mornings and evenings in saying prayers.

**Mr. Speaker:** The honourable member should not be personal.

**Khan Bahadur Sheikh Karamat Ali:** Sir, I am praising him and I can praise anybody. It is not a sin. Sir, I was submitting that there was only one educated Muslim left who could be entrusted with this job. This Nawab Allah Bakhsh was in the Government service at one time but did not like Government service and left it. He could easily afford it because he is a rich fellow. He could not be appointed, because he was a relative of the Honourable Premier.

**Mr. Speaker:** The honourable member should not refer to another honourable member of the House as 'fellow'.

**Khan Bahadur Sheikh Karamat Ali:** Well, Sir, the word 'fellow' in itself is not objectionable. It is the manner and the tone in which you say it that it becomes respectful or otherwise. I was saying something about the Honourable Premier who professes to be the champion of the cause of the Muslims. The opinion of the Musalmans about him is quite clear from the fact that he had to run from door to door and ask everybody to serve with him as Minister, but none agreed. So, his choice fell on the present Minister. I am sorry, Sir, because formerly it was another person, whom it was his intention to include in the Cabinet. He was a Maulana Mazhar Ali Azhar by name, who was not even a member of this House. It was proposed to get him appointed as a Minister for six months under the special powers of His Excellency the Governor and then to get him returned from the University seat. That is what we read in the newspapers.

**Mr. Speaker:** Order, please. The honourable member cannot say whether he is correct or not. Maulvi Mazhar Ali Azhar is not present and the honourable member who is being attacked is also not present in the House.

**Khan Bahadur Sheikh Karamat Ali :** I am very sorry, Sir. That is why I wanted him to be present in the House, so that he may inform me how he was incapable of finding one competent Muslim to represent the interests of Muslims in the province. I know it for certain that he went from door to door and asked each and every Muslim member to serve with him as a Minister in the present Coalition Government. But nobody agreed to it. It was only then that he was forced to appoint my honourable friend there—what is his name?—"Turabaz Khan"—as a minister and entrust to him the portfolio of Education, the most important thing in the world. I know, Sir, that we still have some degraded persons amongst us, of provincial as well as all-India notoriety, who are in the pay of the Congress, but even they did not agree to serve with the Honourable Premier, while my honourable friend there accepted his offer. Mr. Speaker, I am stating all this to show that the selection of the Minister for Education by the present Government was a very wrong selection and in his hands the interests of the Muslims who are in a majority in this Province, are not at all safe. As regards his educational qualifications, let me inform the House that the gentleman had to go to many colleges, from Sadiq Egerton College to the Islamia College, Peshawar, in order to get his degree. And now he is a trust upon the students of this Province. How can he enjoy their confidence or attend to their complaints? I would request the Honourable Finance Minister, who is an old friend and colleague of mine, to take pity on the young men of this Province.

Then, Sir, there is another friend of mine, the Honourable Nawab Sir Muzaffar Ali. I am sorry Sir, that he is my friend, a self-appointed President of the Punjab Shia Association. I want to make it clear at this time that the Punjab Shia Association has no existence at all. It would have been much better for Nawab Sahib, if he had shown some consideration for the sentiments of the Muslims, and had not taken his stand on a bogus plea. I am just explaining to the House, Sir, the constituent elements of this Ministry, in order to discuss the policy of Government. I want to prove that the policy of the present Government is against the interests of the Muslims of this Province. The Honourable Malik Khizar Hayat Khan, who has been saying repeatedly that he, too, adheres to the principle of Pakistan, has set this example of his love for the Muslims that of all the Muslim Ministers appointed by him, there is not a single person who could defend the interests of the Muslims of this Province.

Now, Sir, I come to another matter. My Party has been criticised in the Press by Ch. Krishana Gopal Dutt and Sardar Baldev Singh for not expressing our gratitude and loyalty to you, Mr. Speaker, at the time of your election. It is further said that decency demanded that my Party should have congratulated you, and the example of the Central Assembly was cited, where Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan had congratulated the Speaker after his election in spite of the fact that the candidate of the Muslim League Party had been defeated. Let me explain, Sir. If my honourable friends had given deep thought to the matter, they would have seen that our case is not at par with the Central Assembly. Here, there was a convention, at least an implicit convention, that the Speaker must always be a Muslim, a member of the majority community. In the Central Assembly there was no such convention. That convention has been broken now by the high-handedness of that traitor among the Muslims. It would have been much better for him as well as for the Muslims if he had not been here. Now they expect us to praise the usurper. We should have been thanked for keeping quiet at that occasion, but even our silence has been dubbed as criminal. As regards Diwan Bahadur S. P. Singha we have nothing against him. He is our friend. But where there is a question of principle, we must follow it. A weak Government will always betray the interests of its people like this. The pity is that this Premier, who does not command the confidence of the people, could not find a Muslim who could be elected as the Speaker of this House. So far as this matter, this glaring injustice to Muslims, is concerned, the Muslim League is happy and not sore over it.

[K. B. Sh. Karamat Ali]

Now I come to my friend on my left who is functioning to-day under the quisling Premier Malik Khizar Hayat Khan. So far as I know, and I hope he will agree with me, there is a world of difference between the policy of the Congress and that of the Unionist Party. All the same his party has coalesced with the former. I ask, can he lay his finger on any principles of the Unionist party which are common between the Congress and that party? Its ideology as my friend has just now observed, and very rightly so, is :

راج انگرز کا اس نے بہتر سمجھا جس نے سرگورہ نو لقیٹ گورنر سمجھا

This is the ideology of that party. Does he agree with it? It is indeed very much regretted that the Congress has coalesced with a party which does not figure in the all-India politics at all. There is absolutely nothing in common between these two parties. The Congress party claims to be a progressive party and I want to put a question to its adherents as to what is their conception about the present Government? Is it a constitutional Government or have you coalesced merely to get the Ministries? After all what have they discovered in the Unionist Party that they refused to coalesce with the Muslim League? The Congress stands for the freedom of India, so does the Muslim League. It was much easier for these two parties to have come to an agreement rather than that the Congress should have joined hands with a reactionary party which has no programme and no policy and which has met a well deserved doom at the hands of the Muslims. So far as my friend Maulana Daud Ghaznavi is concerned, he said that on behalf of the nationalist Muslims he offered to stand down so as to say that an opportunity was afforded to the Muslim League and the Congress to nominate three Ministers each. I refuse to believe it. That is not his position. I will tell you what his position was. But, before I do so I would like to remind you that my honourable friend Maulana Daud Ghaznavi remarked and I appreciate his words that he as well as other nationalist Muslims have a record number of sacrifices to their credit and have borne all sorts of hardships for their motherland and now when they were very near realising their dream of getting into offices, they have been upset by the Muslim League because it refused to accept the principle put forward by their party. Let me tell him that we did not refuse him because he is a man of principle. We are those who even treat their enemies with consideration, because Islam enjoins upon us to do so. We refused to accept him because he is a quisling and he wanted to enter the Cabinet through a back door. I ask my Congress friends that if a party lends a helping hand and wants to co-operate with them on an honourable basis and work for the independence of India, is it not their duty to co-operate with it? But how unfortunate it is that they spurned our offer, simply because we refused to accept their Muslim nominee in the cabinet. I may remind them that Islam enjoins upon us not to allow any traitor to obstruct our path. We call such a person as quisling. I ask, why did they not tell him plainly and frankly that understanding can be arrived at between Hindus and Muslims as two communities and not as individuals. We on our part do not like that any person bearing the name of a Muslim should get himself elected on a ticket other than that of his community and thus try to enter the cabinet through a back door. If anybody does so, he plays a traitor to his community. Therefore by saying that he is a man of principle, my friend has tried to throw dust in the eyes of the people. Then he said, and very loudly, that India can win freedom and the people of India can live a peaceful and honourable life, only with the unity of Hindus and Muslims. I wish his words had agreed with his heart. You say something with which your heart does not agree. If his head had agreed with his heart he would have surely sacrificed himself for bringing the two communities together. But if in spite of his declared intentions, in spite of his love for the freedom of India, in spite of his principles, he has coalesced with a most reactionary party,

it is not that he is a man of principle or that he loves the freedom of India, but we are forced to conclude that he is sitting there for the love of office only and what is more for the enmity of Islam. He is opposed to the Muslim League because it is a body of the Muslims. But remember that if our being Muslims is a crime in his eyes, by God, we shall not rest content until we have taken our due rights. (*Hear, hear*). The honourable member on my left ridiculed the members of the Muslim League party and asked "Where have you been till recently? Were you not in the Unionist party", a party of self-seekers, and were you not the mainstay of that Government? He has ridiculed us, but it is a pity that he has not paused to think that we have achieved in eight or nine years what his party has not been able to achieve in 65 years. You know it and the Government know it that in eight or nine years the Muslim League has achieved such a great success and has gained the confidence of the Muslim masses so much which the Congress could never dream of. In fact, it is going to surpass the Congress in that respect. You talk of your sacrifices so much. We have not had an occasion to make any. When we will make sacrifices, by God your sacrifices will pale into insignificance. Anyway my submission is, why is it that no agreement was arrived at? I say that if a person values anything he is prepared to make sacrifices for it. Now my friend Maulana Daud Ghaznavi, who professes to love this country over everything else and who wants it to be free, should have come forward and sacrificed his own interests. But how could he have done it? He does not want India to become free. What does he say? He says that the Congress is not a Hindu body. Is it a body of Muslims? I assure him that his irrelevant talk, his claim to be a man of principle and his coalescing with a most reactionary party shows that he does not want India to become independent. He wants to keep the shadow of the British here, and we want to do away with it. I may also remind my friend that in 1937 our Qaid-i-Azam suggested to Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru to let them sit together and find out a solution of the vexed Hindu-Muslim problem, so that both the communities may lead a peaceful and happy life because he said that nothing could be worse than the Provincial autonomy which the British had established in the provinces. But that brave Pandit refused his offer. It will not be out of place to mention here that Qaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah has raised the prestige of the Muslim League so high that it is beyond the imagination of the honourable members opposite to appreciate it. So far as his political integrity is concerned, he is a man of the highest order. He does not stoop to servility like the leaders of the opposite parties. (*Loud uproar*). He lives a highly sober life.

Now let me refer to certain remarks made by Maulana Daud Ghaznavi about Mr. Jinnah in the course of his speech yesterday. He accused Mr. Jinnah by saying that he is a drunkard. (*Loud uproar*).

**Mr. Speaker:** Please do not be personal.

**Khan Bahadur Sheikh Karamat Ali :** It is not personal. Maulana Daud Ghaznavi said so many objectionable things yesterday.

**Mr. Speaker :** If I had listened to those objectionable words, I would have stopped the member, but there was so much noise yesterday that I could not hear those words.

**Khan Bahadur Sheikh Karamat Ali :** But I want to point out to him that he is malicious at heart. Let me tell him that his preceptor or in other words the person whom he follows, is a professional drunkard. I am fully aware of his private life. I deeply regret to say that Maulana Daud Ghaznavi passes hasty remarks on such a noble personality as Mr. Jinnah and compares him to his preceptor who drinks like a fish. This Maulana, whose very life is dependent on the secret and unholy allowances he gets from the Birlas, should know it once for all, that he is a great drunkard himself. (*Loud uproar*).

**Mr. Speaker :** Order, order. Please do not be personal. The honourable member's time is over. He should wind up his speech.

**Khan Bahadur Sheikh Karamat Ali :** Besides this he poses himself as a commentator of the Holy Quran and a 'Mufti-I-Azam'. On the other hand, our Qaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah has never claimed himself to be an authority on religion. He never takes it upon himself to settle the religious issues. He says he serves Islam only in the field of politics.

**Minister for Finance** (The Honourable Mr. Bhim Sen Sachar) (Urdu) : Sir, I never thought that after having already expressed in explicit terms the reason of the Budget not being framed by me or by the present Coalition, it would be at all necessary to repeat it again. My honourable friend Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan remarked yesterday in the course of his speech, that it would not have been very difficult to frame the Budget for a lesser period of time than for the whole year, as was done by the late Sir Sikandar Hyat-Khan. If any other honourable member of this House, not thoroughly acquainted with the various sections of the Government of India Act, had advanced such an argument, his ignorance would have been pardonable. But I am pained to hear such an argument from my friend Raja Sahib, who, I am sure, thoroughly knows those sections of the Government of India Act. My honourable friend must be fully aware of the fact that under Section 78 of the Government of India Act, nobody is allowed to present the Budget for a period of less than a year. For his information, I wish to read out Section 78 which runs as follows :—

The Governor shall in respect of every financial year, cause to be laid before the Chamber or Chambers of the Legislature a statement of estimated receipts and expenditure of the province for that year in this part of the Act referred to as the annual financial statement.

The honourable member knows that when a budget is not endorsed, signed and authenticated by the Governor under Section 80 of the Government of India Act, not a single item of expenditure, however small, can be incurred by Government. The circumstances that favoured the late Sir Sikandar Hyat-Khan to frame the budget for a lesser period than a year, in the year 1937, were altogether different. At that time the Legislature came into being on the 1st of April. So it is clear that it had no time at its disposal to pass the statement of estimated expenditure which was to be incurred from the same day. I wish to remind him that at that time the Governor had it within his power to pass a budget for six months only, after which the Legislature had necessarily to frame its own budget. It is crystal clear from this that at that time the Governor could easily authenticate a budget for any period under six months without consulting the Legislature. Consequently the Legislature had to adopt its new budget immediately after the expiry of the time for which the Governor had allowed it to adopt the previous budget. Were it in my power, nothing would have given me greater joy than framing the Budget for a lesser period than a year as suggested by my friend Raja Sahib, but I am sorry to remark that the existing rules do not permit it to be framed for only a month. We are handicapped by the limitations that have been set upon us.

And now about the Budget itself. When the Budget was laid before this House, my honourable friend Raja Sahib remarked that it was a Budget prepared by the Secretariat. I agree that it is so, because they prepare it and shape it into its present form. I suppose my honourable friend Raja Sahib, having already had quite a lot of experience as Parliamentary Secretary, is fully aware of the fact that every department is required to submit its proposals to the Finance Department in the months of August and September. The Finance Department after closely scrutinizing their financial implications and practicabilities, is required to submit them for final approval before the Cabinet, by the month of December. I presume my honourable friend Sardar Shaukat Hyat-Khan, who has to his credit a greater experience than my honourable friend Raja Sahib, will agree with what I have said. (An

*honourable member from the Opposition benches*: Was not Sir Khizar Hayat Khan also a member of the Cabinet? The honourable member should not be impatient. I am coming to that also. If he just listens to me, he will, I am sure, agree with me. The honourable members opposite should know that the items of this Budget have also been sanctioned by the two members of the previous Cabinet who have now done them the honour of occupying the Opposition benches along with them. (*Hear, hear, from the Treasury benches*). (*An honourable member from the Opposition benches*: Two members of that Cabinet are adorning the Treasury benches too.) Who denies this glaring fact that two members of that Cabinet are on that side and two others on this side of the House!

Mr. Speaker, I want to draw the attention of the members sitting opposite to my speech with a view to help them as far as possible. If somebody requires me to answer any question, he should stand up. I will at once yield place to him.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan**: Was it not possible for the Ministry to be sworn in on the first of April, 1946?

**Minister**: Those who were in favour of Section 98 desired that the Budget should not be presented at all before the House, but should be certified by His Excellency the Governor. In such a case, I am sure, nobody would dare to criticise it so mercilessly. All of us would have straightway accepted it.

Sir, when the Nawab of Mamdot met His Excellency the Governor, he said that he had a following of 88 members and was in a position to form a ministry. I would ask him, what justification is there for the fact that when 88 members could run a ministry smoothly, 93 were considered incapable? I am never in favour of such a ministry where there is a difference of only 10 or 12 members between the Opposition and the Ministerial benches. It is my honest opinion about this province that the best government could be run at the time when there is a majority of 125 members on the ministerial side. I remember when the Nawab of Mamdot met Maulana Azad, and the talk about the administrative problems was in progress, we made it clear at the very outset that there should be an all-parties coalition, for we thought, and even to-day think, that an all parties government could be the best for the prosperity of this province.

Sir, I would request my sisters sitting opposite to admonish their brethren constituting the Opposition party. They want that the parties should come into power on the basis of religion. In other words they want to divide the House into three prominent parties i.e., a Hindu party, a Muslim party and a Sikh party. This step is in no way in the interest of the province. They are in fact after exterminating the Congress. They desire that the members of this party should somehow or other admit that it is the sole representative of the Hindus. Is it not narrow-mindedness on the part of the Muslim League party? They should see the whole process from the practical point of view. They should realise the responsibility of a Government and see whether they can run it to the entire satisfaction of other communities if they were in its place. I think they should not give vent to their religious feelings so far as the formation of Government in this province is concerned. But so far as the religious issues are concerned, we are fully aware that no government has ever interfered with the religious matters of any party, nor has it ever suppressed their religious feelings. Members of the previous Legislature know full well that whenever there had been a religious issue before the House, it was decided by the persons concerned. I know that in this country no majority party has ever come into power on the basis of religion. In fact religious differences should have nothing to do with political affairs. The majority parties realise that it is through political co-operation that they come into power, otherwise religious views would never lead them to such co-operation.

[Minister for Finance]

Besides this, Sir, I find that some members have criticised the rights of communities as well. I can assure them that we shall try our level best to help the poor in removing their grievances. We realise the responsibility that rests on our shoulders. I know that the first and foremost duty of the party in power is to provide cloth for the naked, food for the hungry and educational facilities for the illiterate.

Sir, I find that the Budget has been very badly criticised. I would like to ask my friends opposite that if they really feel dis-satisfied with it, they should just compare it with those presented in the provinces where Muslim League is in power. If they find it inferior to them I shall very gladly admit the charges laid on myself as well as on the Budget.

I do not think mutual differences are in any way beneficial for the province. I am surprised to see their attitude towards the Muslim members of the Coalition party. How do they justify it? Where do they find this authority that if some parties form a coalition on purely political basis, the Muslim members of that coalition party should be socially discarded? For God's sake leave this bias and narrow-mindedness. I have not the least hesitation in assuring you with all the emphasis at my command that if you give up your narrow-mindedness and join hands with us and form a Government on non-religious basis, I am ready to break up the present Government here and now. (Cheers).

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan** (Pointing towards Maulana Daud Ghaznavi) : What about the stumbling block?

**Minister** : There is no stumbling block. I take full responsibility for what I am saying. I most sincerely make this offer to Nawab of Mamdot.

**Nawab Iftikhar Hussain Khan** : Have you had Maulana's permission?

**Minister** : Yes. You can depend upon me, I will be responsible. I invite you to come and help me in forming a stable and popular ministry.

Then, Sir, Raja Sahib was pleased to remark that had they been at the helm of affairs, they would have made religious education compulsory. I invite them to join us and I assure them that whereas they wanted to make the religious education of one community compulsory, I will make compulsory the religious education of all communities. (Hear, hear). I am prepared to go even to this length that the business of this House should be preceded by recitations from the Holy Quran, the Geeta and the Granth Sahib (Cheers).

To-day such conditions have come to prevail in the province that people cannot tolerate the very sight of two persons of different religions standing together. For example, if Raja Sahib came and talked to me in an intimate fashion or placed his hand on my shoulder, people would be taken aback and my sisters over there would be heard saying 'Oh look, Raja Sahib is talking to a Kafir in that way.'

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan** : No, no.

**Minister** : It is correct. I know it. Such indeed is the putrid atmosphere prevailing in this province. I appeal to you in the name of Islam and the brotherhood and tolerance that Islam teaches, to give up this attitude of narrow-heartedness towards your own countrymen. We are not narrowhearted, nor can we ever become so. We have a vast tolerance for everybody, no matter what his religion and what his beliefs may be. You can ask Maulana Daud Ghaznavi and he will tell you how eagerly we used to take lessons from the Holy Quran when we were in jail.

I would once again appeal to my honourable friends opposite to come and take over the business of this Government. They say that Maulana Daud Ghaznavi stood in the way of an alliance between the Congress and the Muslim League. This is not true. I again repeat my offer. If they agree to join us and form a Government on non-

religious basis, I assure them that Maulana Daud Ghaznavi would not be in the cabinet. He would be a back-bencher instead.

**Sardar Shaukat Hyat-Khan** Will you kindly explain what you mean by non-religious basis?

**Minister :** Whereas you say that all the Muslim members of the cabinet should essentially be the nominees of the Muslim League, and whereas you hold that parties to the alliance should bear the complexion of their respective religions, my point of view is that politics should be kept apart from religion and while forming a Government we should not have such considerations in view.

Then again, Sir, my friends opposite were ready to coalesce with the Congress and they are prepared to do so even now. But I ask, why do they object to coming together with a party which is composed of Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs? To my mind it is only their narrow point of view that stands in their way.

**Nawab Iftikhar Hussain Khan :** I am afraid you have not been able to comprehend our point of view. We have no objection whatsoever in coming together with Hindus and Sikhs, but we are very much against our having anything to do with those who have proved to be the traitors to their own community. (*Cheers from the Opposition benches*).

**Minister** Then, Sir, my friends opposite have repeatedly reminded us that to-day we are in alliance with those who have been practising all sorts of tyrannies upon us, who put us behind the bars, who while removing us from one place to another handcuffed us, who did not release us when our near and dear ones fell ill and died and so on. In reply to this I would submit that we have not forgotten anything. We remember everything. And we also remember that most of the members of that Government which perpetrated those injustices on us, have now crossed the floor and are sitting on the other side of this House. Come, let us not dwell on those unpleasant memories of the past. Let us, in the best interests of our province, unite together and form a stable Government not on religious basis, but on economic basis.

The promulgation of Section 144 in Lahore has been mentioned in this House. In this connection my submission is that we are not feeling happy over it, nor can we possibly do so. I very eagerly await the day when people cease to go about armed with knives and axes. Please try to realize the difficulty and the unenviable position of Government. It is the duty of Government to maintain law and order in the province and when such an atmosphere of mutual distrust prevails, it becomes the unpleasant duty of Government to resort to such harsh methods. Had the members opposite been in our place they would have taken exactly similar steps.

Again, Sir, it is said about us that we have come to sit on these benches with the aid of the Governor. My friends opposite also went to see the Governor and told His Excellency that they had 88 members with them. Had this come true, that is, had they actually had the support of 88 members in this House, would they have refused the aid of the Governor in coming to sit on these benches?

As regards the Budget, this not very pleasant duty of preparing the Budget invariably falls on the shoulders of those who sit on this side of the House. Had they come into power, it would have rested on their shoulders. There are certain traditions which we have received as legacy from the previous government, I mean that Government which was composed mainly of the members now sitting opposite. Unfortunately we have to carry on those traditions for the time being. We came to the helm of affairs only a few days back. We have not had time enough to do anything in our own way. But as soon as we get stabilised, we will do our level best to ameliorate the hard lot of the suffering and hard-bit masses. And let me tell you one thing more. If we find that we have been of little use to the common man, if we fail to improve the



[Minister for Finance]

present conditions, then we will not lose a single moment in vacating these benches (*cheers*), because our primary and basic aim is to create such conditions under which the present lot of the common man, the man in the street and the man in the field, is improved.

Sir, I have tried my level best and I must admit this that we have inherited many things and it was totally impossible for us to introduce some revolutionary changes in such a short time. I assure the House that our guiding principle will be the welfare and betterment of the poor. No stone will be left unturned and every step in this direction will be taken.

I felt very much pleased when I heard Sir Feroz Khan Noon to-day and I congratulate him on the views he expressed. Those were the views of a man who stuck to the Viceroy's Executive Council and did not resign at a time when a great Mahatma was dying in the cause of his nation. We also remember how his Personal Assistant acted in an insulting way at San Francisco. We have not forgotten the way in which he behaved there when at the same time our illustrious sister, Mrs. Vijay Lakhshmi Pandit was doing so much for her unfortunate country. Yet I appreciate his views expressed a few moments ago and congratulate him on this progress.

Sir, with your permission, I request every gentleman to come forward and lend me his co-operation. Let us reform our services. Let us do something constructive for the benefit of our country. I want to ask the Nawab of Mamdot whether I did not admit in the presence of Maulana Abul Kasim Azad that the salvation of the province lies in a strong coalition between the Congress and the League. I ask you on behalf of my party, and I take full responsibility on behalf of my party to ask you, to come forward and form a coalition with us, provided that coalition is not on religious basis. Let us do something constructive for the Punjab and its people. Let us join hands in improving the lot of the poor zamindar. Let us join and work together for a prosperous Punjab. (*Cheers*).

*The Assembly then adjourned till 12 noon on Tuesday, 26th March 1946.*

# PUNJAB LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

FIRST SESSION OF THE SECOND PUNJAB LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

TUESDAY, 26TH MARCH 1946.

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

## STARRED QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

### SCANTY IRRIGATION OF CHAK NO. 17 (R. D. 49,000)

**\*12. Munshi Hari Lal:** Will the Honourable Premier be pleased to state whether it is a fact that several complaints have been made, from time to time, since the inception of the Sutlej Valley Project, to the irrigation authorities with regard to the scanty irrigation of Chak No. 17 (R. D. 49,000) from Lal Baghali Minor, Tahsil Lodhran, District Multan; if so, the action which has been taken or is intended to be taken on the complaints?

**The Honourable Malik Sir Khizar Hayat:** It is a fact that several petitions were received from the irrigators of Chak No. 17 regarding shifting of their outlet R. D. 49,000, Lal Baghali Distributary upstream of fall R. D. 45,000, but this proposal did not materialise as applicants could not arrange for land for the new watercourse required. Action however is being taken to improve the working of the outlet at its present site in the remodelling of the channel already sanctioned.

**Chaudhri Muhammad Hasan:** Will the Premier take the action when the election of two constituencies, in which he stood and from where he has resigned, is over? When will the action take place?

**Premier:** These are petty irrigators. They have not got anything to do with elections.

**Chaudhri Muhammad Hasan:** The Premier does not care for petty peasants.

**Premier:** My honourable friend from Ludhiana should look to that then.

**Chaudhri Muhammad Hasan:** I am from Ambala and not from Ludhiana. I am from the constituency of the Honourable Minister sitting over there—Sardar Baldev Singh.

**Premier:** It looks as if with his political office he is changing his residence also.

**Chaudhri Muhammad Hasan:** Yes, I am changing for the better and he is changing for the worse.

**Premier:** I do not know who is changing for the better. Posterity will decide this matter.

### UNSATISFACTORY IRRIGATION OF CERTAIN SQUARES IN MAUZA PAKKA, TAHSIL LODHRAN, MULTAN DISTRICT

**\*13. Munshi Hari Lal:** Will the Honourable Minister for Revenue be pleased to state:—

(a) whether it is a fact that the owners of squares Nos. 54, 55, 56, 78 and 89 situated in Mauza Pakka, Tahsil Lodhran, District Multan, have complained to the irrigation authorities that the irrigation of these squares is not satisfactory from the present outlet and that the area be attached either to the outlet at R. D. 40,272-L of Ali Barhan minor or to Chak 11 of the aforesaid minor;

(Munshi Hari Lal.)

(b) if the answer to (a) be in the affirmative whether the complaint has ever formed the subject of correspondence between the Executive Engineer, Panjnad Division and the Superintending Engineer, Derajat Circle; if so, with what result?

**The Honourable Nawab Sir Muzaffar Ali Khan Qizilbash :** (a) Yes, owners of the said area had applied for their area being put on a separate outlet at R. D. 40,272-L of Ali Burhan Distributary. There has been no application for attaching the area to Chak No. 11 of this minor, which is on the other side of the channel.

(b) The matter was referred by the Executive Engineer, Panjnad Division to the Superintending Engineer, Derajat Circle, during the year 1938-39 regarding this complaint; and after full consideration, it was decided to put the area in question on outlet R. D. 32,896-L from which it had better command than from outlet R. D. 40,272-L.

#### CRIMINAL CASE *RE* CROWN *V.* SARDAR GOPAL SINGH AND BRIJ MOHAN

\*11. **Munshi Hari Lal :** Will the Honourable Minister for Development be pleased to state :—

(a) whether the attention of the Government has been invited to the judgment delivered on 4th September 1945 by Diwan Kahn Chand, Additional District Magistrate, Multan, in the Criminal Case *re* Crown *v.* Sardar Gopal Singh and Brij Mohan under the Punjab Cotton Cloth Licensing Order read with Rule 81 of the Defence of India Rules especially to the lines wherein it was observed that this case was the outcome of malice on the part of the above official rather than a desire to vindicate the law;

(b) if so, whether any action has been taken against the officials concerned?

**The Honourable Sardar Baldev Singh :** (a) Yes.

(b) The matter was looked into at the time and no action was considered necessary.

**Munshi Hari Lal :** Has no action been taken against the police officials who took these two persons in handcuffs and brought them together through the bazar?

**Minister :** The matter was enquired into and no further action was considered necessary.

#### WITHDRAWAL OF PUNJAB ORDINANCE No. 1 OF 1945.

**Malik Barkat Ali** (Eastern Towns, Muhammadan, Urban) : I crave your permission to raise a very important question affecting the constitutional rights of members of this House. As this House will remember, the Punjab Criminal Law (Amendment) Act, 1935, under the authority of which my friend the Honourable Mr. Bhim Sen Sachar and several of his colleagues were sent to jail, came to an end on the 30th of November 1945. On that very day—the 30th of November 1945—the Governor of the Punjab, acting under Section 88 of the Government of India Act, 1935, promulgated an ordinance known as the Punjab Ordinance No. 1 of 1945. By means of this Ordinance the life of the Punjab Criminal Law (Amendment) Act, 1935, which had come to an end, was extended till the 30th of April 1946. Section 88 of the Government of India Act, 1935, provides that it shall be open to a Governor at any time when the legislature is not in session, acting in the exercise of his individual judgment, to promulgate certain ordinances. This section also lays down that as soon as such an ordinance is promulgated, it shall be laid on the table of the House as soon as the legislature re-assembles. It also lays down that if a resolution disapproving the ordinance is passed by the Legislative Assembly, then upon the passing of such a resolution the ordinance comes to an end. The House remembers that the Assembly met on the 21st of March. The agenda for this date

was sent to the honourable members by the Secretary which reached me on the 16th of March. As soon as the agenda reached me, I gave notice, under Section 107 of the Punjab Legislative Assembly Rules, of the following resolution :—

That this Assembly disapproves the Punjab Ordinance No. 1 of 1945 promulgated by the Government of the Punjab on 30th November 1945.

This resolution of mine was, in the ordinary course of things, sent to the Premier by the Secretary of the Assembly on the 18th of March 1946. On the 22nd March the Chief Secretary to Government, Punjab, addressed the following letter to the Secretary, Punjab Legislative Assembly :—

"With reference to your letter No. 404, dated the 18th of March 1946, I am directed to inform you that the Honourable Premier regrets that he is unable to allow time for the discussion of this resolution as all the available time has been allotted for financial business. It is, however, pointed out that Government have not introduced a bill to extend the life of the Punjab Criminal Law (Amendment) Act. The Ordinance will lapse on April 30th, 1946, and the Punjab Criminal Law (Amendment) Act will then automatically expire. In these circumstances the Leader of the House feels that no useful purpose will be served by discussing the Resolution especially as the Ordinance was promulgated at a time when the present Ministry was not in power and it cannot be regarded as in any way responsible for the promulgation of this Ordinance."

Now, Mr. Speaker, it is perfectly correct that the present Ministry, which came into power on the 11th of March is not responsible for the promulgation of this Ordinance which was promulgated on the 30th of November 1945. It was apparently promulgated on the advice of the then caretaker Government. Whatever the position may be, it must be obvious to any person possessing even a little knowledge of the constitution that the Ministry is responsible for the continuance of this Ordinance from the date it came into power until the time that it remains in force. (*Hear, hear*). Therefore, my respectful submission to you is this, that I have moved my resolution, I have given notice of my resolution under the Statute and it is a statutory obligation of the Leader of the House to give me time for the discussion of this resolution on the floor of this House. The House will know that we have already received an intimation that the House is going to be adjourned *sine die* on the 30th of March. Well, if the House is going to adjourn *sine die* on the 30th of March it is obvious that the Honourable Premier, unless he reconsiders his position in consultation with his colleagues who I am sure will not be a party to the continuance of an ordinance which is such a serious menace to the liberty of the speech and really converts this province into a prison-house, will acquiesce in it. My respectful submission is this. I seek your protection for the exercise of this statutory right which belongs to me and I seek your assistance in order that you may compel the Honourable Premier to discharge the statutory obligation which rests on him.

**Premier :** Well Sir, the position of the Government has been made amply clear in the reply read out by Malik Barkat Ali, that is, this ordinance will lapse in a few day's time and, therefore, there will be no further menace. But in order to set all doubts at rest, may I inform you that I have advised His Excellency the Governor and have his permission to announce that that ordinance has lapsed and there is nothing for my honourable friend to fear about ?

**Malik Barkat Ali :** If so, my object is served.

#### SHORT-NOTICE QUESTION

**Chaudhri Muhammad Hasan :** Sir, I want to bring to your kind notice that I gave notice of a short-notice question. That has not come on the agenda.

**Mr. Speaker :** Notice has been received to-day.

**Premier :** There is no authority on earth which can do away with due notice if the Minister in charge wants that notice.

**Chaudhri Muhammad Hasan :** Please yourself.

**Premier :** You please yourself.

### PANEL OF CHAIRMEN

**Mr. Speaker :** Under Rule 10 (1) of the Punjab Legislative Assembly Rules, the Speaker has to nominate a panel of not more than four chairmen. I wanted very much to have the assistance of all sections of the House, but as that has been denied to me, I will nominate from as many sections as are willing to assist me. The names are as follows :—

1. Sardar Ujjal Singh,
2. Dr. Gopi Chand Bhargava,
3. Mr. P. H. Guest, and
4. Mir Muhammad Abdullah.

### ADJOURNMENT MOTIONS

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** On a point of order. You remember your promise of yesterday that you will give your ruling to-day regarding adjournment motions.

**Mr. Speaker :** I regret very much that adjournment motions cannot come to-day. There are very clear rules regarding this matter. If the honourable member will refer to Article 172 read with Article 179, he will find that nothing can be moved on the last day of supplementary demands.

Article 172 reads as follows :—

"(5) On the last day fixed for the voting of demands for grants the consideration thereof shall not be anticipated by a motion of adjournment or be interrupted in any other manner whatsoever, nor shall any dilatory motion be moved in regard thereto."

Now, Article 179 (4) reads as follows :—

"The provisions of sub-rule (5) of Special Procedure Rule 15, shall also apply to the voting of demands for supplementary grants under this rule."

But I may inform the honourable members that I personally very much regret that I have not been able to give my ruling. I assure them that I went very carefully through the merits of each adjournment motion and even now I shall be glad to discuss them with the Leader of the Opposition or those who have given notices of the motions, in my room. They are in reality out of order excepting one or two which I am inclined to allow. But the facts mentioned therein are not sufficient. I will give the honourable members an opportunity to come to my room to-morrow at 10.30 a.m. and discuss with me. If they convince me, I shall be glad to allow the adjournment motions to be moved to-morrow.

### SUPPLEMENTARY DEMANDS

#### LAND REVENUE

**Minister of Finance** (The Honourable Mr. Bhim Sen Sachar) : Sir, I beg to move—

That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 12,31,130 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the year ending 31st March 1946, in respect of Land Revenue.

*The motion was carried.*

#### PROVINCIAL EXCISE

**Minister of Finance :** Sir, I beg to move—

That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 3,98,020 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the year ending 31st March 1946, in respect of Provincial Excise.

*The motion was carried.*

## FORESTS

**Minister of Finance :** Sir, I beg to move—

That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 29,30,210 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the year ending 31st March 1946, in respect of Forests.

*The motion was carried.*

## REGISTRATION

**Minister of Finance :** Sir, I beg to move—

That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 12,470 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the year ending 31st March 1946, in respect of Registration.

*The motion was carried.*

## MOTOR VEHICLES AND OTHER TAXES AND DUTIES

**Minister of Finance :** Sir, I beg to move—

That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 1,27,150 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the year ending 31st March 1946, in respect of charges on account of Motor Vehicles and other Taxes and Duties.

*The motion was carried.*

## IRRIGATION WORKING EXPENSES AND OTHER IRRIGATION EXPENDITURE FINANCED FROM ORDINARY REVENUES

**Minister of Finance :** Sir, I beg to move—

That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 24,86,450 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the year ending 31st March 1946, in respect of Irrigation Working Expenses and Other Irrigation Expenditure financed from Ordinary Revenues.

*The motion was carried.*

## IRRIGATION—ESTABLISHMENT CHARGES

**Minister of Finance :** Sir, I beg to move—

That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 18,56,700 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the year ending 31st March 1946, in respect of Irrigation—Establishment Charges.

**Mr. Speaker :** The motion moved is—

That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 18,56,700 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the year ending 31st March 1946 in respect of Irrigation—Establishment Charges.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan** (Pind Dadan Khan, Muhammadan, Rural) : Sir, may I say a few words? I find that the pay of the patwari has been raised to Rs. 25 per mensem in the revised estimates. I consider that the pay of Rs. 25 per mensem is much too small even to enable a single man to meet his monthly expenses. I think considering that the patwari has responsible duties to perform, considering the fact that he is one of the most hard-worked officials in the Punjab, and also considering the fact that probably he is doing more useful work than very highly paid officials, this increase is very, very small. I cannot imagine how a man with a family can carry on with Rs. 25 a month. It is an indirect way of inviting him to receive bribes, 'faslana' and other things. I would ask Government to seriously consider whether they cannot increase his pay to a higher figure. As you are aware, the patwari is the custodian of most valuable revenue records. A slight change in the records can do an enormous amount of harm to the people concerned. It is time that Government should seriously consider whether they will not pay the man in proportion to the work that he does and in proportion to the responsibilities that he has to discharge. I would strongly recommend that the patwari

**(Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan)**  
should receive very serious consideration. I would ask the Finance Minister kindly to consider whether he can increase his salary to a reasonable limit and a living wage. "It is written in the note under this demand—

It is thus but fair that they should be given at least a bare living wage with which they can be reasonably expected to live, without having recourse to 'faslana' and other irregular means.

I would ask Government—at least a few of them who know something of the work and the responsibilities of the patwari—whether Rs. 25 is a living wage for a man who has to keep his position, who has a large family and wants to educate his children and has so many temptations. I would ask Government seriously to consider it at a very early date and increase the salary of the patwari to a reasonable limit.

**Minister for Revenue** (The Honourable Nawab Sir Muzaffar Ali Qizilbash) : Sir, I may assure my honourable friends opposite that I do not consider that a salary of Rs. 25 now-a-days is a decent living wage, and that Government will give full and sympathetic consideration to this matter and will do its level best to afford relief to the patwaris ?

**Mr. Speaker :** The question is—

That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 18,56,700 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the year ending 31st March 1946, in respect of Irrigation—Establishment Charges.

*The motion was carried.*

#### GENERAL ADMINISTRATION

**Minister of Finance :** Sir, I beg to move—

That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 25,69,830 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the year ending 31st March, 1946 in respect of General Administration.

**Mr. Speaker :** The motion moved is—

That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 25,69,830 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the year ending 31st March, 1946, in respect of General Administration.

#### Pay of Officers

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan** (Pind Dadan Khan, Muhammadan, Rural)  
(Urdu) : Sir, I beg to move :—

That the item of Rs. 27,880 on account of Legislatures—pay of officers—be reduced by Rs. 27,879. Sir, I rise to oppose this demand with all the emphasis at my command. As everybody knows, the elections have come to an end. To dwell upon them at any length now would not be of much value, but the bad taste they have left in our mouths needs must be expressed. Now, for the sake of argument, let us take the example of a servant who proves dishonest, and then comes to us for the arrears of his pay. Of course, we do pay his arrears to him, but at the same time we admonish him for his dishonesty and tell him that his conduct has not been what it ought to have been. Similarly the Election Commissioner and his staff have betrayed the trust we had reposed in them. Throughout the elections they have been overtly and covertly helping the Unionist candidates. The whole staff has been dancing to the tune of Government. They went out of their way to do things which can by no stretch of imagination be called legal. I hope those members who are aware of these injustices will lend me their support and cast their votes with me.

Sir, when the British Parliament decided to hold elections in India, the then Government, those enemies of Democracy sitting over there, tried their utmost to postpone them, because they felt that elections would ring the death-knell of their false prestige. But the British Parliament was adamant and the elections were held. During these elections, through the agency of the Election Commissioner and his staff, all the illegal means were adopted to defeat the purpose of Democracy. I give you an example. These elections were held on the basis of five years, old electoral rolls, which were prepared somewhere in 1940. We vehemently protested against it, but no one

paid any heed to us. Some of my honourable friends now sitting on Government benches also raised their protest against it. But they believe in 'inqilab' which means change, and change, as you know, can be for the better as well as for the worse. Now God alone knows in which direction their present 'inqilab' has swayed them. (Laughter). Sir, as I was submitting, the Election Commissioner inflicted many an injury on the public, but the unkindest cut of all came when he decided to hold elections on the basis of old and out of date electoral rolls. Out of the names entered in those lists of voters thousands had died and no one knew anything about them. Hence there was ample scope for the use of unfair means and I assure the House that this scope was fully made use of. Then there were thousands of persons who during the last five years, had become educated or had come of age and hence had acquired the qualification necessary to become a voter. Besides, hundreds of thousands had joined the army and so their names were not on the voters' lists. These are only a few instances. As a matter of fact there were many other reasons too, for which these lists had become obsolete. But the Election Commissioner waived all these objections and held the elections according to them.

Then again the time allotted for the revision of these lists was so short that for the people living in far flung villages and out of the way places it was well nigh impossible to avail of this opportunity. We again protested against this and in this protest the Congress also joined us. But all this protest was of no avail whatever. That is not all. The Election Commissioner issued an order to the effect that the applications of all those who wanted to get their names included in the voters' lists should be accompanied by 12 annas. Sir, I want to draw your attention to the fact that there are people for whom it is difficult to pay even twelve annas. It may be a very paltry sum for the Premier, who has spent thousands of rupees in order to get people's names entered in the lists, but the poor man will think twice before spending 12 annas, because he cannot afford to do so. How unjust it is to ask a poor man to pay 12 annas for enrolment as a voter. Then he had to affix one rupee stamp on the papers for the power of attorney. Then he was wanted to appear before the Deputy Commissioner himself and thus the entire cost for the enrolment could not be in any case less than 8 or 10 rupees. I know that many rich candidates got thousands of voters registered at their own cost but what about the poor voters? I know that in the constituency of Nawab of Mamdot at Ferozepore, whom the Premier considered his arch enemy in politics, thousands of applications of his constituency were rejected mainly on the ground that they had not stated: "Resident of British India". His opponent's supporters too had not written this thing but at the dead of night some officers went there like thieves and added these words on the thousands of applications with the same pen and ink.

**Chaudhri Krishna Gopal Dutt:** The word "thieves" does not sound well coming from Raja Sahib's eloquent tongue.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali:** All right, I will call these officers *Rasterpaties* and *Netajis*.

When the officers were questioned as to why that objection was raised, they replied that it was written in the Election Manual that one should be a resident of British India. We reminded them that it was written in the Manual that one should not be a convicted person or an insolvent person. I want to ask the House whether all these things should be written on the application. No sane person can raise and accept such bogus objections. At Sargodha thousands of the applications were rejected, because the patwari was not present whose evidence was necessary. We wired and made representations of every type to the authorities to the effect that certain officers had been working as election agents for certain candidates but no action was taken. Government did not stop to hear even but they were appointed polling officers at those places. What justice could be expected at their hands? Our entire hue and cry went in vain.



(Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan.)

You ask, is it true? Can you say with a clear conscience that you have not been trampling the law under foot during the recent elections? Is it not a fact that in Gujranwala district, on account of the highhandedness of the Police. . . .

**Mr. Speaker :** I am sorry I will not permit you to speak. I have given my ruling in regard to matters which may come up before Election Tribunals and you have to speak in consonance with it. Otherwise, I will not allow you to speak.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** It is not quite pleasant for me to say these words, but I must say that it is simply not possible to continue the debate under these circumstances. How can I proceed without citing examples? I must say that in such and such district the Police officers helped a certain candidate. These are facts, and my submission is, sir, that you cannot prevent me from stating facts unless the matter is in a court of law, or unless there is a possibility of its being brought before a court of law. It was quite open to you to rule out my cut motion, but now after holding it in order, you cannot prevent me from giving my arguments. I was saying that the Election Commissioner paid no heed to the protests of the public. He completely ignored the different parties contesting the elections. We requested him to transfer those officers who were helping certain candidates against the law, but he did not care. If I do not state these things here, after all what else can be said in this connection? Now that you have not held my cut motion out of order. I have every right to discuss it in proper words.

**Mr. Speaker :** Your cut motion is on account of the failure of the Election Commissioner and his staff to see that elections were held in accordance with the rules. You can speak on that point. But when you name a constituency or even a district, I am afraid, I must object to it. I will not forbid general remarks.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** All right, Sir. I begin with His Excellency the Governor.

**Mr. Speaker :** No. No mention of His Excellency can be made.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** Why are you frightened at the name of the Governor?

**Premier :** I take strong objection to what Raja Sahib has said. It is unparliamentary for him to say that the Speaker is afraid of His Excellency the Governor. He should preserve some sort of decorum.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** Sir, when I said, "You are frightened", I did not mean the Speaker, I meant the Premier. (*Laughter*). As I was saying, sir, we went to the Governor, and told him that the elections were being interfered with, and requested him to declare only this much that the elections are free and that no officer has a right to interfere in the elections, but he did not agree to that even.

**Mr. Speaker :** Your speech must deal with the Election Commissioner and his staff and with the Supplementary Budget.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** Then we went to the Election Commissioner and requested him to provide coloured boxes at the polling booths in order that the secrecy of ballot, which is a fundamental principle of democracy, is maintained, but he did not agree to it. As a result of that the voters had to cast their votes in the presence of the election agents. When we brought this fact to the notice of the Parliamentary Delegation which came here, they could not believe it. It was such an open challenge to the principles of democracy. What will the Cabinet Mission think of this country, when they come to know of these facts? Then, Sir, we requested the Election Commissioner to send for military officers and put them in charge of these elections in different places instead of the officers against whom there were complaints of partiality to certain candidates. These military officers will not know any body and so they will not have any sympathy with any party. But he turned down that

proposal even. I wish the Election Commissioner had gone out of his office to a distance of 10 miles even. He would have seen with his own eyes how these elections were fought against all the rules and laws. The Police would stop every lorry of the Muslim Leaguers on the plea of checking it and turned out all the voters, even if there was only one more person in the lorry than the number of passengers allowed. On the other hand, the Unionists were not interfered with even when their lorries were full to capacity and voters were sitting on the roofs of the lorries. The other parties, like the Akalis and the Congress have also suffered in these elections at the hands of the Police. The Congress suffered less, because there was no strong opposition to it. But our Akali friends have suffered a lot and they have been sending letters and wires to the authorities and have been passing resolutions against the high-handedness of the Police. But even they are mum today. It seems the Ministry has made them forget all that they suffered in these elections and now they are supporting the salary and allowances of that very Election Officer and his staff and are acting as his yes-men, at whose hands they had suffered so much in these elections.

Then, sir, the Election Officer passed an order that any body mentioning the name of God in elections would be arrested. The elections are being held in this country for the last 25 years, but no such order has ever been passed before. No doubt there is such a law in England, but India is not England. Our customs, our habits, our ideas and our very attitude towards life is quite different from the people living in that country. Therefore, it is simply foolish to put their laws in this land without making them suitable to this country and its people. To us, religion and politics are one and the same thing. We cannot recite a single verse of the Holy Quran and it will be applicable to the elections. (*An honourable member*, But in Turkey religion has been separated from politics.) Go to Turkey then. What is one to do with these Congressmen! They cannot even follow what I say. I talk of the East and my friend there talk of the West. In fact, they are suffering from a disease for which I possess no remedy. Even if the name of God is used to influence a voter or to frighten him, no case can be started against such person unless a previous sanction from Government is obtained. The Premier knew that if such cases were started, they would be so numerous that it would be impossible for him to put his initials for their sanction even. Therefore, he empowered the deputy commissioners to institute cases against whomsoever they liked.

**Mr. Speaker :** How is that relevant? What has the Election Commissioner to do with the passing of any such orders?

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** Sir, if I had been an Election Commissioner, I would have refused to obey any such orders passed by this *zalil* Government.

**Mr. Speaker :** That is unparliamentary.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** Sir, even if the word *zalil* is unparliamentary then nothing is parliamentary. My submission is that if this *zalil* Government had asked me to pass such orders I would have resigned and gone back to England. The Election Commissioner should know that in this province of the Punjab there are other European officers. I can mention names, who refused to carry out these orders of the Government and do all these mean things which were required of them. They told them frankly that they had sold their services and not their conscience and that they were born and brought up in the free air of England and that they were not prepared to stoop so low even if they were in India. They are gentlemen and I honour and respect them. But so far as his office is concerned a veritable *undhergardi* prevails in it. Sir, it is not the only duty of the Election Commissioner who draws such a fat salary, that he should prepare lists of voters and see that they are printed clearly, but it is also his duty to see that irregularities are not committed anywhere during the elections. If I remember rightly the Honourable Premier got the dates of elections extended so as to provide an opportunity to the soldiers who were returning home to

[Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan.]

get themselves registered as voters. But this right given to them was restricted by fixing such high qualifications for registering one's name as a voter that only one in a thousand soldiers was able to get this right of vote, and the rest of the applications were thrown in the waste paper basket in the Election Commissioner's office. That was done because the Criminal Investigation Department informed the Premier in time that he should not commit this mistake of giving the right of vote to the soldiers because none of them had any sympathies for the Unionist party. He was told that all the Muslim soldiers had sympathies with the Muslim League, the Sikhs with the Akalis and the Hindus with the Congress. It was, therefore, decided that the Muslim soldiers should not be given the right of vote. Now I think that if we vote for the salary of such an Election Commissioner it will be a matter of shame for us. I beg of them not to bid farewell to their good conscience. I want them to act honestly and fairly. Our demand is that an inquiry should be instituted into this matter so that no Election Commissioner should dare to indulge in such malpractices in future. We have tabled a resolution to that effect but we have been told that it cannot be discussed because there is no time available for it. I know why my friend has refused to allot time for it and why he is anxious that the Assembly should not meet after the 30th March. He is afraid that if this resolution is moved in this House and is opposed by his party the people will come to know as to where the Congress party stands. Has he dreamt that the Assembly session should not be prolonged beyond the 30th of March? I ask, is it against the rules to hold session in the month of April? Yesterday my honourable friend Lala Bhim Sen Sachar made a very good speech and I congratulate him on it. It was very effective or at least it showed his sincerity. I wish he could have the power to put his ideas into practice. I wish he could create confidence in us that he would be in a position to put into practice what he was saying. If he could have done that, our doubts would have been removed. But my fear is that he would also change very soon. Sir, you are aware that if any area is affected with disease only one doctor can cope with the situation, but when it breaks out in an epidemic form, then Government have to appoint many doctors and have to take necessary preventive measures so as to check the spread of the disease. But what has the Government done in this case? The term of the Election Commissioner has been extended and the Honourable Premier has not thought it fit to get the opinion of the House in regard to it. Let me tell him that now the prestige of the Government officers has become very low in the eyes of the people because during the elections the Deputy Commissioners and other officers have been requesting and begging the people to stand and oppose the Muslim League candidates. When they indulge in such things what respect can they command? I can say about my own district that such things have happened there and I am prepared to go to any court of law and give evidence to that effect. As a matter of fact the Honourable Premier told the Deputy Commissioner and the Superintendent of Police of my district that they will have to put up a candidate against Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan.

**Premier :** That is again, Sir, a reference. (*Cries of shame, shame*). Shame for the man who lies.

**Mr. Speaker :** It is out of order.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** Let the Premier say that it is wrong. I will withdraw.

**Mr. Speaker :** It is not a question of right or wrong. You can discuss all this in an election petition.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** I am not going to file an election petition. I am not a candidate.

**Mr. Speaker :** Petition lies on both sides.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** I was just elucidating my point by citing an example, otherwise you know that I am a successful candidate and I will not file an election petition. My contention is only this that the candidate who opposed me in the elections did not want to do so and it was at the instance of the Honourable Premier that he was persuaded by the Deputy Commissioner of my district to stand against me.

**Sardar Jagjit Singh Mann :** Any voter can file an election petition.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** Against whom?

**Sardar Jagjit Singh Mann :** Against anybody.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** He is my old friend and let him say whatever he likes. However I was submitting that the prestige of the Government has suffered so much that it has even gone below zero degree. The Deputy Commissioners and other officers of the Government went to the people and begged them to stand for election and thus keep up their prestige in the eyes of the Premier. The officers have been demoralised to such an extent that when I saw the Deputy Commissioner of my district and congratulated him that at least in his district those irregularities and malpractices have not been indulged in as have been committed in other districts he at once said : "No, no we have done the worst against you" and he became nervous for he felt that if the Governor came to know that he had not opposed the Muslim League candidate so vehemently as he should have done he might transfer him from that district. This is that unfortunate province where officers take pride in indulging in dishonest practices. This is the state of affairs. (*Interruptions*). Now Sir, just think for yourself that a party which puts up 80 candidates in the elections cannot sit idle for six months preceding the elections. It must have adopted some method to put up its candidates. And that method was that it used the Deputy Commissioners, Superintendents of Police, Deputy Inspector Generals and even the Inspector General to put up its candidates for elections. I myself wired to the Election Commissioner several times and I requested him that he should at least transfer the police officers from my district because they were acting dishonestly. Not only that, the Election Commissioner was asked to issue specific instructions to the effect that the agents of every candidate should be entitled to sit in the polling booths and thus see that the votes were being recorded in the proper manner. But what happened actually was that in the beginning the presiding officers let the things go on and when they saw that a particular candidate had got more votes than the other what they usually did was to take the ballot papers in their hands and ask the voter for whom he wanted to vote and on his mentioning the name they would put a crossmark against the name of the candidate for whom they desired the vote to be recorded.

In the recent elections the Election Commissioner has acted against his conscience. He had no right to favour any party or be partial. His judgment has got to be based on justice and equity. He was not a paid servant of any party or any member of the Cabinet. Whenever the partiality of the Election Commissioner has been questioned, he has always replied that he was helpless and had to carry out the orders of the Unionist Government. It will not be out of place to mention here that officers should never sacrifice their conscience and truth for the sake of pleasing any particular party. They should strictly follow the rules and regulations. They should never be led away by any party and should be quite unmindful of whether a certain member is in the good books of the Premier.

The Congress members, I am sure, must not have forgotten the treatment that was meted out to them during the last Unionist Government, but now it seems that the Congress Party have lost their independent individuality and have now become puppets in the hands of the Premier. I wish to point out that my honourable friend Chaudhri Krishna Gopal Dutt tried his best to convince us, but how is it possible for us to be

[Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan.]

convinced by his vague arguments? Does the honourable member agree with what I have just now said? Is the honourable member prepared to join us in our protest against the undue interference caused by the officers under the Unionist influence in the recent elections? The morale of the recent elections was very low, and I am afraid it may sink lower still. The members of the Election Tribunal should not have an arrested mentality. They should not sell their soul to Money God and be slaves of the imperialist Government. I am of the opinion that none lower in status than a Judge of the High Court should be a member of the Election Tribunal. Is the Honourable Premier ready to accede to it? But what can be expected here, when the Unionist Party tried to seek membership of the Central Legislative Assembly through the back-door? There is no iota of doubt in this that only the Muslim League has fought the elections openly.

**Premier :** The Unionist Party had no concern with the Central Legislative Assembly elections.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** I will just now show how the Unionist Party was responsible in causing undue interference in the Central Legislative Assembly elections.

**Mr. Speaker :** I must ask the honourable member to be relevant to the cut motion now before the House.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** Sir, the time fixed for the Central Assembly election petitions has expired and I have a right to discuss this point. Moreover the Central Assembly elections were held under the same Election Commissioner. I wish to bring this point home to the honourable members of this House that in Lyallpur, Mr. Hafiz Abdulla was the Muslim League candidate in the Central Assembly election and Chaudhri Mohammad Qasim was made to contest him. While the elections were going on, the other party managed to arrest all the Muslim League voters in a lorry along with the driver, in a case connected with the alleged theft of petrol. In this connection I am reminded of a couplet which runs as follows :—

خوشتتر آن باشد که سر دلیران      گفته آمد در حدیث دیگران

The independent candidate against Mr. Hafiz Abdulla applied for petrol ration coupons.

**Premier :** The Unionist Party had nothing to do with the Central Assembly elections.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** Of course not, The Honourable Premier had nothing to do with all those happenings! The honourable Premier had nothing to do even with us!

**Mr. Speaker :** Please be relevant and address the Chair.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** I must give a reply to what he has said just now. I do not want to speak about the Unionist Party even in contempt. I think it below my dignity to do so. I am only speaking about the Honourable Premier who is in charge of that department and who is occupying those benches with only four or five members to constitute the so-called Unionist Party. How long will the Honourable Premier go on harping on the achievements of his party? I may inform him and it is an open secret that the Unionist Party has been dead a long time, nay buried. (uproar).

**Mr. Speaker :** The honourable member should proceed with his speech and be relevant.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** Now that the Unionist Party is no more existing on the surface of the earth, it is but meet and proper on the part of the Honourable Premier to think of his future. I was submitting that I personally went to see the

Election Commissioner. I told him that since Mr. Hafiz Abdulla had returned all the coupons of petrol to the authorities concerned, there was no justification for his being challaned. He replied that he did not know what was happening there. (*Interruptions*). Now I would request the Honourable Premier that he should just prepare a list of the unlawful acts he has done in the recent elections, which have made him and his party to cause undue official interference in the elections recently. Thank God, we take things lightly. Otherwise, He only knows how many suits would have been filed in the courts against the Honourable Premier. Two hundred gallons of petrol were given by the Unionist Government to a candidate who polled only two or three votes against the Muslim League candidate. Does the Honourable Premier forget that the Muslim League had an easy walk-over in the recent elections? I would request my honourable friend Pandit Shri Ram Sharma to say a few words in this behalf. May I ask him to let me know if what I have stated just now is correct. I am sure he will also subscribe to my view that it is impossible to quote an instance from anywhere in the world, where 200 gallons of petrol were given to a person who could poll only two or three votes out of 15,000 votes. I am disgusted to discover that in spite of the fact that the Congress have had a bitter experience about the mal-administration the Unionist Party resorted to, during the last Unionist regime, there has not been even a change of comma in their attitude towards the Unionists. They have instead coalesced with them against their conscience. I am addressing the Congress friends opposite. They must join hands with me in protest against the undue interference of the Election Commissioner in the recent elections. He has been a puppet in the hands of the Unionists. The Election Commissioner and the other officers under him cannot reconcile themselves with the decision of their conscience, for fear that they may have to quit their offices if they displease the Unionist Party. They are perfectly conscious that when there is a Government unlike the present Coalition but one based on equity and justice, they shall be judged for their guilt. May I ask the Honourable Premier as to what does it profit him to lower the morale of the officials in the province? It is because of these condemnable actions alone that he finds himself there only with a scanty number of five people to support him. In this connection, Sir, I recollect an interesting incident. Once a gentleman on his return from England was appointed an overseer in the District Board, Sialkot. He was a fashionable young man. When he assumed his duty, he desired to see the spot where the gang had been at work. He was given full particulars of the place. It was very far off, so much so that he had to hire a tonga for five rupees in order to reach there. When he reached the spot he was surprised to see all the workers asleep. He flung into rage and said to one of them. "How is it that all the workers are asleep? Are they not paid for their labour?" Besides that he reproached and reprimanded them a good deal. They were quite unaware of the fact that he was their boss. They asked him not to interfere with their work. At this the overseer got more furious. The workers could not bear that. They took him for an ordinary "babu" and began to beat him with shoes. The tonga driver was witnessing the whole show. The overseer after a good thrashing returned and asked the driver for charges for the return journey. He said, "only two rupees". The overseer agreed and got into the tonga. They had not gone far when the tonga driver said to the overseer, "Sir, if you were to come to such an out of the way place for such an ordinary task, I do not think it wise on your part, for I could do the same at the very starting point". Sir, similar is the case with the Unionist party. They spent lakhs of rupees on the election campaign of these five traitors. What is the use of all this toil and trouble? They have corrupted the Government officials. They have made them dishonest, and through them lost the public confidence. If they had consulted us, I am sure we would have accepted their demand. The Honourable Premier has learnt a bitter lesson from these elections. I shall warn the Government that if their officers stand in our way, we will dash them to the ground. We want honest officers and will always respect them. If an officer

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becomes dishonest on the instigation of the Honourable Premier or his colleagues, we must consider him ignoble.

I would urge upon Government to constitute an inquiry committee comprising of selfless high officials and Judges of the High Court. The business of the committee should be to investigate and bring out the irregularities that have been committed during these elections. I am sure Government have lost the public confidence and they must appoint an enquiry committee to restore confidence.

Sir, I admit that the Congressites went into jails, made sacrifices, bore toils and troubles, but they should not get their reward at the cost of our interests. They should not oppose the proposal about the enquiry committee. The committee, I am sure, will have our approval, provided the officers included are honest. Please let Government officials have a chance to clear their position. I find that some officers have lost the public confidence to such an extent that even the poorest villagers think it below their dignity to show them any respect. Rest assured that we do not want to defeat Government through this committee. We desire to bring to book those officers who have committed most irregularities during these elections.

Sir, I would urge upon Government that the pay of the Election Commissioner's establishment should be withheld and should not be sanctioned, until and unless they come to their senses and realise that they are really public servants. If the Congressites are under the impression that they will impress the public through their established reputation, I can assure them that they will never succeed through such devices. It is now time for constructive work and that is what the public expect from them.

Sir, yesterday the Honourable Mr. Bhim Sen Sachar became such an embodiment of humility and submission that all the verses in Saadi's Gulistan on the subject were applicable to him. But to-day he declines to accept our proposal. I request him to do something constructive rather than just talk, for mere satisfaction without practical work and running away after the session on the 30th of March 1946, would not help him.

Sir, Government seem to be in an unholy hurry to finish with this session. The reason is best known to them, but I assure them that people would not be satisfied with it. My appeal is to the Congress which claims to be an organisation with democratic traditions. I ask, is it democracy? Is it fair to stifle the voice of criticism by making a short shrift of the whole business? Why do they not give us time to place our grievances before them? Why do they not give us time to expose them and the whole machinery of Government to the public? I am really disappointed to see that the Congress which has always been making tall claims of being fairminded and just, is today not prepared to listen to our grievances.

Yesterday the Honourable Mr. Bhim Sen Sachar made an appeal to his sisters on this side or the House, today I appeal to my sisters sitting on the Government benches. From among the Personalities sitting over there I particularly respect and honour one, because she has rendered great services to her country and has certain principles to which she sticks through thick and thin. I ask her if she can say with her hand on her heart that she is happy and content with this present coalition, if she is satisfied with her alliance with a party who have no constructive programme before them and who are shielding the public enemies by not conceding to our demand of an Inquiry Committee?

Then, honourable members on Government benches say that they want time to settle down and when they have consolidated their position then they would do something. This reminds one of a verse from Ghalib :

زہ کو چاہئے ایک عمر اتر دینے تک      کہیں جیتا ہے تیری زلف کے سر ہونے تک

I warn them that time waits for nobody, not even for the Congress. By just raising three or four points of order and delivering four or five speeches, they cannot satisfy the people who want something material. I would ask them to do something, mere lip-service cannot satisfy the crying needs of the people. In order to prove their *bona fides* and show that they have the welfare of the common people really at heart, they must do something practical.

I repeat my demand. It is just and legitimate. Let them come forward and institute an enquiry and they will know what acts of gross injustice have been perpetrated. Now that they have rightly or wrongly come to occupy Government benches, it is their first and foremost duty to prove to the public that the present Government does not bear the same complexion as the previous one did and that it is different, its objects are different, its ideals are different and its intentions are different.

Sir, I am very grateful to you for having afforded me an opportunity to place certain facts before the House. This is a very wide subject. There are certain matters which in my humble opinion are very important and need must be placed before this august House. But I regret to say that on account of repeated interruptions by you I have not been able to do so.

During the elections to the Central Assembly many injustices were done. Superintendents of Police issued definite instructions to their subordinates to take bad characters and ruffians with them and try to persuade the voters by hook or by crook to vote for a certain candidate.

**Mr. Speaker :** Please be relevant and do not bring in the Central elections.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** The Election Commissioner was in charge of the Central elections also. But in deference to your wishes I will confine myself to the provincial elections.

As I was submitting, many injustices and illegalities were perpetrated. For example, Durlu Jathas were sent to intimidate and harass the voters, under the pretence of searching for illegal arms. Voters were questioned about their inclinations and if any body showed his desire to vote for the Muslim League candidate he was threatened, beaten and what not. I can present reliable evidence to show that respectable people were grossly insulted. Again if some one went to bring his voters in lorries or cars, he was waylaid and harassed in all possible manners. Bad characters were posted on the bridges and other places to manhandle people who were not favourably inclined towards the Unionist candidates.

**Lala Kidar Nath Sehgal :** Shame.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** Truth will out in spite of yourself.

مذ کی ہے اور بات مگر خو ہی نہیں      بھولے سے اس نے سہترہ دن دے دیا کلے

Sir, my honourable friends on the treasury benches fully realize that our demand is just and proper, but the trouble is that they are not prepared to do anything practical about it.

Sir, under the circumstances I have related above our hearts were filled with great misgivings, so much so that some of our educated people spent as much as Rs. 500 to see that their nomination papers were filed and no mischief was done. They



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lost all confidence in the Election Commissioner and his staff when they saw that nomination papers were being rejected on such flimsy grounds as a misplaced comma or a bracket.

I ask the honourable members of this House if they can conscientiously vote for this demand out of which the Election Commissioner and his staff, who have thrown all principles of decency and justice to the wind, are to be paid. We on this side of the House are of the opinion, and I hope fair minded members on the other side will also support us, that the payment of the salaries of the Election Commissioner and his staff should be postponed for the time being. The Honourable Premier and Sardar Baldev Singh can pay them from their own pockets. Fortunately they are in a position to do so. If, after the enquiry is over, we are satisfied that the Election Commissioner and his staff have vindicated their position, we shall grant this demand with pleasure. Let the Premier and Sardar Baldev Singh pay them now. There is no harm in borrowing. (*Lahaghter*).

We know the stuff the Premier and Sardar Baldev Singh are made of, and we know that it is no use asking them to do anything. I would, therefore, appeal to the Honourable Mr. Bhim Sen Sachar. He is the leader of a party of 50 members in this House and belongs to the biggest organisation of the Hindus in this country. I most humbly and respectfully request him to appoint an independent committee of inquiry which should thoroughly investigate into the injustices and malpractices of the Election Commissioner and his staff. I assure him that in spite of our differences, my party will lend its fullest and whole hearted co-operation to him. I invite him to step forward and prove that his regime is not a mere substitute for the Unionist regime that has gone before. Let him prove that this is a new regime with new and progressive programme and the welfare of the people at heart.

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

That the item of Rs. 27,880 on account of Legislatures—pay of officers—be reduced by Rs. 27,879.

**Chaudhri Krishna Gopal Dutt** (North-East Towns, General) (*Urdu*): Sir, I am sorry I could not listen to the first part of Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan's speech. I had gone out of the House on some urgent work, therefore, I could not hear his speech fully. I am very much pleased to note his demand for an independent enquiry into the question of the recent General Elections and I congratulate him on this progressive attitude. As far as the demand itself is concerned, it is not a new thing nor is it a League demand. I dare say that it was the Congress who always championed the cause of such liberties and always openly condemned all such mischievous acts. I again want to declare that this demand has been our demand and the Muslim League has merely tried to take a leaf out of the Congress book. As the great poet Allama Iqbal has said.

آزا کی قہریوں نے طوطوں کے بند بپٹن کے  
چمن والوں نے مل کر لوٹ لی طرز نقار میوی

I want to assure everybody that if there is any reality in these allegations, then we will not lag behind and will not take rest as long as these wrongs are not rectified and the guilty persons are not punished. I cannot deny that this type of allegations are being made in the Province and as a congressman I want to assure everybody that if there is any truth in them, then I will be the first person to raise my voice against it. In the past, we used to point out the irregularities in elections and tried to establish this very allegation but at that time Raja Sahib used to suppress our voice and to-day that very Raja Sahib is demanding an open enquiry in the name of civil Liberties. It is a great change, rather I should call it a revolution. I want to assure my friends that we have assumed the reins of Government and we are fully aware of our responsibilities. Believe me, we will never hesitate to do our duty and when we feel that we

are unable to do so, then we know what to do next. I am sure, Sir, that if Raja Sahib had been on the Government benches to day, he would not have made such irresponsible statements. Although he is not in power, yet I wish that he should be more responsible and should hesitate from uttering such things. No responsible person will behave like that. (*Hear, hear*).

I want to declare on the floor of this august House that a new era has started and whatever will happen in this era, we will be prepared to take its responsibility. I want to assure every friend of mine that we will not permit any ugly thing in this new era. To-day we are laying down some broad and glorious principles and we firmly believe that old and rotten policies are today buried along with that old order. The old order is dead.

A general cry was raised against official interference in elections in the entire Punjab and, Sir, I cannot refrain from saying that the Congress Party still sticks to its glorious principles and will always welcome any such move. But my friends opposite should think twice before making any such demand, because there are allegations against those officers too who helped the Muslim League candidates. The Enquiry Committee will bring into light all these facts and then what will they think? No doubt Government servants have interfered in the recent elections, but on which side? They have been helping the Muslim League. In fact, most of my friends in Opposition would not have been here if the officers had not helped them in these elections. (*Hear, hear*). The Musalman lambardars, the Musalman zaildars, the Musalman deputy commissioners, in fact all the Musalman officers were under the influence of the Muslim League propaganda. The cry of 'Islam in danger' had moved their sentiments and therefore they wanted the Muslim League to win in these elections. Anybody who opposed the Muslim League candidate was dubbed a traitor, disbeliever and even 'Kafir'. People were frightened in the name of God. Most of the Hindus, too, believe in one God. That is quite a different thing. Here many Musalmans who were otherwise good Muslims and very good men, were brought to disgrace only because they were opposed to the Muslim League candidates. Well, Sir, my contention is that when a party demands free elections, the elections must be free from all outside influences. The Muslim League Party today is demanding the same thing which the Congress has been demanding for long. But let me inform my Muslim League friends that this demand of theirs is not based on any genuine feelings. It is a mere 'jhut' (lie) and 'riakari' (show). (*Interruptions*).

**Mr. Speaker:** Please do not say 'jhut' and do not say 'riakari'. Both these words are un-parliamentary. Please make the speech relevant to the motion.

**Chaudhri Krishna Gopal Dutt:** I was only answering some of the points raised during the debate by my friends opposite. Had the Congress demanded this enquiry, it would have been quite fair, because it is the aggrieved party. But it does not lie in the mouth of the Muslim League to make such demands. Raja Sahib knows it that if the officers had not helped the Muslim League candidates, they would never have been successful. This sort of enquiry will prove very embarrassing for them. (*Voices: No.*) It will go against them. I am of the opinion that all those officers who have taken part in these elections against rules should be punished after holding an enquiry. (*Cheers*).

**Premier (The Honourable Malik Sir Khizar Hayat):** I have heard with attention the speech by Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan. He has roamed over a very wide field. Some of the instances he has mentioned are such that I will also commit the same breach if I reply to them. He was quoting instances from districts which will be the subject matter of election petitions. As he himself said there will be independent tribunals and they will go into this question.

[Premier.]

His other allegation against the Government was about the framing of electoral rolls. He knew that the previous electoral rolls had been prepared long ago. It was only additions that were now made and the Government was not to make any revenue or to get any money out of it. The problem was simply how to keep out bogus voters. If we had not levied the fee of 12 annas, there would have been countless bogus voters. It was to prevent bogus voters from being registered that this check was imposed. If a voter is not prepared to pay even twelve annas for being registered, I do not think he has any right to exercise any franchise. He had to pay twelve annas only to show that he was not a bogus applicant. Everybody had the right to come and get himself enrolled. All facilities were provided and the mere fact that 30 per cent to 40 per cent increases resulted, shows that anybody who wanted to get himself enrolled was able to do so. Raja Sahib made capital of the fact that in certain constituencies there were no additions made and in other constituencies there were 30 per cent to 50 per cent additions. The reason is simple. In places where organised parties had set up their candidates, the additions to rolls were many. In other places few additions were made. In some constituencies 30 per cent to 40 per cent increases were made. That does not show any official interference.

I stand on the floor of this House to deplore any official interference in elections. I stand for purity of elections, but the difficulty is this that in certain matters when feelings run high, you cannot keep every officer within the Government Servants Conduct Rules. The Congress Party say they do not take the responsibility for the past. I shoulder the responsibility for the past and share the optimism for the future. I must make it clear that where an official has taken part in politics, due notice of his action will be taken. The question is, who is to enquire? (*Interruptions*). If we have an unofficial enquiry, no good is going to come out of it. Necessarily it must be a committee of officials or an official agency and can we have a better committee of officials than the tribunals that are going to be appointed and about which Raja Sahib spoke so much? It is the province of the tribunals to enquire if an officer has gone wrong. It has been said that I tried to influence officers to support certain candidates. There is nothing further from the truth than that I coerced the officials to help the Unionists in the elections. Had it been a fact that I had all the official machinery in the Punjab at my back, would I have had just this handful of men sitting with me here? I do not want to say a word that may revive the controversy, but I want to get the services to conform to the Government Servants' Conduct Rules. I want to forget and forgive about the past and appeal to the services to rise to the highest standard of democracy so that in future there shall be purity of elections.

The Election Commissioner has been made a victim. I know that there is hardly a more independent officer. I am unable to cite a more capable and impartial officer in the Civil Service of the Punjab. He has earned the praise of all parties. But why has he been singled out? I am not imputing motives when I say that a smoke-screen is being created in order to defend and save those officials who had helped the Muslim League. Government would take notice of such officials when necessary. But I am prepared to forgive and forget those who have worked against my party.

**Chaudhri Salah-ud-Din :** But the Muslims cannot forget your atrocities.

**Premier :** The Muslims are my brethren.

**A Member :** No, no, you are a traitor.

**Premier :** It is my misfortune if some of them think that about me. But I hope a day will come when they will be convinced of my *bona fides*. They have been trying Fascist methods. I have to appeal to them to apply Islamic methods. They have been moving in the Fascist way and they cannot see good in anybody who does not belong to their ranks; anybody who has got the courage to say 'no' to some one.

As I said yesterday, peace would have been brought about between the various sections but for the long distance call. (*Hear, hear*). Nobody had the courage to stand against that long distance call. I have already said, "Apply Islamic principle, let us have democracy within this dominion and province of ours". I made it plain when we were speaking about the Central Assembly that the Unionist party has nothing to do with the Centre or its controversies. That is why we did not put up any candidate for the Centre. If an independent candidate was guilty of doing something against the Defence of India Rules or something else, why should I be blamed? I am not to be blamed. (*An honourable member*: Who asked Kasim to stand for the Central Assembly?) On the floor of this House I repeat that I had nothing to do with Kasim nor did I instigate him to stand. If there is an enquiry, if there had been purity of elections, then all the elections which have been held should be declared null and void. The poor innocent voters have been duped by my friends there. They know it and we know it. Reference was made to the coloured box system and secrecy of the ballot. The existing Rules were not introduced by this Government. They have been in existence from a very long time. They were in existence when most of my friends sat here and they were in existence in the 1937 elections when the majority of members opposite belonged to this party. Then nobody objected. Perhaps one fellow, Chaudhri Krishna Gopal Dutt made some noise then.

**Mr. Speaker**: I ruled yesterday that the word 'fellow' used for an honourable member is not parliamentary.

**Premier**: I shall substitute the words 'friend and colleague'. Now as regards the secrecy of the ballot nobody wants to destroy the secrecy of the ballot. Originally we had secrecy of the ballot. But allegations were made that money was paid to certain presiding officers who did the marking. Marking could not be done away with, the state of society being what it is for the lack of education. Therefore, for illiterate voters agents can be called in from both sides and the marking is done in their presence. That is not breaking the secrecy of the ballot when it can be avoided. As for the coloured box system my honourable friends know that there was a coloured box system in the Frontier elections. Who objected to it there? It was the Muslim League. If the result is unfavourable to them under the coloured box system, then, they say they do not like it. If it is unfavourable to them under the other system then they say that that is not good. I do not mind any system, but I only want purity of elections.

**Chaudhri Salah-ud-Din**: Why did you turn out the polling agents in Hoshiarpur?

**Premier**: I would have replied to that question if it were not the subject of an elections petition.

It was mentioned that a delegation came from England. My friends who are advocates of independence did not behave as such. They were running after the delegation as if those people had come as saviours. They were keen to entertain them. Who kept them in their houses? Who danced attendance on them? (*Hear, hear*). What can these delegation-wallahs do? There is another mission at present in Delhi. It is not to give us a prescription of independence or freedom. They can only tell you, "We did this in England." It is not they that are going to give us freedom. What is going to bring freedom is the Hindu, Muslim and Sikh unity and it is not the parliamentary delegation or any other authority that can confer this. It is not as if they are going to open their bags and give you freedom. They can only make proposals. It is only if we go before them with a solution that we can get freedom. What do we find in the Punjab? From 1937 to 1946 we had worked a really Punjabi Government which you can also call a Pakistan Government, a pure Government. (*Cries of shame*).

**Mr. Speaker**: I appealed to the Leader of the Opposition and he agreed not to use the word 'shame' which is unparliamentary.

**Premier :** I have nothing to say if my honourable friends feel pained and ashamed.

As the time at my disposal is short I will only refer to notification under section 171. That section has been there from 1921. But what I did was that instead of keeping the power with Government I got it transferred to the District Magistrate by delegation, for if I had allowed any prosecutions, there would have been allegations that the party in power is improperly allowing prosecutions under section 171. For this reason I transferred those powers to the impartial District Magistrate. I do not see any reason why this should be criticised. I have not brought in or enacted any new section.

Then it was said that soldiers have not been allowed to vote. I stood up for the right of soldiers and I wanted them to vote. We wanted time so that the soldier can come and vote and get himself enfranchised. Who made a noise at that time? It was said that the Unionist party wanted to delay the elections and so everything had to be done in a hurry. I admit that many soldiers have not been able to exercise their right of franchise, but it was the fault of the other side. The responsibility does not rest on this side of the House.

*The Assembly then adjourned till 2-30 p.m.*

*The Assembly re-assembled at 2-30 p.m. of the clock. Mr. Speaker in the Chair.*

**Premier :** Sir, I was winding up my remarks when the House adjourned. I have only a few more observations to make.

It has been said that the present Government had brought in Section 171 in order to over-awe people during the elections. I pointed out that this Section has been a part of the law of the land since the year 1921 or thereabout. It was not added by the present Ministry or the present Government. The only difference was that the sanction to launch prosecutions rested with the Local Government. As the party in power was also contesting the elections, I thought that if we retained that power it might be open to criticism. So all I did was that I said that instead of the Local Government exercising that power, it should be delegated to the District Magistrates who are impartial people and who in any case have to try these cases. That cannot, by any stretch of imagination, be brought in as a criticism against the Government.

Then, Raja Sahib, in his eloquence, went on to say that bogus candidates had been set up by some people. Out of the people contesting some may be genuine and some might be of the variety to which Raja Sahib has referred. Who can stop such people from putting in their nomination papers? But I ask, can an application of a candidate form a legitimate charge and be brought against the salary of an Election Commissioner, that is, why a particular gentleman put himself up for election? It cannot be a charge against the Ministry, it cannot be a charge against the Election Commissioner. It might be questionable conduct on the part of that particular gentleman but nobody else can be held responsible for it. (An honourable member: Hold an inquiry.) There is no question of inquiry. (Shame, shame, from opposition benches). The law allows that man, whether he has support or no support behind him to stand for election. He might forfeit his security but he has the right. There might be a remedy before the Election Tribunal but to bring that as a criticism against the Ministry or the Election Commissioner is entirely irrelevant. (Interruption).

Then Raja Sahib went on to say that his party was put to the expense of paying five hundred rupees in order to get their nomination papers put in properly. Why they should spend that amount, I do not know, but if they took that extra care, they were well advised. They cannot launch that as a sort of attack against the party in power. I am not referring here to anything that pertains to election petitions but I am just mentioning an instance. There were nine members in a particular constituency who were all ruled out. (Interruptions).

**Mr. Speaker :** Please bear in mind that I have over-ruled specific instances to be given.

**Premier :** I was only saying that people of this party were ruled out. All right, I shall not refer to them.

Raja Sahib said that the party in power had made the officials to work for them. Here I think the boot is on the other foot. My honourable friends on the opposite side said that they were the future rulers of the Province and, therefore, woe be to the man who did not work with them. I am not referring to any particular instance because I am not allowed to do so. I am only referring to what happened. As I have said, if it were not for the defective and dilatory legal system the whole election would have been held nullified. The state of affairs was such that there was no freedom of opinion left either in villages or in towns and cities. Various social measures were adopted against anybody who differed. In such a state of affairs, leaving aside official interference, can they say that there was any election? I would, therefore, say that elections in this particular year have been far from free elections.

I do not want to go on arguing at such length but this much I must say, that this cut motion made against the salary of the Election Commissioner is no remedy for these evils. If my honourable friends over there want to remedy these evils, they should first get themselves over that mental fever. They should think of coming closer together, they should think of wider and higher issues and if we get together, then sitting together we could perhaps devise ways and means so that free elections could take place, otherwise this imported plant of democracy that has been brought here, has no hope of flourishing. If we go the way we are going, there is no hope whatever of democracy flourishing. I would appeal to the other side of the House not to bring in sectarianism or communalism. I am sorry to say that some members on the other side of the House brought it in. I want to plead for communal harmony and better understanding and if we achieve it we will have our independence and free elections and real Government in this Province which will be the Government of the Punjabis, by the Punjabis and for the Punjabis. (*Hear, hear*).

**Chaudhri Muhammad Hasan** (Ambala and Simla, Muhammadan, Rural) (*Urdu*) : Sir, I am struck by appalling fear when I rise here to speak before you, but I have not been as yet thought to succumb to such fear while defending the legitimate rights and placing the genuine grievances of my community before this House. The subject of our to-day's discussion has been the unwholesome atmosphere in which the recent elections were carried on. In some of the districts and ilaqas contemptuous interference was caused by the district authorities and zaildars, lambardars and members of the co-operative societies. They held official meetings and unanimously decided to compel by force, directly or otherwise, to make the ignorant people vote for the Unionist candidates. Let me make it clear that such underhand means were used not only against the Muslim League candidates, but also against the Congress candidates, and I am puzzled to see my Congress friends opposite deliberately sleeping over the matter without any reference to happenings. In fact more Congress candidates than those of the Muslim League have suffered at the underhand and unbecoming methods used by the Unionist party during the last elections. Still the Congress party chooses to keep silent over it. Why should it be so? Is it only to camouflage the secret hatred which the Congress party has for the Unionists?

Sir, I am ashamed to see that there is none on the Congress benches to question the Government for the shameful incidents that take place from time to time in this province as a result of bad administration. In this connection I would like to bring a personal experience to the notice of the Government.

Once a gentleman went to see a Sub-Divisional Magistrate. He, though free, refused to interview him and began to reproach him instead without any reason. The

[Ch. Muhammad Hasan.]

gentleman could not tolerate this insult, and in return began to abuse him. The Sub-Divisional Magistrate asked him to leave the place, but he refused saying that it was a public place and not the property of his father. He added: "If you want to see me off, call for the police, otherwise I will not move an inch from this place. I have seen numerous unreasonable people like you." Sir, I would mention for the information of the House that I was also present there, and I was much moved by the incident. Now I find that it has been through the instigation of Government that some officers have become accustomed to such behaviour. Is it not in the fitness of things to punish such officers? I would rather suggest that the Government should dismiss them. The Honourable Ministers should not weigh themselves in gold, but in the interest of good administration should punish the unjust and unfair officers. During these elections Government officials tried their level best to support the Unionist candidates against those of the Muslim League. In this connection I would like to move the honourable Premier to realise that above him there is another power and that is the will of God. It is, I think, through this power that the Unionist party, in spite of the favourable official pressure, has totally failed in its efforts and now exists no more.

Now, Sir, I would like to say a few words about social boycott. I think, it is not a bad instrument. It has been in force in every country. It is absurd to say that social boycott should not be used. Even the villagers have been accustomed to this practice from times immemorial. I want to urge upon the supporters of non-violence that this old instrument has proved very useful.

Sir, every member of my party has a right to bring to the notice of Government their personal experiences about these elections. I feel that if these experiences were to be related before you, they will simply make your hair stand on ends. The Honourable Premier calls himself a patriot and a supporter of Hindu-Muslim unity, but we know full well that in fact he is out to defeat the Muslim League.

In the end, Sir, I would urge upon Government that the pay of the Election Commissioner's establishment should not be sanctioned.

**M. Said Akbar Khan** (Gujar Khan, Muhammadan, Rural) (*Urdu*): Sir, I consider it my first and foremost duty to thank Chaudhri Krishna Gopal Dutt, who has admitted that irregular and unfair means had been prevalent during these elections. He with 'ifs' and 'buts' admits that the Enquiry Committee is highly essential at this time. He is committed to support the proposal for constituting this committee.

Sir, now I will refer to the Election Commissioner, Mr. MacDonald.

**Mr. Speaker**: The honourable members should not attack the Election Commissioner personally. Responsibility lies on the Ministry.

**Chaudhri Muhammad Hasan**: And their agents as well.

**M. Said Akbar Khan**: Sir, it is not a hidden secret that the Unionist candidates have made use of the official influence during these elections.

**Mr. Speaker**: Is the honourable member speaking from his seat?

**M. Said Akbar Khan**: I will go to my seat, Sir.

**Mr. Speaker**: I would like to inform the honourable members of the House that they should speak only from their seats.

**M. Said Akbar Khan**: All right, Sir, I was referring to the election campaign. Sir, I remember that even Netaji's elder brother, Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose, admits that Government officials in the Punjab did practice irregularities during the elections.

As to Chaudhri Krishna Gopal Dutt, Sir, I am compelled to take pity on him when he uses "ifs" and "buts" in connection with the Enquiry Committee. He had quoted a line from Iqbal:—

چمن والوں نے مل کر لوت لی طرز فغان میری

I admit that we have looted his freedom, patriotism and civil liberty, and that nothing is left with him. But I would ask, what has become of his tall talks? Where is the adult franchise gone to? What has become of their propaganda that they have carried on for long for freedom and democracy? Their party leader says that the person who cannot afford to pay 12 annas has no right to become a voter. He should realise that 12 annas is a big amount for the poor, they are not the honourable Malik Khizar Hayat Khans financially.

My honourable friend Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan in his speech dealt with the electoral rolls at some length. I also want to make a few submissions in this connection. The Unionist Government arranged to have the names of those soldiers who were serving outside this province, entered in the voters' lists. But when they came to know that a majority of the soldiers were sympathetically inclined towards the aspirations of the Muslim League, they tried to prevent them from exercising their votes. What could be more unjust? Those soldiers who had been sent out to fight for freedom, liberty and justice were so unjustly prevented from their legal right of exercising their votes. Only 5 per cent soldiers were allowed to exercise their votes and all of them voted for the Muslim League, because they are fully convinced that Muslim League is the only representative body of the Indian Musalmans.

Then, Sir, there were many other ways in which the Unionist Government tried to play foul. For example, the election programmes were made in such a manner as to cause maximum inconvenience to the voters. I will give an example. There is a certain village which has two parts. In one part of it a polling station was set up, but for the other part a polling station was set up at a distance of some ten miles. This was done just to put the voters to inconvenience and trouble. I fail to understand what harm would have come and to whom it would have come if the same polling station had been used for the whole of the village. Then in the Rawalpindi district there are many villages which are so far flung that it takes four days to reach there, starting from the tahsil headquarters. Such places are seldom visited by the officers. Again, the time limit for amendment of electoral rolls was so short that it was impossible for the residents of such out of the way places to receive information, come to the headquarters, get their names entered in the voters' lists and then exercise their votes. Again, the procedure of recording evidence, etc., was very strict as if a murder case was being tried. Stumbling blocks and discouraging objections were raised at every step. For example, if a lambardar was not available for some reason or the other, the officer concerned would not proceed any further. Again, if an ex-soldier came to get his vote entered in the electoral roll he was required to produce his discharge certificate and if it was not handy, it must be sent for from no matter where. If some one had passed his primary standard in 1892, he must produce the discharge certificate, and if he could not produce it, well, nothing could be done.

Sir, that is not all. Special transfers, promotions and reversions of officers took place on the eve of and during the elections. All those officers who were suspected of being sympathetic towards the Muslim League were transferred to far off places and those officers who were the faithful servants of the Unionist Government were posted to such places where they could be most useful. On similar considerations promotions and reversions took place. Then squares of land were freely distributed among those who had carried out the illegal wishes of the Unionist Government. On the other hand, those who were suspected of being sympathetic towards the Muslim League were put to all sorts of inconveniences.



**[M. Said Akbar Khar.**

These grievances are genuine. I challenge the Government in general and the Congress party in particular to appoint an independent inquiry committee in order to investigate these grievances and see for themselves whether our allegations are true or not. Let those non-officials in whom the Congress party has confidence, conduct this inquiry on impartial lines and I assure you that if any Muslim officers are found guilty of the abovementioned charges they will not be spared or dealt with leniently.

**Khan Abdul Sattar Khan** (Mianwali North, Muhammadan, Rural) (Urdu): Mr. Speaker, I rise to make a few submissions about the subject under discussion. When it was announced that the elections would be held, we had hoped that these elections would be conducted in an atmosphere of justice and fairplay. Instructions were issued to all the officers of the Punjab Government to keep above party politics and not to interfere in anybody's rights of vote by persuading or dissuading him to vote for one party or not to vote for another. So far so good. But when the elections came all those instructions were thrown to the wind and the Election Commissioner and his staff openly did things which any democratic government on the face of the earth would be ashamed of doing.

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پہنچے ہیں لہو دیتے ہیں تعلیم مساوات

The essential spirit of the elections lies in the freedom with regard to the right of vote. But if there is to be interference and pressure from one side or the other then the very object of election is defeated. I need not dwell upon what happened here during the elections. Everybody knows it. It is crystal clear that the Election Commissioner and his staff not only failed to discharge their duties, but went out of their way to help one party at the cost of another. In view of this fact I am of the opinion that this demand should not be granted.

Then, Mr. Speaker, in reply to our demand for an independent inquiry, the Premier alleged that Muslim officers had also been showing partial treatment to the Muslim League candidates. I tell him and his colleagues with all the emphasis at my command that if Muslim officers are found involved in any such activities, they shall not escape the punishment they deserve. They shall be severely dealt with. Let me make it clear to the Premier that he cannot deceive or put us off with such lame excuses.

Then, Sir, it has been said that such an inquiry would poison the atmosphere of the province and create communal bitterness. I regret to say that this tall talk of communal harmony is a mere slogan which is repeated so often for propaganda purposes. I warn you, communal harmony is impossible. We are poles apart. We are running like parallel lines, we can never come together. This hope of a Hindu-Muslim unity is a mirage, it is a fraud.

**Mr. Speaker :** Withdraw the word ' fraud ' please.

**Khan Abdul Sattar Khan :** I withdraw it. I was saying that Hindu-Muslim unity is impossible. This is a slogan with which the public is being deceived. Between us there is a schism which no powers on earth can bridge. We are two different nations and there is no love lost between us.

Coming to the elections again, I would submit that in order to fulfill the spirit of elections, the officers appointed for this work must be very impartial. But unfortunately this has not been the case. Even those members now sitting on Government benches have admitted the fact that interference did take place. But I fail to understand why they evade the appointment of an inquiry committee. It is our definite and urgent demand that an independent and impartial inquiry should be held immediately so that those dishonest officials should be exposed and brought before the public, who have been responsible for illegal interference and repression of freedom with regard to the right of vote.

Now I will give you a few instances from my own district. The Election Commissioner has paid no heed to what has been going on there. Once the orders were issued that no official shall interfere in the free and spontaneous exercise of vote, but after that no one saw to it that those orders were carried out. In my district those persons who were involved in law suits were told that if they would vote for the Unionist candidates, their cases would be decided favourably. (*Cries of shame, shame*). In the northern part of Mianwali false cases of breach of peace were brought against Muslim League voters. In spite of the fact that the Superintendent of Police repeatedly said that his inspectors and sub-inspectors were there to see that no breach of peace occurred, the Sub-Divisional Officer persisted in his efforts to prove those false cases. He sent false reports in order to malign the Muslim League voters.

I do not want to take any more time of the House in discussing this matter, but I must once more repeat that the Election Commissioner and his staff have grossly violated the basic principles of democracy and justice. They have betrayed the confidence reposed in them by the general public.

Now I come to another matter. The Hon'ble Minister for Finance was pleased to remark that had his party not coallected with the Unionist and the Akali parties, Section 93 would have been promulgated in this province, which would have been worse than anything. Let me remind him that by giving up office in other provinces the Congress has been responsible for the promulgation of Section 93 on more than one occasion in the past. I want to make it clear beyond all doubt that Section 93 would have been far better than the present unholy Coalition Ministry. (*Cheers*).

Sir, I want to stress this point that this question must be referred to an independent enquiry. I appeal in the name of justice that an independent enquiry must be made.

My honourable friends are afraid of section 93. They argue that they have accepted office in order to save the province from section 93 rule. I want to tell them on the floor of the House that we consider 93 rule better than theirs. It is definitely better than the present unjust regime. I want to assure them, that for the sake of office we cannot sacrifice our principles. The Congress party's present attitude is awfully strange. Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru utters something and my friends practise something else. I do not hesitate to declare that thrice the Ministry was offered to us and thrice we refused it. We value our principles more than a Ministry. We expect a just and right policy from the Congress and the present demand for an independent enquiry is simply just and legitimate. Why do they not come forward and accept the challenge and start an independent inquiry? To-day some people are saying that some Muslim officers have taken too the side of the Muslim League and in the case of an independent enquiry too they will suffer and stand to lose. I tell those friends who are thinking in these terms that we condemn the actions of all such officers and demand an open enquiry against all. To-day we have afforded the Congress an opportunity to show courage and now they should join us in our just demand for an independent enquiry committee. They should prove practically now that the views expressed by Lala Bhim Sen Sachar were his genuine feelings and he seriously adheres to them. Our demand is a just demand and we have a right to demand an independent enquiry against all these allegations. I wonder why my honoured friends over there do not accept this simple demand of ours. I ask these champions of civil liberties and freedom, what has happened to their claims now? Why do they hesitate to punish the real criminals? Why do they not come forward and join us in punishing these monsters?

Sir, those Deputy Commissioners who interfered in the general elections cannot be tolerated and it is the duty of every citizen to punish them. To-day unfortunately the opposite benches are raising cries against some officers who could not be misled

[Khan Abdul Sattar Khan]

and they are to-day being condemned by those benches. I will remind them that it is the duty of every right thinking person to demand a real enquiry against every person who has committed any such crime.

**Sardar Kapoor Singh** (Ludhiana, East, Sikh, Rural) (*Urdu*): Sir, I too would like to say a few words in this connection. Every body knows that there has been official interference in the elections, both provincial and central. (*hear, hear*). But so far as this interference on the part of the officers is concerned, the hon'ble members who were candidates are also to blame to a great extent. (*A voice: Kindly elucidate*). My hon'ble friend Chaudhri Mohd. Hasan is feeling perturbed. Let him say with clear conscience whether it is not a fact that Government officers have helped him and Raja Inait Khan in Ambala and Ludhiana districts. (*Prolonged Interruptions*) I will not say anything further in this connection. My contention is that we should never bring in these Government officers in these elections. My hon'ble friend Chaudhri Mohd. Hasan has himself been going to Government servants for their help in his election. I would request my friend to have a uniform standard of judgment. If official interference is bad, it is bad whether it is on his side or against him. I know that the services should keep aloof from the elections, but my hon'ble friend criticises all those officers who have not helped him. He always does that. Whenever he brings a charge against an officer, it is because he has some personal grudge against the man, but if some officer has helped him, he is prepared to go to any length to defend him. (*interruptions*).

**Chaudhri Muhammad Hasan**: Sir, what is he talking about? Have you been able to make head or tail of his speech?

**Mr. Speaker**:—If you only let me hear.

(*Interruptions from the Opposition benches*).

**Mr. Speaker**: Please be sporting. You have made all sorts of statements and you wanted the other side to listen. When they say something which you dislike, you make so much noise. Please do not tax my patience too much.

**Sardar Kapur Singh**: As I was saying, Sir, the members too are responsible for this interference of the officers. They should never approach the officers. They should not give them any opportunity to come to their help. We are in favour of an enquiry. The Government officers have helped us as well as the other side in these elections. But most of the Muslim officers have helped the Muslim League because they were anxious to make it a success. I remember the case of a person, who was a candidate in these elections on the Congress ticket, against Muslim Leaguer, but he was opposed to the utmost by the officers only because they wanted the Muslim League to be successful. I would request my honourable friends to keep in view both the sides of the picture. They should consider the entire story. They should not go on blaming the other party and harp on their own innocence. With these few words, Sir, I resume my seat.

**Chaudhri Fazal Ilahi**: (Gujrat North, Muslim, Rural) (*Urdu*): Sir, to-day we are discussing a demand which was put forward by Raja Sahib in the House. It is such a reasonable demand that no one should object to it. All the members who have spoken on this demand up till now are unanimous in this view that the officers had interfered in these elections, and that enquiry in this matter should be held. I am sorry to say that in spite of the fact that the Congress members admit that there had been official interference in the elections, they oppose this demand for enquiry. I think the Congress Party has forgotten all its previous principles about which it used to talk so loudly. They know if this enquiry is held the five Muslim members who are with them at present, shall be found guilty and shall be un-seated and thus the Congress ministers will be deprived of their

jobs. (*Hear hear*). From the very beginning, from 1920, it was the demand of that Party that the elections should be free from official pressure, but now when the 80 members of the Muslim League have come forward with this demand, they would not accept it. So far as my district is concerned those persons who were arrested, are still alive there who were wrongly implicated in false cases and put in judicial lock-up because they were supporters of the Muslim League. On the other side, some people who were charged under section 304 were released on bail simply because they had promised to support the Unionist candidate. They say if this enquiry is held, it will go against the interests of the Muslim League. But is that an argument? We say, let there be an independent enquiry in this matter and whoever is found guilty in this respect, whether he is a Muslim, Hindu or Sikh, should be punished. Any officer who has either helped the Muslim League or the Congress or the Akalis, should be dealt with severely. We do not say, do not hold enquiries against the Muslim officers. We say, let there be an independent enquiry and any body who is found guilty in this matter, whether he is a small officer or a big one, be punished accordingly. (*Hear, hear*). They say they had been bringing forth such demands and that such demands look proper only when they are put forward by them. I think, they ought to have been thankful to us for this demand and should accept it without any hesitation. If it is a just and fair demand my friends should support it. They should forget where Raja Sahib used to sit five or six years ago. This is the proper time for holding this inquiry because in the Punjab elections have never been held in this manner in the past and this should not happen in future. A demand has been made from this side that an inquiry should be instituted into the recent general elections and it has been supported by my friends over there. Now what is the hitch in accepting this suggestion? I do not think that any time other than the present can be more proper for holding this inquiry. This inquiry should be instituted so that in future no body may have the courage to interfere in the elections and indulge in such malpractices. Sir, there are hundreds of such instances where officers at the instance of the Honourable Premier refused to give people their quotas of sugar and cloth, simply because they were supporting the Muslim League candidates. The Muslim voters were told that they could not get these articles (*cries of shame shame*). I know several instances where the cases pertaining to *sufedposhies* and *zaildaries* were postponed from 3 to 4 months so that all the candidates for *sufedposhies* and *zaildaries* might support and give their votes to the Unionist candidates in the hope that they would be appointed as *sufedposhes* or *zaildars*. (*shame, shame*). Similarly even criminal cases were postponed and the accused in those cases were let off on the promise that they would support the Unionist candidates. Besides, many other irregularities have been committed by Government, but the Election Commissioner had not the courage to interfere in such matters. Hundreds of wires and thousands of letters were sent to Government complaining that the officers were interfering in elections but no notice was taken. Government, have all these complaints with them but they do not want to take any action. As a result of all these complaints Government issued a notification forbidding Government officers to interfere in elections. But did it produce any effect? No. They issued that notification because they had reasons to believe that Government officers were interfering in elections. Now if they were sincere in issuing that notification let them accept our suggestion for its object can now best be achieved by appointing an inquiry committee which will hold inquiries into all the allegations and those against whom they are established must be brought to book.

**Chaudhri Bahawal Bakhsh :** (South East Gujrat, Muhammadan, Rural) (*Urdu*): Sir, I entirely agree with what my honourable friend who preceded me has stated. In fact, wherever, we go this is the story on the lips of everybody. I ask, can my honourable friends lay their hands on their hearts and say that up till now they have not heard anything about this matter? Can they say that during the recent general elections irregularities have not been committed and atroci-

(Ch. Bahawal Bakhsh)

ties have not been perpetrated? They know that full well. It is only by way of formality that they get up and condemn the actions of such officers who interfered during the elections. This is not at all fair. They should do something to bring the culprits to book. In fact elections have been held in a manner which is against the spirit and letter of the law. As an Urdu saying goes *khat ghalat, mazmun ghalat aur imla ghalat*. From the very beginning to the end they were conducted in a manner unheard of before and those who have been elected as members are either very fortunate or have been elected because of their own influence. This Government did not leave any stone unturned to defeat the Muslim Leaguers and to get the Unionist candidates elected. My submission is that whenever I went to the Civil Supplies Officer to get sugar for my election purposes, I was told that it could not be given to me because I was a Muslim Leaguer and that Government had ordered not to give any sugar to the Muslim Leaguers.

**Mr. Speaker :** What has that got to do with the Election Commissioner and his staff? Please speak to the motion.

**Chaudhri Bahawal Bakhsh :** I inquired : "What is the matter that whereas my adversary has been given sugar, I am being deprived of it and not a *pau* is being given to me"? He replied that there were orders to that effect.

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At this I returned disappointed. There is no disguising the fact that Government helped the Unionist candidates openly in order to defeat the Muslim League candidates and they did not hesitate to use foul means to achieve that end.

Again, Sir, when the polling had actually started, I went to one of the polling stations and when I went in I discovered that the presiding officer had selected the darkest corner for himself to sit in. When I went in I lifted his table and placed it in the light and I said : "If you permit me I will place your chair also in the light". He agreed and I placed his chair in the light as well. The fact, Sir, was that he had selected that place for himself because he did not want to leave any room for my agent to sit there as he had left very little room for the Unionist candidates' agent to sit along with him.

**Mr. Speaker :** That has nothing to do with the Election Commissioner and his staff. Please speak to the motion.

**Chaudhri Bahawal Bakhsh :** Sir, I bow to your ruling, but my opponent was a Unionist candidate and I do not think that there is any harm if I make mention of him. Even though he has been defeated Government have given him several squares of land as a reward for opposing the Muslim League candidate.

**Mr. Speaker :** Chaudhri Sahib, at least see what is the motion before the House. Please confine your remarks to the cut motion.

**Sardar Shaukat Hyat-Khan :** Everybody is enjoying his speech. Give him some latitude.

**Mr. Speaker :** I have to discharge my duty.

**Chaudhri Bahawal Bakhsh :** These are facts which my opponent cannot deny.

**Mr. Speaker :** Next speaker. Syed Mubarik Ali Shah.

**Major Syed Mubarik Ali Shah :** (Jhang Central, Muhammadan, Rural) (Urdu) : Sir, before I proceed with my speech I would like to thank my honourable friend Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan who, by moving this cut motion of Re. 1, has afforded us an opportunity to express our feelings in regard to this matter. So far as I have listened almost all the speakers, from every nook and corner of the House, who have participated in this debate have been at one with Raja Sahib in making a demand for the appointment of an inquiry committee. Sir, the recent elections from the beginning to the end were, to say the least, full of irregularities, illegalities and malprac-

tices and highhandedness as far as the behaviour of the Unionist Ministry and its official and non-official agents are concerned. When the Government decided to hold elections the first thing which was done was that the Honourable Premier along with his other Ministers began touring the province in order to take stock of the whole situation. They toured all the constituencies and conferred with the local officers and the Deputy Commissioners and after this consultation wherever the need of any particular officer was felt he was transferred to that place. It is very unfortunate that the public servants succumbed to the temptations of the then party in power and aligned themselves with it, in the battle of recent elections; and thereby committed a great breach of trust.

Sir, generally all transfers of officials are effected either in the beginning of the hot season or at the end of it. But here these were made to suit the election interests of the Unionist Party, and thus were absolutely out of season. Every official thus transferred had special instructions that he should, willy nilly, produce Unionist candidates to contest the elections against the Muslim League and support them. The proceedings of many cases involving zamindars, zalidars, lambardars and susedposhes were unnecessarily postponed, and prolonged only to keep them under a constant fear of an adverse decision, in case they chose to vote for or favour a league candidate. Collectors also were a prey to such unlawful influence of the Unionist Party. Even higher officials were compelled to start a propaganda in favour of the Unionist candidates. I am very sorry to hear it in this House, that the Head of the Department, the Inspector-General of Police, arranged an extensive tour during which he is said to have asked his subordinate officials to help the Unionist candidates. I had very interesting conversation with a Financial Commissioner who visited our district after I had declared for the Muslim League. As it was private, I should not repeat it on the floor of this august House. But I can say this much that the great Sahib Bahadur was not *khush*, with an humble person like myself, for this act of mine. (Cries of shame from Opposition benches).

**Mr. Speaker :** I do not want reference to any particular officer.

**Major Syed Mubarik Ali Shah :** Very well, Sir, I withdraw. Those officials who did not give in to such unlawful and underhand tactics of the Unionist Ministry were fearing that they would be punished for the legitimate insubordination on their part not to submit to Government pressure and side with the Unionist candidate, but I assure them that as they were in the right they should not fear anybody and trust alone in God Almighty. In this connection a League deputation is said to have approached the Honourable Premier, but he is reported to have stated that he could do nothing in the matter, obviously because he happened to be the prime mover of this most unbecoming campaign. This is not all. The Unionist Party helped their candidates and their supporters by providing them with cloth and other amenities of life through the Civil Supply Department while the League candidates were denied all such facilities. Every one coming to the Supply Depot was required to assure the depot-holder that he would help the Unionist candidates and on this assurance was issued the articles he needed. Anybody who refused to do so, was given a point-blank refusal. I ask the House whether this is fair play. A deputation of the leading zamindars and Muslim advocates of our district met the Commissioner, Multan division at Jhang and brought all these irregularities of the district officials to his notice but that official could not do anything in this matter.

Now I wish to make a few submissions regarding the Central Assembly elections. The Unionist Party had declared that they would not contest any Muslim seat in the Central Assembly elections. But that was all wrong, as they say :

ہاتھی کے دانت دکھانے کے اور کھانے کے اور

(Major Syed Mubarik Ali Shah),

As soon as my cousin Captain Syed Mohammad Abid Hussain Shah Bukhari, stood for the Central Assembly elections on the League ticket, there was a stir in the Unionist camp to find out a candidate against him, so much so that the Unionist agents approached several gentlemen to oppose us and a regular canvassing was carried out by these agents on the occasion of His Excellency the Viceroy's visit to Rawalpindi, but these gentlemen were unsuccessful in their efforts and I have my sympathies with them for their first failure in this election warfare. However, with the help of the district officials they dug out a candidate at the eleventh hour in the person of Syed Sardar Sultan Shah of Rajoah Sadat with the express purpose of defeating my cousin. Sardar Syed Sultan Shah despite his ill-health contested my cousin, but I regret to say that he ran away from the contest and was defeated, forfeiting his security. This Unionist candidate in spite of his illness had to travel all the way from Jhang to Rawalpindi to apply personally to the Commissioner and was accompanied by the agents of the Deputy Commissioner of Jhang and during his stay at Rawalpindi was put up with Mr. Mohammad Akram, a brother of the Deputy Commissioner of Jhang, who was a pro-Unionist. Mr. Mohammad Akram and some other relatives of the Deputy Commissioner, Jhang, accompanied him everywhere in Rawalpindi so much so that they were present with him, when he went to put in his nomination paper to the Commissioner. In this connection it will not be out of place to mention here that if the honourable members doubt the correctness of my statement, I have in my possession photographs to support my statement. My cousin had an interview with His Excellency the Governor, and protested against the attitude of the Deputy Commissioner, but he paid a deaf ear to such protestations.

ہم نے چاہا کہ کریں دائم وقت سے فریاد وہ بھی کمبخت تیرا چاہنے والا نہ

The Honourable Premier was also approached by him in this connection, but to no avail. Fortunately at last Sir Feroze Khan Noon came to our help, who at a public meeting outside Delhi Gate, threatened the Deputy Commissioner, Jhang, with legal proceedings against him, for all these illegal acts of his and within a week the Unionist candidate suddenly left the field, without anybody approaching him on our behalf. Later on the Punjab Government managed to repay this very candidate who had no record of recruits or war services of any kind to my knowledge to his credit, and awarded him with a rectangle of land for services rendered to the Unionist Ministry to contest against the Muslim League candidate.

**Mr. Speaker:** The honourable member is again going off the point. Please be relevant.

**Major Syed Mubarak Ali Shah:** The officials who took an active part in interfering with the election, did not realize the gravity of such actions. They took undue advantage of their power and abused their authority by supporting the Unionist candidate. They are the worst type of criminals and great (دکڑے) *dakus*. We want that adequate punishment should be awarded to them irrespective of their caste or creed. I am surprised to see the Honourable Premier side-tracking this vital question. I want the Honourable Premier to be honest to himself and search his heart and declare truthfully as to what happened in his own district, particularly in his own constituency in Khushab.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan:** But he has no heart to search into.

**Major Syed Mubarik Ali Shah:** After the Central Assembly election finished the landlord elections started. Our Honourable Premier also contested this election, and was opposed by Nawab Muzaffar Khan (*uproar*).

**Mr. Speaker:** References to a particular case will not be permitted. I warn the honourable member to be relevant to the cut-motion now before the House.

**Major Syed Mubarik Ali Shah:** My story will never be completed if I do not touch these points. It is a long tale of woes and sufferings. I am constrained to remark

that the ballot papers which were sent by post, were seized forcibly by the workers of the Unionist Party from the postal authorities and departmental enquiries are being made by the Superintendent of Posts and Telegraphs, Lyallpur Circle. So far as my own district is concerned I wish to inform the honourable members that several District Board teachers who happened to be in charge of the village post offices were summarily transferred for not yielding to the dictates of the Unionist Party. At many places the ballot papers were taken away by hook or by crook by the Unionist agents, such as tahsildars and head vernacular clerks and sub-divisional officers who afterwards moved in cars forcing people under the threat that their ballot paper would be spoiled if they did not consent to vote for the Unionist candidates. It has been found that some of the ballot boxes are still missing and have not been received by the addressees. They do not know as to what has happened to their ballot papers. This was the atmosphere during the general elections, in which the whirlwind of deceit, false propaganda, and mal-administration' promises of fears and favours were sweeping the poor voters to the Unionist side. But unfortunately their attempts to mislead and coerce the people ended for them in shame and defeat and they do not know now where to hide their head in shame.

The more I say about them, the more will remain un-said and it seems I will never finish my speech. My limited expression will fail to express my unlimited amount of contempt that I have for their uncalled-for actions and so for want of time, I think I should stop here.

**Minister for Finance** The Hon'ble (Mr. Bhim Sen Sachar) : Sir, from the general discussion on the cut motion, the question arises whether the enquiry committee should at all be constituted, and whether the officers who helped the candidates during these elections should be taken to task or not. In fact, the matter is quite simple. When we ask either side of the House as to the help rendered by the Government officials during the election campaign, both sides begin to oppose each other. From such a state it appears that some officers helped the members on the Government side, while others helped the Opposition party. In the light of this state of affairs, nobody can accept Raja Sahib's remarks that no officer helped the members constituting the Opposition party. This is all by the way. Now the question is whether there is any alternative for the proposed punishment or not. At this time, Sir, I do not intend entering into the details of the remark that the officers or persons who helped the Unionist candidates have been given squares of land while those who opposed them have been deprived of that concession. Sir, I admit that the Government which is unmindful of the unlawful acts of its officers, can never satisfy the public and hence cannot be called a good Government.

**Chaudhri Muhammad Hasan** : But the present government have been doing so.

**Minister** : Now, Sir, the Opposition demands that an Enquiry Committee should be constituted as soon as possible. I would say in this connection that there are certain reasons which do not permit us to form such a committee for the present. There are two categories of persons who participated in these elections. The first consists of those who were unsuccessful and the second of those who were successful. Those who have been unsuccessful can represent against the Government officials. When the number of such petitions rises to 50, necessary action will be taken against the officers concerned. In addition to this I would suggest that we should take one thing at a time. It would be better to take up the petition work first. The idea of constituting an Enquiry Committee may be given up for the present. If both these things are taken up side by side, it would cause a double jurisdiction against some officers. The enquiry would involve such officers who will have to appear as witnesses in the petition cases also. Thus it would cause a good deal of inconvenience and botheration. I think it wise to dispose of the petitions first. The Enquiry Committee may be constituted later on.



**(Finance Minister)**

I admit, Sir, that Government officials did take such undesirable steps which they should not have taken but at the same time I do not like the idea of constituting an Enquiry Committee at all, because with due respect to some of my honourable friends opposite, I would say that ultimately the responsibility would totally lie on this House. At the time of enquiry so many members, may they be from this side of the House or from that, who through their personal influence urged upon the officers to commit such irregularities during these elections, are likely to be involved. They will not be able to save themselves from the allegations that may be imposed upon them through this responsibility.

Government servants can be divided into three categories, i.e., those who helped the Muslim League, those who helped the Zamindara League and those who remained impartial. I regret to say that the number of officials in the third category is very small. Anyway my personal opinion is that this is not the proper time for an inquiry. I think those officials who showed partial treatment to one party or the other were under the impression that the party they were helping would soon come into power and shield them. (*An honourable member*: Even as you are shielding them now.) I admit that the present atmosphere of the province is by no means a pleasant one, and the responsibility of it rests on the shoulders of....

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan**: Your leaders.

**Minister**: Your former comrades.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan**: Yes, our former comrades but your present ones.

**Minister**: Sir, I was submitting that this is not the time for an inquiry to be held. If we take such a step now, it will only discredit our services in the eyes of the world and people will have an occasion to say that the level of administration in the Punjab has gone very low. Whenever I have had an opportunity to say something on this subject, I have always emphatically pleaded that the services be kept away from party politics. But unfortunately not much heed has been paid to my repeated appeals. Any way what has been done, done. I would suggest that the idea of an enquiry committee should be dropped for the time being, because it is practically impossible to take such a step. Let us try to do something constructive instead. Let us give the services time to mend their ways. I would request the services to keep aloof from party politics. Let me tell them that even if Government bring pressure to bear on them to do something illegal, they should refuse to do it. They will have my party's support at their back. (*cheers*).

I would request the honourable members opposite to give the services some time. Supposing we hold an inquiry now and it is proved that ten, twenty or thirty thousand employees of Government were involved in illegal activities, who will dare, I ask, to dismiss the whole lot of them?

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan**: There are not quite so many of them.

**Minister**: There are. There is something wrong with the whole system. Sir, I was saying that for the fear of double jurisdiction we could not possibly hold an inquiry just now. I think Nature itself is lending a helping hand in giving the services time to mend themselves. In the meantime we should also learn not to abuse the services for our political ends. Let us instead try to help them regain the confidence they have lost. I invite your co-operation and help in this respect. If you find us going astray, try to put us on the right path. I make an offer and I request Raja Sahib to pay special attention to it. In order to assure you that what I am saying is based on sincerity and honesty of purpose, I invite Raja Sahib, my honourable friend Nawab Iftikhar Hussain and my friend Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan to come and

help me in day to day administration. I shall go to them and place the files before them and discuss everything with them. (*Cheers.*) Let them guide me when and where I go astray. The Congress Party has not joined this Coalition just for the sake of occupying these benches. They have done so in order to do something for the good of the Province. On behalf of this Party I invite their co-operation. Come, let us discuss each and every case together and take joint action on it. Let us work in such a manner that after six months no one should dare to find fault with our services. (*Heart hear.*)

In spite of the fact, Sir, that many things have been said which had no connection with the cut motion, I think to-day's debate is very significant in that it has opened the eyes of the services and made it clear to them that they must raise their level of honesty and impartial service. It has brought them home the fact that they are there to serve the people, to do something for their betterment and not to their detriment. On the other hand, our duty is to see that the services are not exploited. I am fully confident that if we work together for six months, that auspicious day is sure to dawn when we shall be in a position to tell the world outside that our services are not what they were six months back. For the present I would request you not to be vindictive and not to pounce upon them. They are already feeling very insecure. I would advise you to have patience with them. Give them time to improve themselves and give us time, co-operation and help to improve them and the general condition of the province.

**Mian Muhammad Istikhar-ud-Din** (Kasur, Muhammadan, Rural), (*Urdu* : Sir, I had no mind to participate in this debate but after hearing my old friend, Lala Bhim Sen Sachar, it became necessary to say something: (*Interruptions.*) He says that the allegations against those officials who took part in the recent elections will be considered by the election tribunals, and, therefore, there is no need for any inquiry. I cannot refrain from declaring this argument as wholly illogical. It actually means that Government should not prosecute a murderer but should leave it to the aggrieved party to take whatever action it considers necessary. It means that Government itself has no desire to end lawlessness and injustice. This stand-point is totally devoid of reasonableness. If any officer commits an offence, it is the duty of Government to punish him as it is the duty to bring to book any other culprit.

My honourable friend, Lala Bhim Sen Sachar, further says that there are forty thousand officers in the Punjab against whom such allegations are made or can be made. It is very difficult, therefore, to dismiss all of them. He further suggests that no mass action should be taken. This argument is equally inappropriate. It means that all the courts should be closed and Government should stop functioning its duties when there is a large number of criminals. Personally, I can forgive a Hindu officer who helps the Congress candidate under the impression that the Congress represents the Hindu community. Similarly Muslim officers' support for a League candidate and the Sikh officers' help to Akali party can be tolerated. But officers who have helped the Unionist candidates cannot be forgiven, because, I think that they have not acted for patriotic reasons but have selfishly and slavishly tried to help British imperialism. Whoever helped the Unionists helped our alien rulers.

I beg to submit that something must be done to punish these officials. If nothing is done, a further deterioration in the administration of the province is bound to result. It is the duty of Government to establish a sound and efficient machinery in the province to maintain law and order and to dispense justice. Those officers who helped the Unionist Party, must therefore be severely punished and public confidence in the administration be re-established.

**Sardar Shaukat Hyat-Khan**: Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan wants to have a right of reply.

**Mr. Speaker :** The honourable member can move a closure motion.

**Sardar Shaukat Hyat-Khan :** I move—

That the question be now put.

**Mr. Speaker :** Question is—

That the question be now put.

*The motion was carried.*

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan** (Pind Dadan Khan, Muhammadan, Rural) (*Urdu*) :

Mr. Speaker, I want to submit that in the course of the speeches that have been made in this connection nobody has opposed my motion. In the presence of these circumstances, I forcibly suggest that an independent Enquiry Committee must be appointed and all these allegations must be seriously examined. We must examine all the allegations starting from the Governor to the petty officers.

**Minister for Finance :** You should spare the person of the Governor at least.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** I am not criticising the Governor's personality but as far as the conduct of the Governor as Governor is concerned I can discuss it fully on the floor of the House. I think it is my legitimate right.

Those Government officials who worked for Muslim community, they too have done great wrong. The Finance Minister has argued that those wrongs will also be unearthed during the election petitions. I want to know whether it is possible for the successful candidates to file petitions against themselves. How can it be possible? It is the duty of Government to hold an independent enquiry and punish every one against whom any allegation is proved. No liberty loving person on this earth can allow or tolerate this type of high-handedness. I can easily prove that Government officers toured different places and made propaganda for the Unionist candidates. I very well remember that at one place the Inspector-General of Police, Mr. Bennett, said that the Unionists were good people and they ought to be helped. The Hon'ble members can decide what can be the result of such irresponsible acts upon the elections. In the presence of these circumstances I would like to request my honourable friends opposite that for God's sake they should not sacrifice their principles. They should come forward and adopt a bold policy against all such guilty officials, regardless of their caste and creed. Thus we must liberate the Punjab from this curse as soon as it is possible.

**Mr. Speaker :** The question is—

That the item of Rs. 27,880 on account of Legislatures—pay of officers—be reduced by Rs. 27,879.

*The Assembly divided : Ayes 69, noes 85*

#### AYES

Abdul Ghafur, Chaudhri.  
Abdul Hamid Khan, Sufi.  
Abdul Hamid Khan, Rana.  
Abdul Hamid Khan, Khan Sahib.  
Abdul Sattar Khan, Khan.  
Akram Ali Khan, Chaudhri.  
Ali Akbar Khan, Chaudhri.  
Allah Yar Khan Daultana, Khan Bahadur Mian.  
Asghar Ali, Khan Sahib Captain Chaudhri.  
Ashiq Hussain, Sayed.  
Ashiq Hussain, Major Nawab.

Atta Muhammad Khan, Sardar.  
Bahadur Khan, Sardar.  
Bahawal Bakhs, Chaudhri.  
Barkat Ali Malik.  
Barkat Hayat Khan, Sardar.  
Budhan Shah, Pir.  
Faiz Muhammad, Khan Bahadur, Sheikh.  
Fateh Muhammad Sayyal, Chaudhri.  
Fazal Haq Paracha, Khan Bahadur, Sheikh.  
Fazal Ilahi, Chaudhri.  
Fazal Ilahi, Mr.

Ghazanfar Ali Khan, Raja.  
 Ghulam Jilani, Mian.  
 Ghulam Mohammad Shah, Sayad.  
 Ghulam Mustafa Shah Jilani, K. S.  
 Makhdumzada Sayad.  
 Ghulam Rasul, Chaudhri.  
 Iftikhar Hussain Khan, Nawab.  
 Jahan Khan, Chaudhri.  
 Jahan Ara Shah Nawaz, Begum.  
 Kale Khan, Raja.  
 Karamat Ali, Khan Bahadur Sheikh.  
 Khair Mehdi Khan, Raja.  
 Khan Muhammad Khan Kathia.  
 Mehr.  
 Manual, Mr. P.  
 Mehtab Khan, Chaudhri.  
 Mohy-ud-Din Lal Badshah, Sayed.  
 Muhammad Arif Khan, Mehr.  
 Muhammad Feroz Khan Noon, Malik Sir.  
 Muhammad Hasan, Chaudhri.  
 Muhammad Hussain, Sardar.  
 Muhammad Hussain, Chaudhri.  
 Muhammad Iftikhar-ud-Din, Mian.  
 Muhammad Iqbal Ahmad Khan, Rai.  
 Muhammad Jamal Khan Leghari, Khan.  
 Bahadur Nawab Sir.

Muhammad Khan, Mir.  
 Muhammad Khurshid Ali Khan, Rao.  
 Muhammad Nurullah, Mian.  
 Muhammad Sarfraz Khan, Chaudhri.  
 Muhammad Sarfraz Ali Khan, Raja.  
 Mubarik Ali Shah, Major Syed.  
 Mumtaz Muhammad Khan Daultana,  
 Mian.  
 Nasar Din, Chaudhri.  
 Nasrullah Khan, Chaudhri.  
 Nasrullah Khan Nasir, Rana.  
 Nau Bahar Shah, Syed.  
 Raj Muhammad Khan, Chaudhri.  
 Sadiq Hasan, Sheikh.  
 Sahib Dad Khan, Khan Sahib Chaudhri.  
 Salah-ud-Din, Chaudhri.  
 Said Akbar Khan, Raja.  
 Shahaadat Khan, Rai.  
 Shaukat Hyat Khan, Sardar.  
 Tassadaq Hussain, Begum.  
 Wali Muhammad, Chaudhri.  
 Wazir Muhammad, Malik.  
 Zafar-ul-Haq, Chaudhri.  
 Zafrullah Khan, Chaudhri.  
 Zafrullah Khan Jahanian, Chaudhri.

## NOES

Ajit Singh, Sardar.  
 Allah Bakhsh Khan Tiwana, K. B.  
 Nawab Malik Sir.  
 Bachan Singh, Sardar.  
 Badlu Ram, Chaudhri.  
 Baldev Singh, The Honourable Sardar.  
 Beli Ram, Mr.  
 Bhagat Ram Sharma, Pandit.  
 Bhagwan Das, Lala.  
 Bhim Sen Sachar, The Honourable Mr.  
 Behari Lal Chanana, Lala.  
 Chandan, Mr., alias Samar Singh.  
 Dalip Singh, Thakur.  
 Daud Ghasnavi, Maulana.  
 Dev Raj Sethi, Mr.  
 Durga Chand, Pandit.  
 Faqir Chand, Mr.  
 Ganga Saran, Rai Bahadur Lala.  
 Gopi Chand Bhargava, Dr.  
 Guest, Mr. P. H.  
 Gurbachan Singh Sardar, (Ferozepore).  
 Gurbachan Singh, Sardar (Sialkot).  
 Harbhaj Ram, Mr.  
 Hari Lal, Munshi.

Inder Singh, Sardar.  
 Isher Singh Majhail, Sardar.  
 Jagdish, Mr.  
 Jagjit Singh Mann, Sardar.  
 Jaswant Singh, Sardar.  
 Jiwan Lal, Mr.  
 Joginder Singh Mann, Sardar.  
 Kabul Singh, Sardar.  
 Kapoor Singh, Sardar.  
 Kartar Singh, Sardar.  
 Kehar Singh, Sardar.  
 Khizar Hayat, The Honourable Malik Sir.  
 Kidar Nath Sehgal, Lala.  
 Krishna Gopal Dutt, Chaudhri.  
 Lahri Singh, The Hon'ble Chaudhri.  
 Man Singh, Jathedar.  
 Mangoo Ram, Mr.  
 Matu Ram, Mr.  
 Mehr Chand, Mr.  
 Mohan Lal, Mr.  
 Muhammad Abdullah, Khan Sahib Mir.  
 Muhammad Ibrahim, The Hon'ble Mian.  
 Muhammad Nawaz Khan, Lt.-Col.  
 Sardar Sir.

Muhammad Rafiq. Mian.  
 Musaffar Ali Khan, Qizilbash, The  
 Hon'ble Nawab Sir.  
 Narindar Singh, Sant.  
 Narotam Singh, Sardar.  
 Pancham Chand, Thakur.  
 Parbodh Chandar, Mr.  
 Parkash Kaur, Shrimati.  
 Partap Singh, Sardar.  
 Piara Singh, Sardar.  
 Prem Singh, Chaudhri.  
 Prithvi Singh Azad, Mr.  
 Rameshwari Nehru, Mrs.  
 Ranbir Singh, Mehta.  
 Ranjit Singh, Chaudhri.  
 Rattan Singh, Chaudhri.  
 Rattan Singh, Sardar.  
 Rattan Singh, Sardar (Moga).  
 Sahib Ram, Chaudhri.  
 Sajjan Singh, Sardar.

Sant Ram, Mr.  
 Sant Ram Seth, Dr.  
 Sardul Singh, Sardar.  
 Shanno Devi Sehgal, Shrimati.  
 Sher Singh, Chaudhri.  
 Shiv Saran Singh, Sardar.  
 Shiv Singh, Sardar.  
 Shri Ram Sharma, Pandit.  
 Sudarshan, Seth.  
 Sultan Ali Nangiana, Mian.  
 Sundar, Mr.  
 Sundar Singh, Sadar.  
 Suraj Mal, Rao Bahadur Chaudhri.  
 Swaran Singh, Sardar.  
 Tara Singh, Sardar Sahib Sardar.  
 Tilak Raj, Professor.  
 Udham Singh, Sardar.  
 Ujjal Singh, Sardar.  
 Virendra, Mr.  
 Waryam Singh, Sardar.

**Mr. Speaker :—**The question is—

That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 25,69,830 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the year ending 31st March 1946, in respect of General Administration.

*The motion was carried.*

*The following motions were then put from the Chair and adopted :—*

#### ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 6,66,910 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the year ending 31st March 1946, in respect of Administration of Justice.

#### JAILS AND CONVICT SETTLEMENTS

That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 1,36,540 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the year ending 31st March 1946, in respect of Jails and Convict Settlements.

#### POLICE

That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 25,87,100 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the year ending 31st March 1946, in respect of Police.

#### EDUCATION (EUROPEAN AND ANGLO-INDIAN EDUCATION)

That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 30,740 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the year ending 31st March 1946, in respect of Education (European and Anglo-Indian Education).

#### EDUCATION (EXCLUDING EUROPEAN AND ANGLO-INDIAN EDUCATION).

That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 14,72,960 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the year ending 31st March 1946, in respect of Education (excluding European and Anglo-Indian Education).

#### MEDICAL

That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 5,25,240 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the year ending 31st March 1946, in respect of Medical.

**PUBLIC HEALTH**

That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 9,29,140 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the year ending 31st March 1946, in respect of Public Health.

**VETERINARY**

That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 1,39,200 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the year ending 31st March 1946, in respect of Veterinary.

**CO-OPERATION**

That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 2,21,020 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the year ending 31st March 1946, in respect of Co-operation.

**CIVIL WORKS**

That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 29,95,210 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the year ending 31st March 1946, in respect of Civil Works.

**BUILDINGS AND ROADS — ESTABLISHMENT CHARGES**

That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 3,10,860 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the year ending 31st March 1946, in respect of Buildings and Roads—Establishment Charges.

**ELECTRICITY SCHEMES—WORKING EXPENSES**

That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 3,52,300 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the year ending 31st March 1946, in respect of Electricity Schemes—Working Expenses.

**CAPITAL OUTLAY ON ELECTRICITY SCHEMES**

That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 9,06,900 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the year ending 31st March 1946, in respect of Capital Outlay on Electricity Schemes.

**FAMINE**

That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 14,25,870 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the year ending 31st March 1946, in respect of Famine.

**SUPERANNUATION ALLOWANCES AND PENSIONS**

That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 4,94,670 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the year ending 31st March 1946, in respect of Superannuation Allowances and Pensions.

**STATIONERY AND PRINTING**

That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 2,36,636 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the year ending 31st March 1946, in respect of Stationery and Printing.

**MISCELLANEOUS**

That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 52,42,490 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the year ending 31st March 1946, in respect of Miscellaneous.

**EXPENDITURE ON POST-WAR RECONSTRUCTION OF PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT SCHEMES**

That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 13,06,816 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the year ending 31st March 1946, in respect of Expenditure on Post-War Reconstruction of Planning and Development Schemes.

**CAPITAL ACCOUNT OF OTHER PROVINCIAL WORKS OUTSIDE THE REVENUE ACCOUNT**

That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 8,61,000 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the year ending 31st March 1946, in respect of Capital Account of other Provincial Works outside the Revenue Account.

**CAPITAL OUTLAY ON SCHEMES CONNECTED WITH THE WAR 1939.**

That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 30,60,200 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the year ending 31st March 1946, in respect of Capital Outlay on Schemes connected with the war 1939.

**ADVANCES REPAYABLE**

That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 3,73,000 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the year ending 31st March 1946, in respect of Advances Repayable.

**LOANS TO MUNICIPALITIES AND ADVANCES TO CULTIVATORS AND LOANS TO GOVERNMENT SERVANTS**

That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 42,48,550 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the year ending 31st March 1946, in respect of Loans to Municipalities and Advances to Cultivators and Loans to Government servants.

**CONSTRUCTION OF IRRIGATION WORKS**

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 1946, in respect of Construction of Irrigation Works.

**MISCELLANEOUS DEPARTMENTS**

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 1946, in respect of Miscellaneous Departments.

**INDUSTRIES**

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 1946, in respect of Industries.

**CAPITAL OUTLAY ON INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT OUTSIDE THE REVENUE ACCOUNT**

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 1946, in respect of Capital Outlay on Industrial Development outside the Revenue Account.

**CHARGES ON ELECTRICITY ESTABLISHMENT AND MISCELLANEOUS EXPENDITURE**

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 1946, in respect of charges on Electricity Establishment and Miscellaneous Expenditure.

**CAPITAL ACCOUNT OF CIVIL WORKS OUTSIDE THE REVENUE ACCOUNT**

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 1946, in respect of Capital Account of Civil Works outside the Revenue Account.

**ELECTION OF DEPUTY SPEAKER.**

**Sardar Jagjit Singh Mann** (Central Punjab Landholders): I propose that **Sardar Kapoor Singh** be elected Deputy Speaker of this House.

**Dr. Sant Ram Seth** (Amritsar City, (General) (Urban): I second the proposal.

**Mr. Speaker**: The question is :—

That **Sardar Kapoor Singh** be elected Deputy Speaker of this House.

*The motion was carried*

*The Assembly then adjourned till 12 noon on Wednesday, 27th March 1946.*

## PUNJAB LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

FIRST SESSION OF THE SECOND PUNJAB LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

WEDNESDAY, 27TH MARCH, 1946

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

### ADJOURNMENT MOTIONS

**Mr. Speaker :** I promised yeasterday that I will give the Leader of the Opposition or the honourable Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan an opportunity to discuss with me the adjournment motions. He has been kind enough to see me and kind enough also to be satisfied that the adjournment motions which I have ruled out could not be rightly discussed. There were two adjournment motions which I felt were in order. One relates to the *lathi* charge in Hoshiarpur. But on enquiry being made from the Government it was found that there was no corroboration. It is a well recognized rule that such adjournment motions must not be hypothetical or be based on uncorroborated report. The Honourable Minister of Development has assured me that there was no such *lathi* charge. So unless the mover can satisfy me that there was a *lathi* charge and produce corroborative evidence, I am not in a position to allow the motion to be moved. The second adjournment motion relates to demanding security from the Chopra Printing Press. I would have allowed it, but I have heard from the Government that they are withdrawing that order. (*Hear, hear from the Opposition Benches*).

**Premier :** Not because of this, but that was a previous action.

### PRIVILEGE MOTION

MEETING OF THE ASSEMBLY ON WEDNESDAY

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** (Pind Dadan Khan, Muhammadan, Rural): Sir, before the Honourable Finance Minister moves this motion I draw your attention to a serious breach of the privilege of this august House. In this connection I will invite your attention to Rule 33 of the Manual of Business and Procedure. This Rule clearly lays down that the Assembly shall meet while in session on Mondays, Tuesdays, Thursdays and Fridays, unless any of these days happens to be a holiday or for other reason. So it is clear that the Assembly shall meet only on these days unless it decides otherwise. To-day is Wednesday, on which day, according to the Rules passed by this House, the Assembly cannot meet unless it has decided to do so. I find that the Governor in contravention of the rules has fixed the meeting of the Assembly on Wednesday. I think the Government has advised His Excellency the Governor to misappropriate Wednesday. The Honourable Finance Minister is shaking his head. I think he had not advised him. If he had not advised him, then I am surprised that His Excellency the Governor could have flouted the Rules of this House without giving an opportunity to the members of this House to express an opinion. I enter this protest because it is the duty of the members of this House to see that the Governor or any other authority does not interfere with the rules which are adopted and passed by this House. If we allow this to go unnoticed, I am afraid this can be taken as a precedent for the Governor to flout other rules of this House as well. When there is a conflict between the rules passed by the Governor and the rules passed by this House, I strongly feel that the House should protest against the Governor passing a rule or other order which conflicts with the rules passed by this House. As the custodian



[Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan]

of the House, I would appeal to you, Sir, to insist upon the Government that they should see that the Governor does not pass any rules which are contrary to the rules passed by the Assembly. It may be said that it is the question of shortness of time and the Honourable Finance Minister or the Honourable Premier will say that the budget is to be passed and so even Wednesday had to be misappropriated. What I mean to say is that the honourable Leader of the Opposition wrote a letter to the Honourable Premier suggesting that the Assembly should be called on the 19th instead of 21st. The Government is still working with the same mentality of turning down any request which comes from the Opposition benches without caring whether it is reasonable or not. Had the session begun on the 19th, this conflict of the rules would not have arisen and the Assembly would not be insulted like this.

**Mr. Speaker :** The honourable Raja Sahib has been very clever indeed in having his say and in lodging his protest and thereby serving the purpose he had in mind. I do not think he should be disappointed if I rule out this privilege motion. There is no privilege of the House which has been violated. The Article which he has quoted is a reproduction of Rule 12 of the Assembly Rules. This Rule has its force subject to Section 84 of the Government of India Act, which lays down not only that the Chamber is authorised to make rules but that the Governor is also authorised to make rules and further says as follows :—

“if and in so far as any rule so made by the Governor is inconsistent with any rules made by a Chamber, the rule made by the Governor shall prevail.”

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** Why should the Governor make such rules ?

**Mr. Speaker :** Rule 15 says—

“The voting of demands for grants shall take place on such days not exceeding fifteen as the Governor exercising his individual judgment may allot for the purpose.”

This does not debar the Governor from fixing any day. Had there been any such intention, it would have been laid in the rules or even somewhere else that the Governor should not do so. There is no such direction anywhere. Moreover this is something which has not arisen suddenly. For that reason also this is not in order. No privilege of the House has been violated. Therefore, I rule it out of order and ask the Honourable Finance Minister to proceed with the business of the day.

## PAPERS LAID ON THE TABLE

### APPROPRIATION ACCOUNTS AND AUDIT REPORT

**Minister for Finance** (The Honourable Mr. Bhim Sen Sachar) : Sir, as required by Section 169 of the Government of India Act, 1935, I lay on the table of the House a copy of the Appropriation Accounts and the Audit Report for the year 1943-44.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** Sir, I see on my seat a copy of the Audit Report just mentioned by the Finance Minister. May I ask what day he is allotting for the discussion of this report ?

**Minister for Finance :** My honourable friend should know that at this stage the Report is being presented to the House. For the discussion of the Report a day will have to be fixed in due course.

**Chaudhri Muhammad Hasan :** When will you fix a day, this year or next year ?

### SUPPLEMENTARY STATEMENT OF EXPENDITURE FOR 1944-45, AUTHENTICATED BY THE GOVERNOR

**Minister for Finance** (The Hon'ble Mr. Bhim Sen Sachar) : Sir, as required by section 81 of the Government of India Act, 1935, I lay on the table of the House the

Supplementary Statement of Expenditure for the financial year 1944-45, duly 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 1944-45, which specifies:—

(a) the supplementary grants (third instalment) made by the Punjab Legislative Assembly in its Session held in March, 1945, and

(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 revenues of the Province	Total
		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1	7—Land Revenue .. .. .	400	..	400
2	8—Provincial Excise .. .. .	40	..	40
4	10—Forests .. .. .	120	..	120
8	Charges on Irrigation Establishment ..	..	6,920	6,920
10	25—General Administration .. ..	52,310	14,920	67,230
11	27—Administration of Justice .. ..	8,640	..	8,640
15	37—Education (European and Anglo-Indian Education).	800	..	800
16	37—Education (excluding European and Anglo-Indian Education).	1,360	..	1,360
17	38—Medical .. .. .	15,760	..	15,760
22	43—Industries .. .. .	..	1,510	1,510
23	50—Civil Works .. .. .	11,800	..	11,800
30	55—Superannuation Allowances and Pensions ..	2,11,570	6,040	2,17,610
31	56—Stationery and Printing .. ..	1,260	..	1,260
7	18—Other Revenue expenditure financed from ordinary Revenues.	10	..	10
	GRAND TOTAL ..	3,04,070	29,390	3,33,460

LAHORE :

The 21st March, 1945.

B. J. GLANCY

Governor of the Punjab

## DEMANDS FOR GRANTS

## GENERAL ADMINISTRATION

**Minister for Finance** (The Hon'ble Mr. Bhim Sen Sachar) : Sir, I beg to move—

That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,78,55,200 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the year ending 31st March, 1947, in respect of General Administration.

**Mr. Speaker** : The motion moved is—

That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,78,55,200 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the year ending 31st March, 1947, in respect of General Administration.

## GENERAL POLICY OF GOVERNMENT.

**Rana Abdul Hamid Khan** (Pakpattan, Muhammadan, Rural) (Urdu) : Sir,

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

I wish to make a few observations in support of my contention. The indiscreet and undesirable actions, resorted to by the last regime or in other words the Khizar Hayat regime, have been so ignominious that I feel amply justified in proposing a decrease of one hundred rupees in respect of General Administration. Most of the honourable members of this House have expressed vehemently their contempt for the intolerable malpractices resorted to by Malik Khizar Hayat Khan and his colleagues throughout the length and breadth of the province. They in the course of their speeches have quoted many instances to this effect. But I intend to keep before the House those instances which will breed in them strong contempt and hatred for his abominable deeds. The Unionist Government have in the recent elections stooped so low in committing atrocities and in harassing people that it will be impossible to find a parallel in the civilized countries of the world. They have committed atrocities to such an extent on the poor people of the province that it is beyond description. If I were to refresh the memory of the honourable members by quoting instances, I am afraid you will rule them out as unparliamentary.

They resorted to all sorts of methods in order to attain their objects. They started with the Deputy Commissioner coming down to the Revenue Assistant and then to the Tahsildar but when their influence proved of no avail they mobilized the Police—the whole department—for over-awing the poor electors. Every one whether he was a member of the public or belonged to any of the services, who had declined to co-operate with them in helping the Unionist candidates, came in for a good measure of their ire. They were subjected to all sorts of punishments, transfers and reversions. False cases were instituted, licenses were cancelled and zaildars and lambardars were suspended. Still that did not help them in achieving their object. The district officers like the deputy commissioners and superintendents of police appeared at the polling stations and warned the zaildars and lambardars that if they did not pull their weight in favour of the Unionist candidates and tried to help the nominee of the Muslim League they would be removed from their offices.

**Mr. Speaker** : Now, the honourable member is going beyond the point. Practically the whole of yesterday was taken in discussing the subject of elections. Moreover most of these matters are likely to come up before the election tribunals. I would request the honourable member not to repeat the same arguments.

**Khan Bahadur Sheikh Muhammad Amin** : Is it your ruling that we cannot talk about elections to-day because this subject was discussed yesterday ?

**Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan** : Repetition is on the same subject and on the same day and not on different day.

**Mr. Speaker** : I only want that the honourable member should try to avoid repetition as much as possible,

**Rana Abdul Hamid Khan :** Sir, I am sorry if I have gone beyond your order, but the working of these cogs of the administrative machine is such that it calls for the severest of condemnation. No civilised country can tolerate the unbecoming and unconstitutional tactics adopted by Malik Sir Khizar Hayat, Sardar Baldev Singh and other Ministers. Moreover, the Government servants—although I do not blame all as there are both good and bad men among them—have also taken a very reprehensible part in this drama either on account of their dread for or at the instance of the Ministers, in so far as they have been responsible for putting poor people behind the bars and in otherwise treating them shamefully. I would like to address a few words by way of advice to the services. They should know that the Ministers of whom they are so scared are only usurpers and that it is only cowards who are afraid of usurpers. They would do well to dispel the notion out of their minds that they are being true to their salt when they obey the orders of these usurpers because it is not the Minister's salt but that of the nation that they are partaking.

I am sorry to say that our provincial services of which we were so very proud have greatly deteriorated in so far as their moral standard is concerned. I wonder what bright prospects have been dangled before their eyes by the Ministers or what underhand means have been adopted to force them to toe the Government line. All I can say is that they seem to be hypnotised and are following the instructions of their masters like one who is charmed. Our only desire is that the fear of the Ministry is driven out of their mind and they should realize that they are not private servants of the Ministers but are public servants who are their paymasters. In this connection I am very sorry to remark that the Honourable Minister of Finance, who has otherwise dealt with many things in his budget speech, has been conspicuously silent. Although the organization to which he belongs blows a very loud trumpet of its championing the cause and of being the representative of the people of India, yet he had no word of warning to address to the public services. He would have been well advised to make it plain to the services that they are not masters but the servants of the public. It is a well known fact that people have great difficulty in arranging interviews with the deputy commissioner or the superintendent of police of a district and sometimes they have to wait for days on end in order to get an opportunity of placing their troubles before them. These district officers are too busy in entertaining a Minister or the head of a department to have time for attending to their own business. I would therefore request the honourable leader of the Congress Party to pull these officers up and to make them understand that the Ministers as well as the members of the services are and should consider themselves as the servants of the public. It is unfortunately a tradition handed down to the services by our own Ministers of the old bureaucracy that they should behave like a Pharaoh and do what ever they like, irrespective of the wishes of the people.

**Chaudhri Muhammad Hasan :** Sir, I request you to please pull up the Development Minister. The charge is mainly against him.

**Rana Abdul Hamid Khan :** The deputy commissioner of a district is like a despot and does not tolerate any criticism of the administration. The superintendent of police is another tyrant who surpasses even the deputy commissioner in suppressing the voice of legitimate protest against the highhandedness of the district officers. It is almost impossible to approach them. (*An honourable member :* Why should you go to them ?) Because of you. My honourable friends go to jails and on the strength of this oft repeated stunt get themselves acknowledged as leaders. According to them this is the service that they render to the country. While they are thus qualifying themselves for leadership the grievances of the people must be brought to the notice of the authorities and that is the reason why we are obliged to see these officers. The real service of the people lies not in evading to lay their troubles before the authorities but in bringing them to their notice and in getting them redressed.

[Rana Abdul Hamid Khan.]

The second point which I wanted to touch concerns the departments under the charge of my honourable friend Sardar Baldev Singh. He has to deal mainly with departments which are beneficent for the public, such as the Agriculture, Co-operative and Civil Supply departments. Here I would like to draw his attention more especially to the Civil Supply Department. In spite of the fact that this department is the most important in so far as it has to control and provide the daily necessities of life, it is staffed with retired Government servants who are past the age of usefulness and are unfit to remain in service. I fail to understand why such retired persons have been employed in this department with salaries ranging between Rs. 800 and Rs. 1,200.

For instance, Sardar Bahadur Sardar Iqbal Singh who has retired recently and is unpopular at the same time, is not competent enough to hold the post of a Divisional Civil Supplies Officer. Besides that a Civil Supplies Officer has been appointed in my district. He is a retired agent of some bank. I would ask the Honourable Minister concerned whether he thinks it wise to give such responsible posts to incapable and inefficient persons. I find that being the sole controllers of human requirements, i.e., food and cloth, they begin to exercise their powers in a most despotic manner. They are always selfish. They never do anything for the public good. Being of advanced age they have large families, hence a large number of sons, grandsons and great-grandsons, and in order to accommodate them they prefer their personal interests to those of the public. My idea in mentioning these officers is to protest against the selfish attitude of the Government in respect of these appointments. I would ask the Government why such retired persons are at all entertained when young men are available. In this connection I must say that during the war time, our Government was justified in re-employing retired persons. But what justification is there to do so when innumerable young soldiers have come back from active service? I suggest, therefore, that in the interest of advancement in this province, they should relieve the re-employed persons and try to accommodate the young men of new light.

After this, Sir, I come to the Co-operative Department. I may mention here that I am a co-operator myself. I find that so much work has been transferred to this department that the present establishment has been rendered unable to manage it. Whose fault is it? I am sure this is all due to the personal interests of the high officials. The departmental policy has nothing to do with it. The officers neither realise their responsibility nor do they perform their duties properly. The subordinate staff is asked to make food-grain purchases. What has the food-grain purchase to do with this department? I think it is perhaps with a view to avail of the brokerage. But who gets the brokerage? Do the Government get it or the officers? The Co-operative Department, I must say, was in the very outset meant to show different ways of economy to the public. But it is a pity that the officers do not realise the responsibility resting upon their shoulders. Through the instigation of their superiors they have adopted a course which is contrary to the basic principles of this department.

Sir, a few days back, the Honourable Sardar Baldev Singh, in a meeting held under the auspices of the Sikh Sabha in the Montgomery district, delivered a speech. I am fortunate that I too heard the speech, but regret to say that it had an adverse effect on me. Though I do not remember the exact words of the speech, yet I am in a position to say what he meant. The Honourable Minister said, "I am proud to say before my community that my efforts have been fruitful at length and that the Industries department has not been entrusted to a person from any other community. I would ask him what he meant by 'a person from other community.'" If he means a Muslim, I must say that he has, undoubtedly, accomplished a remarkable task, for he deprived the Muslims of a benefit at the time when one could multiply his investment a hundred times. I think he should be ashamed of making such a speech against a majority community of this province.

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

That the demand be reduced by Rs. 100.

**Munshi Hari Lal** (South-West, Towns, General) (*Urdu*): Mr. Speaker, I stand here not to embarrass the Government but to bring to their notice such points that really require their full consideration. I would in the first instance urge upon the Government to allow full liberty of speech, meetings and of expression of opinion through press or platform.

They are fully aware of the fact, Sir, that black marketing and corruption are in full swing in these days and that they are inseparable from each other. The officers freely accept bribes and encourage black marketing thereby. The bribe-givers bribe the officers to provide a shield for their protection and for this nobody cares to incriminate them or take them to task (*Hear, Hear*). We find that corruption has taken such a shape in this province that those who either oppose it or protest against the unlawful practices of the officers are put to trouble and sometimes tried in the courts. I am in a position to bring to your notice the actual happenings. I do not want to impress the House by a mere word, but would place facts for the information of the Government. They should take necessary step for removing these evils and ensure the progress of this province. I do not mean to criticise the Government. I would ask them to consider what I submit. In this connection, I want to relate the following incident.

On the 14th January, 1945, a meeting was held under the auspices of the Congress Workers Committee at Multan. The main object of the meeting was to protest against black marketing and corruption and to think out ways and means of putting an end to these unlawful practices. In the meeting an effigy was set on fire as a protest against corruption and black marketing. The meeting was presided over by the Senior Vice-President of the Congress Committee, Multan. The next day, i.e., the 15th of January, 1945, a bogus purchaser was sent to the Senior Vice-President's factory of several khaddis weaving cloth called "tassa". He purchased a mere 7½ yards of cloth. The owner who was himself busy at that time asked his son to give him the required length of cloth on the wholesale rate. The young man obeyed his father's order. I may mention at this stage that the boy has no share in the concern. On the same day, the officials of the Civil Supplies Department raided the shop alleging that the owner had sold the above-mentioned piece of cloth without a license required under the Cotton Cloth Dealers Licensing Order and at rates higher than the controlled ones. The owner tried his level best to convince them that he had sold it at the wholesale price, but to no effect.

In spite of instructions to the contrary, the case was handed over to the Police. The Police were very prompt, as they are in such cases, in taking the registers, etc., into their custody. I would request those honourable members who make tall claims of being the champions of liberty and justice to please bear in mind the basic facts of this case. Here the seller admits that he did sell the cloth, without licence which according to him, was no offence. But the police took him into custody. That was not all. They took the son whose only fault was that he had obeyed his father and sold the cloth, in their custody with the father. Let me submit that the father and the son are respectable people. The father had made sacrifices in the cause of the country's struggle for freedom. But in spite of all this both father and son were handcuffed and paraded through the busy thoroughfares of the city. (*Shouts of shame, shame from the Opposition benches*). When the case was brought before a court of law, the Magistrate, I am glad to say, showed some courage and discharged both of them. He was not over-awed by the police and did what he conscientiously

[Munshi Hari Lal.]

believed to be right and just. I shall now read out a few lines from the judgment of this case :—

"The accused, both the father and his son were arrested at their house by the Police Sub-Inspector Pandit Buland Iqbal. They were handcuffed together and taken through the main crowded bazars of the town to Haram Gate Kotwali, where they were lodged for the night in the police lock-up, while there was a circular road far less crowded and busy and nearer from the house of the accused to Haram Gate Kotwali. All this is evident from the evidence of Pandit Buland Iqbal. This action on the part of the police, it appears to me, was inspired by the prosecutors, viz., the Civil Supplies Officials."

What I mean to show is the type of the treatment that is being meted out in the province. When the police arrived at the shop in order to effect arrest I was personally present there. I tried to impress upon the policemen the fact that we Congressmen believed in strict discipline. I further assured them that the accused would not try to escape if they did not handcuff them. But all in vain. They paid no heed and were arrogant enough to tell me that they would do as it pleased them.

The facts of the case speak for themselves. This case was brought against a man, simply because he had dared raise his voice of protest against the mal-practice of the officials of the Civil Supplies Department. I do not want to take any more time of the House by going into details. I will read out a few lines from the judgment of this case :—

"From the perusal of the records and the evidence of the prosecution and the other circumstances I have got no doubt in my mind that the Civil Supplies officials; the C. S. O. and others were greatly put out and perturbed as a result of the public activities of Gopal Singh, accused, against corruption prevailing in the Civil Supplies Department. It was too bitter a pill for the Department to swallow quietly. Accordingly a plan was carefully devised to rope him in. The services of Dina Nath, P. W. 3, were secured for this purpose who, as observed above, was on cordial terms with Lala Shanker Dasa, P. W. 2. This plan was worked out as detailed above, and Gopal Singh was sought to be made an example to all intending critics of the Civil Supply Department. It was in these circumstances that the first and the only case of its kind was started against Gopal Singh."

*(Cries of shame, shame, from the Opposition benches.)*

In the end the learned Magistrate was pleased to remark :—

"In view of the discussion taken above, I am constrained to accept the contention of the learned counsel for the accused and observe that this case is the outcome of malice on the part of the above officials rather than of a desire to vindicate the law."

I have read out these quotations in order to acquaint the House with what has been and is still going on in the province. I would request those in charge of this department to see that these things are not repeated. The judgment out of which I have given quotations was given on 4th September, 1945. Since then no appeal or revision petition has been brought against it. So far as the facts are concerned, the case is quite clear. The police tried to bring this case on the basis of a sale of 7½ yards of cloth in which no profit had been made. They tried to bring a case under the Anti-Profiteering Ordinance. Since the allegations were baseless and the Magistrate was a fair-minded man, the case failed. The learned Magistrate was pleased to remark about the son that he (the son) had to undergo all this inconvenience only because he had carried out the orders of his father. This case, I would like to add, dragged on for some six or seven months.

Sir, the case I have mentioned above is not the only case of its kind. Similar things have been taking place all over the province. I take another case which again relates to Multan. There, an iron merchant sold some iron to somebody. Immediately afterwards an allegation was brought against him to the effect that he had profiteered from this transaction. This case was also challaned and brought before a Magistrate. Now, the real facts of the case are like this. Eight days prior to this incident there had been a meeting of the traders' community. In this meeting the aforesaid merchant had the misfortune of delivering a speech, because he happened to be the President of the local Beopar Mandal. In his speech he was bold enough to criticise the corruption rampant in the Civil Supply Department. Six days later

an employee of the said merchant attended another meeting in which he recited a poem on the subject of corruption and black-market. The result of all this was that the merchant himself, his employee, his brother and all the other employees found themselves involved in a case under the anti-profiteering Ordinance. The accused were tried in a court of law and this is what the Magistrate has said about this case in his judgment :—

"..... it further shows that a public meeting was held on 26th February 1945 when Nebh Raj, accused, recited a poem criticising the conduct of the local Civil Supply Department and the said meeting was attended, among others, by Dewan Kesho Das, the then Civil Supply Officer. It is significant that the present case was set up against the accused only nine days after the adverse speech delivered by Lala Din Dayal, accused, and only two days after the recitation of the abnoxious poem by Nebh Raj, accused. It appears that Amir Hussain, P. W. 2, who was an Inspector under the Civil Supply Officer got it into his head to run in the accused for their insolence towards his Department and its officials and an attempt was made to set up the case against them by hook or crook. This conduct of his furnishes a sad commentary on his mentality. I am constrained to remark that this is not the first case of respectable merchants being run in criminal cases because they dared open their lips against the local Supply Department."

I would request the present Ministry to look into these matters carefully and take deterrent action against those who are found guilty.

**Mr. Speaker :** Please wind up your speech.

**Munshi Hari Lal :** Sir, I have much more to say. I want to quote some instances. (*Voice from the Opposition Branches : Give him more time.*)

Sir, I was submitting that we stand for full civil liberties. We demand liberty of speech, writing and of holding meetings. I want to declare that we are pledged to these liberties and it is the part and parcel of the Congress programme. I am sure, Sir, that all the honourable friends will join me in the demand for these basic rights and will support me. (*Applause and Interruptions*).

In order to have strong and good government in the province, it is necessary that we should separate executive from the judiciary. I am very much pleased to find that to-day the opposition too has joined us in this demand. Under this type of administration we can have a good government and can have all basic liberties.

**Chaudhri Krishna Gopal Dutt :** Sir there are two opinions on this subject. (*Uproar*).

**Munshi Hari Lal :** After this, I will demand prohibition in the province. I was pained to find that our Government will earn seven crores and eighty-eight lakhs out of excise duty on spirits. Our national interests demand from us that the province should be freed from this curse as soon as it is possible.

Our Government is trying to nationalise the transport industry. I may submit that I am not against nationalisation itself but I do not approve of the way and methods that are being adopted for its achievement. The Government should carefully consider the conditions and the internal position of each company before taking charge of it. Every company should be acquired after careful consideration.

Now I will say something about the house trouble. The rents have been controlled and stabilised under the Rent Restriction Act. But the landlords are indulging in black market practices and the condition of the tenants has become miserable. Moreover the application of this Act too is going to terminate in 1946 in some places. With this condition, I assure you, Sir, that the miseries of the tenants will know no bounds. In order to avoid this embarrassing position I request the Government to take all the necessary steps for the extension of this enactment. The law requires a resolution of this House.

I want to inform the Honourable Minister for Education that the condition of vernacular teachers is pitiable. Being fully qualified and after putting in hard



[Munshi Hari Lal.]

labour, they get only Rs. 40 a month. In these hard days it is a great injustice and I strongly urge for immediate steps for their betterment and welfare.

**Khan Sahib Sheikh Muhammad Amin** (Multan Division Towns, Mohamadan, Urban) (*Urdu*): Sir, before saying anything else, I feel it my moral duty to congratulate my friend Munshi Hari Lal for his noble sentiments that he has just now expressed. I assure him that we fully concur with him in the administrative reforms for which he has laid so much stress. Without any hesitation I can declare that this separation between the executive and the judiciary has always remained a part of the Congress programme. Much has been said over this aspect of the question and I am sure that the Congress party too will lend us its support when the Muslim League party takes up this question.

They say they would have surely supported this demand, but now they cannot help. The rope of the Ministry around their neck is pulling them to another side and they cannot ignore it. Therefore it is not possible for them to vote with the Muslim League on this demand in spite of the fact that in their heart of hearts they are convinced that this demand is quite just, and what is more, they themselves had been demanding this very thing for the last so many years. But what will Malik Khizar Hayat say? What of the Coalition? The consideration of holding tight what they have got keeps them away from this demand, and they are acting against their very ideas and feelings. (*Cries of shame, shame*). Mr. Speaker, I will not take much time of the House. I will, through you, make a request to the Hon'ble Premier and my hon'ble friend the Finance Minister, who is not in his seat at this time. I wish he were in his seat. Had he been here, some of my words might have appealed to him. I do not think you have powers to send for him. Suppose you just suggest this thing to him, he may accept your suggestion and come here. There he is, he has come of his own accord. I was saying that the Government has gone to such limits that it is not possible for us to relate the whole story, even if we go on to-day and to-morrow. Still the Hon'ble Premier has the audacity to say that he has been returned from three constituencies and that shows his great popularity. He is very popular no doubt, but in which circle? In the official circle only. There was not a single person present at the time of counting his votes. Even if the Deputy Commissioner and the Revenue Assistant are his men, it does not mean that he need not send there some other person at that time.

Now I would like to state an event that I saw with my own eyes. I, too, was acting on behalf of a certain candidate in a certain constituency. In this connection I reached a place at night. I was told that the Deputy Commissioner was closetted with the Post Master at that time, not in any house or rest house, but in his car and that none is allowed to go near them. I was anxious to know the facts. So I went to that place, but unfortunately the car had left. You can well imagine, Sir, what business the Deputy Commissioner could have with the post master of a village at the dead of night during the elections. As the ballot papers were expected to reach the voters on the next day, the poor Deputy Commissioner was going about from door to door requesting and threatening the voters. That was his canvassing for the Hon'ble Premier.

**Mr. Speaker** : Please do not discuss the conduct of that gentleman who cannot defend himself.

**Khan Sahib Sheikh Muhammad Amin** : It is a general remark. I am not talking about anybody. When I talk about a deputy commissioner, I think I can do it. It is not personal. I am not naming anybody.

**Mr. Speaker** : You are discussing the conduct of the Hon'ble Premier.

**Khan Sahib Sheikh Muhammad Amin** : I am not talking about the Premier.

**Khan Babadur Sheikh Karamat Ali :** It is the conduct of the person who was seeking votes for the candidate in the election. The Premier does not come in.

**Mr. Speaker :** Personal conduct of an hon'ble member should not be discussed.

**Khan Sahib Sheikh Muhammad Amin :** However I can discuss the conduct of a Deputy Commissioner.

Now I would like to bring to your notice another important matter. The candidates till the last hour were kept ignorant of the date of the arrival of the ballot papers. On the other hand, the officers in every district were fully informed of that date.

**Sardar Jagjit Singh Mann :** Issuing of ballot papers is very secret. It cannot be mentioned to anybody.

**Khan Sahib Sheikh Muhammad Amin :** My hon'ble friend says it is very secret. It might have become a secret in this election. Otherwise, in the last election every voter knew the date of the arrival of the ballot papers at least one week in advance. But if at all it is a secret matter, why is it kept secret from the voters only while all the officers of districts are informed? The reason is obvious. At the time when these ballot papers reached the village post offices, these officers were to be present there. In some post offices they sent their instructions that the letters containing the ballot papers should not be delivered to the addressees and that the post masters should wait for those officers and deliver the letters in their presence. Then the postmen were seen sitting in cars with district officers and going about delivering the letters containing the ballot papers. Who provided them with those cars? Did they belong to the Deputy Commissioner or the Revenue Assistant or some other person? Well, I cannot name the person. Those letters were not actually delivered. They were opened in the presence of the addressee, and were marked by the Revenue Assistant himself. That is how this election was held. And the Hon'ble Premier says he is very popular, because he has been returned from three constituencies. That is how he was returned and this is his popularity.

**Mr. Speaker :** Please do not impute personal motives to any member.

**Khan Sahib Sheikh Muhammad Amin :** May I know the definite objection?

**Mr. Speaker :** It is a charge of a personal nature.

**Khan Sahib Sheikh Muhammad Amin :** It is not a charge of a personal nature.

**Mr. Speaker :** You are making a personal charge against a member.

**Khan Sahib Sheikh Muhammad Amin :** I am not making a personal charge against any member. I am only making a personal charge against an officer.

**Mr. Speaker :** I did not stop the hon'ble member except at the stage when he said "this shows his popularity". He clearly was referring to the Premier.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** This is not a personal reflection.

**Khan Sahib Sheikh Muhammad Amin :** It affects more than one person. It does not affect only one person. Anyway that was one thing which I wanted to bring to the notice of the House. What happened at other places and how much the officers interfered in elections is a matter of common knowledge. In fact they flouted the very rules and regulations that were meant for their guidance. For instance, during the elections every candidate was permitted to send his agent inside the polling booths to see that if illiterate voters come to vote for him their votes were recorded properly. But I know and I can prove it that in the constituencies of many honourable members who have been elected on the Unionist ticket—I am not talking of any particular individual—definite arrangements were made to see that the presiding officers permitted their agents to sit inside the polling booths at all times.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** Why does not my honourable friend say that it happened in the Shahpur district?

**Mr. Speaker :** Kindly do not refer to it.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** It is a statement of fact.

**Khan Sahib Sheikh Muhammad Amin :** It does not affect any particular individual. It affects more than one. If you do not want me to refer to these facts I will not. Anyway these were the circumstances under which the present elections have been held. I think all the honourable members, with the solitary exception of the Honourable Premier, are agreed that during the elections undue interference has taken place, irregularities have been committed, the law has been flouted and official pressure was brought to bear on the people to vote for particular candidates. I do not think that with the exception of the Honourable Premier and two or four of his henchmen there is any body, any honourable member in this House, who has not supported our contention. My honourable friend the Finance Minister while speaking yesterday admitted that Government officers have interfered in the elections. I regret very much to say that although he admitted that fact still he was pleased to remark that an opportunity should be afforded to those officers to reform themselves. I ask, if my honourable friends had been sitting on these benches, or as I have already said, that if this Coalition had not been formed and the honourable members who are now sitting there had been sitting here, would they have agreed with this proposal which they are so liberally putting forward from the Treasury benches today? After admitting this fact that some officers have actually committed irregularities and have indulged in malpractices, what is the meaning of forgiving and taking no action against them? It does not mean anything except this that although he wishes to take action against the guilty officers, the Honourable Premier is not prepared to permit him to do so. He knows that it is beyond his power. Therefore in an apologetic manner he remarked that we should forget and forgive. It is really a pity that only two weeks after the formation of the Coalition he has assumed this tone. He wants to pass the budget somehow or other and therefore he wants us to forgive those officers who have interfered in the elections and have openly flouted the law. I am sure that after a few days, say a month, he will be reduced to that state which was of the Honourable Premier a few years back. He will according to the Persian saying *در کتب و کلام* also imbibe his ideas. (Dr. Sant Ram Seth: That will not happen.) Thank you very much. I hope that my friends, who have been elected on the Congress ticket and who believe that these things have happened in the elections, will certainly compel their Government not to cast justice and fairness to the wind. They should not let the world think about them that they also belong to the same category to which Malik Sir Khizar Hayat Khan belongs. I regret very much to find my friends in this Coalition but I tell them there is yet time for them to extricate themselves from it before they fall down to the lowest depth. It will not bring any credit to them. The greater they plunge themselves in this mire the more they will get defiled. Therefore they would do well if they break up this Coalition. As I said in the beginning with the exception of the Honourable Premier nobody has denied this fact. He remarked that nothing had happened during the elections. That may be correct from his point of view. Let us suppose for a minute that nothing had happened. May I make a suggestion to him which will exonerate him from all these allegations or at least, if he accepts it, it will be concluded from it that he had no hand in the elections or that he wants to give a fair chance to the world to establish these charges against him. Let it be this; let him make a request to the Governor-General that he wants to set up two or three tribunals for conducting inquiries into the recent elections and that the Honourable Chief Justice of the Lahore High Court may be asked to spare two or three Judges who will act as the chairmen of those tribunals. Let him get this permission and then request the Chief Justice of the Lahore High Court to lend the services of

two or three Judges who will act as the chairmen of these tribunals he proposes to set up for conducting inquiries into the recent elections. This is a suggestion against which, I think, he should not have any objection. If he accepts it, the whole world will praise him and say that his hands are free from these illegalities and thus he will be able to demonstrate to the world that what he contended was right and after that nobody would dare say a word against him. If he agrees to set up tribunals in which this House and the public at large have confidence, he will be saving his own honour and will be able to create this impression in the minds of the people that he is not responsible for all this interference in the elections. But if, on the other hand, he does not accept this suggestion he should remember that the world will accept the verdict which the public has given against him to be true. If he does not accept this suggestion, the world will say that whatever the Opposition said was right and his denial in fact will prove that all the allegations that the public and the Opposition had made against him were quite true.

**Mrs. Rameshwari Nehru** (Lahore City, General, Women, Urban) (Urdu):

Sir, I had no mind to participate in the discussion but after having heard the speeches here I feel like saying a few words. As all the honourable members are aware, I have been elected for the first time to this House. So far the sphere of my work had not been politics, my work has been on constructive lines and it has concerned the best part of my life. The last 12 or 15 years have been spent in serving the poor. I moved amongst them, sat with them and worked for them and studied their mode of life and existence. Even though physically I am residing in a palatial house in comfort and plenty, but day in and day out, my soul, my heart and my mind is with those ill-clad, ill-fed and uncared for millions of my countrymen. My constant worry and effort has been to find a solution for their problems so as to make them live better lives. After all they too have the right to live and live well. There is no reason why a small section of greedy, unscrupulous people should be allowed to live on their labour and leave them hungry and naked, facing want, poverty and ignorance. As I worked amongst these people and came face to face with the gigantic problems of poverty, I felt that no relief on a big scale could be given to them unless the machinery of the government came into the hands of selfless people who would utilise it in bettering their condition and raising their standard of living. This realisation turned me to politics and whatever little I have done in that sphere was with the ultimate purpose of serving them.

A few years ago when I was working amongst the Harijans of Lahore, during the Unionist regime, I sponsored certain schemes for their well being, for the implementation of which Government aid was necessary. I approached the Governor, the Finance Minister and the Hon'ble Premier with those schemes and my demands for help. They received me well, listened to what I had to say, expressed their sympathy with my schemes, even promised support, but beyond this lip sympathy no actual or substantial help was given. It was a disillusionment and a great disappointment to me. The same old urge of ameliorating the condition of my poor countrymen has brought me here today, and I entertain the hope that perhaps from this House I shall get the support I need when I beseech it as one of its members. But I confess, I feel a little disappointed. For ever since the beginning of this session not a single proposal has been brought forward embodying the welfare of the masses nor is any concern or anxiety exhibited on their behalf. On the contrary, the scenes that I have been witnessing during the last four days, make me feel that the hon'ble members do not fully realise the importance of the critical situation the world is passing through. During the last thirty years it has passed through two gigantic world wars, out of one of which it is just emerging. The demon of war has changed the map of the world, made millions of women widows and many innocent children orphans. Thousands

[Mrs. Rameshwari Nehru]

of youngmen were sacrificed at its altar and the whole world today is writhing in a state of utter confusion and universal want.

India, willingly or unwillingly, has made great contribution in both these global wars. Our youngmen in tens of thousands served in various capacities in the Army both high and low. Our foodstuffs and enormous amounts of goods which India could ill afford, were exported to different theatres of war. In lieu of all these all we got was paper promises, an equivalent of which in sterling balances is supposed to have been kept to our account in the Bank of England. We hardly know whether we shall ever get the value of these sterling balances. All these happenings of recent years have caused a tremendous awakening in India. A burning desire to be free has arisen in the hearts of men. The sufferings they have gone through during these terrible years of war have made them realise the vital need of being free. Our soldiers in the Army are no longer mercenary men content to fight the battles of British imperialism. As a potent expression of the will to be free was the Indian National Army which was organised in an incredibly short time and whose numbers swelled up to thousands. The will to be free has penetrated all sections of the people. The strikes in the Army, the Air and the Naval forces of the country are a positive proof of the existence of this indomitable will. In view of all this I am sure it will not be long before our country is free. The great era of freedom is at hand, and we should see that it does not take us unawares. So we must put our heads together and look within and see where we stand. We are assured of a free and democratic constitution for India based on principles of justice and equality. Democracy has been tried in western countries but owing to various most potent reasons has not fully achieved its objective. Democratic institutions in America, England and elsewhere are based on party system. In my opinion, party system is a most defective system and leads to a great deal of wastage of energy and time. The reason is evident. Each party seeking to wrest power for itself engages in nothing else but fault finding. That is why we have seen that in England on critical occasions when urgent work had to be done, all parties merge into one and engage themselves in transacting the urgent business. We have seen this being done during the last war and before. This party system, defective though it is, based on differences of political ideology is excusable. But the formation of parties on the basis of religion is doomed to lead us to destruction and ruin. Religion is a private and personal affair—a relation that exists between the individual and his Maker. It is meant to raise us above all petty differences of material life and teaches an eternal lesson of unity and oneness of humanity.

It is a matter of great regret that during the last four days we have heard nothing but party bickerings which have been the burden of the speeches of the members of this House. Each party has brought accusations against the other. I am at a loss to understand where this is going to lead us. There is no end to differences. If we continue in this strain how far shall we go? Once having accepted a wrong basis we may end up in the formation of Shia, Sunni Leagues, also Sanatan Dharmi and Arya Samaji and other kinds of Leagues.

Sir, no religion in the world teaches hatred or intolerance. Brotherhood of man and co-operation and not disruption is the aim of all religions. We should therefore learn to live together and work for the betterment of the people in co-operation with each other. This should be the dominant thought in our minds at all times but more so today when conditions are so unsettled as a result of war. The country today is seething with discontent. Not only the civil population but even the Army has been affected by it. Long ago in 1930 it was one Indian company of Garhwalis who refused to obey the orders of their officers, but today, although such news does not appear in the Press, incidents of this nature are of daily occurrence. Refusal to work,

hunger strikes and even open revolt in the services, the Army, the Navy and the Air Force are a clear indication of the change that has taken place in the minds of the people. Everywhere demands are being made by these men for the improvement of their lot. The strike by the Delhi Police is the latest instance of the fact that people are prepared to make every sacrifice for the attainment of their legitimate rights.

The general public is doubtful with regard to the success of the Cabinet Mission that has come to India. It is undoubtedly true that liberty is never granted as a favour but has always to be won through toil and sacrifice. (*Hear, hear*). Our greatest need today is an agreement between the various communities. If that is achieved liberty is ours. It has been alleged by our brethren on that side of the House that the Punjab Congress and the Congress President Maulana Azad deliberately prevented a settlement with the Muslim League by persistently refusing to accede to their claim of being the sole representative of the Muslim community. In this connection I admit that expediency has a bit of place in politics. But there is something which is greater than expediency and it is truth and principle. Where basic principles are concerned, there can be no compromise and expediency has to give way to principle. Now the Congress is founded on the principle of the unity of Hindus, Musalmans and Sikhs, who all form its constituent arms. It stands for them all and is made of them. In the presence of such a lofty principle being their guiding star, how can the Congress agree to give up its claim to represent the Muslims, though only a section of them? We admit the fact that today the number of Muslims in our organisation is very small, but as long as there is even one Muslim with us, we must take him as a symbol of our principle and are pledged to stand by him. Let me make it clear that however estranged from us our brethren may be today we cannot afford to and will never keep away from them. (*Cheers*). The Congress stands as much for the Musalmans as for the Hindus. Their interests are the same and are linked together. There is a world of truth in the words of Mr. Brailsford who said that there were only two parties in India, that of the sated few and that of the hungry millions. The sated few who live a life of ease and plenty in their luxurious palaces and the exploited hungry millions who after sweating and toiling for others live in mud hovels and do not even get one square meal a day. Although I am opposed to class struggle, yet I admit that if there is any basis for the formation of parties, it is only the economic basis. It is easy to exploit religion for getting votes, but the only legitimate right on which we can claim a vote is the service that we render to our country. We have no right to fight elections by raising such slogans as Islam or Hinduism or Sikhism is in danger. Instead of using these slogans we should ask for being elected on the strength of our services to the country. I have frequently heard the word 'rule' in this House. I hate it and consider it to be at the source of much evil. I hope when our constitution is drawn up both "the ruler" and 'the ruled' would be replaced by the words 'service' and the 'servant'. We want to wipe away the old type of government which ran its administration on the conception of the governor and the governed. The Congress decision to take up the responsibility of the administration of the Punjab is based on its desire to serve the people. I am confident that in the momentous times ahead any government which comes to be formed in this country shall have 'service' for its motto.

**Begum Jahan Ara Shah Nawaz** (Outer Lahore, Muhammadan, Women, Urban) (*Urdu*): Mr. Speaker, I stand here to support the out motion. Although I had no intention of speaking yet the general trend of the debate compels me to express my views about several matters under discussion. First of all, I would very much like to view the general situation and place a picture of the Khizer Ministry's administration of this province during the last four years before this august House. At the same time I intend to say a few words in reply to the speeches made by the hon'ble members opposite in general and by my sister the lady member who has just finished speaking in particular.

[ Begum Jahan Ara Shah Nawaz ]

Today, it is after four years that I can speak freely and express views without any reservations whatsoever. I could not do so during this period not because anyone had checked me from a liberal expression of my views but for the fact that my lips had unfortunately been sealed by the seal of officialdom. I thank God that through His grace I have been able to break that seal and set aside the mark of slavery that had stood between me and my duty for a long period. (Voices: That mark is now round the necks of the members sitting opposite.)

Sir, I would like to say for the information of the House that during these four years I have had opportunities of travelling from Cape Comorin to the borders of Burma on the one side and to the Frontier Province on the other side and apart from this I have been abroad and I have visited the African and American Continents and wherever I went I have tried to study the conditions thoroughly. Besides that I have been present in a number of representative gatherings. From my experience I infer that any power however great it might be cannot survive unless and until it gives up its imperialist outlook and admits the principles of self-determination and self-government for every country and every race, however small it may be on the face of the earth.

The second thing that I wish to mention before this House is that even if the smallest community anywhere is not provided with the required facilities to develop itself socially, economically and educationally, it will not be possible to maintain law and order and run the administration of any area or country smoothly.

Now, I come to my own country. I would say that it is our duty to study the state of affairs thoroughly all over the country and suggest to the Government some improvements regarding the present state of affairs. We should study and analyse the present system of government. Our duty is not to point out the defects all the time. We should suggest better ways and means of administration in order to raise ourselves to the level of civilised nations of the world, so that India should no longer remain a backward country.

As to the Budget, Sir, I had not the time to go into the details of it, but I would very much like to mention that at the time when Sir Khizar Hayat held the stewardship of this province in his own hands, i.e., until the end of 1942 the revenue of the province was Rs. 16 crores and 64 lakhs. During the last four years with gradual rise in the income nearly Rs. 21 crores more than the usual income have been realized. How this amount has been spent will be clear from the figures which I shall now place before the House.

Sir, in 1942-43 Rs. one crore and 7 lakhs were spent on Education. It has been increased to Rs. 2 crores and 86 lakhs now, i.e., an increase of Rs. one crore and 16 lakhs. During the same year Rs. 80 lakhs were spent on Medical, but now it is Rs. one crore and 17 lakhs i.e., an increase of Rs. 37 lakhs. On Public Health, the expenditure was Rs. 22 lakhs but now it has risen to Rs. 55 lakhs, i.e., an increase of 33 lakhs. On Industries formerly the expenditure was 24 lakhs, but now it is Rs. 39 lakhs, i.e., an increase of Rs. 15 lakhs. From these figures it is clear that 28 per cent of the whole income was spent on the beneficent departments. In other words the expenditure comes to annas 4½ per head per annum on Medical, annas 2½ on Public Health, annas 18½ on Education and two pice on Industries. In the case of Police, we find quite the opposite. We know that when the Khizar ministry came into power, the expenditure on Police was Rs. one crore and 90 lakhs. But today we find the grant as Rs. 3 crores and 24 lakhs, i.e., an increase of Rs. one crore and 34 lakhs. Just imagine how pitiable it is that in the case of Industries, there is an increase of Rs. 15 lakhs only in four years and on Police in one year from last year to this year it is 15 lakhs. From these figures we find that in the case of Police there is an increase of 25 per cent. These are the benefits which the province has derived from the Hon'ble Major Sir Khizar Hayat Khan's Ministry. I am sorry that the time at my disposal is very short otherwise I could tell you a great deal about this.

Sir, I have had opportunities of working on some of the Government of India Committees. At this stage I would like to ask the Hon'ble Premier only one question and that is, "What were the circumstances under which he failed to attend the General Policy Reconstruction Committee? An Under Secretary was sent to that one of the most important Committees to represent the Punjab to attend it on his behalf. Was it not his duty to attend personally such a meeting where the best brains of India were present? What was the justification for sending an Under Secretary to such an important meeting? His voice there was only a voice of

طوطی کی آواز نثار خانہ میں کہیں سالتا ہے

Now about some general matters.

I ask my brothers on the Treasury benches: would it not have been better if Maulana Azad had made the offer, which he has now placed before the Muslim League party, in 1937 in the United Provinces? Had the Congress thought of forming Coalition ministries, then this present rift between the Hindus and the Muslims would not have been so great. I ask them to imagine what the condition of this province would have been if Sir Sikander had pursued the same policy which the Congress followed in the seven provinces where they were in the majority. But he through his broad-mindedness, wisdom and foresight thought it fit to include in his Government the best representatives of other communities and interests—

As regards the question of Nationalist Muslims, I would submit that one cannot deny the fact that a number of Muslims in the early days of the organisations joined the Congress. They realized very soon that the Congress was in reality a Hindu body created to safeguard Hindu interests. As their interests clashed with those of the Hindus, they knew that it would be unwise to depend upon the Congress to safeguard their rights and interests, therefore they had to start a political organisation of their own. The leading Muslims one by one have been leaving the Congress and have been entering the folds of the Muslim League. The Congressite or Nationalist Muslims are now a thing of the past. Only a few negligible persons are left and they are there either for personal considerations or reasons best known to them. Not a single Muslim with an iota of moral courage is left in the Congress fold. (*Hear, hear*).

Then my Congressite brothers over there have cited the example of the North-West Frontier Province. Let me make it clear to them that they are labouring under an illusion. The people over there have given their votes not to the Congress but to the Khan brothers and the Khudai Khidmatgars. Letting alone these two factors, the Congress could not have captured a single Muslim seat. (*Hear, hear*). I ask the Honourable Mr. Bhim Sen Sachar to show me where his Nationalist Muslims are in the Punjab. Not a single Ahrar candidate has been returned. The one we see over there is a traitor; he was elected on the Muslim League ticket, the League paying all the expenses. Where are the Khaksars and where are the Nationalist Muslims? These elections have proved beyond any shadow of doubt that Muslim League is the only representative body of the Musalmans. (*Cheers*). Even Maulana Daud Ghazanavi had to be elected from a joint electorate seat. Nationalist Muslims, I repeat, are a mere slogan. They represent nobody. They are a myth and the Congress itself is responsible for creating this myth. These Nationalist Muslims have proved to be a stumbling block in the Punjab as well as everywhere else. My Congressite brothers should have come to us, the real representatives of the Musalmans, and invited our co-operation in forming a stable ministry. Our principles are almost identical, both of us aspire for the freedom of this country. Only an alliance between both these parties could have proved enduring.



[ Begum Jahan Ara Shah Nawaz ]

Then it has been alleged that during the elections the Muslim League appealed to the voters in the name of God and Islam. I assure the House that it is not correct. No one was asked to give his vote in the name of religion. The cause of this misunderstanding seems to be in the lack of vision and judgment that the honourable members opposite have displayed. Our anxiety to safeguard our rights and our culture is being taken for rank communalism. Let me remind the honourable members over there that today in every country, in every community, the desire to secure the right of self-determination, the desire to live the way it suits one best, is taking deep roots. Such is the atmosphere prevailing all the world over. A similar desire has taken possession of the Musalmans in this country. They have been exploited long enough but now they would not stand any more of it. All this time they have been waiting for an ideal worth fighting for and for someone to pull them out of this mire of exploitation and show them the way to achieve a cherished goal. Now that ideal has been given to them by a great leader and this is why the Muslim nation is up and awake listening with rapt and respectful attention, looking up to him with grateful eyes and hearts full of confidence, regained, new hopes and new aspirations. They bow to him, their great leader. He has taught them that liberty and freedom are the birth-right of every Muslim and no one should be allowed to usurp them. He has taught them that they are not a minority; a population of one hundred millions cannot by any stretch of imagination be called a minority. They are a nation, a mighty and rising nation. This is what he has told them. Could there be a better ideal? And this nation of one hundred million Musalmans has entrusted its destinies into his safe hands. Every one, man, woman and child has responded to this message. Let me remind my brothers on the Government benches that gone indeed are the days when the Congress could boast of the Nationalist Muslims and when it could claim to represent all the communities. Now the Muslims are wide awake and they know where and how their interests can best be safeguarded. We do not want to rob anybody of anything but we would not tolerate the idea of being considered a minority. We are not a minority. We are a nation. (Cheers).

Mr. Speaker, I really fail to understand why my brothers over there are in such mortal fear of Pakistan. Is it because in Pakistan there would be no untouchables and women would no longer be slaves? Is it because in Pakistan equal treatment in all spheres of life would be meted out to every human being, no matter what his caste or creed is? (Cheers).

Mr. Speaker, as you are aware the world is passing through a crisis. Our own country is passing through a very critical period. People are becoming more and more politically conscious. Public opinion is taking definite shape and is growing more powerful every day. So far as the Muslim masses are concerned, they have given their verdict in clear-cut terms. But the Congress is still clinging to the dreams of the past. They are still nursing their pet theory of Nationalist Muslims. These so-called Nationalist Muslims who represent nobody, have always proved to be a stumbling block in the way of progress. The Simla Conference failed because there was the question of the inclusion of a Nationalist Muslim. Here in the Punjab negotiations for a Congress-League coalition broke down because the Congress was bent upon accommodating Nationalist Muslims. I have not the least hesitation in saying that the Congress High Command does not realise the real position. It has no vision, it has no judgment, it has no imagination. (Cheers). Only if the Congress were to give up this myth of the Nationalist Muslims, an agreement could be reached today.

Mr. Speaker, I regret to say that no less a person than my illustrious sister Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit is exploiting this myth in America. In very responsible circles she has been making statements to the effect that two-thirds of the Muslim population are in the Congress and only one-third is in the Muslim League. I appeal

to your sense of fairness and justice. Could any responsible Congressman say with his hand on his heart that this statement is correct? The elections have proved beyond any shadow of doubt that a vast majority of the Muslims is with the Muslim League, and that the latter is the only representative body of the Indian Muslims. (Cheers). Where are the Momins, the Khaksars, Ahrars, Nationalist Muslims and the rest? The Muslim League has completely wiped them off the political map of India. Why does not the Congress wake up and realize and admit the position as it is? I would request them to give up these tactics; they have been exposed. Let there be a free Hindustan for the Hindus, and a free Pakistan for the Muslims. (Cheers).

Mr. Speaker, I read what Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru said the other day. He said that the Muslims would not be able to achieve their goal of Pakistan even in a thousand years. I assure the Congress and the world outside that in spite of Pandit Nehru, in spite of his repeating this thing a thousand times, we shall, by the grace of God, achieve our goal of Pakistan within a few months. (Loud cheers).

Sir, now I wish to touch upon certain other matters. I ask the Honourable Premier as to where the new syllabus chalked out by the Syllabus Committee of the Punjab Government is. Long ago we were told that within two years the new syllabus would be introduced and a new course of books would be prepared according to it. We have been waiting for it all this time. Education should be the first and foremost concern of a progressive government. Without education, without literacy no progress in any sphere of life can be made. The whole system of education will have to be overhauled. Only that education which is imparted according to the individual needs of different classes of society can be of any real good. For example, in order to educate the rural masses which constitute 87 per cent of the population, agricultural centres should be opened. Similarly industrial centres should be opened for the industrial areas. It is the height of our misfortune that the reins of the Government in this province, are in the hands of a man who is ruining this province. (Shame shame). Three crores of rupees are to be spent on police. The primary education, on the other hand, needs a recurring grant of only two crores. Could not the Government have reduced the expenditure on Police and spent it on primary education? I leave it to the honourable members over there to judge the whole thing for themselves.

Then, Mr. Speaker, the conditions prevailing in our hospitals are beyond all description. As compared with this province the State of Travancore and certain other progressive states are far more advanced in this respect.

*At this stage the Assembly adjourned till 2-30 p.m.*

*The Assembly reassembled at 2-30 p.m. of the clock. Mr. Speaker in the chair*

**Begum Jahan Ara Shah Nawaz :** Sir, I was submitting that a basic change in our educational system is very badly needed. We must introduce revolutionary changes in our present system of education and we must make our education useful and beneficial from the nationalist point of view. This clerk-producing system must go for good now. If we carefully study the census figures, we will come to know that barely thirteen per cent of our population is living in cities and the rest is residing in rural areas. But the present educational syllabus is not doing good to any of them. Both the sections of our population are not getting the necessary knowledge and training for their vocation in life. We must adopt such a syllabus that may prove useful to the entire country. The Sargent Report recommends that education should be made compulsory between the ages of seven and fourteen. Compulsory free education is the crying need of our province and we must achieve it at all costs.

In the matter of agricultural institutions we are lagging behind. Far greater attention in this direction is very badly needed. If we cannot do anything else, we must produce good and useful workers in the fields at least. We are still depending upon the old and crude methods of harvesting and the world has made considerable

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 progress in this field. We must rush ahead and should move side by side along with other advanced countries of the world.

The present arrangements for imparting instruction in home science, which is a very vast subject now, in our institutions are also totally unsatisfactory. We should introduce many new subjects in the present syllabus. Important subjects like dietetics, child psychology, book keeping, etc., should be included in the syllabus. This subject will enlighten our house-wives in the matter of the combination of different foods for daily consumption. Even the poorest people will be able to arrange their menu in such a way that they will get all the necessary nourishment out of the ordinary meals and courses. Book-keeping too needs an immediate attention. Its teaching will educate our women in the matter of accounts. They will be able to arrange their resources in the best possible way and the teaching of these two subjects will leave no place for any wastage.

Sir, we need home science and for that goal we must totally re-model our existing educational system for girls. If my friends want to keep pace with the other progressive countries of the world, then we must follow European countries in the matter of research in home science. New Zealand has surpassed all the other countries and the best institution of this type is found there. Education in home science will inspire your girls to build up their homes on scientific lines and will give them enormous impetus in the way of their qualifying themselves for their real vocation in life. I again want to remind my friends that if we want to exist in this progressive world, then we must keep pace with our progress and for this purposes, we must introduce revolutionary changes in our educational system. But, Sir, I am forced to add here that ability and good education are needed for the author of all these reforms and how can our Premier, who has never gone out of India, introduce all these reforms with success?

The child mortality in India is most alarming. Whenever I happened to visit any place outside India and especially in the Women and Children's Committee of the League of Nations, I was always asked this question. Once, in 1935 when I came out after attending a meeting of that Committee, I was asked as to which country I belonged. On my saying that I belonged to India, I met with the remark, "Oh, India—where the rate of child mortality is the greatest in the world." It was very painful to hear those words before a world gathering. Even today, in 1946, the condition in this respect is little improved in our country. A sum of Rs. 19 lakhs was required for 800 Welfare Infant Centres in the plains of the Punjab, but this Government could not provide even this small amount. It was not much to ask for 19 lakhs out of 21 crores for this purpose. The health visitors in charge of these centres give very valuable instructions to mothers before and after the birth of children and are doing very valuable work, especially in villages. In the places where these health centres were opened, the rate of mortality of children was reduced from five to four and of maternal mortality from 20 per cent to 9 and 6 per cent. This has been proved by experiment. But this Government grudges to spend such little sums on such useful items.

You will be surprised to know, Sir, that there is not a single hospital for children in the whole of this Province. You will come across such hospitals in some of the backward Indian States, but not in this province, which is not less than France in area. Then, Sir, the condition of the premier hospital in this province is so deplorable that you will not find such un-equipped hospitals even in the most backward colonies of Africa.

I come to another point now. My honourable friend Maulana Daud Ghaznavi, in his speech the other day, enumerated the number of the Nationalist Muslims elected in these elections to the various provincial legislatures. I had no time then. Now I am thankful to my Party for giving me the time and I would like to take this

opportunity to deal with this point. I have already stated the position in the Frontier Province. In the three provinces of the Punjab, Assam and Sind, not even a single Nationalist Muslim, I mean a Muslim on the Congress ticket, has been returned. In the U. P. only four Muslims have been returned on the Congress ticket, and that only because the papers filed by two of their Muslim League opponents were rejected. Mr. Ibrahim Kidwai, whom the Congress is including in its present Cabinet, was defeated from three Muslim constituencies and was returned from the University seat only.

Now I would like to say a few words to Malik Khizar Hayat Khan, although he is not present in the House. I met him during the Simla Conference also and tried to explain to him the whole situation, but he ignored my advice at that time. Had he accepted it then, he would have been here with us as the Premier and as the Leader of our Party. I saw Mahatma Gandhi also at that time and requested him to agree to what Maulana Daud Ghaznavi is offering here to-day on behalf of the Congress, but he did not agree to it then. In fact, the whole history of the Congress shows that the leaders of that party never agree to a proposal when they are approached, but when some time passes they themselves come out with the same proposal. They do not realise that there are psychological moments in the lives of nations, and these moments do not come again and again. If once you let them slip, you can never catch them. What is the use of doing a thing at the wrong moment? So the Mahatma did not agree to it at that time, and now the Congress is offering the same thing here in the Punjab. They are always behind the time. The present leadership of the Congress is devoid of imagination and statesmanship. I approached the Mahatma, the same Mahatma who at the time of the Round Table Conference in London told me that my speeches had brought tears to his eyes. I requested him to ask the Nationalist Muslims, when according to him they had sacrificed so much, to make one more sacrifice for the cause of the country, but he would not listen. Had he agreed to it then, what would have been the condition in the country to-day? Let the Congress learn a lesson from its past and do the right thing now. Their goal is freedom, our goal is freedom. Their slogan is liberty, our slogan is liberty. The only difference is that they want the freedom of the caste Hindus only, while we want freedom for all. Why do not they leave that attitude of thinking in terms of their own liberty only, and join hands with us in order to free the poor masses of this country from want and hunger? I have not seen such poor people in the whole of the world, not even in the backward colonies of Africa. I know there are capable men in the Congress. I know Mr. Bhim Sen Sachar is capable of doing constructive work. Then, there is my brother Chaudhri Krishna Gopal Dutt. He can work in co-operation with others. But of what use? I appeal to them, and this is my last appeal. Let us get together and work for the benefit of our country. I request them to face the situation squarely. During the days of the Round Table Conference, the late Maulana Muhammad Ali said to me, "My child, you are making very nationalist speeches. Listen to an old man's experiences." He went on, "I have been working with these people for the last so many years. Sacrifices are made but when the time comes to reap the fruit, there always is a clash of interests. They always find Muslims to say for them certain things, which it is awkward for them to say themselves. We, the Muslims are a backward people and are in need of protection. We are prepared to enter the struggle for freedom, but it must be freedom for all." But, they want freedom for the caste Hindus only and want to dominate the Muslims for ever. That is why they grudge us even our due share. The Simla Conference broke on the question of a single seat. The same thing happened during the Round Table Conference. It was Mr. Ramsay Macdonald who said there, "Gentlemen! should I tell the world that Indians cannot agree on account of a single seat?" That was said in 1931. To-day in 1946 the position is no better. The Congress is harping on the same tune. It is playing the same old game. To-day they have thrust on our heads a Premier who represents no one. At the time when he was made Premier

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for the first time, no body could imagine that that man, who used to work in a District Board, and was appointed Minister as soon as he entered the legislature will be made the head of a province like the Punjab. The late Sir Sikander had an overwhelming majority of the Muslims with him. But when this Premier approached the electorate, they finished the very party to which he belonged. The people of the province threw him out but the Congress upheld him and made him the Premier. Why do they not realise that it is against the very principles of democracy. Suppose we change the name of the Muslim League and call it a Unity League and rope in a few non-Muslims, and appoint one of them as the leader of the party, will they too recognise him as their leader ?

Before I resume my seat I would like to put one or two questions to the Honourable Premier. One is in regard to the Special Development Fund. That fund was created some 8 years back. It was created with a view to make a 5 years development plan for the Punjab. The facts that were disclosed to us by the Ministers in regard to that 5 years development plan were that a fund would be created to start development work in the whole of the province and that every year a tahsil would be taken from each of the 29 districts of the Punjab and in those tahsils development work would be started. It was said that in every tahsil a primary school, a welfare centre and a dispensary would be opened and a rural welfare worker would be maintained for looking after the special development work. In this way it was hoped that in five years, as each district comprised of only four or five tahsils, development work would be started in all the tahsils of the province. Now I ask the Honourable Premier why it is that when we were promised that this work would be done in five years, nothing has been heard of it. This Special Development Fund was created in 1938 and from that year up till now at least 8 years have elapsed. Where is that work ? I do not see any indication of it in these pages. The fact, Sir, is that these funds are created and money is also provided in the budget but it is handed over to the deputy commissioners who spend it as they like. They give Rs. 10,000 to one and Rs. 15,000 to another and those people come and tell the deputy commissioners that they have established a school at one place and a dispensary at another and so on and nothing is done. In this way the whole of the money is spent but no real work is accomplished.

The second question which I wish to ask pertains to the demobilised soldiers about whom my nephew Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan has already spoken. I shall not touch it but I want to know what is being done for the technicians. I have visited a number of war factories and I was very pleased to find that 40 per cent of the mechanic technicians working in those factories were Punjabees. I ask what arrangement he has made to provide work for those 40 per cent of the skilled labourers who, fortunately, are available or will become available to us in the near future. From November last up till now 40,027 Punjabees have been demobilized. Of these 40,027 demobilised soldiers 40 per cent are those technicians who have returned after working in the war factories. I would like to ask the Honourable Premier what exploratory work has been done during the last five years so that as soon as machinery is forth-coming these demobilised technicians could be employed. Has the Government started any industrial concern or any factory of which they can take charge ? It is very much regretted that here in the Punjab precious time has been wasted in political strife and nothing has been done for the resettlement and rehabilitation of the soldiers and the skilled technicians. Now the best thing which this war is giving us is the labour without which we cannot promote industries in this province. Has the Honourable Premier considered how to make the best use of this available skilled labour ? So far only 6 crores of rupees have been set apart for post-war reconstruction. Now our revenues have gone up to Rs. 21 crores, but along with that our expenditure has also increased. My submission

is that in 1942 the administration of the province was carried on with Rs. 16 crores. I ask; could not we have run the administration with the same expenditure and the saving thus made being spent on the beneficent departments? Unemployment will increase to such an extent that our educated boys do not and will not know what to do and where to go. I ask what is the reason that so far no exploratory work in industry has been taken in hand? Now that the British Government is thinking of handing over the powers of administration to the Indians and if God willing Pakistan is established then we may be able to show this and to do all that they should have done. But till that time comes this skilled labour which fortunately is now within our grasp will have been wasted. Sir, when I went to America in 1942 at the time only one year had passed since the entry of that country into the war, but I found a committee of Resettlement and Rehabilitation at work at that very time. The Punjab Government was sleeping. I have seen many Indian States and I was very much astonished to find what wonderful work is being done in progressive States in the sphere of industrial chemical research. Take for instance Travancore and Mysore. The industry has developed so much in those States that one is astonished at the progress. Hyderabad at one time was considered to be very backward in the matter of industries, but now industrial research work of such a nature is being carried on there that I was surprised. Mr. Speaker, through you, I want to convey to the Honourable Premier that it may happen that the British Indian provinces may lag behind the Indian States whom we so contemptuously used to call the backward Indian India. It is time that he should divert his attention whole-heartedly to this important matter. Now, I do not propose to take any more time of the House but I would very much like to say to one of my sisters who remarked that I had changed my political creed, that to-day the world and almost all the nations of the world are working to be free. Now all the small countries are also going to be free in the near future and no trace of imperialism will be left in this world. Let them also turn out of their minds the spirit of exploitation and let Hindustan and Pakistan come into existence. The world is passing through a very critical period and our Hindu brethren should not give proof of their narrow-mindedness. If according to them we Muslims are making a mistake in asking for a Pakistan let us suffer for it. If they think that we are committing a blunder, although I know that we are doing the right thing and it is not a mistake, if they think that Pakistan will not be economically feasible why should they worry about it? If we make a mistake we shall have to pay for it and not they. I would request them not to put obstacles in our way for we want to live and die for Pakistan.

**Mr. Virendra :** (West Multan Division, General, Rural) (*Urdu*) : Sir, during the last four or five days much has been said about the Coalition Ministry in this House. Speeches have been made in its favour as well as against it. Honourable members from both sides of the House have expressed their feelings in regard to it but with a little difference. If on the one hand the members of the Coalition Party have supported it in view of its present position and future programme, on the other hand my friends of the Opposition Party have condemned it for the sins of omission and commission of the outgoing Ministry, the responsibility for which neither this Government can take upon their shoulders nor are they prepared to do so. There is no doubt that so far as the past history of six or seven years of this province is concerned, many things have been done for which every Punjabi hangs his head in shame. To-day we are reminded again and again : "Have you forgotten that treatment which these people meted out to you till recently"? I want to make it quite clear that we have not forgotten that cruel treatment that was meted out to us in the Punjab jails in 1942, 1943 and 1944. We have not forgotten that barbarous treatment which was meted out to us in the Lahore Fort. We remember it and we shall not forget it till the time that even a trace is left of the administration which meted out that cruel treatment to us.

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But I want to inform the honourable members sitting opposite who are now professing themselves to be lovers of democracy, freedom and liberty that the future historians will not excuse them for the blackest deeds they committed during the last seven years of the Unionist regime and their record in the pages of the history of Indian independence will be most disgraceful. (*Hear, hear from Treasury Benches*). The honourable members opposite have accused us that the Congress Party by coalescing with the Unionist Party has fallen from the zenith of sublimity to the nadir of degradation. But I want to ask these apostles of democracy and freedom who are here now preaching the principles of liberty and independence as to what they did when they were occupying these very seats during the former Unionist Ministry.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** We did not mean to preach but only to remind you.

**Mr. Virendra :** We have come here very recently. But we cannot efface out the unbearable impressions which have now taken a permanent set of the ignominious acts they have committed when they were occupying these seats. I do not understand why my honourable friend Raja Sahib has repeated times without number that the promulgation of section 144 in Lahore has been a slur on the Congress Party itself. I want to ask him if he has forgotten the speeches he made when we were thrust behind the prison bars, in the year 1942. Is he not the same person who supported the Government in its policy to suppress the Congress Movement in 1942 and thrust every patriotic man and woman into the prisons? Is he not the same person who used to justify the suppression and the atrocious acts committed by the Government then and label them as preventive rather than vindictive measures? He has no reply to make in this behalf. Now I wish to quote a few passages from the speeches made by my honourable friend Raja Sahib, when he was a supporter of the Unionist Government :—

"Now, in this connection, let me make it clear that a Government generally speaking, can meet emergent situations in two ways. One is to wait till it arises and the other is to adopt precautionary measures to prevent it, as it is said, prevention is better than cure."

Keeping this in view, I wonder how the same person who supported preventive measures during the last Unionist Government, should now condemn and protest against the preventive measures taken by the present Coalition Government in enforcing Section 144 only with a view to maintaining peace and order in the city of Lahore. What a change! (*Loud uproar*). In spite of all this, he repeatedly stamps the Congress Party as traitors for having coalesced with the Unionist Party. We have only coalesced with it to ameliorate the poor masses, but we have not forgotten the wrongs done to us by the former Unionist Party of which he was a strong supporter and a great patron. I would like to read before him the certificate he gave to the Unionist Party for its efficient administration :—

"While this was the condition prevailing in other provinces the Punjab Government became more active and alert lest some emergent situation of that nature should arise there affecting the peace and tranquillity of the province. Though fortunately nothing happened in the Punjab, yet Government took action as a preventive measure which, as I have said is always better than cure. I quite admit that possibly some innocent persons may have been put behind the bars as a number of arrests were to be made in the province. Now if sabotage, arson, incendiarism and murder were committed in the province and a number of innocent people had fallen victim to these disturbances in the country we would have been condemned by the same opposition who is now asking us the reason for making these arrests in the province. Then my honourable friends sitting opposite would have asked us as to why the Government was sleeping over this matter. I think now I have made it clear that actions taken honestly by the Government are always commendable and never condemnable."

And this Unionist Party had only one object in view :—

"The credit for this state of affairs goes to the non-communal policy pursued by the Government, which is Unionist Party Government and is based on the principle of a Government of the Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs united as one homogenous whole. The foundations of our party have been laid on the rock of unity of the communities."

And further he says :—

"Had there been a less strong Government in the Punjab than the one we had, it would have succumbed to the crisis. I think the Punjab Government deserve congratulations from every fair minded person on the way it has handled the situation and kept peace and order in the province."

And to-day, when we have formed an all-party Government, keeping in view the critical situation of our country, the honourable members opposite condemn us for sharing the responsibility of the Government with the Unionist Party. But whatever the Unionist Party did in the past, it was all due to the malicious intentions of the honourable members occupying the opposition benches. It is they and they alone who strengthened the Unionist Party and encouraged it to suppress the Congress Party. It is these and these honourable members alone, who will stand responsible and condemned for the worst type of repression carried out by them in this province, when they were the sworn helpers of the Unionist Party. But strangely enough, they still speak of liberty and freedom. Even my honourable friend Sir Feroze Khan Noon preaches to the Congress to have freedom and liberty as its goal. I wonder what these pseudo-patriots have sacrificed in their struggle for freedom. I wonder how my honourable friend Sir Feroze Khan Noon can shape his mouth to speak such sacred words, when the only service he could render to India was of telling the people of America and the United Kingdom that India had already attained freedom even without the Britishers knowing it. (*Uproar*). (*An honourable member* : No, No. There is no truth in it.)

**Begum Jahan Ara Shah Nawaz** : Whatever the honourable member says is quite baseless. It is not based on any fact.

**Mr. Virendra** : I am speaking about the so-called champion of freedom—Sir Feroze Khan Noon—and not about the lady member. I regret that my sister, the honourable lady member has begun to doubt the correctness of my statement. Let me inform her that I am referring to the most abominable, most treacherous and most unpatriotic speech that my honourable friend Sir Feroze Khan Noon had made about Indians in England. (*Voices from Opposition benches* : No, it is not true). Do they say that it is not a fact? Then here is an extract from the speech that was made by him and I will read that out to them. It is as follows :—

"Although on paper India may not be a Dominion, I feel it sometimes necessary to point out that His Majesty's Government do not know that under their very noses India has grown practically to Dominion Status, without their knowing it."

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan** : Is this an extract from the "*Tribune*"? Which is this paper?

**Mr. Virendra** : It is the news from Reuters.

**Master Kabul Singh** : Why is the honourable member prejudiced against the "*Tribune*"?

**Mr. Virendra** : To-day my honourable friend Sir Feroze Khan Noon, who has so far been the agent of British imperialism and has been a traitor and has done the greatest harm to the cause of our country's freedom, has suddenly begun to preach the gospel of liberty to the Congress. May I ask my friend Raja Sahib as to how can he have the brazen face to vilify and ridicule the Congress Party for taking their share in the administration of the province, when during the last Unionist regime, he supported the Government in repressing the Congress-men both inside and outside the prison bars?

On his arrival at Lahore, Sir Feroze Khan Noon gave an interview to the press. I would like to read out to the honourable members opposite a few lines published in this paper :—

"Asked whether the position of the Muslim League would not differ very much from what it was under the Sikandar Jinnah Pact before the breach last summer between Mr. Jinnah and the leader of the Unionist Party Malik Khizar Hayat Khan, Sir Feroze said : "Personally I will have no objection to this



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Coalition being called Unionist. I have no objection to the Unionist demand but what I want is that every Muslim should be returned to the Assembly on the League ticket. The Coalition inside the legislature can be called by any name."

These are the very words of the honourable member whom they want to make their leader. These are the words of Sir Feroze as they appear in the "*Dawn*" the official organ of the Muslim League. He goes on to say :—

I do not think the Muslims would be so foolish as to quarrel over the name. After all what is in a name. It will be nonsensical to fight over the name for the world would laugh at us. I would agree to give the coalition any name.

In the light of this statement may I ask my honourable friends as to how can they justify their dubbing us as reactionaries to-day that we have coalesced with the Unionist Party, whereas had they formed the coalition and called it Unionist there would have been nothing wrong about it? In this party there are many others besides these two prominent leaders who transfer their loyalties from one party to the other every now and then. They who were Unionists yesterday are Leaguers to-day, and God knows what they will be to-morrow. These are the people who have been calling Sir Khizar Hayat Khan, a turn coat, a traitor and what not. It will not be out of place to mention here what some of the honourable members like Nawab Ashiq Hussain and Sir Jamal Khan Leghari, who have now gone over to that side thought of the Muslim League, before their political somersault :—

"We have read with regret the Muslim League Committee of action's decision expelling the Honourable Malik Khizar Hyat-Khan Tiwana, Premier of the Punjab from the membership of the League. The decision was wholly unjust and unwarranted on the merits of the case and is a great political blunder from the point of view of its consequences for the Muslims. The Premier has issued a detailed well reasoned and well documented statement on the subject. We fully endorse it and pledge our whole-hearted support for the position he has taken. As we follow him and like him joined the Muslim League subject to the terms of the Sikander-Jinnah Pact, we are constrained with utmost regret to sever our connection with the Muslim League since it no longer recognises the Pact."

**Major Nawab Ashiq Hussain :** That is not my statement. Can you prove that it is mine?

**Mr. Virendra :** Well, I admit it does not carry your signatures, still every one knows that the Press could not publish it if it were not authorised by you. Moreover it is a matter of common knowledge that one cannot give credence to the words of those who are in the habit of renouncing their political faith whenever it suits their purpose. The wonder of all wonders is that these very people who till yesterday were responsible for all the high-handedness and repression carried out against us come here and try to preach sermons to those sitting on this side of the House. I am glad to find that my honourable friend Sir Feroze Khan has returned to his seat. Yesterday he admonished us that we had joined hands with those who had put us in jails but may I ask him whether he himself was not responsible for the wholesale arrests of Congress men in 1942 when he was a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council? In spite of what they have been doing so long they have the temerity to ask us why we have coalesced with the Unionist party. Let me inform my friends that it was because we could not tolerate their coming into power and subjecting us to the same treatment as they had been meting out before. (*Hear, hear*). So far as the fight for freedom is concerned we are not new to the task. We have fought all along and can still give fight with the same tenacity if the need for it arises. It can be a cause of worry to my honourable friends, who have so far led a comfortable life. My honourable friend Raja Ghazanfar Ali tried to put up a brave show by remarking that he was prepared for the moment when we shall put handcuffs on their wrists. Let me tell him that if he has the courage to put his words to practice, his desire can be satisfied even to-day. (*Uproar*). My honourable friend Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din is getting upset. Both of us have been in jail for a long time and he knows what it is to be there. The reason why he has left the Congress is that he found out the extent to which he will

have to make sacrifices here while he can earn cheap notoriety more easily by just going over to the Muslim League. Anyhow I need not enter into the pros and cons of his conversion. If he realizes the error of his ways even now, I do not think much harm has been done.

اگر صبح کا ہوا شام کو گھر آئے تو اسے ہوا نہیں سمجھنا چاہئے

If my friends are prepared to fight for their country's freedom our arms will be open to receive them. (*An honourable member*: Accept our demand for Pakistan.) So far as the Pakistan issue is concerned it is such a complicated affair that neither of us is capable of solving it. To-day neither my honourable friends in the Opposition nor we have the requisite authority to bring it about. The only way to solve it would have been a coalition between our parties but that was unfortunately prevented by a long distance call from Assam.

The progress and the betterment of the Province demands that all of us should work together. My honourable friends should remember that to dream of the rule of the majority community is like living in the fool's paradise. Only that government which includes all the communities of the province can hope to make a contribution towards the advancement of its people. It should, in short, be a government such as we have established here. (*Cheers*). We have been told *ad nauseum* that the formation of the Coalition Ministry is tantamount to a negation of democracy, because the majority party has not been given any share in it. May I remind my friends that in the formation of a ministry in the Punjab we did not resort to the tactics which they employed for forming ministries in the North-West Frontier Province, Sind and Bengal, by imprisoning and gagging Congressmen. We are here not because we imprisoned you but because we have had a solid vote from the electorate.

I respectfully submit to my honourable friends over there that they should remember that so far as the good of the province is concerned our interests are common and whether we live in Hindustan, Pakistan or Khalistan we shall have to live together. If we once grasp that fact, would it not be in the fitness of things to devise ways and means whereby we could live together like members of one big family?

Sir, after this I would like to submit a few suggestions to the Honourable Premier and his colleagues. In the interest of the province, it is the duty of the Government to keep in view its progress and general good of the public.

My first suggestion is about the liberty of press and platform. I suggest that everybody as a right should have free access to the Government through these agencies. In the absence of this, I am sure no government can take any step towards the betterment of the public. (*Voices*: What about the security demanded from the "*Nawa-a-Waqt*)? Liberty does not mean a licence. What I mean by liberty is to bring the grievances of the public to the notice of the Government freely but in a lawful manner.

The second suggestion relates to the oppression of the police. The police officers' I am sure, have adopted an intolerable attitude. They think themselves super-human. They do not pay heed to the public complaints. They always go against the public interests. I would urge upon the Government to bring home to such officers the fact that they are not their superiors but are in reality their servants.

My third suggestion, Sir, relates to the Lahore Fort. This fort holds a very bad name throughout the length and breadth of the country. The happenings there were such that no civilized nation or government in the world could tolerate it. I would, therefore, request that an Enquiry Committee for the investigation of the root cause of the oppression may please be constituted at the earliest convenience.

After this I come to the prevailing corruption, I find that so many members of the House have pointed out that corruption is in full swing in this province. I too support their voice against this practice. It has led to arouse the masses against the Government. They held a very bad opinion about them. They are losing public confidence.

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I would, therefore, urge upon the Government that in order to win them over to their side they should adopt effective measures to uproot such harmful practices.

Now, Sir, I come to the Civil Supplies Department. The irregularities in this department have already been pointed out by so many members of the House. It is through you, Sir, that I would ask the Minister concerned to introduce necessary reforms in this department. I think that this demand of the House is highly essential and is out and out in the public interest.

Besides this, Sir, I would submit that the system of nominations in the Municipal Committees should be abolished. The nomination of Zaildars should also be given up. The reason for the introduction of such reform is to make the honourable members opposite realise that we are fully aware of the weaknesses and loopholes of the Government. We want to remove such drawbacks so that the members of the Opposition party may not have the opportunity to point them out whenever they happen to occupy the Ministerial benches. (*Hear, hear*).

In the end, I would like to say a few words about the administration of this province. I wish that in this province too, as in the civilized countries of the world and even in some of the provinces of India, there should be some rules and regulations relating to the political prisoners. Even if we were not to copy the foreign countries in this respect, we should at least learn a lesson from our neighbouring provinces. We should make some rules for the consolation of the public. At this stage I would ask the Raja Sahib to show some toleration and forbearance, so that India may have an opportunity to set a good example for other countries of the world.

With these words I finish my speech. (*Loud applause*).

**Khan Muhammad Arif Khan** (Jhang West, Muhammadan, Rural) (*Urdu*): Sir, I find that the honourable members from both sides of the House have delivered so many speeches on various topics, that now there is no scope left for me to add anything more to them. The first point which I want to deal with is about the Civil Supplies Department.

Sir, you know fully well the extent to which the public are concerned with this department. I would not add any details to this point. What I mean to say is that this department is meant to provide facilities to the public in general and the poor in particular. But, does the Honourable Minister concerned realise his responsibility? How far is he performing his duty to the entire satisfaction of the public? Perhaps he would not like to say anything about it. Hence I think I will be able to explain the whole situation to the satisfaction of the House. All of us know that this is the most corrupt department. A number of irregularities are practised in it and there has been another addition during these elections. This irregularity has aroused the Muslim masses against the Government. The Unionist party has been harassing the Muslim masses in respect of food, oil and cloth. In some cases the poor had to do without food for days together. During these elections, the attitude of the Government has been against the public interest. Those who were to support the Unionist candidates were allowed all facilities, while others who supported the Muslim League candidates were deprived of all such concessions. I would ask you, Sir, whether such a vindictive attitude could ever be expected from any civilized nation on the face of this earth. During these elections the district administrative officers had instructed their subordinates to provide facilities only to those who cast their votes against the Muslim League candidates. The supporters should be deprived of food stuffs and other necessities of life. The Zaildars and the "hashya nashins" were made the depot-holders. Special instructions were issued to them. Sir, just imagine, how inhuman has been the treatment of the Unionist party. Could it be expected that human beings would ever mete out such deplorable treatment to their fellow beings in any part of the

world? Do not the Muslim masses have the right to cast their votes as they please? What do the Government understand by self determination? I would ask the Government to clarify their position about the oppression to which the Muslim masses were made the victims. Is it a crime to cast vote in a free atmosphere? If not, what is all this oppression and harassment due to? I am sure, no religion allows any government to deprive human beings or even animals of food. I know that according to our religion such a treatment is not admissible even to an enemy or a murderer. According to the sacred law of Islam there is prohibition from such an inhuman treatment. It is a pity that the casting of votes to the satisfaction of the voters has deprived them of the necessities of life. It is only yesterday that the Honourable Minister said that the officers who participated in these elections would be called upon to clear their respective positions. But I am astonished to see this morning that the programme has entirely been changed. I think he is justified to some extent. How is it possible for him to call for the explanations of those officers through whom the Honourable Premier has been able to move about in the building of the Assembly? Under these circumstances how can he take any step against such officers?

Sir, my friends were talking of sacrifice. They profess to possess better sacrificing traditions than us. They consider us inferior to themselves in this respect. They say that we cannot make sacrifices. I would ask them what traditions have they and where from did they learn the very idea of sacrifice? It is all due to us Muslims that to-day they claim to be the pioneers in this respect. It is the Muslim nation, I would say, that first laid the foundation of the real and at the same time effective sacrifice in the world. The Muslims through the ideal of sacrifice taught the whole world that the exigency of time could demand anything from them for the attainment of truth. (*An honourable member*: What do you think of Maulana Daud Ghaznavi in this respect? Has he not made a sacrifice in leaving aside his fellow believers?) No, it is not a sacrifice at all. He has done it for his livelihood and personal interest. The Congress claims to believe in non-violence on the one hand but declares to be the pioneer in making sacrifice on the other. What a strange idea it is!

In this respect the condition of my district beggars all description. The people over there are experiencing great inconvenience at the hands of this Department.

Sir, now I would like to make a few submissions about the canals. In this respect the zamindars of my district are very badly hit. The difficulties and the inconveniences they have to undergo furnish a sad commentary on the administration of the present Government. For example, the minors in my district are 'kacha' ones and the water very often breaks out of them. The worst of it is that the zamindars are punished for this occurrence in which they have no hand. Fines are imposed on them and they are harassed in other ways too.

Then, Sir, the condition of hospitals in my district can not possibly be worse than what it is. Medicines are not available and the patients have to go back disappointed and broken-hearted. And if at all some medicines are available, their prices are so high that the average people cannot afford to pay for them. Under the prevalent conditions no heed is being paid to the bare necessities of human beings.

As regards education, I would submit that the level of literacy is low throughout the Punjab, but my district is one of the worst hit places in this respect. Without educating the people, without making them literate, no progress can be made in any sphere of life. In order to spread education, in order to make the masses literate, it is imperative that every village should have a school. There is a crying need for high, middle and primary schools all over the province. The Government would be well advised to give this matter the anxious care it demands.

Sir, with these words I resume my seat.

**Chaudhri Ranjit Singh** (Hissar South, General, Rural): Mr. Speaker, having regard to the fact that the budget was prepared under the instructions of the last Government and to the fact that the present Government is willing to do their best to achieve the freedom of the poor, of the labourer, of the cultivator and of the worker, I would like to make certain suggestions. I have been listening to the speeches on both sides of the House in which I think there was no healthy criticism which we should have during the present critical days and the phase through which India is passing. The first essential thing before us is that we should fulfil the promise to the young men of the Punjab who went to the battle-field. The promise was that all the grants of land will be given to those people who would send their sons to the battle-field and not to those who procure recruits or to others who can go and approach Government officials in the name of gentry. And the biggest promise which was given to that young soldier who went to the battle-field was that India will be made free as soon as this war was over. The responsibility of fulfilling this promise lies on the present Government on the one side and upon the complete House here on the other side. What does the soldier feel when he comes back from the army either on leave or after his release? He finds that his parents cannot get an adequate supply of daily requirements. They cannot get cloth, they cannot get sugar. That is why I am putting these concrete suggestions which are practical ones. I am not dealing with vague arguments. The soldier finds a differential treatment from the supply department. If he goes to the town, he finds that a man living in a small town can get 15 chhataks of sugar while the proud father of the soldier can get only 2 chhataks in a month. Again, he finds it noised about that famine in India is approaching. I can say with authority that at least in the Punjab there is no famine. I am a cultivator as well as a soldier. I do not believe things when I read them in papers. I can go to the fields and can see that there are bumper crops. I do not believe in eating wheat. When there is a question of living, I can eat *bajra* and live in this world quite all right. This famine occurred when the Central Government made an announcement that there is famine in India. There was some effect on the minds of the people. After some time there was some order in the district that made essential for the poor cultivator to surrender all he had in the shape of food-stuffs, which are not more than three months' requirements. When this order came to the notice of the public there was a panic. Every one was approaching me—I do not know about other members of my district—but at least all sections of the district came to me and sought an opinion whether they should collect their present harvest or not. The panic is so great that I cannot describe it in this House. They say, "If we collect our harvest, the Government will take it away". I could not give them any answer at the moment but I will say that the Supply officers, who are responsible for such orders in the district, should not think so lightly of the public. They should first see whether they can meet the demand of a small town by some other way and avoid such orders. If they could avoid these orders, then there would not be panic and they could get sufficient amount of grain in the market. What was the effect when these orders were issued? The price of wheat went from Rs. 10 to Rs. 20 per maund in the black market; it is a hard fact, and they cannot get wheat. Wheat was coming in the *mandis* and it was sold daily. It is a different thing that just before the next harvest which is to come after a month, there will be some shortage of wheat in certain towns. These officials still pride themselves on passing such orders. I would like to bring it to the notice of the present government to see that such orders are passed after studying the situation.

The next thing which a soldier will have to face is unemployment, and I can say with authority that in the part of the country from which I come, a promise was made to the soldiers before the last Great War started that the Bhakra Dam would be constructed. Promises have been repeatedly made but no one sees the Bhakra Dam. Even in the present Budget there is no provision and there is no assurance that it will be started in the near future. The designs are still being made and consultations are

taking place. That is the first essential thing to be done. I think if that scheme matures, the problems of the demobilised soldiers of a very big area will be solved without any difficulty.

**Rai Muhammad Iqbal Ahmad Khan** (Ludhiana, Muhammadan, Rural) (*Urdu*): Sir, I want to submit that much has been said on this subject from both sides of the House. The present Government is boasting in an unprecedented manner and now I will tell you, Sir, what this Government has been doing for the poor. I quote the instance of the poor school masters whose lot now-a-days is miserable. So far nothing has been done. The Teachers' Union has raised this question many a time but no heed has been paid to it. They get Rs. 18 or Rs. 20 a month. I want to know whether it is possible to pull on with this pay in the present hard times. It is obvious that these teachers cannot pull on with this meagre pay. I appeal to you all in the name of justice that we must do everything possible for these people who are to play such an important role in our future nation building.

Sir, previously there used to be five Sikhs and four Muhammadans in our Jagraon Tahsil Marketing Committee in zamindar panel and now the number of Sikhs has been raised to seven there being only two Muhammadans. This statement will be supported by Sardar Kehr Singh. Sir, I want to say with all emphasis at my command that full justice is not being done to the Musalmans. We are suffering alike at the hands of the Congress and the Unionists. With these words I resume my seat.

**Master Gurbanta Singh** (Jullundur, General, Rural, Reserved) (*Urdu*): Sir, there is political wrangling in the House for the last three or four days during the discussion on the budget. Everything including Pakistan and the freedom of India has been discussed. I want to say a word to these advocates of Pakistan and to these fighters for the freedom of India. They are so much absorbed in their own ideas that they have quite forgotten that we too are living in this country. They who themselves are slaves to the English have made us their slaves. (*A Voice: Ask the Hindus*). (*Interruptions and noise*.) There are 9 crores of Achhuts in India. They are the real people of this land, and you are trampling them under your very feet. Let me make it clear to them that they will never be able to achieve freedom for India unless and until they make us free first. (*Hear, hear*.) The time has changed now. We will make them realise that they will have to make us free before getting freedom for themselves.

Now, Sir, I would like to discuss the position of the Achhuts *vis a vis* the Budget. In this Budget prepared by the last Government, a sum of Rs. 92,650 has been provided for granting scholarships to the Achhut children in schools. Now both the Hindus and the Muslims are posing as Achhuts in order to get that benefit and in order to deprive the Achhuts of this sum. The Muslims and the Hindus are already getting 80 per cent out of the said sum. (*Uproar*.) It is for them both, the Hindus and the Muslims, to see that these scholarships go to the Achhuts. (*A voice: Say this to the Education Minister*.) Similarly, a school for tanning was opened in Jullundur for the benefit of Achhut children, because tanning is their old profession. But Hindu and Muslim boys are admitted in that school, who get the real benefit, and the poor Achhut boys are taught the same age-old method of tanning in two years which they can learn in two months from their parents. I say it to them once again that they cannot advance on the road to freedom unless they improve our condition. I say it to the Congress men, who in their meetings are always advocating the cause of the Achhuts, that to-day we have co-operated with them to see how far they are sincere in their utterances and what they do for the uplift of the Achhuts. It is a test for the Congress, and if they are found wanting in it, they will be forsaken for ever by the Achhuts. I do not mean to criticise this budget. I only want to bring to their notice the condition of poor Achhuts in villages. An Achhut is born on other's land and dies in other's

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land. They have no wells to get drinking water from. They are backward in education and industry. They cannot expect justice in the village 'panchayats'. During these days they are not getting sugar, cloth and kerosene oil. I request the Government to do something for their uplift. Will it not be better if the Government creates some fund for the Achhuts like the Peasants' Welfare Fund, with a sum of 25 or 30 lakhs in order to give them help in their various problems of life. They should be given facilities in education and industry, so that they may be able to stand on the same footing as their country men. Mere statements or speeches on the parts of the Hindus or the Muslims would not do. Something solid must be done for this community. With these few words, Sir, I finish my speech.

**Sufi Abdul Hamid Khan** (Karnal, Muslim, Rural) (*Urdu*): Sir, the Honourable Premier is repeating the same thing since the 21st instant. He repeats this sentence twice or thrice every day. He says he is in charge of a trust from the late Sir Fazl-i-Husain and the late Sir Sikander and therefore he will always stick to his present policy. He has repeated this thing so many times that I am afraid he will repeat them in his grave in reply to the questions of the angels there. May God give him true guidance! I ask him, does he possess the same courage as those two great leaders had? For example, let us take into consideration the conditions in Karnal district. From the time of the late Sir Sikander, a special enquiry agency had been set up in the province. If five respectable persons ask in writing that an enquiry should be held into the conduct of some officer of that ilaqa, that enquiry was held. During the regime of the late Sir Sikander, similar enquiry was held against three or four officers of the district to which I belong and after being found guilty, they were punished accordingly. But what is happening now, when Malik Khizar Hayat is the Premier? In spite of his repeating here *ad nauseum* that he is following the policy laid down by the late Premier, he has refused to enquire into the conduct of the present Superintendent of Police in Karnal, although more than five respectable persons including lawyers have repeatedly asked in writing that such enquiry be held. The Honourable Premier disposes it off by saying that the complaint is without any foundation. He says that it seems to be some mischief on the part of the Muslim leaguers. The Muslim League has become a veritable bugbear for him and in each and everything he sees its hand. Whenever complaints are made to him he generally puts them off on the plea that the Muslim League has a hand in them. He, rather, judges everything from the angle of the Muslim League. If he had made inquiries he would have known that the Muslim League had no hand in it and in fact the complainants had nothing to do with that body. Along with this I may tell my friends that the Premier is also enamoured of maintaining communal harmony in the province and he wants to treat the Muslims the Hindus and the Sikhs alike. The fact is that the fear of the non-Muslims has so enveloped him that he cannot do anything against their will. Now Sir, here is another incident with which the Muslim League had nothing to do, but it was put off on the plea that the said body had a hand in it. A complaint was made against the Superintendent of Police of Karnal, who is probably an Anglo-Indian or a European. There was nothing which could have prevented him from taking action against the S. P. But the Premier could not dare take action against him, a European, without incurring the displeasure of the Governor which at any cost he was not prepared to incur. Then Sir, in connection with the victory celebrations a victory dinner was held at Karnal in August last. During that dinner some hot words passed between the same Superintendent of Police and some other officers. The matter was brought to the notice of the Premier. Although reports about this incident were made to him by different persons still he put off that matter on the plea that the Muslim League had a hand in it. Neither the complainants nor the officers and the Superintendent of Police had anything to do with the Muslim League. This unpleasantness arose because of the attitude of the Superintendent of Police but the Premier refused to make inquiries about it on the ground that

the Muslim League was at the back of it. I have cited these instances to show that whenever the Honourable Premier does not want to make inquiries in regard to any matter he puts it off on the excuse of the Muslim League having a hand in it. The incident occurred at Karnal and unpleasantness was created by the attitude of a particular gentleman but the Premier attributed it to the Muslim League. This is your Premier and this is the way in which he is running the administration of the Province.

Now I come to the Department of Civil Supplies. This is under the charge of the Honourable Minister for Development. If there is any department on the surface of the earth where corruption has assumed alarming proportions it is this department. We used to hear about corruption prevailing in the Police and the Judicial departments but corruption is rampant to such an extent in the Civil Supply Department that no other department can vie with it. It is not an exaggeration to say that clerks drawing Rs. 50 a month have constructed buildings worth lakhs of rupees and about officers my friends can well imagine what would be their financial position. I assert that if the Government were to hold an inquiry about officers and the staff working in every district in the Civil Supplies Department they will find that these officials are the most corrupt under heaven. The Honourable Minister for Development does not care about these matters. He daily hears such complaints but he ignores them and does not move his little finger to put a stop to this state of affairs. My submission is that during the month of March 5,000 maunds of sugar was imported into Karnal through a permit. That was for distribution in Karnal. I can say without any fear of contradiction and let the Honourable Minister for Development make a note of it, that out of that not a seer of sugar was distributed in Karnal. It either went to the neighbouring districts or the Indian States. No account was maintained as to where it had been spent. In fact nobody cared for the fact that it was meant for Karnal and what is more nobody knows where it has gone. Such an *andhergarāī* has been unheard of before. Besides while allotting depots only members of one community are favoured. If any member of the other community makes a complaint, he is put off on the excuse that he is indulging in communalism. I may inform the Honourable Minister for Development that recently the Deputy Commissioner of Karnal has recommended the names of 27 dealers to whom depots would be given for selling imported cloth and not one of them is a Muslim. When I made inquiries I learnt that there is one Khatun Store which has been recommended to be given the depot for the sale of the imported cloth. I am a resident of Karnal and I do not know whether any cloth shop with the name of Khatun Store exists in that city. It must be some store in the mind of the Deputy Commissioner which has been given the name of Khatun Store. In fact such men and women have been appointed as dealers for imported cloth whose names we have never heard before.

**Mr. Speaker :** The honourable member's time is up.

**Sufi Abdul Hamid Khan :** Sir, if you give me two minutes, I shall be very much obliged. There are one or two things more which I want to bring to the notice of the Government. One is about primary education. I would urge upon the Government to nationalise primary education. Let the Government take it in their own hands. The municipalities and the district boards cannot give primary education to our children. Neither they have the means nor sufficient and talented staff to achieve this object. It is very difficult to expect of the low paid teachers of the municipalities and the district boards to give satisfactory education to our children. Then there is the Medical department. The grant for medicines is the same that used to be some ten years back although the price of medicines has increased a hundred fold. In the Government dispensaries only *karwa pani* is given instead of medicine. I think this department is also in the charge of the Minister of Education. He will do well if he pays some attention to it.



[Sufi Abdul Hamid Khan.]

I have a word to say about the honorary magistrates. A request was made from this side that the posts of the honorary magistrates be abolished. The Premier replied: "Bring in a resolution." I say, why does he not take this trouble himself. If he moves a resolution to that effect, I assure him, that we all will support him. In this connection I may point out that a few days ago when our present Education Minister was staying in the closely guarded bungalow of the Honourable Premier and he had no idea of being sworn in as the Minister for Education he expressed his desire to be made an honorary magistrate and he would be satisfied. When such people are our Ministers what good can they do to the province?

**Professor Tilak Raj** (Rawalpindi Division, General, Rural) (Urdu): Sir, I do not intend to take very long. In my speech I propose to my friends of the Opposition will be glad to know,—criticise my own party (*Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan*): Shabash and I want to deal with a matter to which so far reference has not been made by any honourable member. It is a matter which should have been given the first consideration and in which we should have taken the greatest interest. Anyway I put before you the case of the political prisoners. When the Coalition Ministry was formed naturally we concluded from it that now the circumstances had changed and in the changed circumstances new hopes and new expectations arose in our minds. But I regret very much to say that none of our expectations have come true. (*Hear, hear*). We thought that all the political prisoners who were in jail at the time would be released. But that has not been done. It is true that the Honourable Premier made an announcement on the floor of the House the other day in regard to the release of the political prisoners and pointed out in it that almost all the prisoners had been released. But my contention is that in spite of that announcement there are still many political prisoners who are rotting in jails. Besides, there being many people in the prisons, the Punjab Government is still arresting people and imprisoning them without any rhyme or reason. I wish to draw the attention of the honourable members of the House in general and the honourable members sitting on the Ministerial benches in particular to a certain student worker (Comrade Keshap Chandar) who has been re-arrested only a few days back by the Punjab Government for delivering a speech some four months back just after his release from the prison.

**Mr. Speaker**: The honourable member should speak to the motion now before the House.

**Professor Tilak Raj**: Sir, I have a right to cite instances about the attitude of the Government towards the political prisoners. I do not suppose that delivering a speech was so criminal that he should have been arrested. I want to make it clear to this House that the Punjab Government instead of releasing the political prisoners, is making new arrests these days. (*Hear, hear, from opposition benches*.) Instances in this connection are not wanting. Comrade Muhammad Yusuf was arrested in the year 1942. After 8½ years he was placed as a C Class security prisoner and he courted imprisonment in the jails of Lahore and Multan. On the 17th February he was released but re-arrested on the 1st of March. This is not all. Lala Kidar Nath Sehgal, one of our Congress leaders and who is also an honourable member of this House, is under trial these days. I would like to ask the honourable members the Cabinet in general and the Congress Ministers in particular as to why the case of against him has not been withdrawn so far. (*Loud uproar*). Bibi Amar Kaur is also an under-trial prisoner. There are ten more prisoners with her. Why has not she been released so far and the case against her withdrawn? Besides these, there are about two hundred socialists, student and Congress workers behind the bars. Government should feel ashamed of it and make it a point to release them immediately. (*Inter-ruption*).

The Khaksar prisoners are also rotting in the jails and I am constrained to remark that the honourable members opposite have done nothing so far to demand their immediate release. I appeal to the Government that Khaksar prisoners should be released immediately. (*An honourable member from the Opposition Benches* : It will have some effect on the election petition) : I do not hesitate to say that by releasing the Khaksars, the election petition referred to by the honourable member will not be effected at all. It will not be out of place to mention here that the Khaksar prisoners are undergoing life sentences. (*An honourable member from the Opposition Benches* : The honourable member seems to have great sympathy for the Khaksars.) Yes, it is because we have lived with them in the jails.

**Mr. Speaker** : Order, Order No conversation, please.

**Professor Tilak Raj** : There are many political parties, such as the Congress Socialist Party and the Forward Bloc, which have been declared unlawful by the Government. Various types of restrictions have been placed upon them. I want to protest against such orders of the Government. It is in the fitness of things that all such restrictions should be lifted immediately. (*An honourable member from the Opposition Benches* : Who cares for his protests?) This is not all. I happen to be one of the members of this House. Even I am shadowed by the police. I have to remark with great regret that even Branlaugh Hall, the Congress headquarters, is under the watch of the police and the Criminal Investigation Department during these days. Oddly enough, I was even shadowed at my official residence "The Pipal". A certain well-dressed gentleman came and told me that he wanted to see Mehta Sahib. Later on when he left my room I came to know that he was a Criminal Investigation Department man.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan** : Even our telephones are tapped.

**Professor Tilak Raj** : This is not all. Our letters are also censored. A letter was posted to me on the 2nd March from Rawalpindi. On the 3rd of March I reached Rawalpindi from Lahore and I was told that a letter was posted to me. But after my return here I received that letter on the 6th of March. This happened with most of my letters.

**Mr. Speaker** : The time for the honourable member is over.

**Professor Tilak Raj** : Very well, Sir, I have to obey your orders.

**Begum Tassadaq Hussain** (Inner Lahore, Muhammadan, Women, Urban) (*Urdu*) Sir, the time at my disposal is too short for a long speech. I have been given only fifteen minutes. I will, therefore, allude to some important points only. I have studied the Budget with a view to estimating the amount allotted by the Government for the uplift of the women of the Punjab. I am pained to find that in spite of our repeated requests to the Hon'ble Premier and his colleagues for diverting their attention to the uplift of the masses in general and the women of the province in particular, the provision made for them in the present Budget is grossly inadequate. It is so disappointing that a very small sum has been provided in the budget for affording adequate medical aid and giving medical education to the women of this province. Even the former ministry had overlooked the importance of providing adequate facilities for medical education to the women. It will not be out of place to mention here that child mortality has increased and the general health of mothers is gradually deteriorating.

It was either because they were actually conscious of the needs of the people or else it was just an election stunt that made them promise maximum of medical relief for the people of the province in this Post War Reconstruction Scheme. They gave out that every dispensary will be put under the charge of a Sub-Assistant Surgeon and there will be an Assistant Surgeon in every tehsil. Moreover they intended to

[Begum Tassadaq Hussain.]

establish a medical school for girls in Rawalpindi with accommodation for 150 students. Needless to say that no attention has been paid to any of these things in the Budget. Provision has been made for only 4 Assistant Surgeons, 2 Sub-Assistant Surgeons, 3 subsidized dispensaries and 9 nurses. Now, Sir, you can imagine for yourself the extent to which this provision for medical relief can prove adequate for the people of this province. We want that the Government should go the whole hog in making medical aid available to our women and children because it is on their good health that the well being of the coming generations depends.

Before the year 1936 there was not a single Government medical school for our girls in the Province excepting of course the Christian Medical School at Ludhiana which was open to Christians only. In 1936 however the Government made a grant of Rs. 93,000 to this school with the stipulation that a few Punjabi girls should be admitted. After some time girls were allowed to be admitted in the Medical School at Amritsar where they had to attend the classes along with the boys. The minimum qualification for admission to the school was Matriculation, and the course ran for four years. But in 1938 the minimum qualification for admission was raised to F.Sc. and the course was prolonged to five years. Again in Ludhiana the S. A. S. Course was replaced by the L. M. S. Course and the minimum qualification for admission was raised to the F.Sc. standard and the course prolonged to 5 years. This raising of educational qualification for admission adversely affected the Muslim girls and was as a matter of fact introduced for this purposely. Finally, the Amritsar Medical School was raised to the status of a college and thus all the avenues for the medical education of Muslim girls for S. A. S. Class were closed on them, because the facilities for F.Sc. medical group did not exist in any college outside Lahore. This restriction on the admission to medical colleges is apparent from the fact that this year only 3 girls have been admitted to each of the medical colleges at Lahore and Amritsar and no Muslim girl has found admission in Ludhiana School since 1938. The non-existence of facilities for the F.Sc. medical group outside Lahore is our standing grievance. The Government should make arrangements for it in colleges all over the province. Besides this drawback there is another handicap which I have already mentioned. It is a well known fact that our religious and social systems do not permit of co-education and therefore our girls find it very difficult to enter medical colleges for studying medicine. I therefore request the Hon'ble Minister for Education to kindly take this matter up and to remove this hindrance from the way of the education of Muslim girls and also make arrangements for F.Sc. Medical Group in all the Government colleges in the Province and give substantial grant for this purpose to Islamia College for Women, Lahore. I would further submit that he should also carry out the promise given by the late Government for opening a medical school for girls in Rawalpindi. With the substitution of L. M. S. for S. A. S. and the raising of the minimum qualification for admission, poor girls have been debarred from adopting medical careers. In order to undo the wrong that has been done to the Muslim girls it seems to be in the fitness of things that the S. A. S. class be restarted at Ludhiana and the F.Sc. qualification be relaxed in their case. If seven years are required for becoming a sub-assistant surgeon as well as an assistant surgeon, what is the good of these medical schools then? Once again I would request the Hon'ble Minister for Education to make arrangements for opening a medical school at Rawalpindi where provision for S. A. S. class should be made and the minimum qualification for admission should be Matriculation. Moreover, scholarships should be given to our poor and brilliant girls in order to afford them an opportunity for pursuing medical studies.

Now I would like to make a few submissions to the Hon'ble Minister for Development and request him to do his best for redressing our grievances. The advent of rationing has brought many hardships for the women of this province in its wake.

They have to wait for hours together for getting their ration of wheat, sugar or oil and have to waste whole days and suffer much for obtaining their quota of cloth, etc. I hope that the trouble of my sisters would end now because the Congress has come into power and lays claim to be the champion of the downtrodden. Let them prove their claims now. In the end, I would request the Hon'ble Minister to make separate arrangements for women so that they may not suffer hardships in getting their rations etc. With these words I resume my seat.

All that stage Mr. Speaker left the chair and it was occupied by Mr. Deputy Speaker.)

**Mr. Prabodh Chandar** (Gurdaspur, General, Rural) (Urdu): Mr. Deputy Speaker, I have been lately the recipient of a number of letters from my friends and well wishers who felicitated me on my being elected a member of the Punjab Legislative Assembly. Now that I have had an actual experience of the working of the House I wonder what was there to congratulate me about on my having become a member. What I have seen has led me to believe that such felicitations were uncalled for and that there was no point in feeling any sense of pride in becoming a member of the Assembly, where hon'ble members remorselessly indulge in making insulting references and using indecorous language towards the illustrious leaders of each other's party. Personally I cannot tolerate anyone using unbecoming language in respect of Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah (*Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan*: It is your ignorant Maulana Daud Ghaznavi who did it.)

Sir, I stand here to bring home to Muslim members sitting opposite, the idea that in spite of their assertions that they are civilized and believers in the Islamic principles, they have passed such undesirable remarks about Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, that the hair on one's body stand on ends when hearing them. (*Voices*: No, no, it was Maulana Daud Ghaznavi who first passed unfair remarks about our Qaid-i-Azam.) All the problems that have so far been discussed on the floor of this House in fact have nothing to do with the Budget. In this connection I recollect an incident from my college days. When I was a college student, it was the usual practice with my friends including myself to wile away time either at games or in gossip. But when the examinations were near at hand, we used to burn the midnight oil in order to learn some important points by heart. The same we used to reproduce in the examination hall. But the day we found any paper a bit stiff we used to keep in view the example, "Let me prove the Binomial Theorem first," irrespective of the question, and would reproduce what we had in our minds. Such is the case with the Opposition. All the members of the House know fully well that the discussion is to be confined to the budget only, but we find the members of the Opposition Party thrusting in the problems relating to Pakistan.

Chaudhri Mohd. Hassan, who is a new Muslim Leaguer and the Raja Sahib who left the Muslim League and joined the Unionist Party for the sake of Parliamentary Secretaryship are again seen on the Muslim League benches. Both are today the claimants of freedom and Pakistan.

Sardar Shaukat Hyat-Khan who today holds the epithet "Sardar" should bear in mind that this epithet has not come to him through his public service or sympathetic attitude towards the labourers or the poor. It has come down to him through the treachery and traitorousness of his ancestors. (*Interruption*).

**Mr. Deputy Speaker**: I request the Hon'ble member not to be personal.

**Mr. Prabodh Chandar**: Very well, Sir.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan**: Let him not be so indecent to his ancestors.

**Mr. Deputy Speaker**: Raja Sahib, please do not interrupt.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan**: I want him to withdraw those words. I will not allow him to proceed.

**Mr. Deputy Speaker :** I request the hon'ble member not to be personal.

**Mr. Parbodh Chandar :** I withdraw those words. By using such words I mean to say that my friends opposite should have some respect for others. They should be fully considerate of the ideas and feelings of their adversaries in the House. They should realise their worth, show them some respect and express themselves accordingly.

Sir, you see that the hon'ble members on this side of the House strictly confine themselves to the present Budget. But the hon'ble members of the opposition Party are bent upon introducing irrelevant things like Pakistan, Police oppressions and the traitor Musalmans. I am sure they cannot bring forth any justification for this irregularity. They profess that they feel full responsibility for the public interests—But I would remind them of their attitude towards the Khaksars. I am fully aware that the main responsibility for the formation of the present coalition ministry rests on them.

Sir, this is all by the way. Now I come to the Budget. As Professor Tilak Raj has remarked, the problem of the political prisoners is of the utmost importance at present. I would, therefore, ask the Government to consider it as soon as possible. Reforms should be introduced to the largest possible extent, so that this province may at least have an opportunity to rise to the level of other provinces. After that, Sir, I come to the Civil Supplies Department. It is a matter of great pleasure for me to state that I have had enough of personal experience about this Department. A few days back, while on tour, I happened to pass through Gurdaspur and Ludhiana. I found to my astonishment that the officers were indulging in serious irregularities. They had introduced refined forms of accepting bribes and had fixed their fees for each item of public work. Nobody could draw their attention to the public interest without paying their dues. How pitiable is the state of affairs! The officers always keep in view their personal interests without realising that they are paid fat salaries for public service.

Sir, I want to say a few words about the Lahore district as well. I would like to draw the attention of the Hon'ble Minister concerned to the effect that the inconveniences we have to come across in this district are shameful for any civilized Government on the face of this earth. He should be ashamed of such dealings with the public. The officers are ever after creating nuisance for the public. Are they not public servants? Is it possible for them to continue in these posts for ever? What are they for? They should prove their worth in lieu of their fat salaries.

In the end I would like to add something about Education. We see that whereas 50 per cent. of the whole revenue is spent on other departments, only 4 per cent has been allotted to Education. I do not think it adequate for such a vast province. The Government should realise that our province is much backward in Education. They should provide more for educational progress of the province. I thank my friends opposite who dealt with the problem of Education elaborately and made valuable suggestions in respect thereof.

With these words, Sir, I finish my speech.

**Mr. Prithvi Singh Azad** (Ambala and Simla, Reserved Seat) (*Urdu*) : Sir, the hon'ble members opposite, through their eloquent speeches, have tried their level best to reproach and reprimand the Government and arouse the feelings of their fellow beings. In the very beginning of this session I was under the impression that they would bring forth some valuable proposals and would urge upon the Government to take immediate steps for the good of the backward classes. But I am surprised to see that the proposals advanced are entirely destructive rather than useful for the province. I want to make this thing clear upon my friends opposite that their efforts would simply hinder the progress of this province. This assembly aims at ameliorating the general condition of the province. All of us assemble here to help each other.

We should not give vent to our political or communal differences at present. This is no time to reproach or reprimand the Government. They should deliver speeches in view of the topics under discussion. I would like to ask them what they have done for the Achhuts so far. What has been the attitude of the Muslim League towards the Achhuts? I observe that the Muslim League organization can never be helpful to the Achhuts. I must question them about their treatment meted out to the Achhuts in the provinces where the Muslim League has been in power. I am in a position to give an instance of the mal-treatment of the Achhuts at the hands of the Muslim League ministries in Bengal and Assam. In view of these instances it is impossible for the Achhuts to join hands with the Muslim League. I am sure, it would be as good as signing the death warrants of the Achhuts if they join hands with the Muslim League.

I very well remember the year 1939 when here in Lahore my sweeper brothers went on an historic strike in order to get their rights recognised. But your Leader tried to repress them. (*An hon'ble member*: He is your Leader.) Sir, I would like to remind them that at that time my hon'ble friend the Raja Sahib and his colleagues were on this side of the House. They were also members of that Government. Again I have not forgotten the treatment meted out to my brethren by the Muslim League Party. They cannot buy our sympathies with sweet and high-sounding promises. They should not expect us to desert this party and give it a bad name. We have joined this Coalition and now we have every mind to stick to it. We realize our difficulties and we know how to make the Government do something in order to remove them.

This Government, this Coalition in which we have reposed our confidence has made ample provision for us in the budget. (*Laughter from the Muslim League Benches*). You may laugh over it, but what I am saying is nonetheless a fact. In this budget provision has been made for 16 lakhs of Achhuts and a big number of backward Muslims also who are known as special classes (*Voices from the Muslim League Benches*: Wrong, wrong.) My friends opposite are betraying their ignorance. If they study the Education Code they will find that besides the depressed classes there are the special classes also. In this latter category are included washermen, barbers, etc. It is the duty of the Government to devise ways and means for the social, moral and economic uplift of all these classes. I would request honourable members opposite to contribute their share by bringing forward constructive proposals in this connection. Mere criticism would not carry us anywhere. They would be well advised to forget and bury the dead past and march ahead.

Sir, I would submit that ample provision should be made for the welfare of the Achhuts as well as for the backward Hindus and Muslims. These depressed classes are the victims of those big landlords and capitalists who employ all the means in their power to keep them under their heels. They do not allow them to improve their condition. These big landlords and Nawabs keep them in constant terror. They use them as *kamins* and *begarees*.

If my honourable friends opposite really have the welfare of these classes at heart, they should make useful suggestions to this effect. I would advise the Government to study the budgets prepared by the Congress Ministries in 1939. In those budgets provision had been made for free primary and college education for the poor and the depressed classes.

If my honourable friends on the Opposition Benches really aspire, as they profess, for the freedom of India, then I regret to say that in spite of their good intentions their efforts would not be crowned with success, because they are labouring on the wrong tracks. Pakistan, let me tell them, is not the way to freedom. I would advise them to work for the economic progress of this country in general and of the depressed classes in particular. They should bring forward such legislation as should

[Mr. Prithvi Singh Azad.]

emancipate the depressed people from the clutches of the big landlords and their self-made laws.

Sir, before I resume my seat, I would like to make one more suggestion and that is that the Government should appoint a committee which should investigate into the grievances of the backward and the depressed classes. Only such people should be appointed to work on this committee who have dedicated their lives to the welfare of the poor. This committee should be asked to prepare and submit a report, and the Government should take it upon themselves to carry into effect the suggestions contained therein.

Sir, with these words I resume my seat.

**Khan Abdul Sattar Khan** (Mianwali North, (Muhammadan, Rural) (Urdu): Mr. President, today when here in the Punjab Provincial Autonomy is in force and when this country as a whole is struggling for liberty and freedom, there are still places where most primitive and barbaric customs prevail. These customs are such that no democratically minded person can even imagine them. I am referring to the Jirga system in Mianwali. Under this system humanity, decency, fairplay, and justice are daily murdered. There the Deputy Commissioner is a despot whose *firmans* no one dare disobey. Everything is done in accordance with his whims and wishes.

This Jirga, as you must be aware Sir, is meant to be a council of elders. But as a matter of fact only police touts, sycophants, and other base people take part in the deliberations of this council. These worthless and ignorant people who have had neither any education nor any training nor any culture sit in judgment on other human beings. Their powers are fairly vast and they can sentence anybody up to fourteen years' imprisonment. The height of all this tyranny is that no appeal lies against their decisions; it is absolutely final. I ask honourable members of this House is such a system not an insult to humanity? I demand that this system be abolished immediately.

The second matter about which I want to say something is with regard to the Thal Project. When this project was taken in hand, our hopes had gone high and we were expecting a revolution in irrigation. But Malik Khizar Hayat has been so callously selfish that he has stopped the works on the main project and has started with a branch of it which is to irrigate his own lands. What could be more cruel and preposterous? The result of it has been that the whole area in my district has been parched dry and the hopes of the people of this area have been dashed to pieces.

Then, Sir, it is a great slur on the name of this Government that it has distributed squares of land to those who faithfully carried out its legal or illegal wishes. Those who pleased the deputy commissioners by obeying them blindly got those lands. In my district such examples are numerous. Only a reactionary and a bureaucratic Government as the present one is could have done such deeds. It should be ashamed of them and itself. I believe that a Government whose foundations rest on the British support, and a Government which does not command the popular support is not worthy of existing on the face of this earth for a single minute. (Cheers). A Government which cannot justify its existence by commanding popular support, and which cannot give relief to the poor should be shattered to pieces. (Cheers). What has this Unionist Government done during the last nine years of its tenure? People are at a loss to understand what sort of a Government it is.

As you know, Sir, laws do not speak for themselves. They have to be put into effect through the administration of a Government. But if the administration is rotten, if the people in charge of administration are corrupt, the law becomes meaningless. (Hear, hear). Yesterday the Premier made a statement which put me into

a rage. He said that the Punjab shall be ruled by the Punjabees. If by this he means to convey that his word would carry the weight of law and that he would do what he pleased, then I warn him that such a Government would not be allowed to remain at the helm of affairs for a single day. (*Cheers*). Sir, I want to see a just Government in the Punjab. I want a Government run by human beings and not by tyrants. I want a system of Government under which law and order prevails everywhere. I want a Government which is based on equality, justice and brotherhood. (*Cheers*).

**Chaudhri Nasir-ud-Din** (Sialkot North, Mohammedan, Rural) (*Urdu*): Sir, I want to place before the House the atrocities committed by this zamindara government. This government had been sucking the blood of the poor zamindars for the last three or four years under the label of the Zamindara League. I know for certain that the deputy commissioners of certain districts had been personally helping the Zamindara League in the collection of funds. I can quote thousands of instances when officers collected contributions for this party in the shape of fines, etc. I know that some registrars did not register a deed until and unless the parties concerned contributed something to the Zamindara League funds. I know certain cases when the officers accepted bribes and submitted those amounts to the funds of this party. Today we want to test the Congress Party's love for the people and democracy. It must be their first duty to return these thirty lakhs of rupees to the people from whom it has been collected by foul means. Poor people have been robbed of their wealth and it must be restored to them without any further delay. I ask my honourable friends over there what has happened to their high-sounding principles about which they used to boast so much. I ask these opponents of the Benami Bills, what are the reasons for their present policy? I cannot abstain from saying that as lands were swallowed under the foul play of the 'benami transactions', similarly, today they have enslaved Malik Khazir Hayat Khan whom I can easily call the "benami Premier." (*Laughter*). Our friends are doing their best to inflict a defeat on the Mussalmans and the Congress Party itself knew very well at the time of the negotiations for the ministry making that it was very difficult, rather impossible, to buy self-respecting Muslims. Therefore, they started bargaining with the black market members. Ultimately, they have succeeded in forming this dummy cabinet headed by this benami Premier. He is their virtual slave.

Sir, while offering the office of Speakership to you, they have argued that they have done so simply to do justice to the minorities. If they have got so much regard for the minorities and the backward classes then I ask them, why have they offered the office of the Deputy Speaker to a Sikh and not to an Achut? Why have they stuck to the previous convention? I want to declare, Sir, that it was a pre-arranged plot, simply to rob the Mussalmans of their legitimate rights and privileges.

Sir, the policy of the Congressites is awfully strange. In the course of discussions they make long speeches and boldly criticise the working of the Government but at the time of voting they silently vote with the Government. It exposes them and makes those internal combinations crystal clear which are secretly working against the Muslim nation as a whole. Be rest assured that the Muslim nations determination and spirit cannot be curbed and every such mischievous effort by the enemies will add to their zeal and determination for their beloved goal. (*Applause*).

*The Assembly then adjourned till 12 noon on Thursday, the 28th March 1946.*



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# PUNJAB LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

## 1ST SESSION OF THE 2ND PUNJAB LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

Thursday, 28th March 1946

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

### STARRED QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

#### SCARCITY OF WHEAT FLOUR

**\*14. Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** Will the Honourable Minister for Development be pleased to state—

(a) how many Deputy Commissioners or Civil Supplies Officers from the various districts of the Punjab have approached the Government during the last one month regarding scarcity of wheat flour in their respective areas and what steps the Government have taken to supply wheat to these places ;

(b) whether the Government have formulated any scheme for exporting wheat from surplus districts to those areas of the province where there is shortage of wheat ;

(c) the total quantity of wheat which the Government have in their possession in the Province and whether this quantity is enough to meet the requirements of the situation till the new wheat harvest arrives in the market, if so, what steps do they propose to take to recover wheat from such firms or individuals as are hiding it in their stores ;

(d) the number of places in the province where the police had to disperse crowds during the last month who had collected at wheat depots to buy wheat ;

(e) whether the Government have made any attempt to enlist the support of non-official agencies for assisting them in the equitable distribution of wheat and sugar in the various districts of the province ; if so, whether any political parties are also associated with such a scheme ?

**The Hon'ble Sardar Baldev Singh :** I regret the answer to this question is not yet ready. I have made enquiries from the office and I hope to get the information by this evening or to-morrow when I will communicate it to the honourable member.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** When was the question received in the office? Will he please state the date?

**Minister :** I have already stated that the information will be ready by this evening or to-morrow.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** But I want to know the date when the notice was received in this office.

**Minister :** How does that help when the reply is not ready ?

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** I would draw the attention of the Honourable Minister to parts (b) and (c) of the question. That does not require the collecting of any information. That only means to enquire as to what agency Government proposes to use for the equitable distribution of wheat and sugar.

**Minister :** My submission is that the answer to this question taken as a whole is not yet ready.

**Sardar Shaukat Hyat-Khan :** May I ask why does the Honourable Minister avoid answering on the floor of the House that part of the question for which he can give an answer?

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** May I request under rule 33 (2) (b) that I be given half an hour at the end of today's business to discuss urgent business, because I find that the attitude of Government with regard to questions has been most objectionable. I have given notice of short notice questions to the Premier and the Revenue Minister, but they have not taken any notice of them.

**Premier :** I have not had any notice.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** I sent ten days ago short notice questions, one addressed to the Premier and the other to the Revenue Minister, but I have not had any reply.

**Chaudhri Muhammad Hasan :** I sent a short notice question to the Honourable Premier, but I have not had even the courtesy of a reply.

**Mr. Speaker :** But the Honourable Minister has promised to give the answer to the question by tomorrow.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** If the Honourable Minister gives an assurance that he will answer this question tomorrow morning, then I shall not insist on this half hour for discussion.

**Mr. Speaker :** You may raise this question tomorrow if he does not give the answer.

## DEMANDS FOR GRANTS

### GENERAL ADMINISTRATION

**Mr. Speaker :** The House will now resume discussion on the demand for General Administration.

**Sardar Ata Muhammad Khan** (Dera Ghazi Khan, North, Muhammadan, Rural) (Urdu) : Sir, when I look at the Government benches, I am reminded of a couplet of the late Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal.

جمہوریت اک طرز حکومت ہے کہ جس میں  
بندوں کو گنا کرتے ہیں نولا نہیں کرتے

My learned friends of the Congress Party think it necessary that a hue and cry is raised. Perhaps they think they can make up their lack of argument by this method. I assure them that noise is not reason, and they cannot impress anybody with it except themselves. The other day the Honourable Minister for Finance, Mr. Bhim Sen Sachar, in the course of his speech remarked that this Coalition was based on democratic lines. I do not agree with him. If they had formed it on democratic lines we would not have had any objection to it, but its present form is far from that. Mr. Speaker, those of my honourable friends who go to races know that some horses are winners, others are second and third and then there are some who come under the category of 'also ran.' Similarly, in this Coalition the Congress Party, which consists of Hindus out and out, is the winner, and the Akalis are second, and the Unionists are 'also ran.' Now is it fair that 'also ran' horses should be treated as winners and the winners should sit quiet? If this Coalition is on democratic lines, why is this undemocratic way of treating the different parties in it? We know that the Unionist Party consists of a few traitors, who are 'banaspati' Muslims, and we know that the Congress also knows that. But if the Congress thought the Unionists had some honest differences with the Muslims and they are a genuine party, the Congress should have treated them according to the strength of their party, and should have allotted them places in the Cabinet accordingly. That would have been much better for the Congress and would not have degraded them in the eyes of the world. But the Congress once again appeared in its true colours. It fulfilled its longstanding desire of establishing

Hindu *raj* in this Muslim majority province in this way. The Congress Party entered into a coalition with a few traitor Muslims and with their help thrust a Hindu Government on us. I assure them, however, that they will not be able to deceive anybody with such tactics. The Muslims can see through this thin veil.

پھر رائے کہ خواہی جامہ می پوش من انداز قدرت را می شناسم  
They cannot be deceived. After all do my friends of the Congress party think that the proceedings of this House, which are reported in the press, are not read by the people but by lunatics? Is it hidden from the public that the Coalition party consists of 80 non-Muslims and only 5 or 7 Muslims? It would have been much better if they had established complete Hindu *raj* here and appointed any one from amongst them as the Premier. Along with that if they had given one Ministership to one of these "traitor" Muslims we would not have objected to it. But what they have actually done is that they entered into an unholy alliance with the quisling Muslims who have been elected to this Assembly by the help of a certain individual and have thus formed a Ministry which in no way can be termed as the representative Ministry. The majority community has been deprived of their due right because of their trick. How long can they continue to play this trick? I assure them that the Muslim members who have coalesced with them are not living beings. They were, so to say, walking 'graves,' they are dead. So far as the Muslim community is concerned they have ceased to live. Now I ask, how can an alliance be made with the dead to the exclusion of the living? (Hear, hear).

Then, sir, my friends are crying from housetops that they will not give Pakistan to us. Right from Mahatama Gandhi and Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru down to Mahatma Virendar of the Partap, every one of them is crying hoarse that Pakistan will not be given to us. But I tell them that we have, thanks to their attitude, already got Pakistan. Their present attitude has simply united us in our resolve to have Pakistan and by the grace of God we shall have it, come what may. (A voice: Blind man's hope.) If they want to create an atmosphere of good-will in the province let them change their present attitude and let them advise our traitor brethren who have coalesced with them that their right place is in their own community, and that by detaching themselves from it they will be worth nothing.

**Shrimati Shanno Devi Sehgal** (South Eastern Towns, General, Urban) (Urdu): Sir, it is the eighth day of the session of the Assembly. All the honourable members who are here are here not in their individual capacity but as the representatives of the people. In a House of 175 there are only 5 lady members. Their number no doubt is very small, but without meaning any disrespect to other honourable members, I may say that their responsibilities are far greater than those of men. I have been asked by many members as to why I have so far not taken part in any discussion. In fact many a time it occurred to me that it would be well if I did not speak. But as I said we are not here in any individual capacity. We are here as the representatives of the people and if we keep mum and do not voice the grievances of the people who have sent us here, we fail in our duty. It is therefore this feeling which has prompted me to speak to-day. But the atmosphere in which the proceedings of the House are being conducted leads me to think that we are not discharging properly our duty which our masters have placed upon us. (Hear, hear). \* Sir, yesterday my revered sister Mrs. Rameshwari Nehru observed—and I want to repeat what she said—that the world was passing through a very critical period. The condition of India as it is under the British regime has never been such, neither under the Hindu nor under the Muslim *raj*. To-day the honour of none is safe. We do not get sufficient to eat and enough cloth to conceal our nakedness. One of the lady members observed in this House that our mothers and sisters go and wait not for hours but for days before they can get anything from the depots. Here is a recent incident which occurred on the 6th of March. It relates to a depot in the Lahore Cantonment. It was announced by beat of drum on behalf of the depot-holder that as cloth had arrived, people could get their quotas. Some women went to fetch their quotas of cloth. Their

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ration cards were taken away from them and they waited for the whole day but in the end their ration cards were returned and they were told that cloth was not available. That is not all. Then the police abused and kicked those poor women. (*Cries of shame, shame*). We are passing through critical times and it would be well for us to realize the urgency of the moment. After all political differences always exist. It is not anything on which we should concentrate all our attention. If we, the representatives of the people, instead of diverting our energies to constructive channels allow them to go on to the destructive side, we would be simply making ourselves the laughing stock of the world. It, therefore, behoves us to realize our responsibility and do our duty in a serious manner. We have gathered here to discuss the budget and to pass it. To-day the eyes of the people of the Punjab are rivetted on us and they are watching our doings. I tell them that it has never occurred to me even for a moment that the honourable members sitting on these benches are my whole brethren and those sitting opposite are my half brethren. Not at all. They are equally dear to me and I really find no difference between the two. But what I would like to ask them is, why is it that when a certain individual possesses power he does not use it and when he loses it, it is then that he realizes its worth? This is exactly the case with the honourable members over there. I congratulate them on this change and I think that it is the opposition benches which have brought about this change in them. I ask my brothers, Shaikh Faiz Muhammad, Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan, Nawab Ashiq Hussain and Sir Muhammad Jamal Khan when they were sitting on these benches and possessed power also, why did they not improve the lot of the people of their own constituencies? Why did they not do anything to improve matters in their own respective *ilagas*? I do not intend to say anything which is not correct. In fact I have visited Muzaffargarh, Multan and Dera Ghazi Khan and have seen things with my own eyes, and I can tell them that so far nothing has been done for the people of the above-mentioned areas. The members belonging to these areas have held responsible posts of Ministers and Parliamentary Secretaries, yet they did nothing for these three districts. Honourable members must have seen that when one Minister was dismissed two Ministers were appointed in his place; one of whom, Sir Muhammad Jamal Khan, belonged to Dera Ghazi Khan and the other, Major Ashiq Hussain, hailed from Multan. But they did nothing to improve matters in their own areas. I ask, can they show me any two cities on the map of the world which are cut off from each other at night time? Multan, Muzaffargarh and Dera Ghazi Khan are the three cities which are cut off from each other as soon as night falls. If anybody wishes to proceed from Multan to Muzaffargarh or from Muzaffargarh to Dera Ghazi Khan or from Dera Ghazi Khan to Multan at night, he cannot do so. Two Ministers and many other honourable members have been representing that *ilaga* but they never cared to improve matters there. It is my constituency and last time I was elected from it, and I know it that in that area there are no roads worth the name. I ask these honourable members, would it not have been better that when power was in their hands they should have paid attention to this *ilaga* also? Now this is the first time that we are meeting after the formation of the Coalition Ministry and we are discussing the budget. I would appeal to honourable members that they should not lose sight of their duty by indulging in party squabbles.

We should never neglect our duty. Congress is fighting for an ideal. We should not so easily lose our balance of mind. We are not like those people who have no stability in their convictions. We believe in doing our duty and doing it well. The Congress programme is to reform and reconstruct the condition of rural areas. We should try to concentrate our efforts on uplifting the masses and should not waste our time in petty dissensions. (*Interruptions*). I want to thank Raja Sahib for reminding me about some very necessary points. When your own country-men and country-women were behind the prison bars and you were asked about the cause of their

imprisonment, you used to reply from the benches we are occupying now, that such questions were detrimental to public interest.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** I never said that.

**Shrimati Shanno Devi Sehgal :** Then it must have been said by my honourable friend Shaikh Faiz Muhammad who was the Parliamentary Secretary concerned. He used to reply to all such questions with the same answer. And now you and your friends sitting with you are bent upon opposing each and every item falling under the General Administration of the Budget. You are fully aware of the fact and it is an open secret that the present budget was framed by you and your friends during the last Ministry. Keeping in view a budget involving such a huge sum, do you think it is desirable that all our energy and time should be wasted in criticising each other and not getting together to give a practical and useful shape to it? (*Hear, Hear*). I think we should sink our differences and realize our responsibility in regard to our own position. We should all live in peace and plenty. We have taken the responsibility of representing our people and we must fight to the last to redress their grievances, which makes it incumbent on us that we would put our heads together and find a solution out of the present difficulty. In this connection I would request very particularly the lady members sitting opposite not to indulge in petty communal controversies. We should always try to understand and accept each other. We are so keen to unite with you, because we want India and the Punjab not to be ruled by any alien power but by Indians themselves. I would very respectfully request the honourable members opposite to turn the pages of history and see if they will find anywhere the same condition as we find prevalent in India at this time. The seemingly insignificant happenings from 1942 to 1945 are very important and mark a very great era in the country's advancement towards freedom. During this period India has faced many catastrophes and hardships which, I think, are very difficult for them to forget. We should rather forget all the past happenings for the sake of our country, than indulge in all these trivial and insignificant misunderstandings. I want to impress upon the honourable members that it is not yet too late for all of us to co-operate and work for peace, plenty and progress of our province.

Before the present Coalition was formed, I once saw in Anarkali a procession of students. I was moved to tears at the state of affairs and could hardly stand that sight. I wanted to see who were in the procession. In the procession there was neither Raja Sahib, nor Sir Firoz Khan Noon, nor Sheikh Faiz Muhammad nor Begum Shah Nawaz. In this procession were all young people, the future citizens, who are the backbone of the future of communities of our country. Had there been wise people living in our province, then anybody could become the Premier of the Province. I was shocked to see those young people in their mad frenzy and exuberance of the election fever, taking out a procession, although they had no direct concern as students with the forming of the Cabinet. Even an orphan boy of a very tender age was sacrificed in a fracas which ensued, leaving a bereaved old grand-mother, who, I doubt, has anybody else to get her the amenities of life.

The people who represent the rural population should muster courage to insist on helping and providing better conditions and better standards of living for the villagers, i.e., by providing good roads, good houses and other facilities of transport. Education is the other item we should concentrate our attention on in making the rural people literate. To-day people say that colleges have been opened at many places. True, but how is it that we find a majority of illiterate people in our province? It is said that Government is spending fifty per cent of the yearly budget on education. But may I ask Government whether primary education is being encouraged anywhere in the province? Yesterday honourable members representing the Harijans spoke about education. It will not be out of place to mention here that our problems are akin to those of Harijans. They try their best that their grievances should be removed,

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but nobody cares for them. If you look to their condition you will find that there is hardly a child who has passed the second primary examination. Some people fail to realize the importance of education. They do not know that it is education that brings the best out of a man. It is a process by which one can unveil one's higher self.

If they genuinely desire to work for the advancement of the Province they should give more thought to constructive matters like education and the means of communication and transport in rural areas. Education is the very foundation of civilised society, although I am constrained to admit that some of our educated people say and do things which are repugnant to every right-thinking person. Such people do these things deliberately, unmindful of the great harm they are doing to the people and the country which they seek to serve. Anyhow, sir, I beg to submit that Government should pay more attention to education and specially to primary education.

Now I would like to take up the question of roads in rural areas. For lack of roads in the country-side our brethren in the villages have to suffer untold hardships. Whereas the Grand Trunk road is kept in good condition with such assiduity, no care is taken of either providing or maintaining proper means of communication for the rural people. All sorts of macadamised and tarred roads are provided for the urban population but the villagers are denied even *kutchra* roads. Our wealthy brethren who own extensive properties and large estates, and who have recently become conscious of their duty towards their country and community should be well advised to go to the villages and start work for their uplift. Unless they do so, they will not be able to know the plight of the people living in rural areas. I would therefore request the House not to waste the remaining two days as has been the case this past week—either in playing to the gallery or in showing off our powers in rhetoric or declamation. We should utilize our time better in deliberating on how best to work for the good of the people of this Province and to acquit ourselves creditably in discharging our duty towards them. Let us work in that spirit, so that we may not be laughed at by others. To those of my brethren who have a grouse against the Congress I earnestly appeal to join hands with us and to work for the removal of their complaints. The door of the Congress is open for everyone, and the members of this organisation are not narrow-minded. They are large-hearted people and their only desire is peace and prosperity in the country.

It is the duty of every honourable member in this House to work for the improvement of administration in the Province. Now that we have two Congress Ministers in the Coalition Cabinet, we expect them to do all they can for furthering the interests of the people. They should act boldly in the service of the Province whenever called upon to do so and let the office have no lure for them otherwise. I assure the honourable Ministers of our fullest support in their task of bringing the British as well as the Police rule at an end in this Province. I request them to close down the Fort which has been a centre of atrocities and barbarous treatment to our young men. They should see to it that all the political prisoners are set at liberty. We are no longer going to tolerate the treatment that the Governments so far have been meting out to us at their sweet will. We were treated worse than a sweeper or a Chamar. I know from my personal experience how shabbily we were treated in jail. It is high time that that chapter was closed and a new leaf turned instead. Because the honourable ministers owe allegiance to the Congress, I am sure that they are conscious of their responsibility even without my telling them. They know that they represent more than 50 members in whom the electors have reposed their confidence. It is our fervent hope that they will give a lie to the old Persian adage :

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Let me make it clear to the House that just as our young men who were subjected to such inhuman treatment in the Lahore Fort did not flinch from their duty and remained true to their ideals, there can be no danger of our Ministers becoming only cogs in the British machine, like Nawab Sir Jamal Khan Leghari, Nawab Ashiq Hussain and Sh. Faiz Mohammad. We are not subject to such quick charge-overs and shall most certainly strive to bring about a change in them.

**Mr. Speaker :** Before I call upon the next speaker, I would like to say something because I would rather that I do not have to check the members while they are having their say and making general suggestions. The word "traitor" has been recognized as an unparliamentary word. This is because traitor in the context used has signified traitor to the King or the country. If I have not ruled out the word "*ghaddar*" when used by the honourable members in their speeches, it is because I have realized that though "*ghaddar*" is the Urdu equivalent of the word "traitor", it has been used in a different sense, that is traitor to religion or the party. But in some cases even in this sense it ceases to be unobjectionable. Repetition of the word and rubbing it in when attacking another honourable member makes use of the word undignified and lowers the prestige of the House. I shall in such cases give no latitude even if I have done so far. I would advise the junior members who are apt to lay too great a stress on this word to study the way the senior members make use of this word. I hope all the honourable members would keep it in mind that whatever they say and whatever harsh language they may like to use, they should do nothing which would undermine the dignity of the House. I sincerely hope nobody will use language which may compel me to the unpleasant task of pulling up an honourable member. ✓

**Chaudhri Fazal Ilahi** (Gujrat North, Muhammadan, Rural) (*Urdu*): Sir, while listening to the speeches made by my friends on the Treasury benches in the course of the last few days I have felt as if they were reading an indictment of an administration which was being run by us and they formed the opposition in this House. They have been voicing their grievances that they do not get cloth, that the Police are making life intolerable for them and that adequate provision has not been made for such and such department. They made it sound as if all this is of our making. I fail to understand how they could forget the fact that on the 11th March 1946, they had formed the Government and our party had become the official opposition. Now it ill becomes them to start enumerating troubles, which are in fact our troubles, while they hold the reins of office in their own hands and pose as the aggrieved party.

The Honourable Minister of Finance while presenting the Budget put forth the apology that as he had taken charge of his portfolio only on the 11th March he did not have time enough to amend or revise it. It was a foundling which had been foisted on him. This apology has caused a considerable surprise. After only a day's perusal of the Budget, I feel that even a person like me can effect so many improvements and changes in it that my efforts can satisfy the most exacting critic and win for me the general plaudit of the people of this Province. All this goes to show that the Honourable Minister of Finance has evidently said good-bye to all the principles that the Congress stands for and this game of forming a Coalition Government has been played with the sole object of depriving the majority community in this Province of their legitimate share in the administration. In getting together this Government they did not have the good of the Province but only the aforesaid object in view.

Sir, the Congress has ever been after depriving the Muslims from the Government of this province. At last we find them successful to some extent. They never keep in view the progress of the province. They are always selfish. What is it after all due to? It is perhaps to get hold of the reins of the provincial Government and to suppress the Muslims. Sir, I can supply a good proof in this connection. From the general study of the budget it is evident that the volume contains the figures of expenditure for the



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previous five years also. The Honourable Finance Minister has tried his utmost to slip over the responsibility resting upon him through a number of ambiguous and confusing sentences. He has repeatedly said that the Government desire to think out ways and means for the improvement of this province. I would ask him that if he really desires to do something, the best course for improving upon the present conditions would be to make necessary changes in the budget after a thorough discussion. This is because it appears that the preparation of the budget has been very carelessly handled. I assert before the House that this budget is entirely damaging rather than beneficial, as remarked by some of the members opposite. I am sure, that whereas the whole of the Finance Department has failed to compile a satisfactory budget, I can prepare a better one without the help of a single person. I think the best course for the improvement of this budget with due regard to the progress of the province is to postpone this discussion for the present. The Honourable Finance Minister should get the sanction of the House for as much amount as may suffice the expenses of various departments for two months. This period of two months may be devoted to the re-discussion of the budget. I hope the Finance Minister would accept my suggestion in view of the public interests. But if he calls this suggestion impracticable, I would call him insincere and malicious at heart. He would, in that case, himself stand in the way of the progress of this province. I am sorry to say that I have a short time at my disposal, otherwise I could prove and convince the House through facts and figures that what they call a "dal-roti" budget is in reality a budget of loot and plunder.

Sir, I consider that the Punjab is a state where Maharaja Khizar Hayat Khan is the ruler. The Finance Minister is the so-called Maharaja Sahib's "munseem". He, in compliance with his orders put these *pothis* of the budget before the House. (*Interruptions*). I will go to the extent of calling it the so-called Maharaja Sahib's budget. It shows the extent to which the corrupt practices are in force regarding the General Administration in this province. The districts of Mianwali and Muzaffargarh have been deprived of irrigation facilities in order to provide the same in the Khushab tahsil. Similarly Lyallpur, Multan and other districts have been ignored through the kindness of the Honourable Premier. The strange thing in case of Khushab is that before the irrigation facilities are there, metalled roads have been constructed, while in the districts of Lyallpur, Montgomery and Jhang no such roads exist.

**M. Muhammad Khurshid Khan** (Rohtak, Muhammadan, Rural,) (*Urdu*) : Mr. Speaker, the first thing to which I would like to draw your attention is the liberty of press and platform. This liberty as we see has been totally withheld from the public. At the same time I am pleased to see that no restrictions affect this House and that the honourable members of the House are fortunate enough to express themselves in the most liberal fashion. In this connection I would protest against the attitude of Government. The restrictions imposed have so far affected the Lahore daily "*Nawa-i-Waqt*".

**Mr. Speaker** : Please do not refer to "*Nawa-i-Waqt*". The case has already been taken up by the High Court.

**M. Muhammad Khurshid Khan** : Sir, I will take up only those points which have nothing to do with the High Court.

**Mr. Speaker** : Is it not a fact that you are referring to the case of *Nawa-i-Waqt* which is *sub-judice*?

**M. Muhammad Khurshid Khan** : Very well, sir, I now come to the Honourable Minister for Education and the Education Department. How 'fortunate' is this department to have a suitable personality in the present Minister ! What a 'fine taste' he has for running the educational policy ! A wonderful and subtle tribute

has been paid to the Education Minister on his appointment by the daily *Nawa-i-Waqt*. The paper said that there had been 'fundamental' change in the educational policy of the province. The Education Department, I am sure, has never had such a personality of life-long educational experience at its head. The Honourable Minister perhaps thinks it his only duty to continue writing so long as he is in his seat before the House and keeping mum.

**Minister for Education :** I am taking down all your objections, so that I may be able to give appropriate replies if time permits.

**M. Muhammad Khurshid Khan :** Thank God that he has broken the seal of silence ! (*Interruption*).

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Anyhow, the tribute paid to him was fully justified. The present Government, I would say, has so bad a taste that it has not enjoyed the subtle remarks, rather it has demanded security from this paper.

Sir, while the discussion on the budget was in progress, so many topics, some of which remarked as irrelevant by some of the members opposite, such as Pakistan, Khalistan, Civil Supplies Department and Corruption in other departments, were discussed in the course of that debate. What was that all due to ? I would like to explain the whole situation to the entire satisfaction of the House.

**Mr. Speaker :** Your time is over.

**Sardar Bachan Singh** (Ludhiana Central, Sikh, Rural) (*Urdu*) : Mr. Speaker, I regret to say that during this lengthy debate on General Administration not a single speech has been made from the common man's point of view. No speaker has tried to represent the man in the street.

One cannot deny the fact that the present administration is a rotten affair and there are numerous defects in it. (*Cheers from the Opposition Benches*). I will not be discharging my duty conscientiously if I do not admit the fact that the people of this province are sick of the present administration. (*Cheers from the Opposition benches*).

The galleries above and the world outside are anxious to know what is being done about the general administration, because people in general have begun to take very keen interest in politics. But, sir, you will be surprised to know that these people with all their interest in politics are not allowed admittance into the Civil Secretariat. Under such conditions how can they hope to have their grievances redressed ?

Again, one cannot deny this fact either that the people have become so communal-minded that a Musalman cannot tolerate the very sight of a Hindu and vice versa. But Government is not paying as much heed to this problem as it deserves. As a matter of fact no step worth the name is being taken to create better atmosphere in the province.

Then, according to the reports prepared by the Government Secretariat it is said that after 35 years 30 crores of rupees would be spent on education and 69 crores would be spent on the construction of roads. Our main concern is to see what the present position is. I am constrained to remark that unfortunately the present conditions are far from satisfactory. (*Cheers from the Opposition benches*). I have said this not with a view to give this Coalition Ministry a bad name. Be it far from me to do anything of the sort, because I myself happen to be one of the Government.

Now, we have come to this Assembly with a determination to improve the general administration of the province, to remove its defects and to be of some help to the poor and the backward. The Congress Party has also a similar determination.

In my opinion the expenditure on Police is much more than it ought to be. (*Cheers from the Opposition benches*). Then, sir, the officials in the Government Secretariat, Civil Supply Department, and such other departments are getting very

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fat salaries, whereas those in the junior grades of service get hardly enough to keep their bodies and souls together. They do not know what is going to become of them and their children. The attitude of the high officials of Government is very high-handed. They do not take interest in the complaints of the general public. Instead of serving the public, they try to lord it over them. Even to-day I have received a complaint in which it is alleged that in Sheikhpura a magistrate grossly insulted and turned out a person who had gone to him on some business. Such attitude of the officials has brought a bad name to Government.

The present-day administration is rampant with defects. We admit it. But in reply to the accusation that has been levelled against us, I would submit that for the time being we are unable to do anything. We have just taken over the charge and cannot be held responsible for the present condition which we have received in legacy. The present administration might as well be likened to a house in ruins. We have just taken it over. In order to renovate it, we must have time. In the existing circumstances it is not fair to expect anything from us as yet. Give us a year or so and then sit in judgment on us. I am fully confident that after some time this Police which is rotten to-day would become a model Police and this general administration which to-day is the target of so much fault-finding, will have become an ideal administration. On the site of this house in ruins we shall raise a new edifice.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** But your architects are the same old ones.

**Sardar Bachan Singh :** Rest assured, the planning and the building would be in our hands this time. We have made promises with our voters, and we are determined to honour them. We know that the defects are numerous, we realize that the difficulties would be many, but for a man who is determined to do something, nothing is difficult or impossible. We have faith in ourselves, we have determination and we shall find out the ways and means. If we do not find them, we shall create them. If we cannot create them, we shall wreck this Ministry and go out of it. (Cheers).

Let me make it plain to my honourable friends here that we have come into this Assembly not with a view to form a ministry. Our first concern is to improve the lot of the masses. We want to give them food, we want to give them clothes and we want to give them homes to live in. We have come here to save them both from the dacoits as well as from the Police. We shall improve the system of procurement and supply. We shall root out the defects wherever we find them. We shall work day and night to achieve these aims, and I am fully confident that when we have achieved them, even our enemies would be constrained to admire us.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** Impossible.

**Sardar Bachan Singh :** My honourable friend says it is impossible. It only shows that they have no confidence in themselves. We have great confidence in ourselves and with this confidence we shall achieve what we have in view. Some time back identical conditions prevailed in Russia and some other countries of the world, but those people had confidence in themselves and with the force of that confidence they have scaled great heights and are now the envy of the world.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** Your leaders are worthless.

**Sardar Bachan Singh :** So long as they were allied with you, they were like you, but now that they have coalesced with us, they will become as we are. (Cheers from the ministerial benches).

Sir, as I was submitting, we are determined to improve the lot of the peasant. I would once more repeat that we have come into this Assembly not for the sake of allowances nor for the sake of sitting in these cushioned seats. We have been in jails,

we have undergone all sorts of hardships and inconveniences, we have sacrificed the best years of our lives. We have done all this for the freedom and welfare of our country.

I would request the Honourable Ministers not to bank on and go by the Secretariat reports, but to take the initiative in their own hand and speed up their pace. This tardy pace would take them nowhere. • The world is changing fast. It is not the era of bullock-carts, nor even of motor cars; it is the era of aeroplanes. I hope they will speed up and acquire the pace which the present times demand. They will have to accelerate their pace in spite of themselves.

This Coalition is not an incongruous combination, as the Raja Sahib was pleased to call it. Let me make it clear to him that this Coalition is the manifestation of a people's desire who are determined to forge ahead, notwithstanding any obstacles that may be raised in their way.

Sir, my honourable friends say that this budget, which has been presented by us, should be rejected. I want to make it clear, Sir, that they simply want to create a chaos by doing so. On the other hand, we want to have a just and sound Government in the province. We want a Ministry which may harmonise the communal feelings between the different communities in the province. We have joined the Government simply to abolish the previous rotten system and in its place to introduce a just and good government. We do not underrate the difficulties which are going to face us in this direction but we are habituated to all such obstacles and we know very well how to face them. As valiant soldiers we will fight all problems and ultimately will make our way ahead.

Generally, people ask us why we have joined this partnership. I want to make it known to every friend of mine in this House that we have joined with other parties just to continue the struggle for national liberation. We want to see our country a free country and in the cause of Independence we are prepared to join hands with every body who desires to see his country free.

We have entered this House with the confidence of our electors. I am sure, Sir, that very confidence will give us so much strength of action that we will be able to destroy all the existing evils in the present system of Government root and branch. We will introduce reforms in the country's administration. We will improve our police. Betterment of our province will always remain our guiding spirit and I assure you, Sir, that the moment we feel any weakness in our determination or anything of the sort we will at once quit office. We have not accepted office for the sake of acceptance only, but we have done so for a great mission and if we fail to achieve our noble mission, then we very well know what to do next. (*Interruptions and uproar*).

To-day progressive parties are forging ahead and every right thinking person in this country is siding with the progressive views and programmes. I wish that the All-India Muslim League too had adopted progressive views but they are disappointing us. In this House they are opposing this budget which is being presented by a responsible Ministry, and in the Centre, they intend to support the budget which has been presented by an irresponsible bureaucratic Government, which is notorious for its reactionary character. As I have already said the League intends to create chaos by these tactics and they have nothing else in their minds.

I will make an earnest appeal to every right thinking person in this land of five rivers to join us in laying the foundations of a greater and happier Punjab. Prosperity and peace should reign over that Punjab. Let us work out an ideal Government in this province and let us jointly revolutionise the present order. I assure you Sir, that my party is fully bent upon achieving all these noble aims and we neither under-value our difficulties in this direction nor are we afraid of them. We are

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fighting in the cause of liberty for the last twenty-five years and I assure you, Sir, that we will not take rest until and unless our goal is achieved. If we all work together sincerely then nothing can stand in our way. Let us join hands in the interest of this province and work together for the achievement of our national freedom.

**Mian Ghulam Jilani Gurmani** (Muzaffargarh, Muhammadan, Rural) (*Urdu*) Sir, I would like to tell you something about the glorious deeds of this Government. I would not hesitate in declaring this Government a curse for the people of this land of five rivers. They have been committing unprecedented atrocities on the unfortunate land and I think that it should be the earnest effort of every self-respecting person in the Punjab to be freed from the Unionist yoke as soon as possible. This Government is tyrannising and persecuting the innocent people in an untold way. They robbed the poor people of their hard-earned money and they were forced to contribute for the funds of the Zamindara League. In the course of the general elections people were forced by the foolish officials to cast their precious votes against their own free will. Is it democracy? Why does it not come forward and hold an independent inquiry and punish all those criminals, who are alleged to have taken part in the elections?

Now I will draw the attention of the House towards the grant of lands. In colony area those people are compensated whose lands are devastated by rivers, but in Muzaffargarh district nothing is done. It is a great hardship for the poor people and Government should adopt one uniform policy in this matter. They should not behave at one place in one way and at another place in a different way. Government promised to give land to such persons; but instead of giving it to the deserving people, it gave it away to thieves as if it was the ancestral property of the Ministers of the Government.

Now I come to another point. The power of nomination was given to the Government services so that the backward areas and communities may get their due share and representation in the services. Muzaffargarh is admittedly the most backward district in the Punjab, but up till now only one person has been nominated as E. A. C. from that district. (*A voice*: Now you have a Minister.) The way in which he has been made a Minister is known to every body. He cannot be of any use to the district.

A great effort was made to take canal to district Mianwali and the Leiah tahsil of Muzaffargarh district. A loan was raised for that purpose, but afterwards dishonestly the canal was taken to Prime Minister's own tahsil in order to please his voters, and nothing was done on the main canal. Thus thousands of acres of land is left as waste land and nothing is done to improve it.

With these words I resume my seat.

**Sardar Jagjit Singh Mann** (Central Punjab Landholders): Sir, the first and foremost thing to which I would like to draw your attention is *thur*. As a matter of fact during the last two or three days I was looking forward very anxiously if my friends on the other side would make some reference to this subject. This province being a zamindar province the very existence of the zamindar is at stake, but I am sorry to find that no one of them uttered a word on this subject. Sir, I would say unhesitatingly that the Government has not so far found out any remedy for this *thur*. But I may tell you what the Government has done so far. The officers of Government first discovered that giving too much water to the field is injurious as it creates *thur*. But after some years they found that that theory was wrong so that more water was being given and so this Reclamation department started with the idea that too much water suppresses the salt and *thur* does not come out. Now, Sir, last year to our great surprise we heard that this Reclamation department had been stopped because

they said that it was doing more harm than good. But after that it was found that it was too late to stop last year and they said that orders for stopping would be passed next year. So now in some parts the reclamation work is going on and in other parts it is stopped. Then the other thing which the Government has done is digging of drains. In my opinion these drains are more harmful than helpful, because during the rainy season when there is a lot of rain these drains are flooded, with the result that the surrounding area is all flooded and all the crops are destroyed and in many cases so many salts are brought with the flooded water and the fields are rendered unfit for crops for 2 or 3 years. This is within my memory and I have got concrete cases. Now, Sir, we hear that Government is going to start pumping in order to reduce water level. We will see what the result of this is going to be.

Sir, my friends have been speaking very loudly about elections. I do not think I should make any remarks on the point since it has been very elaborately discussed on the floor of this House. But yesterday one or two of my honourable friends, and particularly my hon'ble friend Shaikh Muhammad Amin, mentioned the landholders constituencies. (*An honourable member* : He did not mean you.) I know. He was talking with regard to the election of the Hon'ble Premier. But there is one point which is common which I would like to refer to. He said that the issuing of ballot papers was kept very strictly secret. In the last elections in 1937 I sought election from the landholders constituency. I was then an anti-Unionist candidate and I never expected that I would know the date when the ballot papers would be issued and in spite of my best efforts I could not find it out. I thought that I was not privileged to know and kept quiet. But this year it was my privilege to have the co-operation of the Unionist Party and I thought that I might be able to know the date. But I was greatly disappointed and in spite of my best efforts I was not able to know the date on which these ballot papers had been despatched. What happened is this. These things are kept very strictly secret and that is the way things are working and nobody can know beforehand when the ballot papers are issued. (*An honourable member* : Are you sure?) It is so as far as my knowledge goes.

Now I come to another point and that is as regards agriculture. I have one complaint to place before the Government. The Hon'ble Minister is not in his seat but I hope it will be brought to his notice. My complaint is this. Recently, say about a year ago an order has been passed by the Director of Agriculture attaching Sheikhpura district with Montgomery. Prior to that it was attached with Lyallpur. You can very well imagine the hardships which the people of Sheikhpura have to undergo, in going to a far off place like Montgomery. Lyallpur was very convenient from many points of view and there could be one common policy of agriculture for these two districts which adjoin each other. Moreover, when people from Sheikhpura go to Lyallpur, they can also go to the Agricultural College and discuss their agricultural problems with the Deputy Director of Agriculture. I do not know the reason why Sheikhpura has been taken away from Lyallpur and is attached to Montgomery. I am watching the feelings of all the people of my district in this respect. They feel that this new adjustment is very uncomfortable and inconvenient to the public at large. I would, therefore, plead that this case should be reconsidered and Sheikhpura district be attached to Lyallpur district as before. (*An hon'ble member* : Sir, he is no longer Parliamentary Secretary.) I do not want this Parliamentary Secretaryship. What is the honourable member talking about? If he is anxious, he can come over here.

So much has been said from those benches about the agency of honorary magistrates. It has been said that this is a very defective agency.

**Chaudhri Muhammad Hasan** : He appears to be an honorary magistrate.

**Sardar Jagjit Singh Mann** : I am not one of them but I know a lot about them.

**Chaudhri Muhammad Hasan :** He has been recommended by the Deputy Commissioner. He is an honorary magistrate.

**Sardar Jagjit Singh Mann :** I am not. There are so many on the other side of the House. Please do not interrupt. I say once again that I am not an honorary magistrate.

**Chaudhri Muhammad Hasan :** Then he was an honorary magistrate.

**Sardar Jagjit Singh Mann :** I know a lot of them. I feel that the agency of honorary magistrates is more useful from the public point of view.

**Chaudhri Muhammad Hasan :** They are a curse.

**Sardar Jagjit Singh Mann :** They spend lot of time and energy in carrying on public business and they have to keep the officers as well as the public satisfied.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** They are fools.

**Sardar Jagjit Singh Mann :** I really wonder why they are undergoing such hardship and for what.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** Because they are called "haneri" magistrates. They do not know law.

**Sardar Jagjit Singh Mann :** Their only object is to do public service. (An hon'ble member : To get squares of land.) If they are doing all this, they are doing it at their own cost and I do not know the reason why the people over there are so much disturbed and if they are still not satisfied then God help them.

For the last few days I have been feeling that there is very high fever of communal feeling in this House.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** No, no.

**Sardar Jagjit Singh Mann :** This fact very much pains me. I am brought up in an atmosphere of communal harmony and I have been living in an atmosphere of communal harmony and over and above this I am representing Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs. It really pains me what I see over here. I would, therefore, pray that wise counsels may prevail, and I hope that my voice will not be a voice in the wilderness. (Cheers.)

(At this stage Mr. Speaker left the chair and Mr. Deputy Speaker occupied it.)

**Chaudhri Jahan Khan** (North-West Gujrat, Muhamadan, Rural) (Urdu)  
Mr. Deputy Speaker, the Congress party is a well organised and well disciplined party and it has made many sacrifices for the sake of India. Its adherents have more than once courted imprisonment and have borne all sorts of hardships for the sake of their motherland. As most of the Congress prisoners have served their terms of imprisonment in the Gujrat Jail, I found many occasions to talk to them. They used to say that the Hindus and the Muslims should unite first together and then they should turn the British out of this country. So I was under the impression that this is a good organisation. But what is its condition to-day ? Those very Congressmen have selected an Englishman, who is a toady by birth, as their leader. I have called him an "Englishman" because he is a creation of the British. Sir, when the Great Mutiny took place at Delhi, those who helped in suppressing it were the people who belonged to the six districts of the North-West Punjab, i.e., Gujrat, Jhelum, Rawalpindi, etc. One of those men was Malik Sultan Mahmud, the grandfather of Malik Khizar Hayat Khan, and the other was Malik Sultan Mahmud, the grandfather of Malik Sir Allah Bakhsh. These men got themselves recruited in the British forces at Rs. 8 a month and went to Delhi and perpetrated untold cruelties on the Hindus and Muslims and indulged in an orgy of blood-shed and violence. They even brought out people from their hiding places and killed them. When they returned to their native place

i.e., Kalra, they employed the same methods to spread terror in their *ilaga*. In view of all these services they got estates and even canals for irrigating their lands. Our Honourable Premier belongs to the same stock and is a loyal servant and a toady of the British and so long as he is not removed from the Premiership, my friends cannot hope to gain freedom.

**Mr. Deputy Speaker :** Please do not be personal.

**Chaudhri Jahan Khan :** I am not personal. It is a fact. He is a toady and a slave of the British. He is their loyal servant. He got estates and *inams*, as for instance, the Kalra Estate from them. He got canals from them and if he is not a henchman of the British what else is he? In fact he is the creation of the British. Now look at the Congress. The lure of offices has compelled it to throw those very principles to the wind which it has cherished for the last forty or fifty years. Is this the way in which my friends want to win freedom? I tell them that if they want freedom, let them first free themselves from the yoke of this henchman of the British.

Now I will say a word or two about my election. When the elections began a case was instituted against me. Afterwards a case was started against my uncle, who was my worker. (*Voices : shame, shama*). Then a case was started against a *Musalli*. At the time I had gone to Gujrat and I remained there from the 9th till the 18th February. On the 14th February the Police recovered an ox from that *Musalli*. Ahmad Yar, who does not even hesitate to clean the shoes of the Honourable Malik Khizar Hayat Khan and who was a Unionist candidate against me, asked that *Musalli* to tell the police that Jahan Khan was the real culprit. But he refused to do so.

**Mr. Deputy Speaker :** The honourable member's time is up.

**Mr. Harbhaj Ram** (Lyallpur and Jhang, General, Reserved Seat) (*Punjabi*) : Sir, before I proceed with my speech, let me thank you for affording me an opportunity to express my views. I want to impress upon the Muslim League members and the Congress members that it is not my intention to criticise anybody. I am here only to place before you all our grievances. I would like to point out to the hon'ble members that I represent the poor Harijans and the depressed classes. I do not suppose there is anybody present here, who will deny that if there has been any community neglected or whose legitimate demands have been deliberately overlooked, it has been the poor *Harijan* community.

(*At this stage Mr. Speaker resumed the chair.*)

They have been nicknamed as depressed classes and cobblers. These *harjians* constitute seven per cent of the total population. But in spite of all this, *harjians* have been allotted only 2½ per cent of the total number of seats in the Assembly. During the last nine years, the former members representing the *Harijians* in the Assembly protested many times that our representation should be proportionate to the total number of seats in the Assembly, with a view to encouraging us. I want to ask my hon'ble friends, Major Ashiq Hussain, Nawab Sir Jamal Khan Leghari, Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan and Sheikh Faiz Muhammad as to what they did to uplift the *Harijians* when they were occupying these benches during the last nine years? They were only trying to deceive us by giving false hopes and promises which they never had the courage to fulfil. They followed these tactics only to gain our favour and trap us with the snare of their deception and falsehood. But how can the deceiver deceive the deceived for long? We smelt out their intentions. (*An honourable member from the opposition benches :* The hon'ble member has expressed his grievances, but very late). (*Uproar*).

**Mr. Speaker :** Order, Order!

**Mr. Harbhaj Ram :** We had to coalesce with the other parties for the good of the masses. We would never expect to have any sympathy from the Muslim League



[Mr. Harbhaj Ram]

members. They are so busy with finding the faults of others that they have no time to find out their own follies. (*Uproar*). They believe that they can coerce any party in their mad frenzy for Pakistan. Instances in this connection are not wanting. In Lyallpur district which happens to be my district, the Muslim League accorded disgraceful treatment and forced *Harijans* and their elected representatives to support the League candidates in the Assembly. There is not a single Muslim majority village in that district where the Muslims did not compel the *Harijans* to take the side of the Muslim League, by giving them threats of physical violence and complete boycott of all social and economic relations with them. (*Cries of shame, shame, from the Treasury benches*). I challenge any hon'ble member sitting opposite to refute my statement. Let any hon'ble member opposite rise from his seat and swear by anything dear to him or her that what I have stated is not a fact. (*Uproar*). If that be the kind of Pakistan in which we are to live then let me warn my honourable friends opposite that in that case nine crores of *Harijans* will completely boycott the establishment of such a Pakistan. (*An honourable member from Opposition benches*: Has the hon'ble member consulted Dr. Ambedkar?) Let me inform the honourable member that he is their own man. I make bold to submit that if the Muslims do not give us the right of self-determination, then we will make Pakistan an impossibility. And if they continue teasing us, we will always create an obstacle in the way of their achieving Pakistan. Now let me inform the honourable members of the House how Muslim League people tried their best to allure me by giving false promises. Some four days back I was told by them that my presence was required at Delhi in connection with an urgent business. I was surprised at the information, because I did not know why I was called or who called me or what was the object of such an invitation. Later on they told me that I had to go to Delhi to represent the *Harijans* and that an aeroplane was made available to take me there. I asked them as to who was going to pay the huge fare for the aeroplane and I explained to them that I could easily go by train. I also inquired of them whether the sum did not form a part of the budget, just to give the *Harijans* a pleasure flight in an aeroplane. (*Laughter*). When I talked a bit loudly, they asked me to talk slowly and wanted to take me at some place where we could not be heard. They also told me that the sum was provided by Government. At this I smelt something fishy about the whole affair. It will not be out of place to mention here that all the Muslim League members are so restless that they have even decided to give all concessions to *Harijans* to achieve their ideal. But I make bold to submit that they have no mind to give us the concessions once they have achieved Pakistan. They are playing this game only to gain our favour until they achieve Pakistan. Afterwards we will be thrown back to our present state of penury and want.

I do not claim to have any knowledge of the other districts but so far as my own district is concerned I have a personal experience of the working of the Civil Supplies Department. Once I had the misfortune to apply for a few yards of muslin for a turban as I had lost the only one I had during the elections. These elections are a curse and all those who have to do anything with them are the losers in one way or the other. Well, Sir, as I was saying I went to the person who was in charge of the cloth rationing section, and requested that the required length of muslin may kindly be granted to me. He very politely asked me to take a seat. I thought what a perfect gentleman he was and felt sure that he would give me an entire roll of cloth sufficient to make quite a few turbans. Then he said "Well, now that you have been elected to the Punjab Assembly what do you intend to do?" I replied that I would gladly do anything that he would ask me to do for him. Now you know one can never tell from a man's appearance whether he sympathises with the Congress or holds the League views. He said "Listen, you should better side with the Muslim League party." I told him that I would be ready to do that if my colleagues decided

to do the same. He felt that I had not been taken in by him and when I enquired as to what he was going to do to enable me to get the cloth he just made an apology and told me that the quota for that month had not yet been received. He would certainly do something for me if I turned up after a few days. I was disappointed and when I came out of the office to return to my village I met two men who had slips of paper in their hands. On inquiring from them I found that they had just been given permits for cloth including muslin. This is how we are treated by Government officials, because we do not happen to be on the side of that political party towards which they are inclined. The hardships to which we are put and the treatment which is meted out to us by these Government servants brings up a lump in our throats when we try to describe it. Besides, we are not even permitted to complain.

**Mr. Speaker :** The honourable member's time is up.

**Sardar Sajjan Singh (Kasur, Sikh, (Rural) Punjabi) :** Sir, at the very outset I would like to invite the attention of my honourable friends, who like me are to-day sitting on the Treasury benches, that their foremost duty lies to those patriots who are rotting in jails since 1914. We should not forget those brave sons of the motherland who have suffered beyond measure for the country's cause. The families of these patriots have been obliged to beg for alms in the absence of their breadwinners. The properties confiscated by the Government should be restored to them and provision should also be made for their independence. Now that the Congress Party has joined the Coalition, a radical change should be effected in the attitude of the Government towards these patriots. I would earnestly appeal to the Honourable Ministers to leave no stone unturned in getting the confiscated properties restored to their rightful owners and if that is not possible to grant them compensation in lieu of them.

Now I come to the real point which I wanted to discuss before the House to-day. This year the receipts on account of additional police posts amount to Rs. 2,75,000. This is the money which is to be recovered from the people living in villages where punitive police posts are established. I say with all the emphasis at my command that these punitive police posts are a nuisance and this system is highly undesirable. The sooner this practice is done away with the better will it be for all concerned. From 1861 to 1945 it has been the practice of the Government that whenever they wanted to impose a police post on some ilaqa they would get the estimates of the cost prepared and would recover it from the inhabitants of that ilaqa. They have neither been asked nor have they ever given an account of the money thus recovered by them. I know it from my own experience because I have had to pay my contribution many a time. For every punitive post Government usually recover 20 per cent above the actual cost. From 1920 to 1935 the total amount recovered above the actual expenditure incurred was Rs. 2,20,000 in Lahore district only. The arrears remitted to some Lahore district villages amounted to Rs. 26,000, though a sum of Rs. 1,00,000 had been recovered in excess, which was not refunded. The real mistake made in this connection is that estimated costs instead of actual costs are recovered.

Besides this there is another matter to which I would like to draw the attention of the honourable members. Before I make any submission in this respect, I would like to quote a couplet by Shah Mohd. which he wrote on the return after defeat of the Sikh Army from the war with the British :

کہروں گئے فرنگی دے مارے نوں گون چاہیان ہتھہ پیرا آئے  
شاہ محمد آہدے لوک نگہ جی تسدیں چنگیاں پوریاں پا گئے

We too came here in high hopes that now there will be liberty of speech and Press and that cases against political offenders will be withdrawn. But actually we see that arrests go on as before and even those already in jails are not being released. There are still three political security prisoners in the Punjab jails. Their only fault is that

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they have not towed the Government line and have thus earned the displeasure of the C.I. D. who are now wreaking vengeance on them. No Government has any right to deprive any person of his freedom in peacetime, simply because he has remained mum to the C. I. D. during the investigation. There are many instances of the highhandedness of the Police in Lahore Fort which is the headquarters of the Provincial Government. In Manhala village two persons were deprived of their possessions and had their houses burnt under the orders of a gazetted officer, and the people were threatened with dire consequences if they appeared as witnesses in the case. Again in the Khalra ilaqa two zamindars who had an altercation with a constable were beaten by Government officials in uniform and made to ride a donkey with blackened faces. Is this the sort of administration for which more than 1 crore of rupees are being spent and for which taxes are levied right and left? It is now the duty of our ministers to use every effort in bringing the Police to their senses.

In the end I would like to address a few words to the Honourable Sardar Baldev Singh with regard to the Department of Civil Supplies. Civil Supply Department has become rather a Rishwat (bribery) Supply Department. (*Uproar and laughter.*)

**Mr. Speaker :** The honourable member's time is up.

**Sardar Ishar Singh Majhail :** (Amritsar, North, Sikh, Rural) (*Punjabi*) : Sir, I find that the members of the Muslim League Party have said much about the Coalition Ministry. Before I take up any topic, I would like to say a few words about the Muslim League organization. This party had come to a settlement with one of our groups. The greatest proof of the settlement is the support given by the Muslim League Party to the members of that group during these elections. Besides that, the Muslim League Party had arranged for lorries and volunteers for the election propaganda and supported these members. I remember full well that they provided lorries and volunteers for S. Sohan Singh Josh, my opponent in this election. Their hopes however bore no fruit and through their support no candidate of the Communist Party could be elected to this House. I am fully aware of the circumstances under which Mr. Joshi joined Mr. Maxwell in a big conspiracy against us. I know how the Communist Party has been ever with the Government. These people desire that Great Britain should somehow or other dominate this country and that the British rule should be prolonged in India. Same is the case with the Muslim League. They too desire that the British domination should continue for ever. It is we and we alone who are ever after establishing our own government in this country. We cannot tolerate the British domination any more.

Sir, I would say that the Muslim League Party have a religion and in the name of this religion they often raise slogans. But just look at these Communists who are without any religion and at the same time follow no principles. I take pity on the Muslim League because they have come to an understanding with such a party which is of atheistic views. I would ask them whether they are at all justified in having an alliance with such a party. I remember Mr. Shuab Qurashy's remarks about the Muslim League. He said that the Muslim League has been supporting the Communists in lieu of the aid rendered to it by Russia.

Sir, so far as the Sikhs are concerned, I must say that they would never come to an alliance with those Muslims who are after Pakistan. The Pakistanists should rest content with the Communists who some time pay lip service to Pakistan. The Sikhs would never appreciate this attitude. They are deadly against Pakistan. I need not mention anything at this stage about the Communists who are now with the Muslim League. All of us know their activities when we were behind the bars. We know what oppressions, hardships and troubles were created by these people. We know how Mr. Achher Singh helped Government in the conspiracies against us. We can never forget these oppressions.

Sir, the Muslim Leaguers have so often asserted that they are great patriots and are ever after the freedom of India. But the whole world sees and realises what they have done for the freedom of this country. I admit that they have done one thing very successfully and that is the encouragement of communal tension in the country. Even to-day we find the same state of affairs prevailing in the country.

Sir, I would like to make this thing clear to them that the Sikhs can never be suppressed by any community in the country. If the Pakistanists are restless about Pakistan they should bear in mind that Sikhs are also a separate nation and desire to have a free state of their own. They will fight to the last for their rights.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** Please consult Giani Kartar Singh about this issue.

**Sardar Isher Singh Majhail :** I know better than Giani Kartar Singh. The Muslim Leaguers should bear in mind that the Punjabis are neither in favour of the Muslim League Ministry nor are they in favour of Pakistan.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** What a strange idea ! The Sardar Sahib has introduced a strange idea !

**Sardar Isher Singh Majhail :** I observe, Sir, that the members of the Coalition Party have served the province in the real sense of the word. It is as a result of their services and sacrifices that they have become the rulers of this province.

After this, Sir, I wish to say a few words about the political prisoners. I would urge upon Government to file suits against those detainees who have been imprisoned without trial. During these trials if the allegations be proved against them, they should be punished, otherwise orders for their release should be issued immediately. This is a matter of first rate importance and unless some steps are taken immediately, I do not think law and order can be maintained in the province. I would again request that the political prisoners may be released at the earliest convenience of Government. With these words, Sir, I finish my speech and resume my seat.

**Premier (The honourable Malik Sir Khizar Hayat) :** I must apologise for not being present while the discussion on the demand was on, but I have been informed as to what has been said during the debate and I will reply to the criticism made by members. Some of the criticism has been replied to a number of times in the House and I have no intention of alluding to it once more. However, certain half truths and mis-statements have been made which must be replied to.

I shall begin with the Khushab Branch. It has been alleged on the other side that the water of the Khushab Branch of the Thal Project has been diverted for the benefit of my lands. I own only 100 acres of land in that area. I have not purchased that land, but it was granted as maintenance to my great-great-grand-mother a very long time ago by the then Malik of Mitha Tiwana. But many of my friends on the League benches are feverishly purchasing lands in that tract and I think that they should be happy if they get water as a result of the project. In every canal the upper reaches do not get irrigation, but luckily hydro-electric power has supplied the need and some of the lands in that high reach will now be irrigated.

I have already mentioned those facts and if the House wants them again I am prepared to produce statistics and data and show that purchases have been going on and how people have been collecting land. I want irrigation taken further afield to do maximum good. I have no axe to grind. I have only 100 acres or thereabouts given once as maintenance. The rest of our lands under the law of primogeniture went to the senior branches of Maliks. Belonging to the junior branch I own no other land in that area.

Similarly I would say that the other criticisms which have been levelled have been mostly owing to misunderstanding. There is such a thing as 100 crores five-year

[Premier]

plan of the ministry. No honourable member seems to have taken the trouble to read it. If they had done so, I am sure that they would have found there many of the things, the lack of which they have been criticising. They will find that every tract has been allotted certain roads, certain hospitals and certain other facilities, such as schools, etc. There are very many other beneficent activities distributed all over the province under various departments.

Again it has been mentioned that nothing has been done for the soldiers. But if you look to the five-year plan you will find a lot is being done for the soldier. (*An honourable member*: Nothing, and you do not propose to do anything.) But the soldier is yet to come and he will be the best judge as to what is being done for him. (*An honourable member*: He will judge you all right.) Every ministry might have made certain omissions. We want to proceed constructively. The ministry that has been in office in the past for a long time has a very long record of public service and I am sure that though there may be certain omissions, its real service to the province will be recognised as great and creditable. During war time, as I pointed out, we had to run the ministry on particular lines because of war conditions. Now, Sir, the ministry is being run or rather we are going to change it in such a way that it will become the peace time Government of the right sort for this province and I would ask honourable members to wait and see how the new ministry works.

I talked about political prisoners generally the other day. I have to announce that orders have since issued that pending cases where no violence is alleged to have been preached, should be withdrawn. (*Hear, hear and applause*). I am sorry to hear that there have been certain arrests in connection with the procurement of food grains. In connection with the food situation we want to get the support of all sides of this House as well as of the public at large. We do not want any arrests except where people are actually hoarders and black marketeers. That is a category of persons whom we cannot favour. Apart from them, a lenient view will be taken wherever there has been any trouble with regard to the procurement of food and I shall look into those cases myself.

Then there was another criticism of Raja Sahib's and I was present here at that time, that members had lost their holidays on Wednesdays and Saturdays, and thus great privilege of the House had been taken away. Nothing of the sort. As you are aware, no sanctity attaches to Wednesdays and Saturdays. They are ordinary days. In the rules which the House made, it has left these days out in order to enable select committees, if any, to meet and otherwise allow the Ministers to have their Cabinet meetings and to attend to other official duties which accumulate because of the session. We could have these days for ourselves if we wanted but we do not require them. Now the Governor by his rule-making power has fixed business for those days and Governor's rules over-ride the Rules made by the Assembly. This decision of the Governor was only a formality and we could have utilised those two days by passing a motion to that effect. So I tendered my advice to the Governor and I take full responsibility for it. There is nothing particular about that. Raja Sahib further said that when my honourable colleague, the Leader of the Opposition, wrote to me that the Assembly should meet on the 19th, I did not do as he asked. I would like to point out that the new Ministry took some time to form and I was keen that the House should meet as soon as circumstances permitted. The reason why I did not call the Assembly meeting on the 19th was this. My friends of the Muslim League party had a meeting for the 19th. Their members had been informed and were present on that day. All your members were present here, but members of other parties had to be called from far off places, even from Gurgaon and other districts. What did I do? Instead of the 19th suggested by my honourable friends I got the Assembly fixed for the 21st, only one day intervening

That has not done anybody any harm and has enabled our members to get due notice and be present.

There has been criticism made that there is not much of freedom left and that there has been much expenditure on police. Increased expenditure on the police has been necessitated by the rise in prices which has led to an increase in pay. Beyond that there has recently been no considerable increase in police strength. As for the Press, I would say that the liberty we have allowed them recently during the elections and after the elections is something which is not to be found anywhere else. The stage has now been reached when we have to appeal to the Press to fall into line with us and see that communal harmony is preserved in the province. It is our duty in which the Press must join us, to preserve law and order. One or two cases have been brought to my notice where securities have been asked for. I might mention 'Nawa-i-Waqt' and 'Vir Bharat'. I looked into them and I found that the action was amply justified.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** On a point of order. May I remind the Honourable Premier that the "Nawa-i-Waqt" case is *subjudice* and it was ruled only two hours ago that the case being *subjudice* cannot be discussed on the floor of the House.

I would ask the Premier to withdraw the words that "proceedings against the Nawa-i-Waqt were amply justified". It may have an effect on the judgment.

**Premier :** What I was asserting was that even though the case is *subjudice* without prejudice Government has the right of withdrawing the security proceedings and substituting a warning instead. I have consequently withdrawn the proceedings. (*Interruptions*). I have done it with a different purpose.

**Sardar Shaukat Hyat-Khan :** Out of fear.

**Premier :** My reason for withdrawing the security orders in the case of Nawa-i-Waqt was this. This paper has stated that I should be held responsible for a particular murder and that I should be murdered. It had preached violence against my person. I do not want any action to be taken against a newspaper on a matter in which my own person was concerned. (*Interruptions*). I can say before God and man that I am trying to do my duty and if doing my duty ends my life, it will be *shahadat* and I welcome it. (*Interruptions*).

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** You have stabbed your community in the back at this critical time. You should leave these benches straightaway.

**Premier :** I will answer before my Maker and Creator what I am doing. (*Shouts of : You are a Ghaidar.*) Coming to the liberty of person, may I tell you in this connection what has happened in this province? Things have happened which would never have happened if I had not been lenient. I am referring to an honourable member on my side whose very living in his house was made impossible. Law and order had degenerated to that extent. (*Interruptions*). Is that what you want to preach? Do you want political freedom to vanish? (*Cries of shame, shame*) (*Interruptions*). Call me whatever names you like. I can say that I have not duped people in the name of religion nor have I exploited the name of religion for my personal ends.

I am told that Begum Shah Nawaz yesterday remarked when I was absent from the House that I did not deserve even to be a district board member (*Interruptions*).

**An honourable member :** She did not say so ; even if she had said it she would not have been far wrong.

**Premier :** Even if she said it I would not mind it. She would have adorned these Treasury benches if the party opposite had co-operated and I would not have been a Premier. It is just an accident of life that has brought me here. (*Interruptions*).

**An honourable member :** If you were not the Premier, you would have been in jail.

**Premier :** Yes, if you would so like, I would be prepared to go to jail. Many people have been to jail and I would certainly go there for the sake of communal harmony. Let my friends in the Opposition come here and I shall volunteer to go to jail. *(Interruptions).*

I am told that Begum Sahiba made certain references to certain promises made. My ex-colleague the former Minister for Education was Minister then and Begum Sahiba was the Parliamentary Secretary. Many of those promises have been fulfilled but if she can tell me of any that remained unfulfilled, it shall be my endeavour to fulfil them.

It has been said that there should be separation of the judiciary from the executive. That has been an ideal looked forward to by many people. This was the ideal when the executive was in the hands of bureaucracy not responsible to the Legislature. I do not say what would be the best solution, but in my opinion what is wanted is better co-ordination between the judiciary and the executive. We want more co-ordination. It is easily said that the judiciary should be separated from the executive. There is the question of the cost which would have to be incurred and which would not be justified. The Congress may have its own point of view in this matter. I can only place my views before this side of the House, and the decision of the Coalition will be the decision of Government. *(Interruptions).* The Congress are entitled to their views. I am entitled to mine. Everybody is entitled to his views, but when we are coming to a collective decision that decision will be the decision of the Party. Nobody can stop me from holding my views.

I hear that another charge about the distribution of lands has been levelled against me.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** What about the Red Fort? Talk of that.

**Premier :** I will explain about the distribution of land.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** Distribution amongst undeserving people.

**Premier :** I take the fullest responsibility for these distributions as a person at the head of administration. These distributions took place on account of war services. *(Interruptions).* *(An honourable member :* Corruption is the word. Distribution is not the word. These were grants to help the Unionist Party.) *(Uproar).* I might explain how the Unionist Party comes into the picture. During the War my friends over here non-co-operated and my friends of the League laid down a condition of bargaining and would not help in the war effort. So what was left was the Unionist Party and some other elements which stood for full war effort and they had to bear the full burden of the war effort. So, when it came to rewards the Unionists received quite a good share and it would have been unjust if they had not got their due.

**Sardar Shaukat Hyat-Khan :** What about the soldiers to whom the Honourable Premier promised land? He will remember that his predecessor announced that no one except those soldiers who would go to battle-fields would be given squares of land. What about that?

**Premier :** Please listen. This land was set apart in his time for civilian grants. The 78 thousand acres of land set apart for ex-soldiers stands to-day reserved for them and every inch of that land will go to ex-soldiers. *(Loud applause.)*

**Sardar Shaukat Hyat-Khan :** Oh, 78 thousand acres for one million soldiers *(Interruptions).* Sir, with your permission I would ask one question of the Honourable Premier and it is this. Is it just that 78 thousand acres of land should be ear-marked

for a million ex-soldiers? Would they get even enough space to build a grave in the three or four yards of land which will come to each soldier?

**Premier :** If he had addressed that question to the honourable member nearer to him — I mean the ex-Defence Member — he would have got a better reply than I can give. These lands are not meant for all the soldiers. All the soldiers cannot be physically settled on this land. These are for people who rendered meritorious services and who are to be rewarded. The grants to which I have referred were grants for civilians. For soldiers separate provision is to be made.

We had a scheme in which the Government of India was to join with the Punjab Government. Lands were to be sold by the Punjab Government to the Government of India. Both the Governments are to contribute their due share and then the settlement of the soldiers had to take place. Those co-ordination schemes are still under consideration. (*Interruptions*). My friends over there must realise that the Punjab has done its share in setting apart 78 thousand acres of land. (*Uproar*). When that co-ordination takes place more land will be available and other people will be provided for. Besides some will be provided in industry. Bureaus are being set up for finding employment. (*Interruptions*). I share the view of honourable members that we should go all out and do what we can for the ex-soldiers. I will welcome constructive suggestions that may come from that side.

**Sardar Shaukat Hyat-Khan :** The first constructive suggestion is that the Honourable Premier should leave those benches if he cannot do anything for the soldiers.

**Pir Ashiq Husain :** Will the Honourable Premier inform me, for what services rendered, the squares of land in Montgomery district were distributed during the election days? Is it not a fact that these squares were given to persons whose names are on No. 10 Register of the Police?

**Major Sayed Mubarik Ali Shah :** Has the Government withdrawn any square of land given for services in War to Mehr Amir Khan, Patowana, a Zaildar in Jhang district, because the recipient had helped some Muslim League candidate in this election? (*Uproar*).

**Premier :** I cannot say about individual cases without reference to records, but, as I have said, I took care to give these squares to people who had done real war service. (*Interruptions*). I have also taken care to see that a man who is a disturber of the peace is not awarded. More names than one are recommended and out of them the selection rests with me. The Government has full powers of selection. If it is found that a particular gentleman after having done war work, is found to be a disturber of the peace in one respect or the other, then it is in my discretion not to award any square of land to him. I have done that and I take full responsibility for it.

(*At this stage Mr. Speaker left the chair and Mr. Deputy Speaker occupied it.*)

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** Does the Premier consider that to help a League candidate is tantamount to disruption?

**Premier :** I have said nothing of the sort. These are all inferences drawn by the honourable member. I have said that if I found that a man was a disturber of the peace or otherwise undesirable and he had somehow or other got himself into the recruiting list, then I cut him out. I had made certain promises and commitments to people who were helping in the war effort and the administration and it was my duty to see that I awarded the lands to those people.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** And it is our duty to resume it.

**Premier :** I have heard certain suggestions from my honourable friends over there. (*Interruptions*).



**Mr. Deputy Speaker :** When the Honourable Premier does not give way, the honourable members have no right to stand in this manner.

**Sardar Shaukat Hyat-Khan :** He is deliberately not stating facts. (*Uproar*).  
(*An honourable member rose from his seat*).

**Mr. Deputy Speaker :** If the honourable member rises again in this manner, I shall have to ask him to go out.

**An honourable member :** There is one question I wish to ask.

**Premier :** They can ask these questions every morning and I shall be at their service in answering those questions for as long as they like.

**Sardar Shaukat Hyat-Khan :** We would request him to state facts and true facts.

**Premier :** It has been said that there should be no further grants of land. I was surprised at that. I may inform the House that except for gallantry no free grants are made. It was further said that in future no one should be given any titles.

(*At this stage Mr. Speaker resumed the Chair*).

I wish that action in this respect had been taken on that side of the House. Charity should begin at home. If they do not believe in titles they can give them up. There is no need for any legislation for that. Nobody has ever passed legislation that these Congressites are not to have any title. Government knows that they do not want them and nobody gives titles to them. My friends over there can give up their titles if they do not want them. Similar is the case about these lands. Some of them have got land and if they want to preach progressive ideas, let them part with the land and then suggest that nobody should have land. Otherwise to me it looks as if it is a cheap sort of propaganda having no value at all. So, why not do something? We do not say that these are not progressive ideas. We will consider them all. They may be progressive ideas, but set an example and act up to them.

When you have set an example and acted on it then only can it be seriously considered by all sections of the House. (*An honourable member : What about the posts of honorary magistrates?*) About honorary magistrates I said the other day "pass a resolution and send it on to me". I will consider it. I hold no brief for honorary magistrates. There are more honorary magistrates on the other side than there can be in any other party in this House. If you want all these matters about honorary magistrates and other offices to be considered in a constructive way, pass a resolution and I shall be glad to consider it, so that you may not go to the country and use them as propaganda against us. (*An honourable member : Ask those benches*.) I am asking you what you want.

**Nawab Malik Sir Allah Bakhsh-Khan Tiwana :** If you all resign the posts of honorary magistrates, we will also resign. (*Hear hear from the ministerial benches*).

**Premier :** First do it yourself before we can take you seriously. My honourable friends have said that I should not be here. (*Interruptions*). I have been reminded of one thing more. Some of the honourable members have been talking of *jirga* system and about a lot of changes which could be brought in the system. If we have to adjust our criminal and legal system to relieve the country from the *jirgas*, we will have to amend the law. There may be *jirga* laws. If they want to repeal the *jirga*, let there be a gesture from somewhere over there and we will consider it. I am putting this question very pointedly to some one. Let there be a gesture and we will consider it. But I think many members from the other side will change their mind after mature and revised consideration. If they want it, they should come forward in a sporting spirit.

Now I come to the question of my own policy. I have been repeatedly saying that I stick to one policy and one policy only. I have a mission. Our great leader, the late Sir Fazl-i-Husain has left us with a mission which we should follow. It is the

same old question. You can only govern a province with the sympathy, support and goodwill of all communities. (*Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan: What about Muslims?*) Muslims are getting themselves adrift or keeping themselves away from others. Now, with regard to the central question my views are well-known to the House and they have been declared many times. I am not going to change a comma from what I have already said. You may curse me that I have not been consistent in my line of action. I was only referring to communal harmony. (*Interruptions.*) May I remind the honourable members that this coalition has only been formed for the purpose of running the provincial administration. Each group retains to itself the completest possible freedom of opinion regarding the future constitution and central matters. When I was referring to communal harmony, I was not referring to central questions. About them my views are different and this is not the occasion to express them. We are working together as brothers. I appeal to you to co-operate with us and not to cut each other's throats. These tactics cannot do anything for you unless you mend your own house. Do all things in a brotherly way. There are difficult times ahead and I again appeal to you to help us all in the achievement of this object in the best interests of the province.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** You resign and every thing will be all right.

**Malik Sir Muhammad Feroz Khan Noon :** (Rawalpindi Division Towns, Muhammadan, Urban): Sir, first of all I should like to have congratulated the Leader of Government benches and the Leader of the Congress Party for the courtesy which they could have shown and which in all civilised countries is a right of every democratic institution—the courtesy of their presence here. Throughout the session, I have seen that the Leader of Government benches has never been in this House. Tell me one democratic parliament anywhere in the world where the Leader of the Government party has consistently been away from the House and not performed his duties as an elected representative of the public who has sent him here. Sir, I spoke the other day and I appealed to the Congress benches not to fall down from their principles nor from their ethics. I am reminded of an old teaching of a Persian teacher—I am saying this with due deference to everybody here in this House—who said that if you tie a horse with a donkey in the same stable, the horse will not become donkey, but it is bound to pick up a few habits of the donkey. I am sorry to say that throughout this morning the Leader of the Congress party was also absent like the Leader of the Government benches. Secondly, Sir, I would like to address the honourable members of the Congress party and of the Akali party and I want to say this to them that this cut motion of Rs. 100 on the General Administration does not concern them. This cut motion concerns the conduct of the Government which ran this administration during the outgoing year. So what we shall say will refer to the conduct of the Unionist party and not to the conduct of the Congress or Panthic members who are sitting there. I want you to remember that your conduct will come under investigation when the next year's budget will come before the House. Therefore, when you listen to me, you should weigh this idea in mind as if you are not concerned with it now, because so far as you are concerned you have nothing to do with the conduct of the Government during the outgoing year.

Sir, my first charge against the Unionist Government is this, that in no civilised country where there are democratic institutions you will ever find any Government in office utilising public services as party machine. It is most disgraceful. No civilised Government, holding control over the services, use their subordinates for their own purposes and for their own ends in order to win elections (*Shame, shame from the Opposition Benches*). Sir, in the United States of America there was a time when all the servants, right down to the postmen, changed with the election of the President, because they wanted to establish the power and the right of democracy in that country; but with the stabilisation of administration they started taking permanent servants,

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and have gradually moved to the standard which prevails in Great Britain where ministries may come and go but the King's government is carried on by the administration, who are servants of all and not of the party which comes on the Government benches through elections. In this country too we wish the services to be absolutely aloof from all party politics, so that they may serve the people of the country without fear or favour. If you have a Government here which is so unscrupulous as to use the public services for their ends, it is the duty of all of you to destroy that Government, because without destroying it you cannot bring freedom and peace to the people who have sent you here. In this country we have two parts of the administration, one is the executive and the other is the judiciary. I want to tell you how both portions of the executive services have been misused by the Unionist party who, thanks to the voice of the electorate, exist no more for all practical purposes in this province except for putting the Congress party in power on the Government benches. Sir, so far as judiciary is concerned I can give you many examples. I will not mention any names or districts. The magistrates, who have been serving under the Deputy Commissioners, have been helping the Unionist party, and have started false cases and have been putting people under arrest and in jails; and their bail applications have been coming before the High Court who have been letting them off. Have you heard of such an administration in any civilised country that before the cases are filed, people, who fear that they are going to be arrested and are going to be put in jail without trial, run to the High Court and the High Court let them off on bail? These things can only happen in a country which is devoid of all canons of justice and fairplay. May I tell you that there is a case in this province where a P.C.S. officer was recommended three times for dismissal for bribery and corruption and this Government passed orders appointing him as Sub-Divisional Officer, to see his work in the elections so that he may be confirmed. The Public Services Commission here recommended him for dismissal and the Unionist Government utilised him in the elections! Gentlemen, I am saying these things in no way to poison your minds against your colleagues, but I only ask you to realise your responsibility to the electorate who have sent you here to keep a check on the leader of the Unionist party whom you have accepted as your leader. Why is it that we cry for the separation of the judiciary?—because judiciary when it is in the hands of the executive, is used to suppress civil liberties and to suppress the freedom of the people. It is for that reason that I have moved a cut motion. If there was any demand that the judiciary be separated from the executive, it was simply to keep the judiciary free from the nefarious influences of the political parties. It was time to separate the judiciary from the executive. The leader of the Unionist party said these were his views and he never changed his views. Consistency in politics is a sign of stupidity. I would ask the Congress party whether they agree with the principles and ideals of their leader who never changes his views, and whether the Congress was going to give up its high principles as if only to keep alive the coalition with the Unionist Party. The House has been pressing for the last two days for an enquiry into the election offences, and if an independent enquiry is held the leader of the Unionist party would be found to be the greatest culprit because he used undue influence over the Deputy Commissioners and other officers in order to suppress the Muslim League.

**Mr. Speaker :** Please do not refer to him personally ; you may use the word 'party'.

**Malik Sir Muhammad Feroz Khan Noon :** All right, I will say the Unionist party. I will give you examples from my personal experience. I went and spoke to a Deputy Commissioner in one of the districts — he was a British officer. I said, you have been interfering in the elections against the traditions of your service and particularly against the traditions of your people. He said, what can I do? The Premier comes and says, "Please advise me as to who is the best man to fight against the

Muslim League". (*Cries of shame, shame, from the Opposition benches*). I am quoting these cases, of which the House may not be aware, to show that the Unionist party have been putting pressure on officers to find candidates. Sir, the Unionist Ministers have been touring the province at public expense to carry on propaganda for their own party. I know that during the elections parties were arranged by some of the Deputy Commissioners for the Unionist leaders in order to canvass votes for their candidates. I could give many more examples but I do not want to take any more time. I want only to say that this is what the Unionist party have been doing, and I ask the Congress party if with their past high traditions and true to their conscience they would continue to associate with the Unionist party. Sir, I shall refer to only one more fact. Can you give an example of any civilised country where the Government in power tried to squeeze money and collect funds for their own personal ends through Government servants? It has been admitted by the leader of the Unionist party that they collected no less than 21 lakhs of rupees from the poor peasants through some of the deputy commissioners. Be it said to the credit of the British deputy commissioners, that the leader of the Unionist party did not put his foot in the districts where the British district magistrates were ruling. In some places they put as deputy commissioners people who were not fit to be there. They put them as officiating deputy commissioners so that if their services were good they might be confirmed. No less than 7 deputy commissioners in this province were officiating from 18 months to 2 years. If a man is not fit to be a deputy commissioner, why keep him on? Now that the elections are over we hear that so and so has been confirmed. This is how 21 lakhs of rupees were collected in the name of the Zamindara League but actually spent during the elections to help the Unionist candidates. I say that if we have any conscience, we should see that the Unionist party pay back every penny of the money unlawfully squeezed from the poor peasants. That money was taken from the peasants when they brought their land revenue. The officers said, "We will not accept your land revenue unless you pay so much for the Zamindara League." May I ask the Unionist leader if he was content with the bribe of these 21 lakhs for his purposes? We do not know how many more lakhs went into the pockets of the officers and the minions who collected this money. No receipt was given even for a penny. I address the Akalis. Ask your leader whether he knows that no receipt was issued for a pie out of these 21 lakhs collected from the poor peasants, for their personal purposes. How can you now support this entire machinery of intrigue, espionage and corruption? I think that even the French Cardinal Richelieu, who was past master in his days in bribery and corruption, would turn in his grave and wonder at what has happened in the Punjab. If the Congress Party and the Akali Party really want to serve the public, it is their duty to hold an enquiry into the conduct of the Unionist Leader and call for his explanation as to how he collected a sum of Rs. 21 lakhs. Are the honourable members prepared to do that? If they have the courage of their convictions they should not hesitate to do so.

Now, Sir, I come to the question of the grant of lands. It is universally admitted that land belongs to the nation; it belongs to the poor; it belongs to those who have not got two square meals a day. I would like to address the Minister for Finance and ask him whether he is prepared to hold an enquiry into the conduct of his predecessor and his present colleague in the matter of distributing lakhs and lakhs of rupees worth of land. The public and their representatives in this House have got every right to know where and in what way that land has been given. If Government are honest and are convinced that the lands have been given to deserving people, there is no reason why they should hesitate to hold a public enquiry. But the facts are the other way about. Land has been given to some people because they are fond of hawking — a Unionist leader is very fond of hawking. Land has been given away to those few selected and fortunate individuals who were in the good books of the Leader of the Unionist Party. If the public were to know the way in which these land grants were made, they will forget the stories of magnanimity of Muhammad Shah Rangila in Mughal days. I will

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quote only a few cases to show to the Congress members and the Akali leaders that lands which ought to have been granted for public services were given away for political purposes. May I ask the Premier why lands under two different heads were given to Malik Rab Nawaz Khan, a cousin of the Unionist leader?

**Premier :** With your permission, Sir, I would like to repeat that lands were given in recognition of the war service. I will disclose something which concerns the honourable member. There is a rule of the Punjab Government that no lands should be sold except through public auction. The honourable member asked me to pass certain land to him through private agreement instead of being given by auction as required under the rules.

**Malik Sir Muhammad Feroz Khan Noon :** There cannot be a greater lie than this.

**Premier :** I would remind the honourable member about kata kallar lands in the Shahpur district. I have got papers and there are letters on record which can be produced. (*Uproar from the Ministerial benches*).

**Malik Sir Muhammad Feroz Khan Noon :** I do not deny that there was kallar land adjoining mine and as that kallar was ruining my land—a hundred acres have already been destroyed—I asked him to auction it or lease it so that my land might not be ruined. (*Loud applause from the Opposition benches*). Ever since the canal came in 1896 no one has expressed a desire to take this land, an area of about 75 acres in all covered with deep kallar.

**Premier :** The back ground of our differences was that he wanted me to withdraw a certain notification about the Muzaffargarh district so that he could buy land there. Sir Chhotu Ram would not agree and then the honourable member opposite and I fell out with each other. (*Loud applause from the Ministerial benches*).

**Malik Sir Muhammad Feroz Khan Noon :** The Premier is feeling very hurt.

**Premier :** I am not feeling hurt at all. I have been listening to fairy tales for quite a long time now but there is a limit to everything.

**Malik Sir Muhammad Feroz Khan Noon :** I have given only one example of the way in which the Unionist Leader has made these grants of lands. I won't be led away by these red herrings across his trail. There are many others. Chaudhri Pir Muhammad a defeated Unionist candidate an *ex-M. L. A.* has been given a square of land. Chaudhri Fateh Muhammad, Chaudhri Ahmed Yar and Chaudhri Muhammad Ashraf all defeated Unionist candidates have been given lands; all are from the Gujrat district. Sir Sher Muhammad another defeated Unionist candidate has been given land. In this way I can quote innumerable instances where public property has been misused for political purposes. I know of another instance. Chaudhri Shafi Ali Khan an *ex-M. L. A.* saw me at Delhi. He told me that he had been given two squares of land and had been promised another two squares of land after the elections. He further told me that as soon as he got those two squares of land, he would join the Muslim League. This is the state of affairs and I will address Mr. Bhim Sen Sachar, the leader of the Congress Party, to have the courage of his convictions and force the Government to institute an enquiry into all these matters where lands have been squandered for the personal ends of the Unionist Leader.

**Sardar Partap Singh :** With your permission, Sir, may I ask a question from the honourable member. Is he prepared to confiscate all the lands given to individuals since the British came into the Punjab?

**Honourable Members** (from the Opposition benches): Certainly, certainly.

**Mian Mumtaz Muhammad Daulatana :** Ask the Premier if he is prepared to do so.

**Chaudhri Krishna Gopal Dutt :** You will all become paupers if that were done.

**Honourable Members** (from the Opposition benches) : Are you ready ?

**Honourable Members** (from the Ministerial benches) : Yes, we are ready.

**Malik Sir Muhammad Feroz Khan Noon :** Now Sir, I address the Congress members. At one time in the whole country the Congress Party was held in a very great esteem by everybody as an embodiment of love and freedom. They were the people who made all sacrifices for the cause of the country and shunned all offices. It was the Congress Party who quitted office and the Government was forced to apply Section 93. In the year 1942, it was the Congress who started a rebellion in the country in the hope of securing freedom from foreign rule. For all these sacrifices and for the principle that the Congress Party followed in the past, they won the admiration and applause from all sections of the people in the country.

But unfortunately recently something has come to their minds and to their policy. I think the whole thing happened at Simla in the Simla Conference. There was an electric change in the Congress followers. You should have seen the Congress leaders so keen on taking office. They walked on the road saluting Englishmen, bending low, practically touching the ground, in order that they might hold office in Delhi and Simla. Since then you have seen in one province after another the Congress begging for loaves and fishes of office, but fortunately for us they have taken a step which will remove them more and more and farther away from the public. Today the Muslim League has secured the position in this country which the Congress had secured during the last 40 years. We are a mass movement, and I can tell you this much that if the Congress benches on the opposite side continue their present course aligning themselves with the forces of Fascism, they are digging their own political grave in this country. These Congressmen talk of Hindu-Muslim unity and understanding, and then what do they do ? They refuse to co-operate with the Musalmans and instead they are prepared to sell off their conscience and sell themselves and boot-lick the Unionists for the sake of a few jobs. If the Congress is going to follow that policy against the great Muslim community of this province, we might assure them that there cannot be peace in this province so long as the majority community of the Punjab is not satisfied in its political demands.

So far as the holding of the offices is concerned, let me assure them that our only object is that the Congress and the Akalis both should be allowed to serve the country according to their own lights and no one will be more pleased than I to see this change of spirit. If you want to serve your people, break away the shackles of the Unionist Party who are a mill stone round your neck. You will have to act according to your own policies and not be led by the nose by people who are a discredit to their own party, a discredit to their community and a discredit to the whole of this province.

**Premier :** One point of personal explanation. I do not want to enter into discussion ; I will find another occasion to reply to what has been said by my well beloved cousin. But he charged me for being absent from the House. I am not aware of a parliamentary convention that the Leader of the House should always be seen in his seat. I was under the impression that he only sits in his seat when the Leader of the Opposition is there. When my friend the Leader of the Opposition, the Gunga Pahlwan is also absent.... (*Uproar and shouts of withdraw, withdraw*).

**Mr. Speaker :** Order, order. Will the Honourable Premier withdraw that expression ?

**Premier :** I am extremely sorry. I withdraw the expression, and to that I add that I am really sorry that in the Punjabi spirit the words slipped from my mouth. In that spirit I used the expression.

**Mr. Speaker :** I am glad there has been a very loud protest against harsh words from the House on my left as I would like the House to keep in mind that defamatory words or offensive expressions are not allowed. It is against the rules and the protest makes it easier for me to enforce compliance.

**Premier :** I have already expressed my regret.

**Mr. Speaker :** I appreciate it.

**Mian Muhammad Iftikhar-ud-Din** (Kasur, Muhammadan, Rural) (*Urdu*) : **Mr. Speaker**, you have heard the speech of the Leader of the House. I think the words he has used are below his dignity. He claims to be a Muslim, but I would say that no Muslim would be prepared either to say or hear such words from his fellow believers. I admit that if Lala Bhim Sen Sachar were to use such words, he would have been justified to some extent. I would point out that as a matter of right it is our duty to protest against the Government, for the preservation of our rights. Nobody on the face of this earth can stop us from asking our demands. At the same time I must say that those Muslim members of the House who protested against Malik Khizar Hayat Khan, have committed a mistake, for it would have been better if the protest had been made against Lala Bhim Sen Sachar.

Sir, I am sorry for the remarks that have been made by the members sitting on the Muslim League benches. It is a mistake to carry on this protest exclusively against Malik Khizar Hayat Khan in the presence of his prototypes. I would call it a partial attitude on the part of my Muslim League brethren. I realise that it is not Malik Sahib alone who opposes the Muslim League, but some of his fellow believers too supported his cause. These people are traitors in the real sense. I do not think my friends sitting opposite have any objection against this interpretation. These traitors are not to be found in this province only, but if my friends opposite were to study the conditions of other provinces they will find so many of the same sort there too.

Sir, my friends confuse backwardness with reaction. I want to point out to them that the coalition party happens to be reactionary, whereas the Muslim League may be called backward. Along with this, Sir, I would submit that about 60 years back, Indian National Congress never thought of India's freedom, as we find it today. I would say that Mahatma Gandhi, Lala Bhim Sen Sachar and Dr. Gopi Chand Bhargava would never be ashamed of the fact that reactionaries like Lord Sinha have been President of the Indian National Congress.

Today it is being said that the Muslims are educationally, politically and economically backward. We admit that we are something like forty or fifty years behind the Hindus in these spheres of life. But why? Let me tell you why. The reason is that in the Mutiny of 1857 the Muslim nation had to suffer a great setback. For full fifty years after the Mutiny the Muslims refused to have anything to do with the British institutions, colleges, etc., whereas the Hindus took an ever-increasing part in all of them. The result was that the Muslims remained backward. But during the last ten years, however, the Muslims have made such an unprecedented and meteoric progress in politics that you cannot find its parallel in the past two or three centuries. (*Opposition cheers*). It has been a unique progress. Whereas the Hindus needed four or five generations and the leadership of four such eminent leaders as Mr. Dadabhai, Lord Sinha, Mahatma Gandhi and Pt. Nehru to attain their present political status, the Muslim nation has covered this period in ten years and under the leadership of one and only one leader, Muhammad Ali Jinnah. (*Loud Opposition cheers*).

Then, an accusation has been levelled against us that our present leader here, the Nawab of Mamdot, was a member of a reactionary party (the Unionist Party) only three years back. True. But what is he today? Today he is the leader of a progressive and revolutionary party. Let me make it clear to them that harping

upon the dead past would carry them nowhere. They should instead try to realise the position as it is today. Today the Muslim nation is up and awake, going from strength to strength. The proof of it is that it has covered a period of sixty years in ten years. (*Opposition Cheers*). God willing, this Nawab of Mamdot who to-day is the leader of a progressive Muslim League, will to-morrow be the leader of a revolutionary Muslim League and under the name of citizen Iftikhar Hussain Khan, resident of Mamdot, will be marching shoulder to shoulder with the Muslim masses. Those who were Khan Bahadurs yesterday are Khan Bahadurs no more, and those who are Khan Bahadurs today soon they will become revolutionaries and court imprisonment in the cause of their country's freedom (*Opposition cheers*). I would therefore advise you not to level any criticism against us now. Indeed the position has now become reversed now. In spite of your economic prosperity, in spite of your progress in education and other spheres of life, you are going backwards, whilst the Muslim nation is forging ahead at a terrific speed. We have become progressive and you have become reactionary. (*Opposition cheers*). Let me tell you that you placed as you are are committing a sin by aligning yourself with reactionary politics. You are retarding the progress of your own community. On the other hand, the Muslim League, in spite of being an organisation of Nawabs and Khan Bahadurs, is not doing so today. (*Opposition Cheers*). The lines on which the Muslim League suggests the solution of the Indian problems are the only right lines, and that solution is the only solution which cuts deep at the roots of British imperialism. (*Opposition cheers*). That solution is a free Pakistan for the Muslims, a free Hindustan for the Hindus, and a free Khalistan for the Sikhs. (*Hear, hear*). Pakistan will bring in its wake freedom and prosperity not only for the Muslims, but for all communities. Pakistan is the only blow that can give an effective knock-out to British imperialism. (*Opposition cheers*).

Then, Sir, my Congressite friends seem to be under the impression that Man is a machine and just as by switching on a button you can make a machine begin to work, similarly if Maulana Azad issues an order, and Mahatma Gandhi publishes an article in the *Harijan*, automatically all the Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims can or should join the Congress movement. Let them try to recall the Congress resolution of 1942 in which the Congress had admitted that the war was not a war of British imperialism only but also of democracy, but they could not participate in it. Let them recall the words of that resolution. It had been said that so long as the torch of freedom was not kindled in the hearts of the Indian people, so long as their demands were not accepted, the masses could not be induced to participate in that war. It was said that so long as the masses did not taste the cup of liberty, they could not be expected to show any zeal in defending liberty. Similarly, so long as the Sikhs and the Muslims are not satisfied with regard to their desire for freedom, so long as they are not given an assurance to the effect that in a free India they would be allowed to live like free human beings, according to their own political, religious, social and educational traditions, so long as they are not sure that their efforts and their sacrifices would not be in vain, they cannot be induced to participate in the struggle for freedom. A plan containing a free Pakistan and that of Sikh freedom must be put before them, and only then can they be roused to fight for the liberty of this country. Hence it is evident that Pakistan today is the guarantee not only of the Muslim nation's liberty, but of the whole of India's liberty. (*Opposition cheers*). It is wrong to say that Pakistan is a religious or a communal demand, it is the demand of India's liberty and freedom.

Mr. Virendra in the course of his speech said that the Unionist Party was not a communal body. It is as true as it would be to say that the rajas and the nawabs of India were not communal-minded. In the Chamber of Princes they never have any discussions on communal questions, because they do not have at heart the interests of the different communities, which their states are composed of. They have instead the interests of their own feudalism, the interests of properties and personalities in



[Mian Mohd. Iftikhar-ud-Din]

mind. Similarly the Unionist Party is not a communal body in the sense that it does not bother itself about the interests of the Hindus and the Muslims, it has, on the other hand, the interests of the capitalists at heart. (*Opposition cheers*). Let me make it clear beyond any shadow of doubt that we are not communal-minded. National consciousness amongst the Muslim nation is an indication of their urge for freedom. So long as the Congress does not accept this position, so long as it does not realise this fact, no solution of the present political deadlock is possible.

Thirdly, the Muslims and the Sikhs must have a definite assurance that they would be allowed to live according to their own customs and traditions. No one should be ashamed of his traditions. For example there are the British, the Afghans, the Persians, and the Chinese who have their own political, religious and social traditions. Now, they are not ashamed of their traditions and no one should be. Similarly the Hindus, the Muslims and the Sikhs are different nations and have their own peculiar traditions according to which they want to live.

I want to declare on the floor of the House that no progress is possible as long as the confidence of the Musalmans is not won. There must be an identity of views between these two nations and without it nothing can be achieved. I personally feel that the nationalist Muslims are the greatest obstacle. They have been badly beaten in the recent general elections. They must learn a lesson and should not prove a hinderance in the way of Hindu-Muslim unity anymore. The entire negotiations for the ministry making in this province ended in smoke simply because of Daud Ghaznavi. I wish that they should amend their attitude and should prove more useful to our country. (*Interruptions*).

Sir, now I am forced to ask my nationalist friend, Lala Bhim Sen Sachar, how many Musalmans has he got in his Sunlight of India Insurance Company. I want to know from Dr. Gopi Chand Bhargava how many Musalmans are employed in his Lakhshmi Insurance Company. Mr. Virendra should tell me how many Musalmans are working in his nationalist father, Mahashe Krishen's paper, the *Daily Paritap*. How many Musalmans are holding respectable offices in the Khadar Bhandar? I am not concerned with the ordinary weavers, because I see many of their type sitting there on the Government benches. (*Laughter*). I tell you to your face that you all are capitalists and now you are helping the reactionary Unionists. You have spurned the eighty rightfully elected representatives of the Musalmans and have formed a coalition with six or seven men who are no representatives in their character. In forming such an ugly coalition you have got in your mind nothing else but enmity towards the Muslim organisation—the League is your guiding spirit and motive in this transaction.

I want to declare with all emphasis at my command that Pakistan is a just demand of the Musalmans and the All-India Muslim-League is their sole representative. Nobody can deny this universal truth. But unfortunately my Hindu friends are encouraging the nationalist Musalmans against us. I am obliged to say that they are attaching much undeserved importance to Maulvi Daud Ghaznavi.

**Pandit Bhagat Ram Sharma :** We did the same to you.

**Mian Muhammad Iftikhar-ud-Din :** Oh, yes. You did the same thing with me. But I wish that the Maulana Sahib had also behaved as I did. All along even when in the Congress, I upheld the Muslim League's sole representation of Musalmans and I never opposed their just demand for Pakistan. I have felt as I feel now that the demand for Pakistan is a legitimate demand. Is Maulvi Sahib prepared to adopt such a just and correct course. Sir, I again repeat that the nationalists Muslims are great obstacle in the way of Hindu-Muslim unity. What they are doing to-day in opposing Pakistan, no Hindu even can do. What Maulana Sahib to-day can do against

his people even his Leaders Dr. Gopi Chand Baurgava and Lala Bhim Sen Sachar cannot do.

My friends opposite are today saying that the Unionist party is not a communal body, therefore they have joined hands with them. I can quote the instance of the Chamber of Princes. We never hear communal bickerings there. That is not because the rajas and nawabs are above these feelings but I think that there these considerations do not arise. The rajas and nawabs assemble there simply to discuss their personal and vested interests and then disperse. Similarly, this Unionist party is a combination of some big reactionary landlords and big capitalists, therefore they think in their own terms only and in their hearts they have got no place for the peoples' feelings. When they have got no place for such feelings in their hearts, then how can they give vent to them? They do not enjoy the confidence of any community.

I say it particularly to my Congressite friends, because I have confidence in them. I have faith in the Hindu masses, Sikh masses and Muslim masses. I say to my friends of the Congress that their present policy is wrong. They cannot bring about revolution by these methods. Today they have chosen one as their leader and Premier who was unanimously rejected by the masses of all the communities. They will soon hear a strong protest against him from Hindu and Sikh masses. A time will come, Mr. Speaker when you will say that to call a person traitor or quisling is parliamentary, but to call one Khizar Hayat is unparliamentary. (*Hear, hear*). Such will be the effect of public opinion. I request my friends of the Congress to leave their present policy and to march to the goal of freedom with the Sikh and the Muslim masses. (*A voice: You forget the Achhuts*). How can I forget the Achhuts? Their condition is more miserable than even that of the Muslims. I request them to leave this policy of aloofness and to put up a united front in the struggle for freedom. They should allow the Muslims, the Hindus and the Sikhs to organise separately and protect their separate interests, and then lead them to their common goal of freedom from the British yoke. You find that the Muslims and the Sikhs do not feel so intensely for freedom as do the Hindus. Why? Because the Hindus know that freedom means a real freedom to them, but the Sikhs and the Muslims know that freedom from the British means a Hindu Raj for them. Unless the Sikh and Muslim masses feel that freedom from the British will bring real freedom to them, they cannot join the Hindus in the struggle for freedom with the same enthusiasm. Therefore, the Congress must kindle the same feeling in the hearts of both the Sikhs and the Muslims as at present it does in the Hindus. They must assure the Sikhs and the Muslims that freedom will bring real freedom to them also. The Congress must realise that it cannot achieve anything without the active co-operation of the Muslims.

In the end, I must add a note of warning to my friends there. The mistakes committed by our leaders during the past ten or twenty years can be forgiven, but the mistakes committed today, in the months of April, May and June 1946, shall never be forgiven by the Hindu, Sikh and Muslim masses. As it often happens in history, two or three generations move on smoothly like a quietly flowing stream. Then they get a blow and are wide awake. The crisis comes. The time for decisive action has come. Today not only in the History of India, but in the history of the whole world, the time for such decisive action has come. If the leaders commit a mistake now, they will be held guilty for ever by the coming generations. I appeal to the Congress to leave this re-actionary policy and march on to the road of freedom with the Hindus, the Sikhs and the Muslims. (*Applause*).

**Rao Bahadur Chaudhri Suraj Mal** (Hansi, General, Rural): Sir, I had no intention to take part in this discussion, but today when the front benches of the Opposition have joined their back benchers in saying certain things against the Unionist Party, I must answer them. It has repeatedly been said that the leader of the Unionist Party had done this or that. It is absolutely incorrect. The back-benchers

[R. B. Ch. Suraj Mal]

had been saying certain things without any sense of responsibility, but today, a responsible man like Sir Feroze Khan Noon has also attacked the Unionist Party. I do not blame Sir Feroze Khan Noon. The whole atmosphere of the province to-day is poisonous on account of communal hatred. In fact, as the late Chaudhri Sir Chhotu Ram used to say these Maulvis, Granthis and the Pandits have created so much bitterness among the different communities here, that from a chaprasi to a deputy commissioner, nay to the Governor, everybody thinks in terms of communalism. In the present election so much has been done by the officers for the members of their own communities. The officers did not do anything because they were asked to do like that by anybody. No, such atmosphere was created that they did all those things of their own accord. All the Muslim officers openly helped the Muslim League candidates. It is an open secret. The members of the Muslim League Party know it. But they go on making propaganda against the Unionist Party and its leader, in order to conceal their own guilt. Malik Khizar Hayat is acting with forbearance, otherwise if he actually holds an enquiry, most of our friends sitting on the Opposition benches will be found guilty. As regard the Jat Sabha and the funds collected for it, let me assure them that not a single penny has been collected against the will of anybody. No officer has helped us in this matter. People used to go to the late Chaudhri Sir Chhotu Ram of their own accord and subscribe to the funds of the Jat Sabha of their own free will. Both the Hindus and the Muslims used to go to him and pay in the funds of the Jat Sabha for the love they had for its cause. (*Interruptions*). Similarly there is no foundation in the allegations made against the Zamindara League. It is a general rule that Government servants always side with the party power. Hence there was nothing improper if Government servants supported the Unionist Government. Besides, it is also incorrect to say that funds were collected for the Zamindara League but no receipts were given to people. So far as my district is concerned I emphatically deny this allegation. At least I can say about my own *ilaga*, Hariana, that any one who contributed anything towards the Zamindara League fund got a receipt for it. Nearly a sum of 1½ lakhs was collected from that *ilaga* and the zamindars were given receipts for every pie. Those receipts are still in the possession of the zamindars. If anybody wants to satisfy his curiosity, he may go there and see the receipts for himself. My friends, who have brought this charge against us that the accounts of the Zamindara League have not been maintained properly, were till recently in the Unionist party and it is they who desired and even exhorted the people to contribute as much as they could. But today, on account of some reason or on account of the persuasion of somebody, they have got displeased with us and in order to seize the power of Government they have gone over to that side. I, therefore, once again say that so far as the Ambala division is concerned the charge of misappropriation of the Zamindara League funds is entirely incorrect and baseless.

Now, Sir, my friends by indulging in irresponsible talk are creating a rift between the different communities. What we want is that all the Punjabis should unite and live like brothers. The more my friends indulge in such talks, the more hatred they will create. What is more, even threats of civil war are being held out to us. I want to tell them that such threats will not serve any useful purpose. In fact, we can meet threats with threats. I tell them that if their Qaid-i-Azam or even a much bigger person than him holds out threats of civil war to us, we will meet threats with threats. We are not Lalajis that we will be cowed down. The Rajputs, Jat, Ahirs and Gujjars, all martial tribes, have already given proof of their bravery on the battlefield and they know how threats of civil war can be met with counter threats. My friends should know that we belong to the martial races which can never be cowed down by threats. (*Hear, hear*).

There is yet another matter to which I want to refer. I have been witnessing for the last four or five days that my friends are hurling abuses at the Honourable

Premier, Sir Malik Khizar Hayat Khan. I tell them that they can win over a person by love and by persuasion and not by showing hatred towards him. Everybody is entitled to think and act in the manner he likes. They cannot force or compel anybody to subscribe to any particular view. The very members who have gone over to that side, till recently regarded him as their leader and paid homage to him as such. Today, he is sticking to his old place, but my friends have changed. He is sitting where he used to sit before, and is doing his utmost to help the poor and the down-trodden as he used to do before. He has not swerved an inch from his place. It is my friends over there who have changed. They have the impudence to say that the Unionist party which has done so much for the Punjab—and I have no hesitation in saying that it is the Muslims who have benefitted the most from it—(Voices: Wrong and absolutely wrong), is dead. I say that the movement which Sir Fazl-i-Husain started and which was nourished by Sir Sikander Hyat-Khan and Sir Chhotu Ram, can never die. It can be weakened but it can never die. My friends say that now there are only five or seven members in it and therefore, to all intents and purposes that party has died. I assure them that it is neither dead nor can it die. We will uphold its principles for ever. I may remind my friends that there was a time during the last Council when only two members were left in the Unionist party. The people laughed and nick-named it as "Chhotu Ram and his henchmen". But Sir Chhotu Ram never yielded to the threats of his opponents and never gave up the principles which he was fighting for. He, in fact, demonstrated to the world that mere threats cannot terrify one. It was mainly due to his efforts that the party at which the people laughed and scoffed came into power in the Punjab in 1937 and ruled the province for full nine years. Now my friends taunt us and say what can these handful of Unionists do? I tell them that if a man has courage in him he can achieve anything. After all what was Hitler? In the beginning his party also consisted of seven members, but he showed to the world what courage, power and perseverance can do. Let me also point out that these honourable members who have gone over to that side held Sir Chhotu Ram in great esteem, so much so that they said: "We wish that a person of the calibre of Chaudhri Sir Chhotu Ram is born in the Muslim community".

**Chaudhri Muhammad Hasan:** It is a foolish remark irrespective of the fact who made it.

**Rao Bahadur Chaudhri Suraj Mal:** Chaudhri Sahib, your principles change daily. We are sticking to our own. My point was that these people held Chaudhri Sir Chhotu Ram in great esteem and they supported him in whatever he did. Now these very people tell us that the Unionist party was a bad party and that it has now died once and for all.

**Sardar Shaukat Hyat-Khan:** Do not waste your breath. You will get a Ministership.

**Chaudhri Muhammad Hasan:** He is at present a *teen hazari*.

**Rao Bahadur Chaudhri Suraj Mal:** If I had any love for the Ministry I would have gone over to my friends over there who were offering one to me. (Hear hear). Now, Sir, the fact of the matter is that the spirit of hatred exhibited by my honourable friends is spoiling the whole atmosphere. My friends are afraid that these *lalajis* will devour them and so they indulge in *gunda gardi*.

**Chaudhri Muhammad Hasan:** The honourable member says that we indulge in *gunda gardi*. Is it a parliamentary expression?

**Mr. Speaker:** *Ganda gardi* is unparliamentary. Please withdraw.

**Rao Bahadur Chaudhri Suraj Mal:** I withdraw. If my friends want to cow us down by exhibition of this spirit of hatred and by force they cannot do so. Where hatred and force fail there only love can succeed.

**Chaudhri Ali Akbar** (Kangra and Eastern Hoshiarpur (Muhammadan Rural) (Urdu): Mr. Speaker, it has given me the surprise of my life that Chaudhri Suraj Mal is pleading the cause of the party which has been discarded by Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs. All the honourable members, whether they belong to the Congress or the Muslim League, are agreed that the Unionist party was a worthless and a good-for-nothing party. But my friend Chaudhri Suraj Mal has said that it was a good party. I ask, if it was a good party why is it that all those who fought elections on its tickets were defeated? If its programme had been good, if its principles had been good, as my friend has tried to convince us, then all those who sought election on its ticket and who had also the support of Government, should not have been defeated. The fact as it stands is that almost all the persons who fought elections on its ticket were defeated, simply because this party had no 'programme or principle. In fact, it is the tyranny, selfish motives and the lack of principles of the Unionists that led to its downfall. My friend also observed that some time ago the honourable members who are sitting now on these benches, expressed their desire that a man like Sir Chhotu Ram had been born in their community. Sir Chhotu Ram is dead and I do not want to say anything against him. But so far as the remark of my friends is concerned it is quite correct. The selfless way in which he served the Hindu Jats forced my friends to express a desire that a man of that calibre had been born in the Muslim community also. Sir, he founded a party and named it the Zamindara Party and by taking shelter behind it he benefitted the Jats, not the Punjabi Jats, but the Hindu Jats from Rohtak and he gave them the whole share of the zamindars. So far as the Muslims of Rohtak are concerned, he tried to crush them, and here is my friend Chaudhri Sahib Dad Khan sitting who is cursing him even today. When my friends expressed that desire they simply meant that they wished that a man of that type had been born among the Muslims who could have benefitted the Muslims. He in fact served the Hindu Jats and gave the whole share of the Hindu, Muslim and Sikh zamindars to Hindu Jats of Rohtak. Today Chaudhri Suraj Mal rose to make a propaganda speech for a party which to all intents and purposes does not exist. I can say that even he is sitting there in the hope of getting a Ministership. If these five or seven Unionists had not been elected, the very trace of the Unionist Party would have disappeared. As I said he is also sitting there in the hope of getting a Ministership and if a promise to that effect had not been made to him, he would never have taken up cudgels on behalf of the dead and defunct Unionist Party.

I have been surprised to hear the conflicting speeches of the honourable members opposite in general and my Congress friends in particular during the last four days. I have been particularly amused to hear Professor Tilak Raj and Mr. Virendra of the 'Daily Partap' They accused the Unionist Party for having hurled on them all sorts of trials and tribulations during their last regime. But I fail to understand why the Congress Party at all agreed to coalesce with the same Unionist Party without asking the latter to make good the wrongs done to them by an immediate redress of their past grievances. It looks absolutely ridiculous and devoid of all sense that they should now want the League to fight for the cause they sacrificed to gain power. From my point of view the Congress and particularly the Honourable Finance Minister, who happens to be their leader, stands responsible for creating such an atmosphere in the province. He in the course of his speech said that he did not stand responsible for the indiscrepancies in the present Budget, on the ground that it was prepared by the former Cabinet and that there was very little time at his disposal to make suitable amendments. The Congress Party agreed with us when we said that an undue interference was caused in the recent elections by the former Unionist Government in general and the Honourable Malik Khizar Hayat Khan in particular, and that corruption was the order of the day in the Supply Department. But they at the same time

in the course of their speeches said that all this came as a legacy handed down to them by those members of the former Unionist Party who have now joined the Muslim League. Let me make it clear to them that the responsibility for all this maladministration and corruption rests, on the other hand, on the shoulders of the Honourable Malik Khizar Hayat Khan and Sardar Baldev Singh, who also were members of the former Cabinet. Perhaps the Congress Party is loathe to believe these hard facts because that directly reflects upon its greed for power for which they even sacrificed their just grievances against two members of the former Cabinet.

Now let me tell the honourable members how the authority was abused by the Unionist Government in trying to defeat me in the recent elections. A certain Unionist candidate was encouraged by Malik Khizar Hayat Khan to contest me in the recent election. Although he had no public sympathy or support, still the Unionist Party tried to help him by influencing people with force and threats. Let me point out to the honourable members that this candidate did not at all want to contest me, but he could not, for fear of being punished, refuse to carry out the malicious designs of the Honourable Premier. (*An honourable member from Opposition benches* : How shameful !). And still the Honourable Premier says, that the Unionist Party did not interfere in the recent elections. It is an open secret that Malik Khizar Hayat Khan had succeeded in creating an official front consisting of deputy commissioners, tahsildars, and naib-tahsildars, who tried their best to coax people to vote for the Unionist candidates. But in spite of all this, he failed in his efforts to fight truth and justice for which the Muslim League stood. All the petty officers, such as sufaidposhes, zaildars and others were asked to submit daily reports of their progress in their Fascist schemes to overthrow the Muslim League candidates. It will not be out of place to mention here that the Congress members know all about such tactics, and they agree with us that an inquiry committee should be set up to investigate into the atrocities committed by the officers in the recent elections. Perhaps Malik Sahib is afraid of taking such a step. My honourable friend Chaudhri Krishna Gopal Dutt also expressed in unequivocal terms that such a committee should be set up immediately, but when he came to know that the Honourable Premier was not inclined to do so, he kept quiet. It will not be out of place to mention here that Congress-men have to their credit a long list of sacrifices for the sake of their country, but now they have changed their ideal. They now hold that all other ideals should be of secondary importance to their greed for forming Ministry and gaining power. At such a critical juncture, the Honourable Finance Minister, instead of advancing some constructive proposals, is only intent upon impressing on us that the present Budget is not his creation. But let me repeat here that he and he alone stands responsible for this. I wish to inform him that he should try to stand equal to the professions he and his party members have been making about the upliftment of the poor masses. Idle talk is no good, when it has not that sincere will to carry it out in practice. There seems to be no prospect for any success for them by pursuing such a reactionary policy. With these words, Sir, I finish my speech and resume my seat.

**Minister for Finance** (The Honourable Mr. Bhim Sen Sachar (*Urdu*) : Sir, I had no mind to participate in today's discussions. Not that I was not keen to wind up today's debate, but I wanted to give time to the Opposition to express their views on the Budget. But I have been compelled to say a few words in reply to some observations made by my honourable friend, Mian Muhammad Iftikhar-ud-Din, in his speech just now. I regret to observe that my honourable friend Mian Sahib has been trying to put things in such a way as to cause a rift between the two communities. I have it within my memory, when my honourable friend Mian Sahib, in the capacity of the Provincial Congress President, and also having communist leanings, used to preach unity of India and brotherhood of the Indian people to the masses. He used to say that religion did not permit disunity ; and that religion was a personal affair. God,

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he used to say, was worshiped by Hindus as Ram, by Muslims as Rahim, and that they were all but different names of the same divinity worshiped by one and all.

I fail to understand why my honourable friend overlooks the fact that actually it is the interest of the poor people that counts. The division is not between the Hindus, Muslims or Sikhs but between the exploiters and the exploited. The trouble does not lie in the divergance of religious beliefs of the various communities but in the difference in the economic prosperity of the two sections of the population irrespective of caste and creed. It is the misfortune of the Province—or should I say my own misfortune, for which I have to condole myself—that my honourable friend thought fit to say what he did today. It has caused me considerable surprise and pain to hear my erstwhile comrade in the political field, who was known for his liberality and tolerance and who went so far as to consider the *halal-jhatka* controversy as the creation of self-seeking maulvis and granthis. But today he surpassed even the most bigoted of maulvis in his invective against the other communities. For one thing I congratulate my Muslim brethren that they have at last broken their fetters and having risen above their fear of the Government they have started giving expression to their thoughts boldly. That augurs well for the community to which he belongs but there is a world of difference between what he professes and what he preaches. I applaud him for his noble thought that he means to keep up the struggle for independence. I also do not blame him for what as he says, he has been doing for a settlement between the Congress and the League during his seven years' membership of the former organisation. It is enough reward for him that he has sincerely tried to bring about a rapprochement between the two organisations even if others do not give him any credit for it. The *Eastern Times* is said to have commented on his joining the League by saying that all these years that he has been a member of the Congress he has been undermining it and now he has entered the League to strengthen the Communist party.

**Mian Muhammad Iftikhar-ud-Din :** You cannot poison the minds of the public against me by resorting to such tactics.

**Minister :** I do not say what the paper said was right or wrong, but I do say that it does not reflect credit on a person who happens to enjoy a very eminent position in an organisation to use that position in always acting against the set policy of that body. I for one cannot felicitate a person for doing so. I am sorry to say that by this speech Mian Sahib has tried to fan the fire of communal hatred in the province.

My honourable friend was pleased to enquire as to how many Musalmans were employed in my company. A most pertinent question. Let me inform him that when this company was floated I kept the books open for a considerably long time in order to enable my Muslim brethren to contribute capital to it. In spite of my efforts only three Muslims bought shares worth a few thousand rupees.

**Mian Muhammad Iftikhar-ud-Din :** I am not concerned with where the capital came from. What I wanted to know was how many Muslims you had employed in your concern?

**Minister :** When the Board of Directors was formed, my late friend Mian Ahmad Yar Khan Daultana and my friend Mir Maqbool Mahmud were on it.

**Mian Muhammad Iftikhar-ud-Din :** To secure clientele among the Muslims

**Minister :** I cannot say what prevented those gentlemen from attending the meetings of the Board, yet the fact remains that no efforts on our part could secure their attendance. They had reluctantly to be dropped from the Board. Again when I started the Company, I employed several Muslims as paid inspectors but unfortunately they did not prove successful in their work. If you do not give credence to my

words, I make an open offer in the House that I am prepared to employ 50 Muslims on salaries ranging from Rs. 250 to Rs. 750, if you can find me suitable persons. (*An honourable member*: You will declare them inefficient in no time). My honourable friend asked me how many Muslims were employed by me but can he cite a single instance in which a Muslim applied for a job in my company and his application was rejected? To my mind the reason why Muslims do not usually apply for such jobs is that they do not have to look to commercial concerns. Why is it that no Muslim is to be found in the National Bank of India, the Reserve Bank and the Grindlay Bank which are either foreign or Government concerns? (*An honourable member*: Because these banks are staffed with Hindus who hold important positions there). That is not the reason. It is first because my Muslim brethren are not so advanced educationally and secondly, because those who are educated among them get Government service more easily. There are few educated Muslims who are not able to get some sort of employment in Government offices. Otherwise there are so many commercial concerns which are either run by Englishmen or Government or for the matter of that even by Muslims themselves where Muslim employees are few and far between. If they had really wanted, there is no reason why they would not have got employment there. There is absolutely no point in what has been said by my honourable friend. I would sincerely request him not to indulge in such loose talk because it can only result in engendering bitterness among various communities. Please do not try to pave the way for mutual contention through such discussions. They should not, Sir, unnecessarily prolong such vain discussions.

An honourable member from the Opposition has remarked that the Congress Party would never co-operate with the Muslim League for the formation of a stable ministry in this province. It is a pity that they are accustomed to give wrong statements. If it were not so I am sure there would have been a settlement between the Congress and the Muslim League since long. They should bear in mind my words about the settlement. The Coalition Party is ever prepared to form a coalition ministry with their co-operation. But when we see them unwilling to accept this offer, I conclude that they are not sincere at all. I would ask them the cause of their strange attitude. After all we are also Punjabis, we have to live in this province along with each other. We have got the support of some Muslims, if not all of them. If they have no regard for the Hindus, they should show some consideration for their fellow believers who are members of the Coalition Party. Do they not think them Muslims? (*Voices*: Not at all). I would request them not to give vent to such feelings. They should not be governed by passions, but in the interest of public good and general welfare of the province, they should try to change their attitude towards the Coalition Party in general and the members of the Congress Party in particular.

Sir, I would like to ask them whether they have ever contemplated about their demands. Do they realize their importance? I think if they were really after the preservation of their rights and the progress of their majority province, they should have never been led astray by the communal issues. Even now, there is time to give up this resistance. Would they like to continue it even if it were against the public interest? Do they resist for the sake of resistance? Is there any regular scheme behind it? Do they mean, by this resistance, to impress upon all the non-League Muslim members of the House to join the Muslim League Party unconditionally (*Shouts of yes, yes*). I do not find any sense in it. How is it that those who yield unconditionally are the true Musalmans while others are traitors? They blamed Malik Khizar Hayat Khan and brought undesirable allegations against him. I do not think it wise on their part. Besides that, the members of the Opposition Party have been giving undue importance to the delay in the formation of this Ministry. I submit for their information that if they doubt our sincerity, I invite them even to-day to come forward for the formation of another coalition. We are prepared to yield any way



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they like. We want their co-operation. We are prepared to drop even Malik Khizar Hayat Khan from the candidature of Premiership. What more do they expect from us? Even if they do not accept this offer, nobody can help it. If this be the state of affairs, let them say who is at fault?

**Honourable members :** The question may now be put.

**Mr. Speaker :** The question is :

That the question be put.

*The motion was carried.*

**Mr. Speaker :** The question is :

That the demand be reduced by Rs. 100.

*The Assembly divided : Ayes 67, Noes 87.*

### Ayes.

Abdul Ghafur, Chaudhri.  
Abdul Haq, Mian.  
Abdul Hamid Khan, Sufi.  
Abdul Hamid Khan, Rana.  
Abdul Hamid Khan, Khan Sahib.  
Ahmad Jan, Maulvi.  
Akram Ali Khan, Chaudhri.  
Ali Akbar Khan, Chaudhri.  
Allah Yar Khan Daultana, Khan Bahadur Mian.  
Asghar Ali, Khan Sahib Captain Chaudhri.  
Ashiq Hussain, Sayed.  
Ashiq Hussain, Major Nawab.  
Atta Muhammad Khan, Sardar.  
Bahadur Khan, Sardar.  
Bashir Ahmed, Mian.  
Budhan Shah, Pir.  
Faiz Muhammad, Khan Bahadur Sheikh.  
Fateh Muhammad Sayyal, Chaudhri.  
Fazal Haq Paracha, Khan Bahadur Sheikh.  
Fazal Ilahi, Chaudhri.  
Ghazanfar Ali Khan, Raja.  
Ghulam Farid, Chaudhri.  
Ghulam Jilani, Mian.  
Ghulam Muhammad Shah, Sayad.  
Ghulam Mustafa Shah Jilani, K. S.  
Makhdumzada Sayad.  
Ghulam Basul, Chaudhri.  
Ghulam Samad, Khan Sahib Khawaja.  
Iftikhar Hussain Khan, Nawab.  
Jahan Khan, Chaudhri.  
Jahan Ara Shah Nawaz, Begum.  
Kale Khan, Raja.  
Karamat Ali, Khan Bahadur Sheikh.  
Khair Mehdi Khan, Raja.

Khan Muhammad Khan Kathia, Mehr.  
Mehtab Khan, Chaudhri.  
Mohy-ud-Din Lal Badshah, Sayed.  
Muhammad Abdus Salam, Mian.  
Muhammad Arif Khan, Mehr.  
Muhammad Feroz Khan Noon, Malik Sir.  
Muhammad Hasan, Chaudhri.  
Muhammad Hussain, Sardar.  
Muhammad Hussain, Chaudhri.  
Muhammad Iftikhar-ud-Din, Mian.  
Muhammad Jamal Khan Leghari, Khan Bahadur Nawab Sir.  
Muhammad Khurshid Ali Khan, Rao.  
Muhammad Nurullah, Mian.  
Muhammad Raza Shah, Jeelani, Makhdumzada Haji Sayed.  
Muhammad Sarfraz Khan, Chaudhri.  
Muhammad Sarfraz Ali Khan, Raja.  
Mubarik Ali Shah, Major, Syed.  
Mumtaz Muhammad Khan Daulatana, Mian.  
Nasar Din, Chaudhri.  
Nasrullah Khan, Chaudhri.  
Nasrullah Khan Nasir, Rana.  
Nau Bahar Shah, Syed.  
Raja Muhammad Khan, Chaudhri.  
Roshan Din, Khan Bahadur Chaudhri.  
Sadiq Hasan, Sheikh.  
Sahib Dad Khan, Khan Sahib Chaudhri.  
Salah-ud-Din, Chaudhri.  
Said Akbar Khan, Raja.  
Shaukat Hyat Khan, Sardar.  
Tassadaque Hussain, Begum.  
Wazir Muhammad, Malik.  
Zafar-ul-Haq, Chaudhri.  
Zafrullah Khan, Chaudhri.  
Zafrullah Khan Jahanian, Chaudhri.

## Noes.

Ajit Singh, Sardar.	Mehr Chand, Mr.
Allah Bakhsh Khan, Tiwana, K. B.	Mohan Lal, Mr.
Nawab, Malik, Sir.	Mohar Singh, Rao Sahib Rao.
Bachan Singh, Sardar.	Muhammad Abdullah, Khan Sahib Mir.
Badlu Ram, Chaudhri.	Muhammad Nawaz Khan, Lt.-Col.
Bagh Ali, Mian.	Sardar Sir.
Baldev Singh, The Honourable Sardar.	Muhammad Rafiq, Mian.
Beli Ram, Mr.	Muzaffar Ali Khan Qizilbash, The
Bhagat Ram Sharma, Pandit.	Honourable Nawab Sir.
Bhagwan Dass, Lala.	Narindar Singh, Sant.
Bhim Sen Sacher, The Honourable Mr.	Pancham Chand, Thakur.
Behari Lal Chanana, Lala.	Parbodh Chandar, Mr.
Chandan, Mr., alias Samar Singh.	Parkash Kaur, Shrimati.
Dalip Singh, Thakur.	Partap Singh, Sardar.
Dalip Singh, Sardar.	Piara Singh, Sardar.
Daud Ghazvi, Maulana.	Prem Singh, Chaudhri.
Dev Raj Sethi, Mr.	Prithvi Singh Azad, Mr.
Durga Chand, Pandit.	Rameshwari Nehru, Mrs.
Faqir Chand, Mr.	Ranbir Singh, Mehta.
Fazal Ilahi, Mr.	Ranjit Singh, Chaudhri.
Ganga Saran, Rai Bahadur Lala.	Rattan Singh, Chaudhri.
Gopi Chand Bhargava, Dr.	Rattan Singh, Sardar.
Guest, Mr. P. H.	Rattan Singh, Sardar (Moga).
Gurbachan Singh Sardar (Ferozepore).	Sahib Ram, Chaudhri.
Gurbachan Singh, Sardar (Sialkot).	Sajjan Singh, Sardar.
Harbhaj Ram, Mr.	Sant Ram, Mr.
Hari Lal, Munshi.	Sant Ram Seth, Dr.
Inder Singh, Sardar.	Sardul Singh, Sardar.
Isher Singh Majhail, Sardar.	Shanno Devi Sehgal, Shrimati.
Jagdish, Mr.	Sher Singh, Chaudhri.
Jagit Singh Mann, Sardar.	Shiv Saran Singh, Sardar.
Jaswant Singh, Sardar.	Shiv Singh, Sardar.
Jiwan Lal, Mr.	Shri Ram Sharma, Pandit.
Joginder Singh Mann, Sardar.	Sudarshan, Seth.
Kabul Singh, Sardar.	Sultan Ali Nangina, Mian.
Kapur Singh, Sardar.	Sundar, Mr.
Kartar Singh, Sardar.	Sundar Singh, Sardar.
Kehar Singh, Sardar.	Suraj Mal, Rao Bahadur Chaudhri.
Khizar Hayat, The Honourable Malik	Swaran Singh, Sardar.
Sir.	Tara Singh, Sardar Sahib Sardar.
Krishna Gopal Dutt, Chaudhri.	Tilak Raj, Professor.
Lahri Singh, The Honourable Chaudhri.	Udham Singh, Sardar.
Man Singh, Jathedar.	Ujjal Singh, Sardar.
Mangoo Ram, Mr.	Virender, Mr.
Manual, Mr. P.	Waryam Singh, Sardar.
Matu Ram, Mr.	

*The motion was lost.*

**Mr. Speaker :** The question is :

That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,78,55,200 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the year ending 31st March, 1947, in respect of General Administration.

*The motion was carried.*

*The Assembly then adjourned till 10 a.m., on Friday, 29th March 1946.*

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

1st SESSION OF THE 2ND PUNJAB LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

Friday, 29th March 1946

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

## STARRED QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

### PUNJAB GENERAL SALES TAX ASSESSEES

\*16. **Lala Behari Lal Chanana :** Will the Honourable Minister for Finance be pleased to state—

(i) (a) the total number of assessees who were assessed to the Punjab General Sales Tax ;

(b) the total number of assessees who were assessed on turnovers exceeding rupees ten thousand but not exceeding twenty thousand ;

(c) the total number of assessees who were assessed on turnovers exceeding rupees twenty thousand but not exceeding forty thousand ;

(d) the total amount of tax and fees realized under each of the above heads mentioned in parts (a), (b) and (c) for the years 1942-43, 1943-44 and 1944-45, separately ;

(e) the total number of assessees who submitted their returns showing sales between Rs. 9,000 and Rs. 10,000 and who were consequently declared exempt from the sales tax and also the number of those whose sales, though declared by them to be between Rs. 9,000 and Rs. 10,000, were enhanced by the assessing authorities above the taxable limit ;

(ii) what specific instructions have been issued by Government from time to time to safeguard the interests of the dealers on the margin (with incomes between Rs. 8,000 and Rs. 10,000) who on account of various reasons are unable to keep accounts and whose turnovers are a little below the exemption limit ?

**The Honourable Mr. Bhim Sen Sachar :** (i) (a) It is assumed that the honourable member wants to know the total number of assessees from year to year. The figures for the years 1943-44 and 1944-45 are given below. The assessment of sales tax was actually started from May 1943 after the publication of the (revised) Punjab General Sales Tax Rules, 1943, and, therefore, information relating to the year 1942-43 is not available.

Year	No. of assessees
(a) 1943-44 .. .. .	25,755
1944-45 .. .. .	30,099
(b) 1943-44 .. .. .	15,461
1944-45 .. .. .	16,053
(c) 1943-44 .. .. .	5,248
1944-45 .. .. .	6,122

(Hon. Mr. Bhim Sen Sachar)

(d) Total income from sales tax in respect of (a), (b) and (c).

Year	Income Rs.
(a) 1943-44 .. .. .	38,08,255
1944-45 .. .. .	41,78,700
(b) 1943-44 .. .. .	3,92,075
1944-45 .. .. .	4,44,842
(c) 1943-44 .. .. .	3,71,240
1944-45 .. .. .	4,79,961

(e) The local officers have been asked to supply the requisite information, which otherwise it is regretted is not readily available.

(ii) The assessing authorities have been instructed to make careful local inquiries with a view to determining the correct turnover, where accounts are not maintained. In doing so they are required to take as their guide the turnovers of dealers in the same line of equal status, as far as possible.

**Chaudhri Muhammad Hasan :** May I know how many cases have come to the notice of the Government where dealers have shown their income less than the actual sales-proceeds obtained by them?

**Minister :** If the honourable member gives notice, the information will be made available to him.

**Chaudhri Muhammad Hasan :** Notice is already there. I want to ask how many cases were detected by the Government in which dealers showed less income than actually was obtained by them?

**Minister :** Notice is required.

#### SALES TAX

**\*17. Lala Behari Lal Chanana :** Will the Honourable Minister for Finance be pleased to state—

(a) whether his attention has been drawn to the judgment delivered by the Financial Commissioner on 11th April 1944 in the case of Messrs. The Delhi Cloth and General Mills, Limited, declaring exempt from the Sales Tax all sales made by the manufacturers of goods manufactured by them ;

(b) the action Government intend to take to refund the money received in other similar cases of illegal realisation ;

(c) whether he is aware of the fact that exemption to manufacturers has been withdrawn by Punjab Government notification No.11690-Txn., dated 19th July 1945, thereby causing discrimination against the Punjab manufacturers in favour of such non-Punjabi manufacturers as are conducting their sales from outside the Punjab, and thus escape the levy of the Sales Tax ; if so, the action Government intend to take in the matter ?

**The Honourable Mr. Bhim Sen Sachar :** (a) Yes.

(b) General instructions for the refund of the tax paid by the assessee prior to the judgment in question were issued to all the local officers concerned.

(c) Yes. The incidence of the tax is less than one-half pie per rupee. It is understood that other provinces are also levying a sales tax, and if this is done on the lines of the Punjab, no question of discrimination against the Punjab manufacturers will arise. The Provincial Government propose to review the position after obtaining information from other provinces regarding the progress of their levy of the sales tax.

## COTTON CANVAS

**\*18. Lala Behari Lal Chanana :** Will the Honourable Minister for Development be pleased to state—

(a) whether Government have ever received from the Government of India cotton canvas in their quota of cotton cloth for the province ; if so, what arrangements were made for its distribution ;

(b) if no cotton canvas has ever been received, whether Government have ever represented or considered the advisability of representing the case of canvas dealers of this province to the Government of India ?

**The Honourable Sardar Baldev Singh :** (a) No.

(b) Canvas is not being made available to provinces in the quotas allocated to them under the All-India Cloth Distribution Scheme.

Before November 1945 the Textile Commissioner, Bombay, himself was distributing canvas to hospitals and other consumers. Certain canvas dealers were also getting small supplies of canvas direct from mills with which they had had dealings in the past.

In November 1945 the Textile Commissioner gave permission to manufacturers to sell canvas through the normal trade channels.

The Textile Commissioner later withdrew this permission and drew up a new scheme for the distribution of canvas under which supplies will be made to provinces taking into account their requirements and their own production. The agency through which supplies will be distributed has not yet been finally settled.

Meanwhile, the Textile Commissioner is making *ad-hoc* allotments to provinces and the Punjab has already been allotted some canvas.

In any new scheme the interests of canvas dealers will be considered as sympathetically as possible.

## SCARCITY OF WHEAT FLOUR

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** May I ask whether the answer to yesterday's question No. 14\*, which the Honourable Minister for Development promised to give this morning is ready ?

**The Honourable Sardar Baldev Singh :** I have got the answer ready. If the Honourable Speaker permits me, I will read out the answer.

**Mr. Speaker :** The Honourable Minister may read out his answer.

## SCARCITY OF WHEAT FLOUR

**\* RAJA GHANZAFAR ALI KHAN :** Will the Honourable Minister for Development be pleased to state—

(a) how many Deputy Commissioners or Civil Supplies Officers from the various districts of the Punjab have approached the Government during the last one month regarding scarcity of wheat flour in their respective areas and what steps the Government have taken to supply wheat to these places ;

(b) whether the Government have formulated any scheme for exporting wheat from surplus districts to those areas of the province where there is a shortage of wheat ;

(c) the total quantity of wheat which the Government have in their possession in the Province and whether this quantity is enough to meet the requirements of the situation till the new wheat harvest arrives in the market, if so, what steps do they propose to take to recover wheat from such firms or individuals as are hiding it in their stores ;

(d) the number of places in the Province where the police had to disperse crowds during the last month who had collected at wheat depôts to buy wheat ;

(e) whether the Government have made any attempt to enlist the support of non-official agencies for assisting them in the equitable distribution of wheat and sugar in the various districts of the province ; if so, whether any political parties are also associated with such a scheme ?

**Minister :** (a) The Deputy Commissioners or Civil Supplies Officers of the following districts have approached Government during the last month regarding scarcity of wheat in their areas :—

- |                |                |
|----------------|----------------|
| 1. Ambala.     | 7. Jhelum.     |
| 2. Hoshiarpur. | 8. Attock.     |
| 3. Jullundur.  | 9. Jhang.      |
| 4. Kangra.     | 10. Sialkot.   |
| 5. Amritsar.   | 11. Hissar.    |
| 6. Gujrat.     | 12. Gurdaspur. |

The Deputy Commissioners of some other districts have reported shortage of wheat in their districts but have not asked for our help. In the districts mentioned above the greater proportion of frozen stocks of wheat have been placed at the disposal of Deputy Commissioners. Arrangements have also been made to supply wheat to these districts from stocks available in surplus districts and with the mills under Government control.

(b) The requirements of different districts have been estimated at Divisional Conferences to which Deputy Commissioners were called especially for this purpose. Deputy Commissioners of surplus districts have been asked to procure all available stocks. Deputy Commissioners, Lyallpur and Montgomery, have issued orders under the Defence of India Rules asking all persons in those districts to declare their stocks. Deputy Commissioner, Multan, is making strenuous efforts to obtain all surplus stocks in his district.

(c) It is hoped to obtain about 13,000 tons of wheat from Multan, Lyallpur and Montgomery districts. Stocks in the possession of individual Deputy Commissioners in other districts are not known. Government has about 15,000 tons wheat in its possession in the rationed towns and delivery has still to be taken of about 10,000 tons on frozen wheat. Stocks with the mills under the control of Government amount to about 10,000 tons. These stocks supplemented by stocks of rice, millets and maize at present under Government control will be sufficient to tide over the period until the new harvest arrives in the market.

(d) This Department does not know of any place in the Punjab where Police had to disperse crowds who had collected at wheat shops to buy wheat. At Hoshiarpur an organised demonstration was held on the 27th of February in front of the wheat depot to protest against the distribution of rice as part of the food ration. The crowd dispersed quietly after six ring leaders had been arrested. At Mandi Qaisar. Ganj in Ludhiana city on the 22nd of February a crowd collected to protest against the removal of 400 bags of wheat by railway authorities to feed their employees at Mogat. Police was called in to maintain order and the crowd was peacefully dispersed. A Mandi Baha-ud-Din in Gujrat district on 7th of March a crowd collected as a protest against the removal of frozen stocks of wheat to Gujrat where they were required for distribution to the urban population. The crowd eventually dispersed and a further report on the situation is awaited.

(e) In all districts there are Civil Supplies Committees which represent various non-official interests and these have been extensively used to assist in the distribution of wheat and sugar. The co-operation of the leaders of all political parties has also been enlisted. In rural areas Co-operative and Panchayat staffs have been used to assist in the work of distribution which is done in consultation with non-officials. Sugar in urban areas is distributed by a system of ration cards. Actual distribution is done through the Civil Supplies staff in the various depôts in the areas concerned.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** In view of the fact that the answer is very lengthy and that I have not been supplied with a copy of that answer in advance,

as it should have been done under the rules, may I request you kindly to allow us half an hour's discussion at the end of to-day's sitting on this very important question? But as it is Friday to-day and it will be prayer time, we cannot take it after 1-30 p.m. Therefore, I suggest that half an hour may be deducted from the time of the discussion of this demand and devoted to this subject. The time will be taken equally from both sides. The Opposition is ready to surrender 15 minutes from its time.

**Premier :** I only want to say that on supplementary questions there is no question of the division of the House. If Raja Sahib wants discussion for half an hour I have no objection.

**Chaudhri Muhammad Hasan :** Did Government receive any representation from the residents of Ambala district that the Deputy Commissioner, Ambala, allowed the export of wheat from his district to Saharanpur?

**Minister :** I have received no such representation.

**Chaudhri Muhammad Hasan :** Will the Minister be pleased to make an enquiry into it?

**Minister :** No representation has been received up till now.

**Sardar Ajit Singh :** Is it a fact that the zamindars of Multan district were paid the price of their wheat at Rs. 9 per maund by the Government, although the control rate is Rs. 9-8-0?

**Minister :** It might be true. Government is not in a position at this moment to state as to what the rate should be, but I can inform the honourable member that whatever rate is due to the party concerned, it will be fixed after taking into consideration all the factors.

**Chaudhri Muhammad Hasan :** Is the Minister prepared to make enquiries into the allegation that the Deputy Commissioner, Ambala, deliberately allowed, for some reasons best known to him, the export of wheat from Ambala to Saharanpur in the United Provinces?

**Minister :** May I inform the honourable member that Deputy Commissioners are not authorised under the Defence of India Rules to allow the export of grain from the Punjab to the United Provinces.

**Chaudhri Muhammad Hasan :** I know that, but if he has contravened the provision of those rules, is Government prepared to start a case against the Deputy Commissioner?

**Premier :** That is a hypothetical question.

**Chaudhri Muhammad Hasan :** Will the Premier be prepared to make enquiries if sufficient proof is available.

**Mr. Speaker :** There should be no debate but the honourable member may ask another supplementary question.

**Sardar Shaukat Hyat-Khan :** Will the Minister be pleased to inform the House whether it is not a fact that in various districts the Muslim Leaguers are getting a step-motherly treatment at the hands of the Civil Supply officers because of elections?

**Minister :** May I inform the House that in order to get co-operation from every political party I made an offer to the members opposite to give their full co-operation but they refused to do so.

**Sardar Shaukat Hyat-Khan :** The Minister has not answered my question as regards the allegation made?

**Mr. Speaker :** There should be no debate.



**Sardar Shaukat Hyat-Khan :** On a point of personal explanation. Since the question of co-operation has been raised by the Minister for Development, we did want to co-operate. We asked Government to allot a day to discuss this serious question and afterwards we could come to an agreement, but the Minister only wants co-operation as far as it serves his purpose.

**Premier :** May I say that we want to solve the food problem. We do not want discussions that add to our difficulties. Like practical men we should make constructive suggestions. Let us have a committee of this House representing all political parties to advise Government in order to solve the food problem. We request the honourable members opposite to serve on that committee. The committee would be an advisory committee to the Minister in charge.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** May I ask one question of the Premier since he has made that suggestion.

**Premier :** Please give an answer to my question.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** I am not in a position to give a final reply but let me ask a question from the Premier. Is he prepared to tell us what would be the terms of reference of that committee, what would be its jurisdiction, what would be its powers and what would be its composition? Is he prepared to discuss with the Leader of the Opposition these four points and after mutual agreement we will decide the matter?

**Minister for Development :** May I give the House more information? I had a talk with Raja Sahib and the Leader of the Opposition on the formation of the committee.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** The Minister has said that we refused to co-operate on such a committee. As he has mentioned my name I want to give my personal explanation. The Minister had a talk with me and with the Leader of Opposition. I said that our party found it difficult to co-operate for three reasons. Firstly, the Leader of Opposition made a request that an opportunity may be given to this House to discuss this matter and express an opinion as to what should be the policy of the Punjab Government, but this request was turned down unceremoniously by the Leader of the House. That was the first reason for not co-operating. The second reason was that the Muslim League had tabled a resolution before anybody thought of it that a committee be appointed who should settle what attitude the Government should adopt to meet this scarcity in order to save the Punjab and India generally from starvation, but no non-official day was given and no time was given to discuss that resolution. The third reason was that we wanted co-operation on equal basis. Co-operation did not mean that Government should lay down a policy and we should carry out that policy. That was the reason why we were not prepared to give unconditional co-operation.

**Premier :** All I said was that these matters could best be settled by the Leader of Opposition and the Minister concerned discussing it outside the House.

**Lala Behari Lal Chanana :** May I know how long Government propose to feed the population of big towns of this surplus province by the nose?

**Chaudhri Muhammad Hasan :** May I know whether the Government is aware that there is no shortage of wheat in Ambala district, but the Deputy Commissioner being inefficient, has not been able to lay his hand on the commodity?

**Mr. Speaker :** It is an insinuation.

**Premier :** As the Deputy Commissioner is not here to protect himself, it is not parliamentary for the honourable member to make a reflection on the Deputy Commissioner.

**Chaudhri Muhammad Hasan :** You are here to answer for him.

(At this stage Mr. Speaker called on the Finance Minister to move the demand.)

**Khan Sahib Khwaja Ghulam Samad :** I want to ask a supplementary question.

**Mr. Speaker :** The honourable member is late. I have called upon the Finance Minister to move his demand.

**Munshi Hari Lal :** On a point of order. The first hour is reserved for questions and answers and should be devoted to that purpose.

**Mr. Speaker :** I have called upon the Finance Minister to move his demand. The honourable member cannot raise a point of order while the Finance Minister has not even finished his sentence.

**Munshi Hari Lal :** A point of order can be raised at any time. I would request the Speaker not to curtail the liberty of the House.

**Mr. Speaker :** Order, order. I call upon the Finance Minister to move his motion.

### DEMANDS FOR GRANTS INDUSTRIES

**Minister for Finance (The Honourable Mr. Bhim Sen Sachar) :** I move—

That a sum not exceeding Rs. 39,58,300 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the year ending 31st March 1947, in respect of Industries.

**Mr. Speaker :** Motion moved—

That a sum not exceeding Rs. 39,58,300 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the year ending 31st March 1947, in respect of Industries.

**Mian Mumtaz Muhammad Khan Daulatana :** (Sialkot South, Muhammadan, Rural) : Sir, I move—

That the demand be reduced by Rs. 100.

I have the honour to initiate the debate on behalf of my party on the general industrial policy of this Government. In doing so, I am faced with two difficulties. The first is that after a great feast of eloquence that we have had from all sides of the House yesterday, it might be somewhat difficult to adjust the attention of the House to the hum-drum topics that must form the subject of discussion to-day. Secondly, it is somewhat difficult to criticise a thing that does not exist at all because as far as I have been able to see, this Government has not upto to-day formulated any general industrial policy nor have they made any plans for the future industrial development of the province.

Sir, it is quite natural that during a period following war our attentions should be occupied with the plans for the industrial development of the country in general and our own province in particular, specially when we see that the Government of India and other provincial governments are busy devising ways and means for the industrialisation of the country. The Government of India have enunciated their policy on various occasions. They have from time to time instituted policy committees and panels on almost every important industry. Most of the other provinces also have been making plans for proper industrialisation but as far as our province is concerned, our Government has neglected its duties. The Punjab Government has never sent their representatives to these panels and committees set up by the Government of India. The result of this is that our province will lag far behind as far as industrial development is concerned. Not only have the Punjab Government made no plans for the industrialisation of the province, they are not clear in their minds as to what their general policy in that fundamental matter is going to be. I admit that during the

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last 9 years this important subject has been brought before the House from time to time. Resolutions have been passed on the floor of the House urging upon the Government for state industries and state aided industries. But as in all matters, this Government have shown the greatest contempt for the views expressed by the elected representatives of the people of this province. To-day, Sir, I want to know definitely from the Government what their general policy in regard to the industrial development of the province is, along what lines they mean to establish state industries, whether they have decided that the state shall participate in the capital management of the industries along with other capitalists, or whether their policy is going to be—as I fear it might be—that the industrial development of the province is to be left to the chaotic control of private enterprise. In regard to this matter, I wish to make it quite clear what the policy of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League is. In our manifesto we made it quite plain that we wholeheartedly support and stand for state industrialisation in almost all spheres. (Hear, hear). This policy is based on two fundamental principles. The first is that the Muslim League feels that it is the right of every citizen to demand that he be employed by the state; it is the duty of the state to see that every able-bodied citizen is provided with work in a productive manner for the betterment of the country. The second principle is that we want the production of goods and the production of commodities to be carried out not for the purpose of maximising profits for a few individuals and a few *bantias*, but we want the production to be carried out for the benefit of the people of the country. (Hear, hear). We feel that these two principles cannot be properly given effect to unless the state decides to intervene in the management and control of the industries. We feel that to-day in the Punjab when the industrial development is in its infancy, if the state decide to control and regulate the industries for the benefit of the people, it will avoid that exploitation, that misery and that injustice which is always found in unregulated capitalism all the world over. (Hear, hear).

We in the Punjab, Sir, have another end in view. We feel that the establishment of industries will to a very great extent lighten the burden upon agriculture. It will absorb extra agricultural labour in fruitful industrial projects. I, therefore, feel that to fulfil this laudable object on which the future happiness and future greatness of the province depends, it is necessary that right from now the state should control most of the key industries of the province and the development of the industries should not be left in the chaotic and unregulated control of private enterprise. (Hear, hear). In any case I do not know what policy Government are going to follow. I do not know whether they are going to agree with the policy and the programme that the Muslim League has laid down. But in any case it is necessary that Government must make a clear statement of their policy. It must clearly lay down before the House the general lines along which they feel that the industrial development of the country must be carried on. Unless this is done we fear that the Punjab will remain far behind the other provinces of India and the result will be that we shall become mere purveyors and mere sellers of raw material. Whenever a land is found only to be supplying raw materials, the independence and the greatness of that country is jeopardised and it cannot develop in richness and in fulfilment as a properly industrialised country can.

■ Apart from this general principle that the Government must lay down finally its policy about the industrial development of the country, I want to draw the attention of Government to another matter. As you are aware the Government of India have decided to zone all industries in the post-war period. In this zoning the Government will be guided by three principles: by the consumption of a particular zone, by the raw material available in that particular zone and by the present productive capacity of that industry. In this matter the Government of India has set up many policy

committees, but the Punjab Government have completely neglected to take any advantage of them. As far as I am aware no representative of the Punjab Government has ever participated in the policy committees set up by the Government. There is a very glaring example. Last year it was decided by the Government of India that a fertiliser factory should be set up somewhere in India for the production of Ammonium Sulphate. To decide the location of this factory, experts were called from abroad to tour India and in the course of their tour also visited the Punjab, but at that time our Ministers were so occupied in the pleasures of Simla, they were so occupied in cooling their heads from the controversies of political life, they were so occupied in satisfying the needs of their followers, that they did not take that occasion to come down to Lahore and accompany and advise that Mission which had come to fix the location of that industry. They did not come here to guide them in the choice of the site. The result was that ultimately the Government of India decided to locate that industry at Sindhri in Bihar. (*An honourable member*: At first it was decided to locate it at Aligarh, but the Government of India without rhyme or reason changed the location to Sindhri.) That industry was ultimately decided to be located at Sindhri in Bihar, although one of the most important raw materials, perhaps the most fundamental raw material is Gypsum. Gypsum has even now to be transported from Khewra in the Punjab to Sindhri in Bihar. I would like you to consider that the important raw materials that are needed for the production of Ammonium Sulphate are Gypsum and coal. I do not know why it could not have been just as simple to transport coal from Sindhri to Khewra as it has been convenient to transport Gypsum from Khewra to Sindhri. If the Government had not neglected this opportunity, if they had properly fulfilled the duties that are imposed upon them by the people of this province, the Punjab would have derived a great deal of benefit from the location of this industry at Khewra in the Punjab. If they had done that, the natural deposits, which are being washed away by the course of nature and which are our national wealth, would have been preserved and also a great opportunity would have been opened for the ultimate introduction of heavy chemical industries in this province. But all that the Government neglected.

There is another point that I would like to bring to your notice, that after the Government have decided to take greater interest in this matter and after they have got their due share in each industry allotted in this zonal scheme, it will be their duty to make allotments in the Punjab on an equitable basis. In this matter the duty of Government is to see that no lop-sided development takes place, it is to see that the benefits that accrue from the industry are properly, fairly and equitably distributed between all the great communities that live in this country. If one community happens by historic accident and by various other reasons to be rich in money, to be rich in resources, to be rich in knowledge and if your policy is such that you give facilities to that community to get richer, then you would be creating such a situation in this province that no tranquillity and peace will be possible. I feel that it is your duty to correct the discrepancies and differences in the economic resources of the province by your policy. In this matter I would like to bring to your notice the example of the textile industry. As you know in the Punjab today there exist only two fully up-to-date textile mills and they are both located in the very heart of that area of the Punjab where the Musalmans are in the overwhelming majority, but in both cases they are in the hands of non-Muslims. I am told that under their new scheme, the Government of India have decided to allocate 4½ lakhs spindles for this industry to the northern zone. Out of that I am told this Government has already allocated 75,000 spindles. They have allocated three such factories to this province. Out of these three two have been allocated to non-Muslims and only one to Muslims. Considering the manner in which the population is distributed in this province, considering the importance of the Muslim nation, considering that it is the duty of this Government which always

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claims to be a true representative of the Muslims of this province, it was your duty to see that the Musalmans had at least 50 per cent. share in the textile industry of this province. At the moment, as things stand, out of the five up-to-date factories, the Musalmans will have only one. This is not a proper state of affairs, particularly when you consider that the raw material for the textile industry, namely cotton, nearly 70 or 80 per cent. of it is produced by the labour of the Musalmans. Not only is this the case in textile industry but also in other industries. The same is the case in the cement industry where the Musalmans have to this day got no share. As far as I have been able to collect information, it appears that the new factories that are being allotted for the production of cement have been allotted to non-Musalmans. Is this, Sir, the price that Malik Khizar Hyat Khan and his one or two Muslim colleagues are paying for this coalition and for this unholy alliance that they have formed with the large non-Muslim parties in this province? (*Shame, shame*). Is this the price that you are paying by giving up your rights, by giving up the future prospects and the future happiness of the people of this province whom you allege to represent? Apart from this cement industry I am told that another scheme which the Government of India is considering is with regard to new factories for the production of sugar, woollen goods, textile machinery and so on. Am I to understand that this present bias of the ministry for the non-Muslim capitalists in this province is to continue? Am I to understand that in the allocation of these industries to this province, the lion's share or perhaps the entire share shall go to our non-Muslim brethren? I want to make one point clear. In the matter of textile industries and all other industries I have mentioned, the Musalmans are available. The Musalmans have actually applied for the allocation of these industries. The Musalmans have got the resources, they have got the capital to take upon themselves the responsibility to carry on these industries. Therefore, that can never be brought forward as an excuse against them. It is merely because it is the considered, it is the malicious policy of this Government for ever to destroy the Musalmans in this province by following this policy of discrimination. It must be remembered that the majority in this province are Musalmans. It must be remembered that a vast majority of the demobilised soldiers who are going to return to their homes after the stress of war are going to be Musalmans. I feel, Sir, that it is the birth right of the Musalmans of this province that they should find employment in the new industries. As you know, a very large part of the industries which exist to-day in the Punjab is in the hands of the non-Musalmans and our experience of these non-Muslim capitalists is very bitter. If you were to study the statistics of employment, you will find that the Musalmans have a very meagre share indeed in the employment that is being afforded to-day in the industrial development of the Punjab. This is all the more regrettable when you realise that the great surplus rural labour that will have to be ultimately absorbed in industry is nearly 70 or 80 per cent. Muslim. In this matter I have a very sad experience of the non-Muslim industrialists and, therefore, I feel that the Muslims can make no progress, they cannot take their proper share in industry unless the industrial development is directly placed in the hands of the Musalmans. I am afraid that I must end my speech with a note of warning. The patience of the Musalmans of the Punjab is almost exhausted. I want you to consider our position. For decades we have been oppressed. We have been neglected. We have been condemned to ignorance and we have been dominated by a selfish leadership which for the sake of a handful of silver and for a ribbon to stick in its coat has betrayed and sold its nation to the British imperialists. (*Shame, shame*). In the villages we have lived a life of fear and terror under the heel of the British bureaucrats. In the towns our handicrafts have been elbowed out by the influx of capitalism and in the new wealth that has come from the introduction of mechanised forms of production the Musalmans have not had even a token share. In their anger

and in their indignation the Musalman masses have risen as one man against this leadership. (*Hear, hear.*) They have fought against the Unionist Rump which is an insult to their nationalism grown conscious, which is an insult to their anti-imperialism grown vocal which is, if I may say so, a blot on the fair name of this province. We, Sir, have fought against the Unionists under circumstances of indescribable oppression, and we have routed them in a manner of which there is no example in this country. (*Hear, hear.*) Sir, the Musalmans have fought elections on two issues, one of which was the destruction of unionism. Sir, by all constitutional methods open to us we have buried Malik Khizar Hyat Khan.

**Mr. Speaker :** How is it relevant to industries ?

**Mian Mumtaz Muhammad Khan Daulatana :** I wish to prove that no industrial development in these circumstances.....

**Mr. Speaker :** Everybody has to bear in mind that the cut motion relates to industries.

**Mian Mumtaz Muhammad Khan Daulatana :** Perhaps I have not succeeded in making you follow the line of my argument.

**Mr. Speaker :** Please speak so that I may follow.

**Mian Mumtaz Muhammad Khan Daulatana :** I will try. Please let me finish that argument.

**Mr. Speaker :** I have tried. How are you going to relate it to the motion under consideration ? You have failed to do it.

**Mian Mumtaz Muhammad Khan Daulatana :** By all constitutional methods that were open to us we have buried the Unionists.

**Mr. Speaker :** What has that to do with industries ?

**Mian Mumtaz Muhammad Khan Daulatana :** Please listen.

**Mr. Speaker :** I have listened to all these points.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** On a point of order. May I request you to bear in mind that a front bench speaker of this party and one of our topmost leaders of the province is speaking and that you must give him more time and see what he is going to say.

**Mr. Speaker :** Order, order. He must be able to satisfy me that he is relevant.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** You cannot treat us like children. You are not a school master.

**Mr. Speaker :** Order, order. Please relate it to industrial development.

**Mian Mumtaz Muhammad Khan Daulatana :** You will admit that a large measure of my speech was directly concerned with industries and as I said while beginning this part of my speech, I must end my speech with a note of warning which I want to give to this Government. The warning is that we have by all constitutional methods that were open to us, buried the ideology for which the Unionist party stood and we have also buried its industrial policy seven fathoms deep. Our Hindu and Sikh friends by their machinations have imposed upon us the carcass of that defunct party and defunct policy. By closing the constitutional door, by ridiculing the constitutional verdict of the people of the Punjab, our Hindu and Sikh brethren are driving us to methods which are more violent than the dropping of the ballot in the ballot box, which are less peaceful than saying of ayes and noes in the sacred precincts of this House. It is not my intention in any way to frighten my Hindu and Sikh friends. I see no hope for the industrial development or any other development in this Province without the closest co-operation and friendship between the Muslims, Hindus,

**Mian Mumtaz Muhammad Khan Daulatana** and Sikhs of this Province. (*Hear, hear.*) But we seek co-operation as brothers, we seek co-operation in equal partnership, but we shall not accept the domination of the master over the slave. That is something we shall never accept. I seek their co-operation, but I say to them, we the members of the Muslim League have never had any truck with traitors that have left your party and have left you. We implore you that you too should have nothing to do with the traitors that lie within our own ranks, with the traitors within our own gate.

**Mr. Dev Raj Sethi:** Two traitors are sitting beside you.

**Mian Mumtaz Muhammad Khan Daulatana:** If my Hindu and Sikh friends do not come out in this spirit of co-operation, if they do not clasp the hands that the Mussalmans have extended to them in co-operation, in equality and in friendship and if they do not cease to irritate us, if they do not cease to exasperate us, if they do not cease to befool the masses, if they do not cease to deny the verdict that has been unanimously passed by the Muslims of the Punjab, if they do not cease to do all this, then I am sure that they and they alone will be responsible for the destruction of tranquillity and peace without which no industrial development, without which no industrial planning and without which no comfortable profit making by the mahajans in their *havelis* is possible. (*Applause.*)

**Mr. Speaker:** Motion moved is—

That a sum not exceeding Rs. 39,58,300 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the year ending 31st March 1947, in respect of Industries.

**Sardar Ujjal Singh** [Western Towns (Sikh, Urban)]: Sir, I would seek your indulgence and the indulgence of the House for not being able to speak in a louder voice on account of bad throat. It is a matter of great regret that during the last few days the atmosphere in the House has not been conducive to constructive contribution in the debate. The level of some of the speeches, I would not say all the speeches, was not in keeping with the dignity of the House. All honour to those who tried to raise the level of the debate and made some valuable suggestions. The Opposition has as much vital and important part to play in shaping the policy of the Government as the party in power. Healthy criticism on the part of the Opposition is I think the best corrective to keep the Government on the right path and to prevent it from being swept away in intoxication of power, but hard words and abuses break no bones. We, all of us, have a duty towards our electorates but we have a greater duty towards our country and towards millions of those dumb down-trodden masses who are seeking for the solution of their difficulties and the ending of their worries and troubles. Before I deal with the subject of Industry, I must say that one thing which is staring this country in the face at the present moment, is the question of famine. Luckily we in this Province are in a position to come to the rescue of our brethren in other parts of India. I have one or two suggestions to make and they are that we in the Punjab should make available as much of our surplus cereals as possible. I say so because this kind of food policy can be tackled only on an all-India basis and if our brethren in other parts of the country are starving, it is our human duty to come to their help. The zamindar should certainly be provided with a fair price, a price which must be remunerative to him, but on the other hand the price should not be such as to be a great burden to the consumer. On the other hand, there should be as little of profit making by the middleman as possible. The benefit should go to the producer and to the consumer. From that point of view blunders have been made in the past not so much by this Government as by the Central Government. I would suggest that the price level fixed by this Government on the instructions of the Government of India should be such as to be conducive of easy procurement and which should deter the creation of black markets. For instance, if you have a fixed price of Rs. 9-8-0 for wheat, you should have a monthly price to start with nine rupees, for

example, in the month of May and every month the price should go on increasing so that the producer should be in a position to sell his stuff at any time with the knowledge that such and such will be the maximum price then. While storing his produce, the producer is incurring interest and storage charges and that should be the only difference between month to month prices. In that way the Government would be able to procure all the surplus cereal that is available. I would make another suggestion to my zamindar friends and it is that they should voluntarily come forward with a statement of surplus to the authorities. Any one owning more than fifty acres of land should give a regular statement of the surplus cereal that he has in his possession. That would help the Government in tiding over the difficulty and helping the people in other parts of India. As I have stated, the ills of India require urgent treatment. We are suffering from many difficulties, many grievances. People talk of freedoms, five freedoms, but I think the freedom from want is the most essential and the basic freedom. In this country for the last 150 years we have suffered from all sorts of ailments. We have not had enough education, our masses are steeped in ignorance, our country is the poorest country in the world.

**Mr. Speaker :** Please argue on industry.

**Sardar Ujjal Singh :** I will not take more than my stipulated time. The income *per capita* is the lowest in India. The only way of increasing the wealth or adding to the *per capita* income or raising the purchasing power of the people is by industrialisation. In this country we have not had any planning because probably the foreign rulers did not want proper industrialisation. The war showed our greatest weakness in industrial development. The industrial population is only 1 per cent of the total population of India. Take our own province. Out of the total industrial population in India, we have in the Punjab only 3.9 per cent of industrial workers. So our province is very backward in industries as against Bombay and Bengal where there are 52 per cent of industrial workers. The great thing that is needed and which will accelerate the progress of industries is the initiative to be taken by the State. Without State planning, State control and State encouragement, no industrial development can take place. My honourable friend Mian Mumtaz Muhammad Khan Daultana said that he was in favour of nationalisation of industries out and out. So perhaps as a matter of expediency or theoretically he would live to accept the policy of Russia which arrived at nationalisation of industries at a cost which I do not know whether he is prepared to pay. No country in the world has achieved complete nationalisation of industries excepting Russia. I do admit that there are certain industries which must be state owned. There are basic industries of national importance which must be nationalised and there are other industries as well which must be State controlled, though they may be privately-owned. The State should decide the policy of location and of having its proper control over industries within interest of workers and proper distribution of wealth. There are certain industries which can best be developed under private management, and there are certain other industries which may be State managed. So it is impossible, particularly under the circumstances in which we find ourselves in this country, to have a wholesale nationalisation. Without private enterprise the progress of industries in this country will be greatly retarded. In this province of ours, the chief thing that we need is the availability of cheap power. We are removed away from the source of coal supply and are at a great distance from it. But we are rich in hydro-electric resources. If we try to develop this resource which the Government intends to do in its post-war programme, we would be able to produce nearly 200 thousand kwts. I must say that Government should carry out this policy with a missionary zeal and with a driving power. Unless that is done, industrial development will be held back. We cannot make progress without cheap hydro-electric power. In America the Tennessee Valley authority has developed 2 million kwts. of hydro-electric power in 10 years. Russia in one year produced an



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additional 150 thousand kwts. Even if the Government has to borrow money they should not hesitate to do so to enable them to produce 200 thousand kwts. in 3 or 4 years, if not earlier. The other thing necessary is the availability of capital goods. In that connection we are labouring under great difficulties, because machinery is not available. We are not producing or manufacturing machinery in this country. Dollars are not available to buy machinery from the United States of America. Sterling balances are standing in our way. Unless something is done in that connection, it will not be possible to get machinery within a reasonable time. I would suggest that the Government should insist upon a portion of sterling balances being converted into dollars, so that we may be able to purchase machinery from America if it is not available in England. It was said that the Punjab Government did not do anything with regard to the location of fertiliser industry. (*An honourable member from the Opposition*: It is quite right.) It is absolutely incorrect. My honourable friend has not been taking interest in industrial matters. The Punjab Government set up an industrial committee and that committee has been working for about 2 years and has done most useful work. It has suggested many schemes, some of which I think the Government is going to take up. That committee strongly recommended that the fertiliser plant which the Government of India was contemplating to establish should be set up in the Punjab. The Director of Industries and other officers of the Punjab Government accompanied the fertiliser experts in a tour of the Punjab. The Honourable Minister of Industries proposed to have that factory located in Amritsar. The site was also visited by the experts. It was strongly urged by the Punjab Government that gypsum was available and hydro-electric power was also available, no matter if the coal was not near at hand. But it was our bad luck that other influences prevailed over them. It was not on account of lack of zeal or pressure. (*Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan*: Lack of prestige of the Punjab Government.) I do not know that, but possibly it was some other pressure that was responsible for locating that industry in Bihar and not in the Punjab.

Now, I come to the question of regionalisation. As I have said, with planning there should be regionalisation of industries. So far in India, industry has been monopolised by two provinces—Bombay and Bengal. If we want to have the development of industries spread over throughout India, there must be regionalisation. Now that Government is going to plan something, the Punjab must have its full share particularly in the matter of cotton and woollen textile industries. We have got all the natural advantages for the development of textile industry. My honourable friends complain that the two mills set up here belong to *baniyas* and non-Muslims. Did any Muslim come forward to set up a mill? In Lyallpur and Okara did the Punjab Government refuse to give them facilities? No Punjabi, as a matter of fact, came forward in those days.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan**: The question was as to why they did not employ any Muslim labourer and why they brought Hindus from outside?

**Sardar Ujjal Singh**: The first question was, why there were all non-Muslim mills. If you can get trained and skilled labour from outside, which is not available here, you cannot add to the cost of production by employing untrained labourer. But I must say that the Punjab Government is now granting sites for new mills and they have stipulated that the Punjab labour should be employed as far as possible. Now the Punjab Government has some hand in it. They have laid down two important conditions, (1) that the Punjab labour should be employed, and (2) that 40 per cent of the share capital should be offered to the zamindars of the division. What more does my honourable friend want? There are certain other stipulations too. (*An honourable member from the Opposition*: What are they?) The Honourable Premier will tell you that. Three mills have so far been sanctioned. (*Raja Ghazanfar Ali*

**Khan :** Premier is Jack of all trade.) One applicant is a Muslim firm. Even that firm has no business experience and they are out to find business men to co-operate with them to float a company. Now the other thing which I wish to bring to the notice of my honourable friend the Minister for Industries is the supply of technicians. It is a very important point because without the supply of technicians industrial development cannot be accelerated. We have not got a big supply now to meet our demand. I would suggest that through the Government of India we should be able to have the services of the experts from outside, even of German experts, most of whom are out of job. That was also suggested by the Industrial Delegation when they went to the United States of America and England. There are many experts available in the West. The services of these technicians should be made available for Indian industries. We should have facilities for training. The Government of India and the provincial governments are sending out people for training. More students should be sent out for technical training, and it will only be thus that industrial development will be accelerated.

The last point I would suggest is the improvement of industrial research. As is known to my honourable friends, industrial research has made such rapid progress in other countries, particularly in the United States of America and Europe, that they have practically revolutionised industry. Unless we spend more money on industrial research we will not be able to compete with the industrialists outside. I would like to quote the views of our Industrial Delegation. They say—

We were much impressed by the improvements in technique and scientific advances effected in both countries in recent years, and by the indications of the further rapid progress expected in the future. The immense complexity of modern industry, particularly in the engineering and chemical fields, and the rapid progress made in them from year to year as a result of research have convinced us that if India's industrialisation is to be as speedy as public opinion and her economic situation demand, we should unhesitatingly seek to import ready made technique and industrial "know-how" from these two and other countries.

A sum of only 40,000 has been provided in the Budget for industrial research. I would very respectfully suggest that much more money is required to be spent on this important item. As a matter of fact I would suggest that you should have an expert with technical knowledge in charge of industrial research. The man who should guide research would be of very great and valuable assistance to government. The Industrial Committee that I mentioned set up by the Punjab Government made some suggestions and I am glad that one or two suggestions have been taken up by the government. Among other suggestions that we made was that a pilot workshop should be started. It is a very important thing for the Punjab. Even now some of the engineering workshops in the Punjab are doing very well. Pilot workshop will give an impetus to the whole engineering industry in this country. We also suggested that Government should take up work in plastics and in coal distillation. There are four or five suggestions made by the Committee which I hope the Punjab Government will take up. In the end I would suggest that a plan should be drawn up and no time should be lost. Even in the case of textile mills machinery the Government of India was approached very late. The Government of India have given import licences to other firms but none so far to any Punjabi firm for the simple reason that we were behind others in approaching the Government of India for import licences. In all the schemes the Punjab Government should make up its mind and try to push them as expeditiously as possible. Unless the Government carries out its programme with a driving power and missionary zeal, I am afraid industrial development in this country will not make any headway. I do hope that this new government will devote its energies to the cause of industrial development of this province which will lead to the progress and prosperity of the people of the country. (*Hear, hear*).

**Premier** (The Honourable Malik Sir Khizar Hayat): Sir, the honourable speaker who initiated this debate called me a buried man. I may tell him that I am

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not a buried man. I must be a die-hard indeed when I rise to congratulate him on the able speech that he has made, and I congratulate him as a very able Punjabi, as a person who has put his case so well. If it were not for one or two things I would have agreed throughout. I congratulate him all the more as he is the son of a great friend and a Unionist with whom I worked for many years, the late Mian Ahmad Yar Khan Daulatana (may his soul rest in peace), who worked, lived and died a Unionist. Whatever his son wishes to say and whatever political views he may hold about the creed of the party for which his father worked he has the right to do so. My son may hold different political views, but I hope he will have some respect for views held by me. But it has given me real pleasure to see that great man's son putting his case in the way in which he has done in this House.

I would like to say that as far as nationalisation is concerned which is the main point made by the speaker, it happens to be the policy of the Punjab Government already. In the matter of nationalisation we have gone quite far. The canals in the Punjab are State owned. We are nationalising transport to a great extent. About electricity, as Sardar Ujjal Singh has said, every hydro-electric work is now to be State-managed. Big projects are being prepared by the State. If the honourable members had taken the trouble of studying the Industrial Committee's report to which Sardar Ujjal Singh referred, they would have known that we have already decided that in the case of certain categories of industries there must be nationalisation. Even in the most advanced countries the entire nationalisation of industries cannot be brought about. In industries where nationalisation is not possible we want fair and equal distribution. My friend the great Daulatana's son has put it very well. We have to keep a watchful eye on our industries.

He was good enough to say that we sat up in Simla and took no interest in the discussions that took place. That is not the case. We explained our difficulties about fertilisers and put up our case to the delegation of the Government of India. I wrote myself to the only Punjabi Muslim representative in the Viceroy's Executive Council, and asked him to use his influence. This matter was even taken to a higher level when a representation was made by the head of the province to the Government of India, that the Punjab case required special consideration. I entirely agree with my young friend opposite—Mian Muntaz Daulatana—that if gypsum can be taken from Khewra why cannot coal be brought from Bihar? But if we do not succeed with the Government of India and if we fail this shows that there should be no interfering centre.

**Sardar Shaukat Hyat-Khan :** We do not want a centre at all. We will have our own centre.

**Premier :** I was not talking of one India or two Indias nor was I referring to any constitutional issue. I was talking about the industrial Sphere. There are only two remedies now. One is that the Punjab Government should start and set up a fertiliser plant of its own, and the House will agree that that would require big capital and we shall have to examine the whole thing from that aspect. The other remedy is that we should press the Government of India to set up a plant at a suitable place in the Punjab.

Coming to the allotment of mills, Sir, I would submit that the two mills at Okara and Lyallpur were not allotted by the present Ministry, not even by the previous Ministry. So I do not think we can be held responsible for the installation of those mills. That was done before the Unionist Party came to power and the House will agree that we cannot be blamed for the acts of omission or commission before 1937.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** May I correct the Honourable Premier, the Unionist Party existed in 1920 or even before the British came here.

**Premier :** They did not have any power then. They came to power when my honourable friend joined them. (*Laughter.*) Moreover, Sir, there was no control system then and I am talking of the period since when there is control.

As regards the permission to instal three mills, we went on waiting in order to bring in all the communities. I wish to make it clear that this is not communalism but a question of fair and equal distribution. The Government of India insisted that we should send up names, otherwise we would run the risk of losing our share. In those circumstances, I sent up three names; one party was entirely Mussalman, another Sikh-cum-Muslim and a third a non-Muslim. There was only one Muslim party applicant available. The Director of Industries is an efficient Muslim I.C.S. officer in whom we and every impartial Mussalman should have great faith. He considered the matter without any prejudice to any one. As I have said at that time there was no other Muslim applicant but now we have some applicants and they are being considered.

**Sardar Shaukat Hyat-Khan :** I question the statement of the Premier that there was no applicant. A Mussalman was promised to be given a mill but later on when he changed his sympathies and sided with the Muslim League, that promise was withdrawn. (*A voice : Name him.*) I have no hesitation of telling the name of the gentleman. He was Sayed Amjad Ali Shah.

**Premier :** He was not an applicant but was a shareholder with somebody else who was a European, Sir William Roberts. We selected those whom we considered most suitable and as I have already submitted one was a Muslim, another a Muslim-cum-some one else and a third a non-Muslim. These were the three names selected. The application to which reference has been made by the honourable member opposite is with us and is under consideration.

**Sardar Shaukat Hyat-Khan :** That means that you have allotted only one out of five to a Mussalman.

**Premier :** No, one and a half out of three. Some more mills have to be allotted and I assure the House that the interests of the Muslims will be adequately safeguarded.

**Sardar Shaukat Hyat-Khan :** So long as you are there Muslim interests cannot be safeguarded.

**Premier :** I would ask the honourable member to wait and see and not be impatient. As for the share in the mills, we have decided that 40 per cent will be given to the agriculturists of the division where the mill is to be located, ten per cent to the Peasants' Welfare Fund if they want to join this group, and another 10 per cent to the Government. I am sure that the House is satisfied with regard to the allotment of the three mills made by Government since 1937 and as far as the future is concerned I shall see that the interests of all the communities are safeguarded.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** Except the interests of the Mussalmans.

**Premier :** As far as the textile industry is concerned, I would ask the honourable members to bear in mind which community preponderates amongst the agriculturists in those divisions where cotton is grown and for whom reservation has been made.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** Communal harmony means that no Mussalman should get any share. (*Laughter.*)

**Premier :** I have said many times and I repeat it once again that as far as the Muslim interests are concerned I shall see that there is fair play and that they get their due share. My young friend Mian Muntaz Daulatana said that we are traitors. I do not understand the exact meaning of the word traitor; he is better educated and knows better. According to the meaning which I understand, those persons who stick to their ideas and stick to the ticket on which they were returned cannot be called

[Premier]

traitors and if that epithet has to be applied it must be applied to those who crossed the floor and are sitting on the opposite benches. (*Hear, hear*).

**Mian Mumtaz Muhammad Khan Daulatana :** A traitor is a person who betrays his own community and his own nation. It is not a question of crossing the floor. The Honourable Premier has continued and persistently continued to be a traitor. (*Hear, hear from the Opposition benches*).

**Premier :** It is a matter of opinion and the honourable member is welcome to hold any opinion he likes. As far as I am concerned, I am serving my community to the best of my ability and I am sure that a time will come when my Muslim brethren will feel that I stood on the right side and did not change my political views merely because a few people over there have been able to dupe the voters in the name of religion for personal ends.

**Mian Mumtaz Muhammad Khan Daulatana :** A few people? We are 79.

**Premier :** I would have understood the force of their argument if they had not stood with me all these four years on this side and who can tell if many of them will not come back and sit with me 6 months hence. Then perhaps my honourable friends opposite will say that this die-hard was after all right and they were in the wrong.

Anyhow I would like to sound a note of warning to my friend the speaker who initiated this debate on behalf of the Muslim League. He is an able man, he is a young man, he is a big zamindar. All this—yes, but I would point out to him that if he wants to be a sort of Communist-cum-Muslim Leaguer, it is a very difficult roll to play and he should be careful about it. (*Interruptions*). What I want to say is that pure Islamic religion and Communism do not go well together and there will be difficulty before long. I only wanted to give this note of warning.

**Mian Mumtaz Muhammad Khan Daulatana :** On a point of personal explanation. The Premier has suggested that like him the people on these benches have at one and the same time two allegiances. There are no members on this side of the House who have at one and the same time two allegiances. We are Muslim Leaguers and nothing but Muslim Leaguers.

**Premier :** I do not dispute what he says now. I was only talking of his view contained in his letters that I used to read with his old father. I was only referring to them. He is entitled to his present views, but he cannot hold two views at one and the same time. He shall have to disprove his Communism. It is a friendly advice. He may take it or he may not.

The Unionist Party has entered into a coalition. I have invited other parties to enter into an all-parties coalition. (*Interruption*). It is our policy to industrialise the Punjab. If we do not industrialise, our fate will be the same as has been meted out to the enemy countries like Japan and Germany. Every person in this province wants industrialisation. As far as nationalisation goes, we will go all out for nationalisation. Where it is not possible there will be a fair distribution between all communities in this province. These are the main principles that I can initiate. Every action of Government can be criticised. Only the results will show the soundness of our policy. That is what we have in view, what we have planned and what we are going to plan. I also endorse the suggestion of Sardar Ujjal Singh that a detailed industrial plan should also be drawn up. That I am sure will be examined by the Minister concerned. With these observations I conclude my remarks.

**Mian Muhammad Nurullah** (Toba Tek Singh, Muhammadan, Rural) : I was asked to follow Sardar Ujjal Singh but by chance the Premier butted in and started his own story of Unionists. What has been the Unionist plan for all these years? I can tell you in two or three lines. The Unionists had planned to live for 5,000 years or 500 years, but they could not stand the polls for five days. They were finished.

and when they planned their industrial scheme, it was probably on the basis of their preserved life. Being a long period their progress was to be very slow and from facts and figures I would like to show what their progress has been. Sardar Ujjal Singh and I had been crying hoarse since 1930 and we joined hands in this Assembly to advocate the progress of industry, but with no effect. Sardar Ujjal Singh had levelled very great constructive criticisms then, but what is the result?

Now I would quote some figures to draw your attention to the progress made in industries. Without taking lengthy figures I would point out that in the post-war planning scheme, which is going to be the most important period for us for the nationalisation of industry in the Punjab, out of Rs. 4,98,29,000 in all which is going to cost the province, what is the share allotted to industries? Rs. 13,86,680, which means under 3 per cent. What can you expect from such post-war planning? Nothing. Progress will be as slow as it always has been. As for new expenditure, the figures are Rs. 2,64,000, that is hardly 2 per cent. What can you expect?

I might draw your attention to the remarks made by Sardar Ujjal Singh about certain schemes, but that will take a long time. Among things that I want to lay before the House is that if this House wants the province to make sound industrial progress, the plan laid down by the honourable member, Mian Mumtaz Daulatana, that you must give proper share to all communities in it, is very sound. Without that progress would be very difficult. You will be putting one wheel of the chariot at the back and the chariot will not go. Therefore my suggestion is that you must bear in mind this fact in any further planning that you make out.

I must address the honourable members of my party too. If I were the dictator in this country, I would at once take the big landlords to task, because what I feel is that after all the appeals made even by the Qaid-i-Azam they are not moved in the matter of taking interest in Industry and Trade. That is my feeling, because when they have money they go and buy more land. They should give up that habit. I would ordain that they cannot buy land more than so many squares, so that all of them are forced to put their money in industries, commerce, banking and insurance. Cheap raw material being abundant, all that you require is capital, and with capital you will be able to produce skilled labour to start better and progressive industries and be able to compete with the other nations of the world. Therefore, if I were you or if I had my say I would send the sons of big landlords to schools and colleges and not allow them to sit in their homes. I would put them in colleges or send them to outside countries and give them training in scientific research and other advanced courses and after giving them proper training ask them to start industry and commerce. After coming back with sufficient knowledge they should get from their fathers sufficient money to start up-to-date manufacturing concerns. It is only then that we can make any progress. That is my conviction and sincere feeling. The Government should keep in mind that proper facilities should be given and the interests of the various communities are also taken into account. One thing more I should say. There should be a demand for national government. I would advise the honourable members, 51 of the one party and 23 of the other not to be led by the 5 or 6 members under the direction of imperialistic policy which has always stood in the way of progress of industry in this country. We are up against other nations. The interests of other nations clash with ours and we cannot make progress unless they allow us to promote our interests and they will never allow us to do so unless we force them to do so. In these circumstances, I say that the policy is still being dictated by 5 or 6 persons of the old reactionary party followed by 23 of one and 51 of the other party without demur, who for some reasons are not yet able to assert themselves. That is my feeling. If that is to be the state of things, then the industrial progress will be doomed. What I have been feeling all these days is that the clock of industrial progress has been going back and the present ministry, of the new coalition, will not be able to do much in

[Mian Mohd. Nurullah]

this direction. It is only old wine in new bottles, probably with high necks. In these circumstances I am sure industry will never make progress. One of my friends applied for state aid in respect of Khewra mines for putting up a salt refinery and Rs. 3,000 was recommended by the board, but nothing was given later on, because probably Government then in charge thought that the owner belonged to a party with different political views. That is a matter of great shame. Government should not decide such matters on political considerations. If they do so, it is a serious thing and in such circumstances there is no hope for any reforms.

Sir, another friend told me about a different industry, the tea industry which was a monopoly of the Europeans for a long time. Since it has come into the hands of the Indians there is no encouragement to this industry. There has been no state aid and there is no encouragement, direct or indirect, and without encouragement we cannot compete with such big foreign capitalists.

Sir, I do not wish to detain you long but I wish to say something about labour. As my honourable friend, Mr. Mumtaz Daulatana pointed out there is no proper planning. There is need for proper planning. When you are putting in capital from various sources, you must pay special attention to the interests of labour. Labour is very much neglected in our country and unless you keep labour appeased, unless you keep labour contented you cannot get the best out of labour. Therefore labour must have a proper place in industry. It must be made shareholder in the capital. It must be put on the profit-sharing basis so that every one of the labourers feels that he has got a particular interest, that is, his self-interest, and then he will do his best to get the best out of the industry.

I would like to say a word about the cottage industry. This is another thing which has been badly neglected. I happened to be a director of a firm which had joined hands to take up a few contracts during the war. One of my friends who was not a capitalist raised his production from Rs. 26,000 to about 6 lakhs a month within 4 months but unfortunately there was a little trouble. The police got hold of him and wanted to drag him and blackmail him. What happened was further progress had to be stopped. He had proved by an experiment that there was vast scope of industrial development on cottage industry basis but there was no appreciation. The small industries could be made to develop everywhere. This man of whom I was talking was ruined and the whole of the industry has gone. If such a thing had happened in any other country probably he would have been given a knighthood. The cottage industries may form subsidiary industries for the zamindars, so that the produce of agriculture may be better utilised and the zamindar may get return many times over. For instance, the price of wheat as my honourable friend has stated is Rs. 9-8-0 per maund and if by some process the zamindar is able to turn it into biscuits he may get a return of Rs. 100. It will also be helping the labour and others and it will be in the best interests of the country. I would specially draw the attention of the Honourable the Finance Member to start subsidiary cottage industries particularly with a view to help the zamindars in the mufassil. I have explained the political position and I have been feeling that by making a coalition ministry as it is, by pushing us and the public a little farther away, my friends on the other side, are doing the greatest harm to their own nation. They should change their policy, otherwise they will be themselves digging their own grave. This kind of affairs cannot go on. I appeal to the House and to the honourable members in power to look to these things and make a planning so that the industrial, agricultural and political progress may continue as we all desire.

**Chaudhri Krishna Gopal Dutt** (North Eastern Towns, General) : Mr. Speaker, I have been exerting beyond the capacity of my indifferent health during the last few days in the Assembly and I regret it will not be possible for me to speak as loudly as is my wont and I therefore, crave the indulgence of the House to hear me

patiently. I have some constructive proposals to place before the Honourable Finance Minister whom I congratulate not because he, Lala Bhim Sen Sacher, has become the Finance Minister, but because this is the first time in the history of the Punjab that a Congressman has taken charge not only of Finance but one of the most important subjects in the province, namely, Industries.

Mr. Speaker, most of the points that I had in mind for discussion have been explained very cogently and reasonably by my friend Sardar Ujjal Singh and I am thankful to him for having relieved me of my burden to a great extent. Before I take up some of the items discussed in the Budget or some of the suggestions that are uppermost in my thought, I would like to express my opinion on a very important subject which has been already discussed in this House and on which I have been expressing my own individual, independent judgment from time to time. That is the question of nationalisation of industries or otherwise. This question is a burning question of the day, a burning question not only in this country, a burning question not only in Asia, but in Europe and America as well. What should be the relations between capital and labour? I have given a lot of time to the consideration and study of this question and after taking into account the pros and cons and after studying the conditions which are obtaining to-day in industrial countries and particularly after studying the conditions of my own country, of my own province, I have no hesitation in saying that I unreservedly and unconditionally stand for the nationalisation of key industries. I am saying it not as an idealist, I am saying it not by way of any emotion but as a realist, as a practical man who has seen the economic conditions of men, women and children working in the factories and their ways of life; their miseries and sorrows. There is only one solution to overcome all this misery and sorrow and the down-trodden condition of the poor people and that is that all the heavy instruments of industry, should be nationalised. Nationalisation of heavy industry is the only solution. (*Cheers*). I do not know what the views of the Coalition Party on the subject are. The Coalition Party has coalesced for certain things which are common to the conception and ideology and political thought of the three parties. But as I see it and as I have studied the Congress tendencies, the propensities of the All-India Congress leaders are towards nationalisation of industry. I think that most of the Congress leaders in the country favour the suggestion that there should be nationalisation of industries not only in the Punjab but in the entire country. (*Hear, hear*). If this question is ever discussed in this House and this question of the relation of capital and labour is taken up in this House and if there are certain people who advocate the cause of capital, others who advocate the cause of labour or still others who advocate a judicious combination of the interests of capital and labour, then I will get some time to express my own views in favour of the nationalisation of key industries. I have listened carefully to the views expressed by my honourable friend Sardar Ujjal Singh in favour of private enterprise. I say that I appreciate the views of the Sardar Bahadur, I respect his views but I beg to differ from him. (*Hear, hear from the Opposition benches*).

The question which is uppermost in my mind to-day and which by way of suggestion I have to put before the Minister for Finance and Industries is that hitherto the Punjab Government has been going in the matter of industry in a very humdrum, sing-song and halting manner and the Punjab which could develop industrially the most in India, has shown very poor development. The development of industries in the Punjab, in view of the favourable conditions that we have, is at a very sad discount and the first thing that we have to see established in this Province before we talk of industrialisation, before we talk of any advance or any progress in the industry of the Punjab is as to who are the people who are going to run the Department of Industries, who are the people who are going to attend to the growth and development of industries in the Punjab. Are they going to be laymen, are they going to be non-technical men, are they going to be people who have got knowledge only of the administration of the



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Punjab without any special or particular information, knowledge or experience of the growth and development of industries? The first suggestion and the most important suggestion which I have to make to the Honourable Minister for Industries is that he should reorganise, re-orientate, overhaul the Department of Industries. The Department of Industries was established for the first time in India in various provinces under the scheme of the Indian Industrial Commission. It was at the recommendation of the Indian Industrial Commission that the Department of Industries was established in various provinces but there was an auxiliary to that recommendation, there was the more important part of that recommendation and that more important part of the recommendation has been ignored in this province. That was in the first instance ignored in other provinces as well but in most of the provinces now that suggestion has been taken up and finally and practically adopted. What is that? It is that the direction of the Department of Industries should be in the hands of an expert, should be in the hands of a technical man who has got special training and knowledge and experience in the growth and development of Industries. Unless you do that, I would say that there would be no appreciable improvement or growth or development of industries in the Punjab. What has been the policy in this respect which the Punjab Government has been following for the last some years? The practice has been to pick up gentlemen from the cadre of the P.C.S., put them in charge and when some gentlemen has been put in charge and when he has gained some experience of that department, then he is thrown away and sent to some other department. In the first instance, what has the P.C.S., got to do with the development of industries? I understand that as a result of some criticism on this matter, they have brought in or are already thinking of bringing in an I. C. S., gentleman. I want to make it clear that I have nothing particular to say against any incumbent, present or future. I am not discussing the merits or demerits, the qualifications, the good points or bad points of any particular individual. I am discussing the whole question on a higher plane, on a higher level and that is the question of principle. The P. C. S. and I. C. S. gentlemen should be in charge of the administration of a town or a district and they should not be placed in charge of the Department of Industries. When a patient is sick when he is suffering from some disease, what do you do? Do you bring in a P. C. S. do you call in an I. C. S.,? No, you send for an expert, a man who understands the aetiology, the pathology, the treatment of the disease. You call in a doctor. When the industrial health of the province is suffering, would you call a P. C. S., or an I. C. S., or men of that sort? No, you have to call a man who understands the industrial disease, who knows industrial aetiology, industrial pathology and the treatment required for the cure of the disease.

Let us take another instance. There is the Agriculture Department in the province. It is in the hands of an expert who has got special knowledge and experience of agriculture. The Agriculture Department is being run mainly by people who know their job. Agriculture and industry are two sides of the same order, two aspects of life, each equally important, and not only that, but inter-dependant. Agriculture depends upon industry and industry depends upon agriculture. You cannot have amelioration of agriculture without industry and you cannot improve industry without improvement of agriculture. Can you to-day put up agriculture on a scientific footing without machinery, without scientific implements and modern implements? No, you cannot do that. But you cannot get these things unless you manufacture them in this country, that is to say, unless you improve your own industries. That is why a great economist has said that agriculture in itself is an industry. So what is true of agriculture is also true of industry. If the Agriculture Department is being run by a person who has specialised in the art and science of agriculture, there is no reason why the Department of Industries should not be placed in the hands of those

gentlemen who are technical men, who are not non-technical laymen, but who are experts in their line. My honourable friend, Sardar Ujjal Singh was complaining of paucity and shortage of technical people in the Department of Industries. I endorse his views and go a step forward and say that those people should be placed at the heads of the Department. This is working to-day in Bengal. Not only in Bengal and Bombay, but in almost all other provinces and even in all the civilised countries of the world, which have made improvements on most scientific and modern lines in industry, this system has been adopted and is already working. They are the skilled and technical people and experts who run the industries of England, Germany, France, Russia and of all other big countries. There you cannot have this state of affairs that people are placed in charge of a certain thing which they do not know, which they do not understand and which is not their subject. There are technical men who are in charge of this department. Therefore, I ask here that we should follow the instances of other industrially advanced countries and other provinces and that we should have technical experts here not only in the department but also at the head of the department.

Then, sir, I come to the question of industrialisation of the Punjab. It has become a fashion to-day to clamour for industrialisation of countries. I am going to state my own peculiar views on the subjects. I am glad that I have come here as a representative of certain people and thereby I am afforded an opportunity to give expression to my reactions and susceptibilities on the subject. They may be very peculiar, they may not be acceptable, they may be unwelcome to both sides of the House, but I claim to have my individuality. I claim indulgence of the House to listen to me for a short while very patiently on the subject of industrialisation. For the last many years I have given my thought to the question of welfare of men, to the happiness of men and therein the question of industrialisation cropped up as the most important factor which has to decide as to whether industrialisation is good for men or not. Now that there is a Congress Minister in charge, the Congress which is committed to a peculiar kind of policy on this subject, has to take note of this thing that no longer in this House, a gentleman who would express strange views be called a crank. If I am dubbed as a crank, I would not bother and it would not influence my views, because I feel that a crank is one who thinks ahead of other people. I am not one of those who are fascinated by the common slogan of industrialisation. When I say industrialisation I mean large scale industrialisation. I am not one of those who are wedded to the principle of large scale industrialisation. Large scale industrialisation has brought ruin and misery to Europe and America and the last war was the direct result of large scale industrialisation and consequent imperialism, jingoism and expansionism. What about life in a country which is so much industrialised? Men, women and children have been crushed by the machinery of industrialisation. They have no spirit or soul of their own. We the legislators accept all things that come from the West as very important things. We should consider those things on their own merits in the light of the most diabolic war that has ever taken place in this world. When there is so much war, so much conflict between capital and labour, so much misery, no fresh air in the cities which are industrially advanced, what is the use of such industrialisation? After all, industrialisation is for man and man is not for industrialisation. This is one thing which I would beg the honourable members to consider that ultimately every human activity should be conducive to the happiness of men. Large scale industrialisation has not proved to be conducive to the happiness of men. You may or may not agree with me but as a student of human affairs I am giving my own reading of the situation in the world and am trying to profit by the conclusions of wide awake philosophers and great thinkers of Europe in particular, who have now, as a result of this war, condemned excessive industrialisation. The other day I was reading an article by a great modern thinker who was at one time a great exponent

[Ch. Krishna Gopal Dutt.]

of industrialisation. He has now revised and changed his opinion. But leaving aside that, as a realist and as a practical man, I have to realise that there is no complete escape from some sort of industrialisation.

(At this stage Mr. Speaker left the Chair and Sardar Ujjal Singh, Chairman occupied it.)

We discuss certain things on the plane of philosophy as idealists, but when you deal with human beings, when you deal with the stern realities of the situation, when you deal with practical facts, and particularly when you deal with the grievances of human hearts, which have taken place on such a large scale, one has to come down to realities and fact. As a realist I do believe that there should be some sort of industrialisation.

But what kind of industrialisation do we want in our country? I declare it not only on my own behalf but on behalf of the entire Congress party not only in the Punjab but in other provinces, that the nation-wide organisation of the Congress stands for the revival and re-orientation of cottage industry. Now that a Congress Minister is in charge of industries, it is his job and it is his duty to see that the poor people get work, who otherwise perhaps will not get employment in industries and mills owned by private people, just as there was complaint that a whole community is tabooed from certain mills. In cottage industries this question will not arise. Most of the people in villages, in whose interest we recommend cottage industry are poor people and most of them are, as you know, Muhammadans, for instance, weavers. Some of the members here profess great solicitude for poor men, particularly if they happen to be Muslims. But may I ask those gentlemen, who always take up the cause of the poor Muslims, whether they have ever attended to the grievances of the weavers? (Sardar Shaukat Hayat-Khan: Who moved the adjournment motion at Delhi?) Talking is not acting. If a man who has got soft corner and a tender heart for the poor Muslim weavers what is the first thing he will do? He will wear the cloth woven by those weavers. By that you can give practical shape to your sympathy, if it is genuine and sincere. In the first instance, the weavers do not get sufficient yarn. Nowadays there is so much want of cloth that everybody would welcome even hand-woven cloth. In the present crisis of cloth, *khaddar* is playing an important part. Nowadays I have seen even big traders obliged to wear handspun and hand-woven cloth, whether of mill or *charkha* yarn. Here is our Congress Minister, there are other Ministers also. So far as this thing is concerned for me the position remains the same, and that is why I appeal to one and all that if you want to set an example before the province, if you are really interested in the revival of cottage industry, it is the duty of every member of the House, who is a representative of the people, who calls himself a representative of the poor man, to wear cloth woven by the weaver and thus encourage cottage industry. You will thus be setting an example to all those people who do not wear cloth made in cottage industries, and you will also be renovating the whole nauseating atmosphere of Lahore. There are those modern girls, for whom I have the greatest respect and regard for their liberal ideals and for their education, but some of them who become butterflies, will cease to be butterflies and will become simple in their dress if you set an example. While discussing the question of cottage industries I would ask the Minister for Industries to be very courageous in this matter, because the Department of Industries has not got any great love for cottage industries. So far as industries are concerned, this Budget is a most disappointing Budget. When the Budget was prepared certain things were not before the Punjab Government. It was only day before yesterday that I listened to a very important statement which Sir Archibald Rowlands, Finance Member of the Government of India made in the Central Assembly. When you raise the question of the

development of large scale industries or the development of small scale cottage industries the chronic plea put by the Punjab Government before the House is the lack of funds, that there was no money ; more money for the Police but no money for the development of industries. In this connection I would draw the attention of the House as well as the Ministers for Finance and Industries to the fact that in order to solve this problem of finance if they look to the report of the Resources and Retrenchment Committee, they will find that many new sources of income have been tapped particularly for the purpose of development of industries in the Punjab. They should take account of all this. The second thing I may suggest is that if they have got no money they can raise a loan in the province. I am sure the people of the Punjab will respond heartily and readily. The most important thing, however, is that there may not be any need either for raising a loan or of giving effect to the recommendations of the Resources and Retrenchment Committee, because the Government of India have announced 50 crores of rupees to be given to the provinces and I figure out that out of 50 crores, the Punjab will get round about 10 crores for the materialisation of the schemes which the Punjab Government have prepared.

Now that we are going to get this amount of 10 crores what are we going to do with that money? Some years back the Punjab Government appointed a committee called the Planning Committee—very high sounding words indeed! The Punjab Government was very keen on planned work and it was for this reason that a Committee was appointed. That committee have been sitting from time to time. Although they have not come forward with any report but we have been reading meagre press reports about the sittings of the committee. If any report has been published the Punjab Government has not taken any notice of that report and has not considered the schemes formulated by the Committee. Was it not a waste of time and money?

**Mr. Chairman :** The honourable member's time is up.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** Now you have started criticising the Government, please sit down. (*Laughter.*)

**Chaudhri Krishna Gopal Dutt :** I was under the impression that I had been allotted full one hour. However I have to cut short my speech now and I will take only a few more minutes, I would ask the honourable Minister that he should open weaving and spinning centres and that there should be a net work of weaving and spinning centres all over the province. He can take a cue from the Branch that the All-India Spinners' Association have opened at Adampur, where men and women of All communities are working. Such centres should be multiplied. I would suggest it to the Honourable Minister in charge of industries to go there and ask his Director of Industries also to visit that place. The most important thing is the development of cottage industries. The Honourable Minister should tour the whole province for this end in view, so that the Government may be able to ameliorate the conditions of the down-trodden people of the province. (*Cheers.*)

**Sardar Barkat Hyat Khan** (North Punjab, Labour): Sir, I have the privilege of representing labour and I am naturally anxious to say a few words on the condition of labour in this province. We have been hearing so much about the post-war development and industrialisation, but I regret to say that the Punjab Government has no labour policy. It is a pity that those who are the real producers of wealth in the country are being ignored altogether. The condition of labour in our country is most deplorable ; they are half starved, half naked and I fail to see for how long it will be possible for us to treat labour as a commodity in the world market. (*Hear, hear.*) These people after all are as good human beings as we are and they must be given their due place in society. (*Hear hear.*) I have in this connection a few suggestions to make. In the first place, I would suggest that some sort of machinery should be set up to fix the minimum wages. (*Hear, hear.*) It is most necessary because we find that there are exploiters amongst employers. What they do

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that they offer a minimum wage to a labourer and the poor man cannot refuse for fear of starvation because of unemployment. I therefore request that such a machinery should be set up as early as possible.

The next point that I would like to refer is adult education. The Punjab Government at one time took up this matter rather earnestly and I dare say that they met with a certain amount of success. But suddenly their enthusiasm waned—I do not know for what reason—till we find that very little of it is left now. I suggest, Sir, that employers be asked to open classes for the workers at the factories and give education to the labourers during their leisure hours. (*Hear, hear.*)

The next thing I would urge upon the Government is that labourers should be given representation on the local bodies (*Hear, hear.*) I see no reason whatever that if they are fit enough to have their representatives in this House why they should be denied this consideration in the local bodies. (*Hear, hear.*)

The housing problem is a problem of considerable importance and the more so in the case of labourers. We invariably see that these people are made to live in houses where you and I perhaps would not like to put our cattle in. This state of affairs must be removed and I urge that arrangements should be made and steps should be taken by the Government to build standard houses for the labourers. As far as possible the houses should be near the site of the work. I have noticed in some places that the poor workers have to cover something like ten to fifteen miles each way in order to get to the site of work and this naturally puts extra strain and very heavy strain indeed when we take into consideration that the poor man has to put in about 8 hours' strenuous work. I, therefore, suggest that in future the prospective industrialist be asked to take this matter seriously into consideration.

It is a well known saying, Sir, that a healthy body has a healthy mind. If the employer looks after the health of the labourer and his family, it is the employer who in the long run will be the gainer because he will be able to get more work out of the labourer. I go a step further and suggest that provision should be made for maternity and child welfare. (*Hear, hear.*)

The appointment of a labour commissioner is another important point to which I would like to refer. Some time ago the Royal Commission on Labour in India made recommendations to the various provincial governments to appoint labour commissioners. This has been done in other provinces and I fail to understand why the Punjab Government has not cared to implement this recommendation. This appointment, I suggest, should be made as early as possible in the interest of labourers.

Then it would also be desirable to have labour welfare officers appointed at least at large industrial concerns. These gentlemen can be of real value both to the employers and the employees, because they will be looking after the interests of both, and try to keep off disputes arising between them.

Trade unions and collective bargaining should also be encouraged. Of course we have certain trade unions in our province, but they are not serving the purpose which is expected of them. They come into being only at particular occasions for particular purposes. Thereafter one hears no more about them. That is not satisfactory. Therefore Government should see that these unions are recognised at the hands of employers.

I should also suggest that Government should see that collective bargaining also comes into force. This gives a fair deal both to the employer and the employees and I do not see that any reasonable man can take exception to this suggestion. Works committees may also be appointed. On these should be represented the employers

and the employees. Thereby they will be able to ward off many troubles which otherwise will be there.

Then the establishment of canteens. This is another very desirable system which should be encouraged. I can say with personal experience that where these canteens exist, the people look upon them as a very great boon, specially nowadays when we find that all the necessities of life have got scarce in the market. Therefore if these people sell these various requirements to workers at cost price basis, I think they would welcome it also.

Then, if possible, there should be cooked food canteens also for the benefit of employees. This will save them from bringing their food from their homes which gets stale by the time they take it. If they are given wholesome food at the site of factories they will naturally be healthier and happier.

We see that no provision is made for people, for workers I mean, to fall back upon if they are retired from service, even after they have put in 20 or 25 years' service. They are summarily dismissed and they have nothing to fall back upon. I suggest that some sort of fund should be created which should be made over to them at the time of retirement in order that they may live comfortably in old age.

There are cases when an individual falls sick unfortunately for no mistake of his. When he falls ill, he is dismissed from service. This is unfair, and I suggest that it should be seen that these people get some sort of an allowance or compensation during the time that they remain ill.

Again I would suggest that they should be given casual and privilege leave along with the leave which they enjoy once a day every week.

Schools should be opened for the benefit of the children of employees. What happens these days is that they have either to go without any education whatever or they have to go a long distance in order to attend their classes. Big concerns should specially be impressed upon to open schools on the sites of the factories. They should be provided with playgrounds for the sake of recreation.

Then I come to the question of forced labour. This must be abolished from rural areas. (*Hear, hear*). There are other undesirable customs also prevailing in villages and I will come to them later at the proper occasion when the Government takes up this matter. There are customs which I think should not exist in a civilised country.

Our object in fact in life should be that every Punjabi in this land of five rivers lives with dignity and self-respect, fully assured of the protection of his religious, economic and cultural rights. But I am afraid that the present Government constituted as it is of unusual bed-fellows will not be able to do anything substantial in the matter. I think ultimately it will be the Muslim League, the largest single democratic party, with other progressive groups in this House that will be able to deliver the goods.

**Mian Muhammad Abdus Salam** (Jullundur North, Muhammadan, Rural) (*Urdu*): Sir, the Honourable Premier had remarked that Japan and Germany had been reduced to agricultural countries from highly developed industrial countries. Does he know that when in the days of Jehangir, the British Ambassadors came to his court, they wrote back to their country that they felt ashamed to present the things to the court which they had brought as presents from their country, because the people here were so advanced in industry? But what is the condition to-day? Not only that this highly advanced country in industry has been made an agricultural country, but also the very mentality of the people here has been changed. They cannot think in terms of industry now. They cannot imagine that articles prepared by their country can also be worth buying. Even literate persons among us when they go to bazar, ask for

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British made things and refuse to buy things made in India. When I was in England I saw there in the shops that foreign articles were marked 'foreign' in red letters as if it was something dangerous to be shunned and avoided. I ask the Honourable Premier: Has he ever seriously tried to bring about a change in the present conditions? Out of 21 crores and 3 lakhs of rupees, only 39½ lakhs are earmarked for industry. That is shameful. He should have given more consideration to this subject, so that we could have made advances in this direction and had been able to come to the forefront. I ask the Honourable the Finance Minister whether he is here to safeguard the interests of the Ministry or to promote the interests of the province. If he is sitting here for the good of the province, why does he not discard this budget which has been termed by my honourable friend Chaudhri Krishna Gopal Dutt, a member of his party, as the most disappointing from the point of view of industry? The Honourable Minister would have done well if he had thrown away this budget as the late Sir Sikandar Hyat-Khan did in 1937 and he could have presented it at a later date by calling a Session of this Assembly. So far as the major issues affecting us in this province are concerned, the Muslim League and the Congress are at one with each other. If both the parties had put their heads together and worked for the welfare of the province that would have been much better. But I see that my friends are riding rough-shod over the budget and want to pass it as quickly as possible, so that they may not feel the necessity of holding another session of the Assembly during the financial year. After the termination of the session, the Ministers will probably begin touring the province and try to win over their opponents by hook or by crook. They have not at heart the welfare of the province but their only object is to strengthen and consolidate their Ministry. (An honourable member: This is political profiteering). Take for instance, the case of industry in this province. Government have established an Industries Department which is an exact prototype of other Government departments. When any industrialist goes to this Department for getting any information or for consultation purposes, he has to wait for hours before he is granted an interview with the officer concerned. I ask, is this the manner in which industries can be developed in this province? What is required is that my friends should have set up a committee of non-officials which should have toured the province and tried to come into contact with the industrialist and after studying their difficulties it should have made its recommendations which should have been given effect to. The officers of the Industries Department being accessible are stiff-necked and they do not give that much help to the industrialists which they should give. This non-official committee which I have suggested above should consist of M.L.A.'s and some industrialists. Let me tell my friends that whatever industries have been established in this province, they do not owe their existence to Government but they are the result of the efforts of the individual industrialists who by undergoing so many difficulties and by overcoming many hurdles have established them. If Government want to promote industries in this province they shall have to overhaul their machinery and I assure them that they will not be able to do so, so long as they continue to follow the present policy. They should see that as compared with other provinces the Punjab is backward in the matter of industries. If they go to Bombay or Calcutta they will find big industrial concerns and if they go farther on to Europe they will find industrial concerns spread over an area of twelve square miles. This Bata Shoe Company, for instance, is spread over an area of twelve square miles. But here, not to speak of twelve miles, can my friends show me any industry which is even spread over an area of one square mile? We have very big resources in this province. As the Punjab is an agricultural country, one can get all the raw materials that one requires. Besides we have vast mineral resources in this province and if Government start research work they can establish many industries. For instance, Gypsum is to be found in large quantities in Thal area and big industry can be established there.

As my honourable friend Chaudhri Krishna Gopal Dutt has suggested, some technical expert should be appointed as the head of the Industries Department and it should not be left to the mercy of laymen or barristers, as has been done in Rawalpindi, where a barrister has been appointed as the Deputy Director of Agriculture. (*Minister for Development*: He is also a barrister.) My friends should know that 86 per cent of the population of this province consists of agriculturists and 85 per cent of the holdings in the Punjab are small holdings. A small holding is even incapable of meeting the needs of a family consisting of six members. After all how can my friends help the agriculturists who form 86 per cent of the population? At present the agriculturists are selling wheat at 12 rupees a maund. If Government had paid some attention to this matter and had established biscuit factories in the province, the zamindars could very easily have got Rs. 200 instead of 12 rupees for a maund of wheat. For instance, biscuits, quaker oats and other things can be prepared from wheat and other agricultural produce. With a very little help from Government these things can be prepared and sold at very high prices which would have not only added to the income of the province but also would have improved the economic and financial position of the peasants.

**Mr. Chairman** : The honourable member's time is up.

**Mian Muhammad Abdus Salam** : My whip told me that I could speak for fifteen minutes.

**Mr. Chairman** : But your time has been taken up by the previous speaker or your party.

**Sardar Dalip Singh** (Lyallpur East, Sikh, Rural) (*Punjabi*) : Sir, unlike other days the honourable members who have participated in to-day's debate have not imported heat into it. Instead they have tried to put constructive suggestions before the House. I, therefore, congratulate my honourable friends Mian Mumtaz Muhammad Khan Daultana, Mian Muhammad Nurullah and you, Mr. Chairman, for raising the level of the debate. So far as the question of industrialisation of the Punjab is concerned, there are no two opinions about it. All sides and all parties, the Treasury benches, the Opposition and even the Honourable Ministers are agreed that the Punjab should be industrialised. But now the question of questions is how to develop industries quickly in the Punjab. It is said that the Punjab is an agricultural country and raw material is abundant in this province and so industries can very easily be set up here. Sir, the foreign Government deliberately did not start industries in this country because they wanted to keep the trade and commerce in their own hands, as they themselves were a nation of shopkeepers. Just as they have converted Germany and Japan into agricultural countries, similarly they played havoc here and to a large extent they succeeded in achieving their objective. If we are alive to-day that is not due to their munificence or mercy but it is due to the fact that our province is a wheat producing centre which sustained us and kept up whatever strength is left in us. Now in the Punjab the maximum limit of production has been reached. If we industrialise our agriculture, even then at the most we can increase our production by 20 to 40 per cent. I agree that that will be sufficient for us and for our families. But we should never entertain the idea even for a moment that our province can prosper by agriculture only. Industries are essential. I personally think that it is only the co-ordination of agriculture and industries that can bring prosperity to this province. There is abundance of raw material and agricultural produce in the Punjab. The Punjabi youths are brave and excellent workers. I remember very well that once the Honourable Minister for Development Sardar Baldev Singh while making a speech in the Cotton Mill of Lyallpur observed that the Punjabis who were working in the mills outside the Punjab were first class workers. Among them are labourers as well as technicians. I can say without any fear of contradiction that if those labourers



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and those technicians are employed in the Punjab, they can contribute a lot in industrialising our province and a day would come when we would be in a position to give relief to the zamindars in *abiana* and land revenue. It is often urged on behalf of Government that the land revenue and *abiana* cannot be reduced. This is quite correct. If the rate of land revenue and *abiana* is reduced the machinery of Government cannot go on. But surely we can promote industries in the province. With the inauguration of the provincial autonomy the subject of industries has been provincialised, but it is our great misfortune that so far the Minister in-charge of the Department of Industries has either been a zamindar or a person who had absolutely no interest in the development of industries in this province. As my honourable friend Chaudhri Krishna Gopal Dutt has suggested, a man with specialized technical knowledge should be put in charge of this department. This is a very good suggestion. I think the head of the Department and the Minister in-charge should be such persons who should have a thorough knowledge of industries and their development. If a person does not know anything about industrialisation, how can he promote industries in this province? I do not know how far the Honourable Minister for Finance, Mr. Bhim Sen Sachar, has any knowledge of industries, but I would suggest that there is one gentleman on the Treasury benches who knows much about industry. If he is appointed as Minister-in-charge of the Industries Department, I think, that will be in the best interests of the province.

I am confident that if my suggestion is accepted by Government, industries will work smoothly. (*An honourable member from the Opposition benches: That will cause friction amongst themselves.*) (*Interruptions.*)

Sir, there has been a remarkable decrease in the holdings of zamindars to such an extent that they have been reduced to five or six *bighas* of land. I am not here alluding to those big zamindars or nawabs, but I am advocating the cause of poor zamindars. Some people advance the argument that prices of wheat have considerably shot up and that zamindars have made huge profits during this boom period, but let me make it clear to the honourable members holding the same view that the increase in the price of wheat has been more than balanced by the increase in their daily expenses due to an all round increase in the market prices.

I do not agree with my honourable friend Chaudhri Krishna Gopal Dutt, who holds the view that large scale industries should not be set up in the province. I am of the opinion that the industries should not only be set up on large scale basis but should also be nationalized, with a view to stopping the exploitation by private enterprise of the capitalists. (*Hear, hear.*) Let me assure the honourable members opposite who have no sympathy for the poor masses, that if the present Government pursues a policy which will encourage a few capitalists of this province to become Tatas and Birlas, then we shall not be prepared to support such a policy of Government.

**Chaudhri Muhammad Hasan:** Then why should not the honourable member break it now?

**Sardar Dalip Singh:** On the other hand, if Government take immediate steps to uplift the down-trodden and the down-cast, we shall strongly support it to perpetuate its existence. Let me confess that we have not forgotten the wrongs done to us by the last Unionist Government. So far as the present Coalition is concerned, the Honourable Finance Minister has promised that he will revise the budget (*An honourable member from the Opposition benches: Will the honourable member please ask him as to when he is going to do it?*) I wish to impress upon the Honourable Finance Minister that while revising the budget he should pay special attention to encourage large-scale industries, so that there may be a remarkable increase in

production. In this connection I would like to suggest that adequate steps should be taken to increase the production of electric power. I have to remark with great regret that the last Unionist Ministry did not pay any attention to improve the industries of the province. (*An honourable member from the Opposition* : The honourable member should know that Sardar Baldev Singh also was a member of the former Cabinet). Let me inform the honourable member that I do not deny this. I quite agree that even he did not do anything in that direction, but the honourable member knows it full well that he was not the Minister for Industries. Sir Manohar Lal, who has been defeated in the recent elections, was holding that portfolio. (*An honourable member from Opposition benches* : So it is old wine in new bottles.)

I wish to draw the attention of the House to this point that recently a meeting of the Industrial Committee was held in Bombay. The Punjab Government did not send their delegates to this Committee. Had they sent their delegates, I am sure the condition of industries would have improved a lot.

It seems that the yearly grant of 29 lakhs of rupees, is mainly spent on the establishment in the form of high salaries, war allowances and dearness allowances. The expenditure exceeds the income. It seems that the Industries Department has no constructive programme to work upon, but is instead engaged in carrying out experiments only, which is undoubtedly deplorable. The last Unionist Ministry has done nothing substantial in this direction. Although the last Unionist Government had a Minister for Post-War Planning, still he failed to justify his existence during the last two and a half years. Unfortunately the former Minister for Post-War Planning, who has now joined the Opposition, is not present in his seat. Otherwise, I would have asked him to refute my allegation. So far as the budget is concerned, I say it unhesitatingly that it has been prepared by the former Cabinet. In this budget one crore of rupees has been set aside for a housing scheme for ex-servicemen. This is all that they could do. I do not think my honourable friend Major Ashiq Hussain should feel elated at this trivial achievement. (*An honourable member from the Opposition benches* : Will, I think, Sir Khizar Hayat Khan has ample reason to be proud of it.)

(At this stage Mr. Speaker resumed the Chair.)

If the present Planning Department does really good and proper planning and endeavours to nationalise the industries, then in that case industries in the Punjab will show rapid progress in no time.

One thing more and I have done. The zamindars of this province apprehend that perhaps the Congress Party which is mainly non-agriculturist is not going to do anything substantial to improve their hard lot. The honourable members opposite advance the same argument against the present Coalition. But I may assure them, with all the emphasis at my command, that as the present Coalition is not a capitalist one and is out to help the poor masses, it will carry on its work successfully. With these words, Sir, I resume my seat.

**Mr. Khair Mehdi** (Jhelum, Muhammadan, Rural) (*Urdu*) : Sir, I want to draw the attention of the House to those soldiers who sacrificed and risked their lives in the dense and dangerous forests of Japan ; who shed their blood in the dreary and barren deserts of Africa. May I know what steps have been so far taken by Government for providing these men with work, either by opening industries or otherwise ? For instance, in Rawalpindi division 95 per cent of the population had joined the Army. What has been done by the Honourable Finance Minister to open avenues for them to earn their livelihood now when the war is over ?

Perhaps the Honourable Finance Minister does not know that a Cement Factory has been opened at Dandot in Jhelum district by the Dalmias. Before establishing this factory, land was acquired from the poor villagers on the false plea that they would be employed in the factory. But when the factory was started, labour was

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imported from outside the district and these poor folk of Jhelum, after being robbed of their landed property, have been made to face want and poverty. May I inquire from the Honourable Finance Minister, that when labour was available there, what justification had the Dalmia people to import labour from outside? Does not the Honourable Minister for Finance realise that those who sacrificed their home, their kith and kin to defend the British Empire, and risked their lives in facing the bullets of the most formidable enemy the world has ever seen, had a greater right to work in that factory, than those imported from outside?

I would like to bring to the notice of the Honourable Finance Minister that in the Director of Industries Department, the pay of some officers has been raised from Rs. 400 to Rs. 1,500 per month. Would it not be advisable to set up an inquiry committee immediately to find out the justification of paying such huge salaries to these officers?

It is an open secret that the Punjab, particularly Rawalpindi division, is very rich in raw materials, but the Punjab Government is making absolutely no use of this bounty of the Providence. Would it not be expedient for Government to utilise the raw material for providing work for these ex-servicemen who have no agricultural land and who are not among those who were fortunate enough to be given squares of land during the election period recently? It will not be out of place to mention here that most illegitimate use was taken of Government owned landed property, by the last Unionist Government, during the recent elections. It is therefore most urgent for Government to encourage industries for the sake of these ex-servicemen who shed their blood to defend the Allies in the last War and are now left without any work to do. Honourable members should not be oblivious of the fact that there would have been no British Empire left, had they not volunteered their services to defend it. In the circumstances, I would earnestly request the Punjab Government to take immediate steps for providing these ex-armymen with some means of livelihood. In this connection, I would like to suggest that the great reserves of oil in the Rawalpindi division, should be immediately exploited with a view to employing these people. With these words, Sir, I resume my seat.

### DISCUSSION ON FOOD PROBLEM

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan** (Pind Dadan Khan, Muhammadan, Rural) (*Urdu*) : Sir, I rise to speak on the food situation as it was decided this morning that half an hour should be devoted for that purpose. In spite of our acute differences with this Government we have decided to co-operate with them to the fullest extent possible in the matter of food, provided they evolve such a method for the working of the scheme which may prove efficacious. As the House is probably aware, our leader Mr. Muhammad Ali Jinnah and our Central organisation have offered their fullest co-operation to the Viceroy. Our Qaid-i-Azam has agreed to serve on the committee which is proposed to be formed with Mr. Gandhi and the Nawab of Bhopal and is willing to work for any length of time every day and even on Sundays. It is a matter of great regret that even that offer has not satisfied the Congress. They have made even such a grave matter as that of food a means to serve their political ends. They have stipulated that so long as they are not included in the Executive Council they shall not be able to help Government in carrying out their food policy.

So far as the threat of famine is concerned, the Muslim League is ready to co-operate fully if Government agree to abide by three conditions. First, that the Food Committee which is to be formed should have the widest possible powers, so that it may not merely be an advisory body but should be able to implement its orders by executive action. In other words, it must have executive powers. The number of

members of the committee and the terms of reference may be settled in consultation with the Leader of the Opposition.

Secondly, that the Food Committee in order to be able to combat black marketing would have to devise ways as to how food grains can be acquired directly at the fields and for this purpose public opinion may be elicited. Moreover, it is very essential that the decision regarding the price at which grain is to be purchased, the terms to be settled with the owner or the tenant, the way in which it is to be stored and where it is to be stored and how it is to be distributed, should be taken in consultation with the representatives of the producers.

I am sorry to say that in spite of the Leader of the Opposition's request to fix some time for a general discussion on the food situation, Government have not done so. They have excused themselves on the plea that very little time has been left now for finishing the business in hand. Our party is prepared to sit for three or four hours to night in order to discuss the food problem. After all one can easily sacrifice one's comfort for a short while for so important a matter. Let me re-iterate that our party is prepared to sit for as long as it shall be necessary to night or tomorrow night, so that honourable members on both sides may have an opportunity to express their opinions on the matter. There is no place for dictatorship in a democracy and a more acceptable and feasible policy can only be adopted after hearing the honourable members' point of view. In this connection, I can assure the House that there shall be no division. The opportunity shall be utilized only for an expression of opinion. I would therefore request the Honourable Leader of the House to fix some time and give all an opportunity for free and frank discussion of this grave issue.

Thirdly, I would like to say a few words in regard to the Civil Supplies Department. I do not think that at the present moment there is any other department which is so notorious for its corruption and inefficiency. Now this is not the opinion of our party alone, even honourable members from the Treasury benches have expressed themselves in the same vein. Because this department has to deal mostly with the public and increase in their power will mean that people will be more at their mercy. It would therefore be in the fitness of things that a central committee be formed with power to constitute district committees composed of members of all communities. The present committees under the Deputy Commissioners do not enjoy the confidence of the people. When they are put under the central committee, they would be more helpful to Government.

In the end, I would beg to submit that we have no political axe to grind and we offer our co-operation with the utmost sincerity. We do not wish that people should die because of our political differences with each other. Mr. Jinnah did not make the acceptance of Pakistan a condition precedent to his offer of co-operation, just as the Congress had made the Executive Councillorship a condition. The gravity of the situation demands that we should sink all our differences and see to it that we do our duty towards our fellow men. As Punjabis, it is our responsibility that none should die of starvation in any of the states or in the country as a whole. With these words, I request the Honourable Premier to give my submissions most careful consideration.

**Mr. Dev Raj Sethi** (Lyallpur and Jhang, General, Rural) (Urdu): Mr. Speaker, although the topic was non-controversial, yet Raja Sahib through a reference to Mahatma Gandhi has compelled me to add a few amendments to his speech. I find that the reason given by him about the refusal of Mahatmaji in providing a joint support, with Mr. Jinnah, to Government for controlling the food situation in the country is absolutely baseless. Mahatmaji wished the country to be declared free first and then to control the food crisis jointly. Sir, I do not want to make any speech. It is, as a matter of course, my duty to amend Raja Sahib so that no member of

[Mr. Dev Raj Sethi.]

the House should have any further confusion about it. I second him so far as the proposal about the food problem of this province is concerned.

Sir, as Raja Sahib has said that local committees for food control should be constituted in towns also. I would like to add one thing more to this suggestion. The proposed committees should not come under the deputy commissioners. They should be independent. Full administrative powers should also be given to them. We know that corruption is in full swing these days in almost all the departments. I am afraid that these committees, in case they come under the deputy commissioner, would unnecessarily delay the process of public aid in the deficit areas. This delay, I am sure, would render all efforts in time of emergency useless. I would, therefore, request that the deputy commissioner and other administrative officers should be left aside while constituting these committees, otherwise it would be impossible to improve the food situation in the province. We are fully aware of the circumstances under which various departments are running at present. If the food situation were entrusted to the deputy commissioners and other officers of the districts, or tahsils, I am afraid this province would never show any good results. With these words I second the proposal.

**Sardar Bachan Singh** (Ludhiana Central, Sikh, Rural) (Urdu) : Sir, I stand here not to make any long speech, but to say a few words about this proposal.

We are all afraid of the calamity that may befall this province due to the scarcity of foodstuffs. I am sure there will be no contradictory view in this connection. We feel proud to say that our province is one of the richest provinces in foodstuffs and holds a marked position in this country. The whole country is at present waiting for our decision in this connection. Our steps in controlling the food situation will perhaps be followed by the other provinces too. I congratulate Raja Sahib for such a valuable proposal. He has put it before the House in right earnest, and at a time when the food problem, not only in this province but throughout the country, has become a question of life and death for our countrymen. It is now time to start our activities wholeheartedly. We should form a united front to guard against this calamity. We should not give vent to political or communal differences. They should not stand in the way of our progress in ameliorating the food situation in the province. There should be no question of Pakistan, Akhand Hindustan, or opposition of the ministry. The only question before us should now be the safety of the whole country in general and our province in particular from the expected calamity of famine.

With these words, Sir, I strongly second Raja Sahib's proposal.

**Sardar Shaukat Hyat-Khan** (South-Eastern, Towns, Muhammadan) (Urban) : Sir, I stand neither to make a long speech nor to add anything to the proposal before the House. I would submit only two things.

In the first place, I will draw your attention to the fact that whereas Mahatma Gandhi refused to co-operate with our Quid-i-Azam in controlling the food situation, we are prepared to join hands with a person like Malik Khizar Hayat. This is due to the fact that we want to save the whole country in general and our province in particular from the famine which is expected in the near future. I think the food problem should have nothing to do with politics. I assure the House on behalf of my party that there will be no interference of political or communal nature with the food situation in the province. All the members of the Opposition party are prepared to give up their political, communal or social differences in the interest of the province. We should somehow or other try to improve the food condition.

In the second place, I would like to say a few words about the formation of the proposed committees. Sir, I want to make it clear before the House that we do not want to have such committees where government officials may be all in all. I have a

## DISCUSSION ON FOOD PROBLEM

good deal of personal experience about such committees and I know their defects fully well. We want to have committees which may be above all official pressure. We want to make them useful to the public. The committees as pointed out by our Qaid-i-Azam should be conferred some administrative powers also, so that they may be in a position to exercise them in emergency.

Sir, it is now time to leave aside all political differences. In this connection I would urge upon Government that even if we are apart from each other on account of our political differences, we should join hands unconditionally for the public good. We should be forgetful of our bias, our ministries and power. It is time to prove ourselves efficient in administrative problems for the help of the poor. We should at least try to have the confidence of those who sent us to this House. The Honourable Premier and the Minister concerned were just now present before the House, but the moment they realised that some problems relating to the poor were going to be discussed in the House, they left their seats. I would ask them whether they realise their responsibility. They should devote some time to the food problem also. It is not an ordinary matter. They should not turn a deaf ear to our requests. It is a golden chance for them to prove their efficiency. We are at their disposal day and night. We want to help the poor through them and give a good return to those at least who elected us to this House. We are the representatives of the public. The Honourable the Premier and his colleagues should bear this thing in mind. It is their duty to satisfy those whom they represent. They should chalk out some programme in order to solve the food problem. They should discuss its different aspects in this House or in private, as they please. But I would request them not to waste any more time. I do not expect any response from Malik Khizar Hayat. My humble submission is, therefore, to the Congress and the Akalis. We expect a good deal of public welfare and good from them.

Sir, I again come to the formation of the proposed committees. Their existence is essential for fair and smooth administration of the province. I urge upon Government to give us some chance for public service through these committees. It is our right to have a share in them. I am sure, the time we get such a chance, we will prove the efficiency of Government and will by the grace of God succeed in ameliorating the food situation in the province.

**Minister for Development** (The Honourable Sardar Baldev Singh): Sir, I am very glad to find that the members of the Opposition benches are prepared to offer their full co-operation in the matter of Food-Supplies, but, unfortunately they have laid some conditions which will put a lot of obstacles in the way. A few days ago, as I said in my reply to the question put by Raja Sahib this morning, I consulted the Leader of the Opposition whether he was prepared to co-operate with the Government in the matter of procurement of wheat in the coming season. Sir, as the House will remember, last year we were in default to the extent of 2 lakh tons of wheat in our exports. We promised to export from this province 610,000 tons of wheat to the deficit areas. In addition to this we also agreed to supply 121,000 tons of wheat products, but I am afraid that for several reasons we were not able to fulfil these obligations. One of the problems we faced was that the Punjab is surrounded by deficit area such as Kashmir, North-West Frontier Province and the United Provinces. The price of wheat in these areas was considerably higher as compared with the price of wheat in this province. The result was that a lot of smuggling took place, and the wheat which we considered enough for export was lost to us in this way. Naturally our exports fell short by about two lakh tons.

**Chaudhri Muhammad Hasan** : Who is responsible for smuggling ?

**Minister** : I do not wish to enter into any controversy with my honourable friend from Ludhiana, who is always in the habit of criticising Government. But if he has

**Minister for Development.]**

the patience to listen to me he will be satisfied that the Punjab Government is not responsible. Another factor is that Delhi area is included in the Punjab for free movement of food-grains. The result is that an unchecked supply of wheat and other food-grains flows to Delhi and from there it finds its way to the United Provinces and other areas adjoining Delhi. I can assure the House that if we had any control on the export to Delhi, this movement to the Provinces would be controlled. The new harvest will soon be coming in and we are considering new methods that should be adopted for procurement of food-grains. There are several suggestions and one of the suggestions made by the Government of India is that a compulsory levy should be imposed on all growers, or on those land holders who possess two squares or more of land. No final decision has yet been arrived at and consultations are going on.

**Chaudhri Muhammad Hasan :** Between whom ?

**Minister :** Between the Government of India and the Provincial Governments. The question does not concern the Punjab alone. It is an All-India question and it has not yet been decided whether there should be a compulsory levy on all the growers or on a certain class of growers.

**Chaudhri Muhammad Hasan :** You have got traders' mentality.

**Minister :** No, we have not. The question before us is how best to apply the procurement system. It was to meet this situation that I approached the Leader of the Opposition, but I regret to say that he refused to co-operate with us. (Sardar Shaukat Hyat-Khan : We have offered to co-operate). Yes, you have offered to co-operate subject to certain conditions. My honourable friend, Raja Sahib has said that the committee which is proposed to be set up to look after procurement and to remove corruption should have executive powers. As far as I am aware there is no precedent whatsoever that an advisory committee had executive powers. This impossible condition has been imposed by the Opposition as a face saving device. Reference has been made by many honourable members opposite about corruption in the Civil Supplies Department. I have several times myself declared on the floor of the House during the four years I have been in office that things are not as satisfactory as they should be.

**Chaudhri Muhammad Hasan :** What action has the Honourable Minister taken ?

**Minister :** The concern of the Government during this period of great anxiety was to make two ends meet. I appealed to the honourable members opposite to give me their co-operation to eradicate corruption.

**Chaudhri Muhammad Hasan :** You dare not take action against your friends. It is because of them that you are here.

**Minister :** As I have said, it was not possible for any Government to give executive powers to an advisory committee. But I assure the House and those who are connected with the Provincial Food Board and the Provincial Civil Supplies Board will bear me out that as in the past the recommendations of those boards have been accepted by the Government as far as possible and if the honourable members opposite now agree to take part in it, the recommendations that the committee makes will be given the fullest consideration by the Government. I am sure the House does not need any more commitment on my part at this stage. I would request the House to bear in mind the fact that food situation is very serious and that the country is faced with an unprecedented famine. I would appeal to them not to put impossible conditions for joining the proposed committee.

My honourable friend Captain Ranjit Singh made an allegation against the Deputy Commissioner, Hissar, that he was forcing the growers to part with their food-grains. I wish to make it clear that no such orders have been issued to the deputy

commissioners or any body else. The deputy commissioners have been instructed to have enough supplies of food-grains to meet their local demands.

**Chaudhri Muhammad Hasan :** What about the Deputy Commissioner, Ambala ?

**Minister :** My honourable friend opposite has made absolutely baseless allegations against the Deputy Commissioner, Ambala. He has allowed no export of wheat to the United Provinces.

**Chaudhri Muhammad Hasan :** I can prove it.

**Minister :** My friend again says that. I challenge him.

**Chaudhri Muhammad Hasan :** I challenge the Development Minister. What I have said is perfectly correct. If I prove it, will he prosecute the Deputy Commissioner ?

**Minister :** For the information of the House I make it clear that not a single pound of wheat has been allowed to go out of the Punjab except with the orders of the Government of India.

**Chaudhri Muhammad Hasan :** Absolutely wrong.

**Minister :** I can only say that my honourable friend's information is incorrect. In the end, I would most earnestly appeal to my honourable friends opposite that they will very kindly consider this question and join hands with the Government to meet the food crisis which threatens the whole of India. (*Hear, hear from the Ministerial benches.*)

**Mian Mumtaz Muhammad Khan Daulatana** (Sialkot, South, (Muhammadian Rural) (*Urdu*) : Sir, a suggestion had been put forward by my party to the effect that in order to give the food problem the anxious care it demands, a meeting should be held either to night or tomorrow night. But unfortunately the Honourable Minister for Development has given no reply to it.

As everybody is aware, Sir, the present food problem is a very serious problem. Therefore it is imperative that it should receive the serious consideration of the House. It is also imperative that a decision should be arrived at, because this problem is not related to any one community; it is the deep concern of every body, no matter what are his political or religious views.

Secondly, by insisting on executive powers being vested in the committee, we want that our decision should be given effect to. These decisions are likely to be of vital importance, because on these decisions and on their enforcement might hang the lives of millions. Therefore it is imperative that we should be able to get our decision put into effect.

I hope the Minister in-charge and his colleagues will see eye to eye with us in this respect and will agree upon having a meeting to night or tomorrow night in order to discuss this highly important subject.

*The Assembly then adjourned till 12 noon on Saturday, 30th March 1946.*





# PUNJAB LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

1ST SESSION OF THE 2ND PUNJAB LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

Saturday, 30th March 1946

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

## STARRED QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

### SECURITIES DEMANDED FROM NEWSPAPERS AND PRINTING PRESSES

\*15. Dr. Gopi Chand Bhargava : Will the Honourable Premier be pleased to state :—

(a) the names of the Newspapers or Magazines and Printing Presses in the province from which securities were demanded from 1st November 1939 to date ;

(b) the reasons for demanding the said securities ;

(c) the amount of security demanded in each case ;

(d) whether any securities were deposited ; if so, in how many cases these were deposited ;

(e) whether any of the securities have been returned or forfeited ; if so, the number in each case ;

(f) whether any appeals were filed against the orders of forfeiture of the securities and, if so, with what results ?

The Honourable Malik Sir Khizar Hayat : (a) (b) (c) Statement is laid on the table.

(d) Yes, in 15 cases out of 30 cases (6 newspapers or magazines and 9 presses)

(e) Securities were refunded in 7 cases (3 newspapers or magazines and 4 presses)

No security was forfeited.

(f) Does not arise.

(a)

(b)

(c)

### NEWSPAPERS AND MAGAZINES

				Rs.
Razakar	..	..	For offending subsection 1 section 4 of the Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act, XXIII of 1931.	500
Islam	..	..	Ditto ditto	500
Adab-i-Latif	..	..	Ditto ditto	1,000
Ajit (Amritsar)	..	..	Ditto ditto	500
Wagt	..	..	Ditto ditto	1,000
Zamzam	..	..	Ditto ditto	1,000
Vir Bharat	..	..	Ditto ditto	2,000
Gram Sewak	..	..	Ditto ditto	500
Mashraq-i-Jadid	..	..	Ditto ditto	3,000
Prakash	..	..	Ditto ditto	1,500
Jang-i-Azadi (Urdu)	..	..	Ditto ditto	1,000
Jang-i-Azadi (Gurmukhi)	..	..	Ditto ditto	1,000
Zishwa Bandhu	..	..	Ditto ditto	2,000
Pritam	..	..	Ditto ditto	500
Acta	..	..	Ditto ditto	500
New Punjabi	..	..	Ditto ditto	1,000
Maaiwaqt	..	..	Ditto ditto	2,000
Qash-i-Jadid	..	..	Section 9 (1) of the Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act, XXIII of 1931.	5,000
Atap	..	..	Ditto ditto	10,000

(Premier)

## NAMES OF PRESSES

			Rs.
Iqbal Barqi Press, Gujrat	..	Subsection 1, section 4 of the Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act, XXIII of 1931.	1,000
Sanai Barqi Press, Amritsar		Ditto ditto	2,000
Muhammadi Steam Press, Lahore.		Ditto ditto	1,000
Branch of the Co-operative Capital Printing Press, Lahore.		Ditto ditto	1,000
Ranjit Electric Press, Sialkot		Ditto ditto	500
Nurani Electric Press, Lahore		Ditto ditto	500
Asha Art Press, Lahore	..	Ditto ditto	500
Misri Electric Press, Lahore		Ditto ditto	2,000
Desh Bhagat Press, Lahore	..	Ditto ditto	2,000
Arya Press Ltd., Lahore	..	Ditto ditto	1,000
Misri Electric Press, Lahore		Section 9(1) of the Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act, XXIII of 1931.	2,000

This information does not include securities which may have been demanded by the District Magistrates under sections 7 (1) and 3 (1) of the Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act, XXIII of 1931, and are automatically refundable after three months under section 7 (2) and 3 (2) of the Act. There has been no case of any such security being forfeited by Government.

**Chaudhri Muhammad Hasan:** Will the Premier be pleased to state what were the grounds on which securities were demanded from time to time from these magazines and newspapers?

**Premier:** For offences under section 4 of the Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act.

**Chaudhri Muhammad Hasan:** Were the offences committed because they criticised the Unionist Party which is gone now?

**Premier:** The honourable member can decide for himself whether it is gone or living. As to the 'offences' these were only precautionary measures. No forfeiture of securities took place. Since the preparation of the list which I have laid on the table, the security orders against *Nawa-i-waqt* have been withdrawn.

## HAILSTORM IN TAHSIL WAZIRABAD

**\*23. Dr. Gopi Chand Bhargava:** Will the Honourable Minister for Revenue be pleased to state whether he is aware that severe hailstorm visited the villages of Bhagwanpura, Rampura, Mansipura and adjoining villages in Tahsil Wazirabad on 3rd March, 1946, if so, the extent of the damage done to the crops by the hailstorm and the steps Government intend to take to afford relief to the sufferers?

**The Honourable Nawab Sir Muzaffar Ali Qizilbash:** Yes. The extent of damage done and of the relief to be afforded will be worked out as soon as *girdawari* work, which is in progress in the damaged area, is over. The Deputy Commissioner is fully aware about the situation.

**Chaudhri Muhammad Hasan:** Will the Honourable Minister please state whether he received a report from the Deputy Commissioner, Gujranwala, that in the Wazirabad Tahsil heavy damage has been done? What was the date when he received the notice or report from the Deputy Commissioner?

**Minister :** I do not remember it off-hand.

**Chaudhri Muhammad Hasan :** Will he make an enquiry as to why the report was delayed by the authorities ?

**Minister :** I will.

**Chaudhri Muhammad Hasan :** Is it a fact that several people from the tahsil saw the Honourable Minister and told him that the authorities were very slow and delayed in submitting the report to Government ?

**Minister :** They did not see me. They might have seen some one else.

**Chaudhri Muhammad Hasan :** I suppose the Honourable Minister has made an enquiry ?

**Minister :** I have, and I am waiting for further information.

**Chaudhri Muhammad Hasan :** When was that enquiry made by the Honourable Minister ?

**Minister :** Some days back.

**Chaudhri Muhammad Hasan :** Does he want to punish the Muslim public ?

**Minister :** The question of Muslim public does not arise in this.

**Chaudhri Muhammad Hasan :** Does he want to punish the Muslim zamindars for not having voted for him ?

**Minister :** They voted for me and I am all for them.

#### BEGAR

**\*24. Sardar Prithvi Singh Azad :** Will the Honourable Minister for Revenue be pleased to state :—

(a) the recent dates on which the Government issued circulars and *communiqués* abolishing the practice of *begar* taken from the Harijans and other village menials and dependents in the province ;

(b) whether it has been brought to the notice of Government that Government officers on tour, more particularly, the police officers, still take such *begar* ;

(c) the action, if any, the Government has ever taken so far against Government officers who were found taking *begar* since the abolition of *begar* ;

(d) the action Government is prepared to take to make it known publicly that Government has abolished the system of *begar* and to punish those officers who still indulge in this practice ?

**The Honourable Nawab Sir Muzaffar Ali Qizilbash :** (a) 31st May 1938, 16th May 1939 and 29th November 1939.

(b) No complaint has been received that Government officials on tour take *begar*.

(c) Does not arise.

(d) Instructions issued in letters mentioned at (a) can be repeated to the Deputy Commissioners, if necessary or press *communiqué* will again be issued on behalf of the Government stating that the practice has been abolished ; the local officials will have their attention drawn to the orders and officials who indulge in the practice will be severely punished.

**Chaudhri Muhammad Hasan :** Is it a fact that *begar* orders issued by Punjab Government were not complied with by the district authorities in the Punjab ?

**Minister :** I have no such information.

**Chaudhri Muhammad Hasan :** Is it a fact that on several occasions this question of *begar* has been brought to the notice of the Honourable Minister, but with no effect ?

**Minister :** It has not come to my notice. If it had, I would have taken action.

**Chaudhri Muhammad Hasan :** Is it a fact that the questioner brought this to the notice of the Premier and the Minister for Revenue and still they did not redress his grievances ?

**Minister :** He did not bring it to my notice.

**Chaudhri Muhammad Hasan :** When was the question tabled ?

**Minister :** I received notice the day before yesterday.

#### AUDIT EXPENSES

**\*22. Chaudhri Zafarul Haq :** Will the Honourable Minister for Finance be pleased to state :—

(a) whether it is a fact that the Examiner, Local Fund Accounts, has got a staff holding qualifications equal to those of the staff under the Accountant-General employed for the audit of Educational Accounts and Treasury Inspections ;

(b) whether it is a fact that the aforesaid audits are entrusted to the Central Government, if so, the expense incurred by the Punjab Government in this connection ;

(c) what expenses the Punjab Government would incur if the audits and inspections were carried out by the staff on the cadre of the Examiner, Local Fund Accounts ;

(d) the reasons for not entrusting these audits to the Examiner, Local Fund Accounts ?

**The Honourable Mr. Bhim Sen Sachar :** (a) The qualifications of the staff doing Treasury Inspection work are somewhat different from those of the staff working under the Examiner, Local Fund Accounts. The qualifications of the staff doing the audit of Educational Accounts under the Accountant-General are, however, similar to those of the staff employed under the Examiner, Local Fund Accounts.

(b) Yes. The aforesaid audits are entrusted to the Central Government. The expenditure incurred by the Punjab Government during 1945-46 is about Rs. 54,600 on treasury inspections and about Rs. 11,600 on audit of Educational Institutions.

(c) As the work of treasury inspections and audit of educational institutions has not so far been done by the staff on the cadre of the Local Fund Audit Department it is not possible to work out exactly the cost which the Punjab would incur in case this work is entrusted to the Examiner. *Prima facie* this would not cost less.

(d) The work relating to inspection of treasuries and audit of educational institutions pertains to Government account and as such has not been entrusted to the Examiner, Local Fund Accounts, who deal with the accounts of non-Government local fund institutions only.

#### \* PUBLIC WELLS CONSTRUCTED OR MAINTAINED BY GOVERNMENT

**\*26. Sardar Prithvi Singh Azad :** Will the Honourable Minister for Education be pleased to lay on the table of the House a list of public wells, *baohies* and tanks constructed or maintained by the Government in the districts of Kangra, Hoshiarpur, Gurdaspur, Simla, Ambala, Karnal, Rohtak, Hissar, Gurgaon, Ferozepore, Amritsar, Lahore, Lyallpur and Sialkot ?

**The Honourable Mian Muhammad Ibrahim Barq :** Two lists of public wells, *baohies* and tanks towards the construction of which grants-in-aid have been given by Government out of the rural sanitary grants and Special Development Fund since 1938-39 are laid on the table.

Such works are not maintained by Government but by the local bodies concerned.

*A list of public wells, baolies and tanks towards the construction of which grants-in-aid were given out of the rural sanitary grants since the year 1938-39 to 1945-46*

Serial No.	District	Village	Drinking water well	Baoli	Water storage tanks
1	Hissar	1. Baragudha	..	..	1
		2. Mohla	..	..	1
		3. Odhan ..	1	..	..
2	Rohtak	1. Lilaheri	..	..	1
		2. Salhawas	1	..	..
3	Gurgaon	1. Singar	2	..	..
		2. Karaora	1	..	..
		3. Dayulpur	1	..	..
		4. Gohpur	1	..	..
		5. Daula	1	..	..
		6. Jharsa	1	..	..
		7. Bhuwapur	1	..	..
		8. Attali	1	..	..
4	Karnal	Pehowa ..	1	..	Tubewell
5	Ambala	1. Narsingarh	2	..	..
		2. Bansowala	1	..	..
		3. Garhi Kotaha	1	..	..
		4. Shakrollapur	1	..	..
		5. Kaliber	1	..	..
		6. Mustafabad	1	..	..
6	Simla	1. Gehar (Kotkhai)	..	1	..
		2. Dalan (Kotgarh)	..	1	..
7	Kangra	1. Bhaleta	1	..	..
		2. Kathal	1	..	..
		3. Tiara	..	..	1
		4. Ghediana	1	..	..
		5. Pandhar Tappa Ugiatta	1	..	..
		6. Khanwar Tappa, Mehla..	1	..	..
		7. Rachho Tappa Sala Singh..	1	..	..
		8. Sanhur Tiha Bindar	1	..	..
		9. Bir Bahrera	1	..	..

*A list of public wells, boalies and tanks toward the construction of which grants-in-aid were given out of the rural sanitary grants since the year 1938-39 to 1945-46—contd.*

Serial No.	District	Village	Drinking water well	Boali	Water storage tanks
7	Kangra—concl'd.	10. Bhalakh Near Gantha ..	1	..	..
		11. Lodhwan ..	1	..	..
		12. Dhabera Tappa Hirn ..	1	..	..
		13. Hathal ..	1	..	..
		14. Jeor ..	1	..	..
		15. Indpur (Ghandian) ..	1	..	..
		16. Indora ..	..	..	1
		17. Drang Bagwara, Manza Samralian. ..	..	..	1
8	Hoshiarpur ..	Nawa Kohlan ..	..	..	1
9	Ferozepore ..	Kattianwali ..	..	..	1
10	Lahore ..	.. ..	..	..	..
11	Amritsar ..	.. ..	..	..	..
12	Gurdaspur ..	1. Karoli ..	1	..	..
		2. Phangholi ..	1	..	..
		3. Bungai ..	1	..	..
		4. Jharoli ..	1	..	..
13	Sialkot ..	.. ..	..	..	..
14	Lyallpur ..	1. Chak No. 695 -G.B. ..	..	..	1
		2. " " 45-G.B. ..	..	..	1
		3. " " 106-G.B. ..	..	..	1
		4. " " 691-G.B. ..	..	..	1
		5. " " 692-G.B. ..	..	..	1
		6. " " 694-G.B. ..	..	..	1
		7. " " 696-G.B. ..	..	..	1
		8. " " 701-G.B. ..	..	..	1
		9. " " 703-G.B. ..	..	..	1
		10. " " 704-G.B. ..	..	..	1
		11. " " 275-R.B. ..	1	..	..
		12. " " 361-J.B. ..	1	..	..

Information as to whether these works have actually been completed or are in progress is not available in this office.

*List of public wells, baolis and tanks towards the construction of which grants-in-aid were given out of Special Development Fund since the year 1938-39 to 1942-43*

District	Village	Well	Baoli	Tank
1. Hissar .. ..	1. Kharakhri .. ..	1	..	..
	2. Majahadpur .. ..	1	..	..
	3. Umra .. ..	1	..	..
	4. Khanda Kheri .. ..	1	..	..
2. Rohtak .. ..	1. Piliaria .. ..	1 (tubewell)	..	..
	2. Harsanda Kalan .. ..	1	..	..
3. Gurgaon .. ..	1. Chita Doongra .. ..	1	..	..
	2. Bisru .. ..	1	..	..
	3. Doha .. ..	1	..	..
	4. Chauma .. ..	1	..	..
	5. Nagiana .. ..	1	..	..
4. Karnal .. ..	1. Habri .. ..	1	..	..
	2. Deg .. ..	1	..	..
	3. Geong .. ..	2	..	..
	4. Umri .. ..	1	..	..
	5. Jundla .. ..	1	..	..
	6. Katla Heri .. ..	1	..	..
	7. Machuri .. ..	1	..	..
	8. Ahmadpur .. ..	1	..	..
	9. Jalbera .. ..	1	..	..
	10. Bubka .. ..	1	..	..
	11. Bakali .. ..	1	..	..
	12. Augaud .. ..	1	..	..
5. Ambala .. ..	1. Arnauli .. ..	1	..	..
	2. Muzafat Khurd .. ..	1	..	..
	3. Rampur .. ..	1	..	..
	4. Sadiqpur .. ..	1	..	..
6. Simla .. ..	1. Chhausa .. ..	..	1	..
7. Kangra .. ..	1. Khejurne .. ..	..	1	..
	2. Tika Phangarh Mauza Bandahu .. ..	..	1	..
	3. Mungla .. ..	..	..	1
	4. Tika Bagh Kuljan .. ..	..	1	..
	5. Tika Harotu .. ..	1	..	..



*List of public wells, baolis and tanks towards the construction of which grants-in-aid were given out of Special Development Fund since the year 1938-39 to 1942-43—concd.*

District	Village	Well	Baoli	Tank
7. Kangra—concd.	6. Bijri .. ..	1	..	..
	7. Tika Dhabrayana ..	1	..	..
	8. Lahra Pucca .. ..	..	..	1
	9. Sarad Dai .. ..	1	..	..
	10. Bhatwani .. ..	1	..	..
	11. Naggar .. ..	..	1	..
8. Hoshiarpur .. ..	1. Badla .. ..	1	..	..
	2. Chak Sadu .. ..	1	..	..
	3. Johlan .. ..	1	..	..
9. Ferozepore .. ..	1. Dabwala Kalan ..	..	..	1
	2. Killiawala .. ..	..	..	1
	3. Gulahgarh .. ..	..	..	1
	4. Dharampur .. ..	..	..	1
	5. Bhullarwala .. ..	..	..	1
	6. Sikhwala .. ..	..	..	1
	7. Tapa Khua .. ..	..	..	1
	8. Baghapurana .. ..	1	..	..
	9. Danewala Satkosi ..	1	..	..
10. Lahore .. ..	1. Lalloh .. ..	1	..	..
	2. Gharyala .. ..	2	..	..
	3. Aulakh Banga .. ..	1	..	..
	4. Chak No. 36 (Tehsil Chunian)	1	..	..
	5. Kachha .. ..	1	..	..
11. Amritsar .. ..	1. Chotala .. ..	1	..	..
12. Gurdaspur .. ..	1. Chur Chak .. ..	1	..	..
	2. Adaltgarh .. ..	1	..	..
13. Sialkot .. ..	1. Loharke .. ..	1	..	..
	2. Kot Kalal .. ..	1	..	..
	3. Kotli Sura Singh ..	1	..	..
	4. Sadra Badra .. ..	1	..	..
14. Lyallpur .. ..	1. Chak No. 275-R. B. ..	1	..	..
	2. Chak No. 141-G. B. ..	1	..	..

Information as to whether these works have actually been completed or are in progress is not available in this office.

**Chaudhri Muhammad Hasan :** Is it a fact that the Honourable Minister has not impressed upon the local bodies so far since the assumption of his office that this is a very urgent matter and that it should be attended to at once.

**Minister :** It will be done in due course of time. I am a new man and it must take time before the matter is decided.

**Chaudhri Muhammad Hasan :** Is it a fact that the Honourable Minister has received information from his office of all the public wells and *baolis* that have been sunk by the Harijans?

**Minister :** Not so far.

**Chaudhri Muhammad Hasan :** When did he receive notice of this question?

**Minister :** A few days back.

**Chaudhri Muhammad Hasan :** Will he kindly give the date when he received it?

**Minister :** I do not remember.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** Will he please state what steps he proposes to take to make sure that these wells are being used by scheduled castes?

**Minister :** The matter is under consideration. It will be done in due course of time.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** The Honourable Minister has said that the matter is under consideration. May I ask him whether he is aware of the fact that the wells which have been already sunk are not being used by the scheduled castes? Has it come to his notice that the wells are meant to be used by the Harijans?

**Minister :** It has not come to my notice so far.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** Will the Honourable Minister of Education be pleased to state whether before sinking these wells and *baolis* he also consulted his colleagues who belong to high Hindu castes?

**Minister :** This was before I took over.

#### COTTON CLOTH QUOTA

**\*19. Lala Behari Lal Chanana :** Will the Honourable Minister for Development be pleased to state the total yardage of cotton cloth quota allotted to this province and the respective percentage of fine and coarse cloth that constitute this quota as also the specification of fine and the coarse varieties included therein?

**The Honourable Sardar Baldev Singh :** The Punjab receives approximately 35,000,000 yards of mill made cloth per month. The percentages of superfine, fine and coarse are approximately as follows :—

					Per cent
Superfine	..	..	..	..	4.50
Fine	..	..	..	..	10.00
Coarse	..	..	..	..	85.50

Superfine cloth means cloth manufactured from yard the warp count of which is 48 counts or finer; fine cloth is cloth in which the count of warp is between 36 and 48. All other cloth is treated as coarse cloth. In addition to this, supplies of handloom cloth are available, and while it is not possible to give precise figures as to the actual quantity manufactured at present, according to the Fact Finding Committee's Report on handlooms published in 1942 the total amount of cloth manufactured on handloom in the Punjab is estimated to be about 10,000,000 yards per month. There are reasons, however, to consider this figure an overestimate.

## PROCUREMENT PLANS FOR THE COMING HARVEST

**\*20. Lala Behari Lal Chanana :** Will the Honourable Minister for Development be pleased to state the full particulars of the procurement plans of the coming harvest which the Government propose to adopt as briefly hinted at a recent weekly Press Conference by the Secretary, Civil Supplies Department ?

**The Honourable Sardar Baldev Singh :** Procurement plans are under the consideration of Government and certain decisions are still to be made. A full announcement of Government's plans will be made as soon as they are completed. It is Government's wish to enlist the full support of all parties in the House for any measures that the present crisis demands.

**Lala Behari Lal Chanana :** In view of the shortness of time left for the coming harvest, can we not rule out a possibility of the introduction of a levy system as referred to by the Honourable Minister in his yesterday's remarks ?

**Minister :** As I have stated there are several schemes under consideration and the question of levy is also under consideration of the Government of India.

**Lala Behari Lal Chanana :** Are Government aware of the experience of the working of the levy system in other provinces, particularly in Bengal, where villagers are reported to have been forced to march to Calcutta and other towns as a result of the enforcement of this system ?

**Minister :** There are advantages and disadvantages of this compulsory levy. There may be certain disadvantages in Bengal but the Government's information is that this compulsory levy in Bombay has done a great deal of good to the growers and the consuming public.

**Mr. Dev Raj Sethi :** Will the small zamindar be exempted from this levy ?

**Minister :** Certainly.

**Lala Behari Lal Chanana :** What methods do Government propose to take to set free the holding of stocks by the zamindars in the light of past experience and as reported at page 20 of the Explanatory Memorandum of the budget for the year 1946-47 in the following words :

"The expectation that it would be possible to make adequate purchases in the months of December and January also did not materialise on account of failure of rains and holding back of stocks by zamindars ?"

**Minister :** As far as that particular reference is concerned, the holding of stock means that on account of the shortage and the panic created about food crisis in India as a whole, the zamindars were not readily willing to part with their produce because they were not sure whether they would get enough of these food grains in the next crop.

## COMPENSATION PAID FOR ACQUISITION OF FOODGRAINS

**\*21. Lala Behari Lal Chanana :** Will the Honourable Minister for Development be pleased to state—

(a) the basis on which compensation in the form of price is paid to various sources for acquisition of foodgrains ;

(b) the reasons for discriminatory treatment meted out to such sources in the matter of fixation of prices ;

(c) why full statutory price is not paid in cases of such compulsory acquisition ?

**The Honourable Sardar Baldev Singh :** (a) The price paid for frozen wheat acquired by the Punjab Government has been calculated in all cases as follows :—

(i) The maximum price at which purchases were made by the official purchasing agency (f. o. r. station of despatch) on despatch pass terms during the month in

which wheat was pledged with the bank minus four annas per maund to cover expenses and losses in transporting stocks from godowns to stations of despatch ; plus

(ii) Carrying charges (to cover godown rent, deterioration during storage insurance charges, etc.), at the rates at which and calculated in the manner in which, payments are made in the case of purchases made by the official purchasing agency on storage delivery terms.

(b) As the stocks were pledged by the parties concerned in different months and the period of storage also varied, the carrying charges and the total price payable to them could not be uniform in all cases. There was no discriminatory treatment at all ; the same principles were applied to all.

(c) The rates paid have been calculated to give a reasonable profit to the owners of stocks. To have paid the statutory maximum would have been to award an excessive margin of profit and thus to condone hoarding and speculation. The statutory maximum price is in no sense a guaranteed purchase price.

**Chaudhri Muhammad Hasan :** Will the Honourable Minister please say in how many cases food grains were obtained from the zamindars compulsorily ?

**Minister :** This relates to the stocks which were pledged with the banks.

**Mr. Dev Raj Sethi :** Is the Honourable Minister aware that in certain cases this fixation of price meant a definite loss to certain dealers ?

**Minister :** I am not aware whether or not certain dealers have suffered loss so far as the price fixed is concerned.

**Lala Behari Lal Chanana :** Will the Honourable Minister kindly give sympathetic consideration if such cases are brought to his notice ?

**Minister :** Yes, provided they are genuine cases.

**Chaudhri Muhammad Hasan :** Have the zamindars suffered any loss ?

**Minister :** The zamindars I am afraid often stand to lose.

**Chaudhri Muhammad Hasan :** And yet you are the champion of their interests ?

**Minister :** Yes.

#### CONSTRUCTION OF PUNJAB WELLS, ETC., BY DISTRICT BOARDS

**\*25. Sardar Prithvi Singh Azad :** Will the Honourable Minister for Public Works be pleased to state—

(a) whether it is a fact that various District Boards in the Province have been spending a part of their income on (i) the construction of new public wells, *bawlies*, tanks and reservoirs ;

(ii) the repair and maintenance of tanks, wells, *bawlies* and reservoirs built at private expense and dedicated to public use ;

(b) if the reply to (a) be in the affirmative, whether he is prepared to furnish a statement of the amounts which have been spent by the various district boards from 1936 to 1945 ?

**The Honourable Chaudhri Lahri Singh :** (a) Yes.

(b) The preparation of such a statement would necessitate all the district boards in the province having to look up their records for the last ten years. I should prefer not to put them to that trouble unless it is clear that the collection of the information will really serve some useful purpose. If having regard to this point the Honourable Member would still like to have the information, I will cause it to be collected.

## UNSTARRED QUESTION AND ANSWER

HARIJANS IN THE P.E.S. AND SUBORDINATE EDUCATIONAL SERVICE

**M. Prithvi Singh Azad :** Will the Hon'ble Minister for Education be pleased to state :

(a) the ratio fixed for the Harijans in the Provincial Educational Service and Subordinate Educational Service, respectively;

(b) whether there is any Harijan in the Provincial Educational Service at present, if not, the reasons therefor and the action Government intend to take in the matter of giving the Harijans their due share in the services mentioned in (a) ?

**The Hon'ble Mian Mohammad Ibrahim Barq :** (a) There is no ratio fixed for Scheduled Castes in the P. E. S. of the 30 per cent proportion fixed for Hindus in the S. E. S. 2½ per cent posts are reserved for members of the Scheduled Castes.

(b) No. The policy of Government in the matter of communal representation is well known and every effort is made to give due representation to every community.

**SUPPLEMENTARY STATEMENT OF EXPENDITURE (THIRD INSTALMENT)  
FOR THE YEAR 1945-46 AUTHENTICATED BY THE GOVERNOR**

**Minister for Finance** (The Honourable Mr. Bhim Sen Sachar) : As required by section 81 of the Government of India Act, 1935, I lay on the table the supplementary statement of expenditure for the year 1945-46 authenticated by 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 1945-46, which specifies :—

(a) the supplementary grants made by the Punjab Legislative Assembly in its Session held in March 1946, and

(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 revenues of the Province.	Total
		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1	7—Land Revenue .. ..	12,31,130	..	12,31,130
2	8—Provincial Excise .. ..	3,98,020	..	3,98,020
4	10—Forests .. ..	29,30,210	27,750	29,57,960
5	11—Registration .. ..	12,470	..	12,470
6	12—Charges on account of Motor Vehicles	1,27,150	8,280	1,35,430
7	13—Other Taxes and Duties ..	24,86,450	..	24,86,450
7	XVII—Irrigation—Working Expenses ..	..	..	..
8	18—Other Irrigation Expenditure financed from Ordinary Revenues.	18,56,700	89,320	19,37,020
10	22—Interest on Debt and other obligations ..	..	7,88,200	7,88,200
11	25—General Administration .. ..	25,69,830	2,09,930	27,79,760
12	27—Administration of Justice .. ..	6,66,910	..	6,66,910
13	28—Jails and Convict Settlements .. ..	1,36,540	12,650	1,49,220
15	29—Police .. ..	25,87,100	90,040	26,77,140
15	37—Education (European and Anglo-Indian Education)	30,740	3,370	34,310
16	37—Education (excluding European and Anglo-Indian Education).	14,72,960	20,140	14,93,100
17	38—Medical .. ..	5,25,240	68,970	5,94,210
18	39—Public Health .. ..	9,29,140	14,370	9,43,510
19	40—Agriculture .. ..	..	17,709	14,700
20	41—Veterinary .. ..	1,39,200	7,230	1,46,430
21	42—Co-operation .. ..	2,31,020	11,460	2,32,480

## SUPPLEMENTARY STATEMENT—concluded

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 .. .. .	29,95,210	..	29,95,210
24	Buildings and Roads—Establishment Charges.	3,10,860	15,460	3,26,320
25	52—Interest on Capital Outlay on Electricity Scheme.	..	25,300	25,300
26	XLI—Electricity Schemes—Working Expenses.	3,52,300	..	3,52,300
28	81-A—Capital Outlay on Electricity Schemes (outside the Revenue Account).	9,06,900	..	9,06,900
29	54—Famine .. .. .	14,25,670	..	14,25,670
30	55—Superannuation Allowances and Pensions.	4,94,670	..	4,94,670
31	56—Stationery and Printing ..	2,36,620	..	2,36,620
32	57—Miscellaneous .. .. .	52,42,490	75,330	53,17,820
..	63-A—Expenditure on Post-War Reconstruction and Planning.	13,06,810	35,100	13,41,910
..	63-B—Expenditure on Post-War Development Scheme.	..	..	..
33	82—Capital Account of other Provincial Works outside the Revenue Account.	8,61,000	..	8,61,000
..	85-A—Capital Outlay on Schemes connected with the War, 1939.	30,69,200	..	30,69,200
34	Advances not bearing interest—Advances Repayable. Loans and Advances bearing interest—	3,73,000	..	3,73,000
35	Loans to Municipalities and Advances to Cultivators.	42,48,550	..	42,48,550
..	Loans to Government Servants ..	..	..	..
9	68—Construction of Irrigation Works ..	10	..	10
14	47—Miscellaneous Departments ..	10	..	10
22	43—Industries .. .. .	10	22,169	22,170
..	72—Capital Outlay on Industrial Development outside the Revenue Account.	10	..	10
26	Charges on Electricity Establishment and Miscellaneous Expenditure.	10	8,700	8,710
27	81—Capital Account of Civil Works outside the Revenue Account.	10	..	10
	GRAND TOTAL ..	4,01,44,150	16,39,690	4,16,83,840

LAHORE :

The 27th Marc 1/46

B. J. GLANCY,

Governor of the Punjab

## DEMANDS FOR GRNATS

## INDUSTRIES

**Mr. Speaker :** The House now will resume discussion on the demand for Industries.

**Khan Bahadur Sheikh Karamat Ali** (North-Eastern Towns, Muhammadan Urban) (Urdu) : Sir, my friends want me to launch this day's debate in the House. I must begin with the introduction, and I hope you too will appreciate it.

مَروغان قاف درازند آئین پادشاهی

Let me explain this Persian verse. Falcon is the king of all the birds, but there is one defect in it. That defect is that it eats up small birds. But those who live on the 'Qaf' mountain know how to rule. That is why they do not eat the small birds. They feed themselves on the fruits only. To-day this Coalition Party is in power here. They are the rulers to-day. I am afraid the habits of to-day may prove troublesome to them to-morrow. If this Government will not take any step for the good of the masses to-day, their rule will prove troublesome for them to-morrow.

Now I will state a few fundamental principles which every Government that wants to do something for the people, must always keep in view. These are the first essentials of a good Government and all statesmen agree on this. Every Government worth the name must keep them in view and act upon them if it wants to be remembered with respect and kindness. The first thing is that all the resources of the land must be utilised to increase the wealth of the country. Secondly, the existing means must be employed in such a way that neither the poor nor the rich suffer any loss and both feel that the Government is their own. The third and the most important of all the principles is to keep in view the greatest good of the greatest number.

At the time when this Coalition Government came into power, there were two sorts of feelings in the Province. One was that of disappointment and the other of hope. Not only the Muslims but many Hindus too felt very dejected and disappointed. They said how could the Congress, a progressive body pledged to the freedom of India and the service of the poor, join hands with Malik Sir Khizar Hayat, a reactionary of the worst type? They therefore concluded that the Congress will not be able to do any work in the company of this reactionary element, except lowering its esteem among the masses. But those of them who were after power were pleased by this combination. They were of the opinion that everything is fair and lawful, provided it brings power in the hands of the Congress.

Let us now judge this Government from what they have done up till now. The first achievement of this Government is this budget, which was unfortunately presented by them to the House. This is perhaps the only budget which lacks a policy. Read it out from one end to the other, you will find that no policy of Government is laid down in it. It is unique in this respect. Even the demobilised soldiers, their families and other victims of the present war, who played an important and honourable part in order to bring victory to the crying world, have been criminally ignored in this budget. No provision has been made for them. No scheme has been put forward to solve this urgent and important problem. The attitude of the present Ministry reminds me of another Persian couplet.

رنگ او بر جا بماند خورجی او دیگر شد

The verse explains what will be the result if a horse and a donkey are tied together. The result will be that though the horse will retain its colour, it will certainly learn some of the habits of the donkey. I do not mean any disrespect to anybody. I only wanted to explain by means of an example. So the Congress Party, during the few days it has remained in the company of those reactionaries, has also learnt some of their typical habits. The other day we proposed that enquiry be held into the conduct of those officers who are alleged to have helped the candidates in the recent election, but the Congress opposed and rejected it. Look at the Congress opposing such a fair proposal, which is the foundation of all reforms. You cannot bring about any reform in any sphere, whether Education, Public Health or Police, without this fundamental change in the mentality of the officers. They admitted that the officers were thoroughly corrupt, but when we asked them to take action against them they refused.

**Mr. Speaker :** Please come to Industries soon.

**Khan Bahadur Sheikh Karamat Ali :** I am coming to it, Sir. This digression is only to prove the point. As I was saying that proposal was rejected by the Congress with contempt. This attitude of the Congress disappointed many of its friends. They were disillusioned. Malik Khizar Hayat could not dare take any action against those very officers whom he himself had asked to act against law, and Malik Khizar Hayat is the leader of the Congress. Therefore, the Congress was forced to oppose this demand. That was exactly the fear of the people. They knew that any coalition with Malik Khizar Hayat will not be able to act in the interests of the people. It is bound to be a reactionary Government with Malik Khizar Hayat in it. Therefore the sooner he is turned out of it the better it will be for the Congress and for the people of this province.

Now I come to Industry. This Government had neither any policy before nor has it any policy now. I am sure it will never have a policy in the future even. Industry is the most important subject in the world. Had Government paid any heed to it, tens of thousands of rupees of this province would not have gone out. Unfortunately, the late Government did not care to take it into consideration. They did not make use of all the resources of the province and invest money on Industry. You can imagine, Sir, what will happen here after demobilisation. When the soldiers coming back do not find work, they will certainly take to crime. The Government should establish Industries in order to provide work for the unemployed.

Now here are the names of the districts where industries have been developed to some extent. They are Sialkot, Multan, Muzaffargarh and Gurdaspur. In Gurdaspur district Batala is particularly famous for its industries and for its very fine artisans and workers, who during this war have created a name for themselves, but nobody cares about them. No one appreciates their worth. It is indeed very unfortunate that it has never occurred to these Ministers to promote and develop industries in these areas. If they had done so that would have provided livelihood to those poor people who work with their own hands. If Government or the Ministry had paid some attention to this need of the people, we would not have fallen to such depths as we have. Besides, that would have also obviated the necessity of maintaining a large number of Police under whose protection the Premier is passing his days.

Now, Sir, I divert your attention to the textile industry and I will tell you what has been and is the policy of Government in regard to it. I think that nobody, not a single honourable member can deny this fact that since the time this popular Ministry has come into power, since the time this democracy has been introduced, since the time the British have stood aloof and have watched us from a distance as spectators, this Government has not done anything to encourage textile industry in this province. The textile industry is divided into four branches, i.e., the staple or artificial silk, cotton, yarn, woollen and pure silk industries. I will take them one by one. In the first place



(K. B. Sh. Karamat Ali)

there is the staple yarn industry. Now I ask, has Government taken any steps to see that those people who used staple yarn in their small industries, who were living on this industry, get the necessary supplies to meet their urgent and pressing needs? Before the war these poor people who plied these industries depended for the supplies of staple yarn on Italy and Japan. Unfortunately war broke out and consequently all imports were stopped. The result was that those who used staple yarn were deprived of its supply. When these poor people were despaired of getting its supplies from the open market, they took to the black market and purchased staple yarn from the hoarders of this commodity at such high prices which even fancy could not conceive of.

**Chaudhri Krishna Gopal Dutt :** These are the sins of the past Government.

**Khan Bahadur Sheikh Karamat Ali :** I am talking about you. After all you should take some steps to show how vigilant you are. I am talking of the state.

Now I come to the cotton yarn industries. Cotton yarn was mostly needed by weavers in villages. I would not call them weavers because a person does not become low in status by doing a particular trade. They are artisans. They manufactured *khaddar* and other coarse varieties of cloth and thus they were making their living. Instead of supplying cotton yarn to them Government did not move in the matter at all and have done nothing up till now to meet the needs of these artisans. These, my friend says, are the sins of the past Government. But what atonement has this Government put forward for the sins of the past Government? I say not only has this Government not put forward any atonement, it has actually aided and abetted in continuing those sins inasmuch as it has stopped work on all post-war planning schemes which should have been taken in hand immediately. I ask, could not my friends have done anything in this behalf?

**Chaudhri Krishna Gopal Dutt :** It shall be done, otherwise we will not be here.

**Khan Bahadur Sheikh Karamat Ali :** I know there is a great difference between your talk and your actions. When it comes to that you definitely deny it. But thank you very much all the same.

Thirdly, there is the woollen industry. Just like cotton yarn woollen yarn was also not available anywhere. There are two places where woollen cloth is manufactured. One is Amritsar and the other probably is Lahore. These are the two places where woollen cloth is manufactured. Then there are the pure silk industries. Pure silk has practically disappeared from the market and it cannot be had anywhere. I assure my friends that the finer the yarn is, the more is it liked by the poor artisan because it secures his livelihood. If my friends take a birds' eye view of Japan, although at present it has lost all entity, they will find that the secret of the progress of the people of Japan was that they took to industry and their government rendered all possible help to them. There the small farmers had not more than an acre and a half of land and it was very difficult for them to make their living. What did these farmers do? They started breeding silk-worms in their small agricultural farms. That was their hobby and with that they earned their living. The government helped them and rendered them financial assistance and provided ways and means to them for disposing of their raw produce. That was how the government helped the people to increase their incomes. It is a great misfortune that this Government has not taken any step in this direction. What is the policy of Government in regard to textile industry? It is absolute indifference. What Government should have done is that they should have installed weaving plants at their own expense and encouraged the peasants to work in their leisure hours. If Government had done that that would have saved the artisans from the clutches of the capitalists who at present eat away all the fruits of their labours. My friends claim to be the well-

wishers of the poor but in fact they are not. Their actions belie their professions. Although they profess to be against the capitalists, in fact they are their supporters. They simply blurt out that they are up against the capitalists in order to win the sympathies of the poor and thus they want to gain popularity among the masses. In fact their sympathies are with the capitalists. We all know that the poor artisans toil and sweat, but it is the capitalist who mainly appropriates the profits. For instance, the poor weavers and artisans get all their necessities such as yarn, etc., through the *mahajans*. What the *mahajans* do, when they give advances to the poor artisans for purchasing yarn is that they deduct something from the money advanced by way of interest and other charges. Then when the artisan manufactures the article he again has to sell it through the same capitalist. Here also the major part of the fruit of the artisans' labour is appropriated by him. This is how the capitalists are playing havoc with them and my friends do not pay attention to it. In fact they are helping the capitalists to become richer and richer at the cost of the poor artisans. These capitalists are looting the poor artisans with both hands. When the artisans first make purchases the capitalists loot them and when eventually they bring finished articles to the market even then they appropriate the whole profits leaving the poor workers, the artisans as destitute as they were before. It is these *mahajans*, *sahukars* and capitalists, these black marketeers who are becoming fat at the cost of the poor artisans. These artisans are mostly Muslims and the capitalists are the brethren of those who sit on the Coalition benches and therefore, nothing is being done for them. Take another instance. In Amritsar there are small plants where artisans work. There also the same is the condition. While the work is being done by the poor village artisans, profits are mostly appropriated by the capitalists. I ask, has Government taken any step which should have prevented the capitalists from acquiring all the profits? Has it provided any facilities to the artisans, any subsidies which would have freed them from the clutches of the *mahajans*? The answer is in the negative. The result is that their condition is becoming worse day by day.

Now I would like to turn the attention of my friends to the industries at Sialkot. During the war Sialkot has become a centre for sports goods. There also the same state of affairs is obtaining. There also the fruits of the worker's labour is eaten up by the capitalists. There the poor workmen make sports goods in their cottages and then supply them to the leading capitalist firms, which after putting their trade marks on these goods, sell them at exorbitant prices. Pioneer and Darley are two of the many such capitalist concerns. The poor workman makes his goods with the sweat of his brow and the lion's share of the profit goes to the capitalist, who goes on multiplying his wealth by exploiting the ignorance and art of these poor workmen.

There are always three classes in a community: poor, middle-class, and the rich. In our community there is only one class and that is the poor class. This very class, which is the back bone of our industry, is unfortunately a neglected class in our country in general and in our province in particular. Take for instance, the case of Batala. The people of this place have a special aptitude for hardware industry, but still Government have completely neglected to encourage them. They have all the pre-requisites such as raw-materials, machinery and skilled labour for turning out very good work in that line, but still the authorities have grossly overlooked the importance of encouraging them to start an organized mass production concern. Communalism should have no place in the economic development of our country. So far as the problems of the stomach are concerned, the Hindu, Muslim, and the Sikh communities should stand united to fight for a better standard of life.

The present Coalition Government is contemplating to have Industrial Centres at far off places. I think that it will be more desirable to have such industrial centres

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at places which will be within easy approach from almost all parts of the province. The selection of places should be such that all communities can take share in the working of these industries. If for instance, a weaving centre, as contemplated by Government, is established at such a far off place as Kangra, then as there are neither raw-materials, nor skilled labour available there, people will not be in a position to reap much profit, from such an adventure. Multan and Muzaffargarh would have been the ideal places for wool industries. I suppose the Honourable Minister for Education is aware that these places are best suited for sheep-breeding and that wool can be made available in abundance. If Government starts wool industry at Muzaffargarh, then I, am confident it will surpass in production and profit the hosiery factory at Ludhiana, which happens to be the native place of Mian Abdul Haye the former Education Minister. If this is done, I am sure, it will be helpful to Muslims as well as other communities. I wish to appeal to the Honourable Education Minister that he should bring this point to the notice of Government, with a view to ameliorating the hard lot of the poor people in general and the Muslims in particular. In fact he should make it a point to impress upon Government to set up a centre for wool industry in Muzaffargarh. It will not be out of place to mention here that Government cannot afford to reject his proposals. His proposals will be accepted by his Cabinet without any hesitation. In this connection I am reminded of a couplet which runs as follows :

مہربان ہو گئے بلا کر مجھ چہ ہو جس وقت  
میں کراؤں وقت نہیں ہوں کہ پھر آ بھی نہ سکوں

**Pandit Bhagat Ram Sharma** (Kangra West, General, Rural) (Urdu): Sir, in the year 1937, when Provincial Autonomy was set up, the leaders of the various political parties in that Assembly, chalked out a programme which promised great industrial improvement in this province. Later on we were dis-illusioned, when we found that nothing substantial had been achieved in that direction. They also set up an economic committee, which had some very distinguished people as its members, to guide the industrial and economic development of this province. No doubt they realized the great need of concentrating all their efforts on improving the industries, but I do not exactly know as to how far they succeeded in giving a practical shape to their intentions. A year later, during the Budget Session some of the honourable members of that House proposed that Industrial Survey and Planning should be undertaken with a view to improving the industries in the province. So far as industrial planning is concerned, Mr. K. T. Shah, submitted a report in the year 1941, which if followed, would have taken this province a long way towards industrial advancement. So far as Industrial Survey is concerned, I know it is in progress. Even in my own district Industrial Survey is being done. I am strongly of the opinion that so long as Industrial Survey and Industrial Planning is not undertaken, the Province of the Punjab will continue to lag behind industrially. (An honourable member from the Opposition benches: But who is going to do it?)

An honourable member from the Opposition benches in the course of his speech said that no industrial centre should be opened at Kangra. Let me inform the honourable member that his proposal cannot be carried out unless it is supported by an overwhelming majority. (An honourable member from the Opposition benches: Perhaps the honourable member has not fully understood the implication of that proposal). Let me make it clear that I am trying to reply whatever little I have followed from the honourable member's speech. (Loud uproar).

**Mr. Speaker:** Order, order!

**Pandit Bhagat Ram Sharma:** Let me inform the honourable member opposite that the selection of a place for the establishment of any industry is primarily based upon the opinion of the technical experts. They never overlook the factors like the availability of raw materials, skilled labour, machinery and transport, while selecting a place for any such industrial adventure. I suppose their opinion carries much more

weight than the objections raised by my honourable friend in this connection. Moreover, it is the business of the department concerned to see which place is best suited for various types of industries.

It is really deplorable that industrial survey has not been completed for the last seven years. This way we cannot expect any appreciable industrial development in our province. The Punjab Government asked Mr. K. T. Shah to submit a report for the industrial planning of this province. Although no time limit was suggested to him by Government for removing the defects in the then existing industrial scheme of the province, still because of his great insight into the industrial possibilities, he submitted a very highly technical report which he envisaged would remove all the defects within a period of ten years. But so far the programme followed by the former Government for improving the industries in this province has been very unsatisfactory. Now that we have a new Government in the province and a congress member as the Finance Minister, I would strongly appeal that the whole industrial scheme should be over-hauled and greatly improved. Government must try to finish the preliminary industrial survey in not more than a year so that a tangible and a technically complete programme can be followed in the near future for the uplift and advancement of the industries in the province of the Punjab.

Sir, so far as the finance of the province are concerned a comparative study of the Receipts and Expenditure for the last ten years will help us to understand the real state of affairs as it exists to-day.

In 1935-36 the total revenues in lakhs amounted to Rs. 10,86, in 1936-37 to Rs. 11,02, in 1937-38 to Rs. 11,68, in 1938-39 to Rs. 11,17, in 1939-40 to Rs. 11,69, in 1940-41 to Rs. 12,81, in 1941-42 to Rs. 14,91, in 1942-43 to Rs. 18,53, in 1943-44 to Rs. 21,20, in 1944-45 to Rs. 23,01, in 1945-46 to Rs. 2,263 and according to the present Budget they stand at Rs. 21,30. Likewise the expenditure in 1935-36 was Rs. 10,40 lakhs, in 1936-37, Rs. 10,72 lakhs, in 1937-38, Rs. 10,81 lakhs, in 1938-39, Rs. 11,62 lakhs, in 1939-40, Rs. 12,06 lakhs, in 1940-41, Rs. 12,07 lakhs, in 1941-42, Rs. 13,06 lakhs, in 1942-43, Rs. 13,63 lakhs, in 1943-44, Rs. 15,59 lakhs, in 1944-45, Rs. 17,43 lakhs, in 1945-46, Rs. 21,33 lakhs, and the estimated expenditure this year will be Rs. 20,83 lakhs.

Now it is a noteworthy fact that since 1935 the share allotted to industries has been as follows :—

## In lakhs

## In lakhs

## Rs.

## Rs.

1935 .. .. .	17.5	1941 .. .. .	22.7
1936 .. .. .	14.0	1942 .. .. .	26.0
1937 .. .. .	19.1	1943 .. .. .	28.7
1938 .. .. .	19.1	1944 .. .. .	21.5
1939 .. .. .	18.1	1945 .. .. .	35.5
1940 .. .. .	20.4		

and it is proposed to spend Rs. 39.8 lakhs during the coming year. These are the figures for the past ten years. Now if expenditure on Industries goes on in this ratio, I am afraid no industrial progress worth the name can be made even within a hundred years. It will not be out of place to mention here that after the preliminary stage is over, the Punjab Government will have to provide much more money if they seriously intend to speed up industrialization. Anyhow there is no gainsaying the fact that the work of the Industries Department so far has been most unsatisfactory. Without proper industrial planning the province cannot make any progress whatsoever. Industries are to agriculture as seed is to the soil or as flower is to the bush. In other words

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they are inter-related. If we speak of industry in the province, we must of necessity think of agriculture as well. My honourable friend Sheikh Karamat Ali had in the course of his speech mentioned various places in the province where certain industries could be started. That is what Industrial Planning means, but it is better left in the hands of the experts who would decide where a particular industry should be situated. So far as my own district of Kangra is concerned, the people being poor there is an abundance of unskilled labour, which can easily become skilled after some training. The standing grievance of my district is its lack of means of transport. I have repeatedly invited the attention of the Government to this great need, but so far I have not been able to move them into action. Just as agriculture and industry go hand in hand so do communications and transport have a great bearing on industry. Even before Industrial Planning and Survey are completed, Government ought to give their fullest attention to the removal of this great drawback of my district, so that in any future plan Kangra can prove its use with the rest of the province. Raw material in the form of wool is available in considerable quantities.

I am not unmindful of the fact that there are certain checks like that of limited funds, on the industrial policy in this province. Still collaboration is possible with other province within these limitations. Government should do their utmost to remove the flaws in the Act. They should grant subsidies, chalk out a new plan and pay more attention to industrial research. The Store Purchase Department also needs an overhauling badly, so that its slackness may be rectified.

I had still many things to say but my time is up and therefore with these few words I resume my seat.

**Rana Abdul Hamid Khan :** (Pakpattan, Muhammadan, Rural) (*Urdu*) : Sir I would like to say something about the cut motion under discussion. I want to make this point clear that through this cut motion we want to criticise neither the Government nor the Industries Department. We want that through a thorough discussion on the Industrial Policy of the Government, the seal of silence may somehow be broken and the views of Government known about this department. We know full well that Government have been silent whenever there has been any question on the floor of this House in respect of it. Why do they not express their views about the policy of this department? What is the hindrance after all? Is it not meant for the good of the public? Under these circumstances, we consider it our duty to point out such grievances of the poor which have not so far been brought to the notice of Government. At the same time we consider it incumbent on the part of the Government to reveal their policy to the public with a view to have their co-operation. They should have the public support for the maintenance of their power and prestige.

Sir, the problem of industries requires special attention at present. We find that all sorts of facilities are accessible within this province, and there is a bright scope too for the development of certain industries. It is now for the Government to chalk out some programme for helping the poor. We know that until and unless Government feel interested in developing some industries or in making adequate arrangements for the guidance of those who find themselves in a better position than Government themselves to carry on certain industries, no advancement is possible in this respect. Government should now give up their passive attitude. They should take some steps towards the industrialization of the province. The present state of affairs regarding industries in this province is highly deplorable. We observe that if a person to-day comes forward with a big capital to start some industry therewith, he finds neither any scope nor any guide to set him on the right path. Hence no encouragement. Even if he finds a guide in some government official to advise and help him, we see that in such a case Government show him no favour. As a result thereof he has to look for an astrologer to guide him in his objective. At length the astrologer too helplessly says :

ابن را کہ مے روی بہ ترکستان است

Under these circumstances I do not find the least possibility for the industrial development of this province. How can it be possible in such a state of affairs? Sir, I find that Government do not pay heed to our proposals. I must say at the same time that it is not for our personal interests that we are submitting these proposals. We come here to help the poor and approach Government on their behalf. We are not for personal interests like so many members of the Coalition Party. We are to raise the voice of our voters against the misdoings of Government. We will bring their grievances to the notice of Government. It is a pity that they are not moved at all by our proposals. In this connection I remember a verse:

وصل کی پہلی شب یونہی بسر ہو جائیگی  
آپ جب تک ہاں کرینگے یا سحر ہو جائیگی

Sir, now I come to the economic condition of the province. We know full well that the economic condition of the province is going from bad to worse. In view of this state it is incumbent upon the Government to think out some constructive schemes and give them practical shape as soon as possible. In these schemes men from all communities should be included. The Government should make necessary arrangements for the welfare of the backward classes. I do not think it wise on the part of the Government to entrust the new schemes to such persons who are already millionaires and whose wealth gets multiplied through such contract. These contracts show that instead of the public good, personal interests are preferred by Government. Nobody would be prepared to appreciate this policy. It is a pity that when poor people claim certain privileges as a right, they are ignored and their place and rights are given to those who do not deserve and are not poor at the same time. This Government is bent upon providing facilities and entrusting beneficial schemes to millionaires, thus leading to the multiplication of capital which is of little use to the poor. In this connection I recollect a verse:

اوج بخت ملاقی اُنکا      چرخ ہفت طباقی اُنکا  
مہفل اُنکی ساتی اُنکا      آنکھیں میری دہی اُنکا

Sir, I would make a request to the Honourable Minister for Industries about the percentage of Muslims in this department. I find that the Muslims are below their representation in this department. I consider therefore the development of industrial taste highly essential amongst the Muslims. The Government should consider this point immediately. I find that the Muslims hold a nominal share in this department. It is shameful on the part of Government to say that the Muslims do not take interest in industrial pursuits. How strange it is! Is it not through inefficiency and prejudice that they have deprived the Muslims of their full share in this department? They intentionally block their way in order to discourage them, and when they get disgusted with it Government begin to say that they have no aptitude for this line. How pitiable it is! I have not been able to follow why the Muslims of this province have failed in preserving their rights. To-day it is crystal clear that there are some underhand intrigues going on against the Muslims of this province, which have rendered the present Government helpless to set them on the right path. How is it that the Honourable Minister failed to guide such a nation properly? What is the root cause of it? It is perhaps through the insincerity and crookedness of the Ministers in charge that the Muslims have been backward in all walks of life. It is to-day that they are a bit awake politically, and realise their position in this country. They have gathered together under the banner of Muslim League for the preservation of their rights. When the Government find them increasing in strength they too now pose to be the well wishers of the Muslims. They are trying their level best to console them through mere lip service and promise to provide all facilities for the Muslims. But if someone were to ask them when all this would be practicable they become deaf and dumb. I would

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tell them that if they really want to do something for the Muslims, they should give practical shape to their schemes. Are they awaiting for a miracle to happen which might reform the Muslims overnight? I observe that mere lip service would not help them. This province would never make any progress until and unless some subsidies are provided especially for the Muslims and other backward classes. I do not want to make all these suggestions exclusively for the good and amelioration of the Muslims. Government may, if they so desire, provide similar privileges for the backward Sikhs and Scheduled Castes according to their percentage. In this connection I would like to submit the following suggestions.

In the first place I wish that the largest possible number of industrial schools be started in the province in the area, where the population is large and agricultural facilities less. In these schools the percentage of the Muslims, Sikhs and Scheduled Castes should be fixed. I have seen with my own eyes that in the present schools there is no consideration of percentage. If the Honourable Minister concerned were to be a bit more careful, I am sure the industrial taste would definitely attract the Muslims to these schools and they will soon make up their representation.

In the second place, I would suggest that necessary instructions should be issued to the industrial concerns, that while recruiting the new employees they should keep in view the percentage of different communities. The Muslims should be given their due share.

My third suggestion is about the factories. In this connection I would mention that there are some factories where the Muslims are not considered at all for any appointment. Such factories should be directed to accommodate the Muslims, and the defaulters properly punished.

Fourthly, I would point out that the grant allowed to this department has a very small share for the Muslims. I would, therefore, ask Government to see that the majority community should get a major part of this grant.

Sir, Chaudhri Krishna Gopal Dutt in his speech delivered yesterday mentioned that a patient would always require a medical practitioner for treatment and not a P. C. S. or an I. C. S. Officer. Similarly the industries require such doctors and experts, i. e., technicians, who are well versed in their treatment. These technicians I suggest differing from my honourable friend, should be advisers to the Director of Industries\* who should invariably be a Muslim. Besides that, I would say that the technical advisers should be made available for all the industrial institutions. In case the Muslims are not available. Government should arrange for their training and thus make up the deficiency in their percentage. I think this is a matter of equal importance for the development of industrial aptitude amongst Muslims and until and unless Muslim technical advisers are there in their respective percentage, it would be difficult for the Muslims to go to such institutions in large numbers.

After this, I come to the formation of the committees in connection with the industrial planning. I would urge upon Government that the respective share of the Muslims and other communities must be kept in view, for as you know full well the Muslims are now well up in every walk of life. They are now prepared to take any steps for the preservation of their rights.

Sir, so far as the cotton mills are concerned, I observe that in the first place there are very few Muslims who are capitalists. Those who may be called so are not encouraged at all. I would therefore submit that the rights of the Muslims should be guarded properly on this side also. In my opinion if the Government gives a guarantee to the effect that it would buy all the unsold shares, the people would themselves be induced to invest money.

Then there is another way in which Government can be of help in promoting industries. That is, that Government should guarantee a certain percentage of profits of a certain concern. In other countries this method has been employed with great success. Therefore I think the earlier it is started here also, the better.

Another matter about which I would like to make a few submissions relate to the cottage industries. As you must be aware, sir, the majority of the people who run these industries are Musalmans, but those who take away the lion's share of the profits are non-Muslims. I would advise the Government to intervene in this matter, so that the poor labourer may get better reward for his labours. For instance, a friend of mine told me the other day that in Hoshiarpur where cottage industries manufacturing 'patkas' and 'lungees' are run, cotton yarn used to be distributed to a limited number of weavers. Those who were in charge of this work exploited those poor fellows to such an extent that an article for which they paid them Rs. 7 brought them something like Rs. 25. For the last six months no cotton yarn has been distributed and these poor weavers are finding it difficult to keep their body and soul together. Representations have been made in this connection, but to no avail. Their dire need demands particular attention. I would suggest that the Co-operative Department should be asked to give some aid to these industries. Every effort should be made to revive these industries through which these poor people derive their livelihood.

Then there is another matter to which I must refer. Just as we have to see British capital exploiting us here and taking away the profits back to Britain, similarly we do not relish the idea of foreign capital exploiting this province. Something must be done in this connection. To cite an example the conditions prevailing in Okara, Lyallpur and Montgomery are known to everybody here.

I would like to make one more submission. Lest anybody should be laboring under any misunderstanding, I would like to make it clear that by what I have said I do not mean that those ahead in industry should be pulled back or discouraged. Nothing of the sort. Only if those ahead in industry realize the fact that the way to industrial development is not through monopoly, they would be quite welcome. Only if they live and let others live, they should receive every help and encouragement they deserve. (Cheers.)

**Lala Bhagwan Dass** (Commerce and Industry): Mr. Speaker, Sir, this is the first time in the history of the Punjab Legislature that a middle class business-man and small industrialist has been returned as a member to the Commerce and Industry constituency. Previously the seat was usually held by Europeans or some one else. However, I assure my industrial brethren and business people that I will try my best to safeguard their interests in this House. I am sorry to say that some of the members tried to import communalism into the discussion on industries. I can say that our interests in the industry of this province are common and we should not enter into communalism as far as this subject is concerned.

I now come to the cottage industry. Our Government has not provided sufficient amount in the budget for this industry to make a rapid progress. I wish the Government had given more money for this purpose as the Punjab is fortunate in having mineral resources and other raw material from which we can make many things on a profitable basis. As far as this industry is concerned, I have got my personal experience of Japan and other countries where I have been many times on business tours. I can safely say that the success of Japan was mainly due to her cottage industries. This is also the case with Germany where 50 per cent of her industry was taken up as cottage industry. Moreover those two countries, as you know, before the world war were not faced with unemployment or other labour problems. When I went to America there were strikes and when I went to England there was labour unrest but I did not see any strikes



(Lala Bhagwan Das)

or unrest in Japan and Germany and this was mainly due to their taking up cottage industries. If, therefore, the Government puts its mind into this question, it will bring a lot of good to the province especially during these days when demobilisation is on and we shall be getting a lot of skilled and unskilled labour. If we can give them work fully it will add to the prosperity of the province and the standard of living of our province will also be raised.

I would like to say one thing more. The Punjab Government in my opinion — and that is the opinion of other industrialists with whom I discussed — should try to develop an industrial area on the Grand Trunk Road say up to Batanagar. We find such things in Delhi and U. P. where they have guaranteed electricity, water-supply and better housing and other facilities for the labour. By doing this Government will be encouraging setting up of new factories which will in due course of time bring happiness to the province.

As far as the control of the Industries Department is concerned, it must be controlled by those people who know the industry themselves and the head should be a man with a lot of technical knowledge. Agriculture and industry both are for the good of the Province and we have got to give more money, as I have already said, for the development of industry along with agriculture.

As for the suggestions made by my honourable friend Sardar Barkat Hayat Khan for the betterment of labour, I quite agree with him that better conditions must prevail in the industrial areas in our Province and conditions in factories must be improved for the betterment of the lot of labouring classes. I have seen those conditions, to which he made reference, prevailing all over Europe in pre-war days and I hope that my industrial friends who have done something so far for the betterment of labour, would try to do more and bring happiness to the labouring classes. With these words I finish my speech.

**Sheikh Sadiq Hasan** (Amritsar, Muhammadan, Urban) (*Urdu*): Sir, I can declare without any hesitation that as far as the Department of Industries itself is concerned, it is working quite satisfactorily. I hold the Punjab Government responsible for all defects and shortcomings. The Director of Industries is an able and hardworking gentleman and he is doing full justice to the job. I can personally say that the Government is solely responsible for the entire industrial backwardness. As far as the Muslim Ministers are concerned, I can say that neither are they doing anything nor are they capable of doing anything. I want to tell them, sir, that the progress and prosperity of nations solely depend upon industries and commerce. I can quote the example of England. Its entire greatness is due to its unique industrial position. In spite of all the advantages the Punjab possesses, our Government is doing nothing in this field. It is not a hidden secret that at one time India used to be a great industrial country. Indian cloth used to have a wide market and received in foreign countries very handsome prices. But our English masters destroyed our trade and industries altogether and for their own benefit they totally upset our trade and industries. Ultimately we lost everything in this field and now have reached the present miserable state of affairs. I want to remind the Government that if serious attention is not paid to this aspect of our national life then the pressure on land will go on increasing. At present it has become intolerable and it should be decreased at all costs and should not be permitted now to increase in any way.

Now I want to know from the Government as to what have they done for the ex-soldiers. Did they make all the promises to make them fodder for the cannon only. (*Interruptions.*) But Sir, I do not know whom I should ask all these questions. There is only one Minister in his seat and he too is a new comer. (*Interruptions.*) I again repeat, my previous question as to what have you done for the ex-soldiers. When these ten lacs will come back, what do you intend to offer them? It ought

to have been your first and primary duty and by this time you ought to have placed this matter before some special committee meant for the purpose and all your proposals ought to have been ready by this time. But to our bad luck you have done nothing, so far in this direction and God knows whether you are going to do anything in the future or not. Everybody in the House knows that the Muslim community is very backward in the economic and other social fields and our Hindu brethren are trying to give us the status of Achhuts in economic fields. I want to assure them that all their combinations will totally fail and the Musalmans are not prepared to accept that position. There is no doubt that the Hindus have taken an earlier start and to-day we are not even ten per cent in this field but now the All-India Muslim League has inspired us with new life and greater vigour. In the industrial field whatever to-day my friend Mian Mumtaz Daultana said was totally correct.

I agree to the proposals of my friend Mian Mumtaz Daultana to a large extent. The Government of China is already acting on these lines. It has proposed to take charge of all the industries. Why should only a few richmen derive benefit out of the industries of the province? I want everybody, the Hindus, the Sikhs and the Muslims to derive benefit from them. I am not against the Hindus. What I want is that the poor among the Hindus should also get the fruits of industry. Only a few rich Hindus should not be allowed to reap all the benefit. Although Government has decided that 40 per cent of the shares to go to the zamindars, I am sure that within one year all these 40 per cent shares will be in the hands of the Hindu capitalists. Let the Hindu capitalists, who are already advanced in industry, take their proper share but they should not be imposed on our heads like *devtas*, nay, like the devils.

Now I would like to bring to the notice of the House the benefits of the state control on the industries. The first effect of it will be that all the communities will begin to take interest in industry. Secondly, as it happens generally, the managers will establish their own small industries, which will be a great asset to the province as a whole and to the backward communities in particular. But if only the few capitalist Hindus are allowed to control the industries, it will result in the ruin of all others, and shall continue to create bitterness among various classes and communities.

Now I come to the conditions of the labouring classes in the province. I will say a few words only because the time at my disposal is very short. Now when, the war is over, and the time of unemployment is fast approaching, the Government must take care of the poor labouring classes of the province. Even if the prices of food stuffs are lowered, it will be very difficult for the poor to exist unless the Government comes to their rescue. The Government should buy wheat from the market at the current rate and make it available to the poor at cheaper rates, which the poor may easily afford to pay. Government will say they have no money. I know that. I tell them a scheme, a wonderful scheme, by which they can collect as much as they like. Let them levy a tax on the basis of 'zakat'. They will get sufficient sum and more for this purpose. They can collect billions of rupees and that too, without harming the poor. But the present Government is quite indifferent to the needs of the masses. They are forcing the people in the cities like Lahore and Amritsar to buy rice. This foolish Government does not know this much even that rice is not the food of the Panjabis. The people are paying more and getting ill on account of rice ration. This state of affairs should be ended as early as possible. With these words I resume my seat.

**Sardar Jagjit Singh Mann** (Central Punjab Landholders): Sir, we have been talking of agricultural Punjab and why should we not talk always of it because it is mostly an agricultural province? This is the province which has made us prominent in winning this war in the shape of producing soldiers and food-stuffs. But now, Sir, I think, we should also talk of industrial Punjab because it is necessary in the interest of the economic position of the province. Since the pressure on land is very straining,

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we must lighten that pressure and develop our industries in this province. I heard that industrial survey of the province was taken in hand some years ago and I am really at a loss to understand why the report has not so far been published. We do not know what are the recommendations made in that report. I think nothing practical has been done. I would request the Government to publish that report so that people who are interested in industries should give a healthy criticism. Sir, during the war the industrial production was diverted towards war materials and this gave a great boom to industrialists. But this boom is a short-lived one. Again, the normal position is required and it is this time that the Government should consider it very seriously. I fear that there may not be the same repetition of things which was after the last war. In the last war in 1918 there was a flood of foreign competition which wiped out the industries of this country. I hope that will not be repeated. Sir, one thing has been very clear this time and it is a sort of an eye-opener and that is this that we have realised how much we depend on foreign articles. Even for an ordinary thing we have to depend on other countries. This made us look to our industrial affairs and we were forced to launch ourselves in industry. We should try to stand upon our own legs and develop it. Our province has got a lot of resources. We can have a lot of key industries. I am really sorry to say that the fertiliser industry has been shifted to other provinces. We had a great prospect of it here. It would have been a great paying proposition. There are many other industries which can be developed here, for example agricultural machinery then there is cotton, woollen and textile industry. Then there is paper, pulp and canning industry. I hope that the Government will fully exploit all these resources and develop industries to the utmost.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan** (Pind Dadan Khan, Muhammadan, Rural) (Urdu) : Sir, I am thoroughly convinced that so long as industries are not promoted in our province it cannot become prosperous. That is what I honestly believe and I assure my friends that when I sat on those benches I used to express the same views as I am expressing now. Our outgoing Finance Minister, who was in charge of the Industries Department also, never took any interest for the development of industries in this province and that is the main reason why our province is far behind than other provinces in this respect. Now the first thing, which is perhaps the important thing that I want to stress is that this Department should be kept above communalism and party politics. (Finance Minister : Hear, hear.) The Honourable Minister for Finance is saying, hear, hear, but if I tell him one incident of this department he will probably, hang his head in shame. As he has appreciated my suggestion I will recount to him that incident and I hope that other honourable members will not mind it. I have a little experience and a personal experience of this department and I will tell the Honourable the Finance Minister how in the matter of development of industries the officers of this department indulge in communalism. I am a zamindar and so far, I tell you, I have taken very little interest in industries. It is on account of the speeches of our Qaid-e-Azam, Mr. Muhammad Ali Jinnah, that I became interested in industries. For the past three years he had been exhorting the Muslims in his speeches to start industries. He told them that if they wanted to make Pakistan an economic success they should set up industries. Naturally I was also very much impressed by his speeches and I thought of starting a small industry for the manufacture of table salt. Somebody told me that before the war table salt was imported from abroad and it was not manufactured in any part of India and, therefore, he advised me that if I set up a small factory for the manufacture of table salt I would be doing a great service to India and I would be putting money in my pocket as well. I did not want to start any industry on account of any philanthropic motive. My object was to get some profit in return. Well I decided to set up that factory. Now the question was where it should be started. A factory expert suggested that I should start it at Pind Dadan Khan which in name is a city but in fact is a village. Besides it is situated at a distance of four miles from the Khewra

Salt Mines and I thought that as salt is produced at Khewra, therefore, it would be profitable to start an industry near it. When the factory had actually been established I had an occasion to talk to the ex-Finance Minister, who was in charge of the Industries Department also. He told me that every year Government set apart a sum of Rs. 2 or 3 lakhs in the budget in order to make grants to the small industrialists so as to encourage them to start industries in this province. When I explained to him my whole scheme he liked it and said that Government would certainly render financial assistance to me. (Finance Minister: How much capital did you invest in that factory?) About Rs. 50,000 or 60,000. After all my friends should not expect a zamindar to invest more than that. The question is not that no financial assistance was given to me. But what I want to tell him is as to how the officers of the Industries Department exhibit their narrow mindedness. Well, the Minister-in-charge told me to submit an application for a grant. I did so. An Inspector was sent to make a report. He went there and made a report that everything was all right and that the factory had been established and that it was so well equipped, that one like that was not to be found anywhere in the Northern Punjab. Then the matter came up before the Industrial Board. The Honourable Minister was there and I thought that he would support me and would ask the Board to sanction the grant. But I regret to say that the members of the Board, the nominated members, were such who had not at heart the welfare of the province. They were there only to benefit their friends. That is also one reason. I hope the Honourable Minister for Development is listening, why yesterday when the food question was before the House, I asked him to explain as to what would be the personnel, the terms of reference and the powers of the Food Committee which he proposed to set up. I told him that the Opposition could not agree to serve on a committee which was not invested with executive power. When I say that the committee be invested with executive power, I do not mean to say that it should be given power to nominate or dismiss any body. But what I mean is that the decisions made by it be given effect to by executive power. What is done at present is that the Minister in order to please some of his friends nominates them on such a body and they simply agree to whatever he says. Let me tell him that neither are we accustomed to serve on such committees nor do we want to serve. If the Honourable Minister sets up a regular committee which is also invested with executive power, then we will be prepared to co-operate with him. That was a little digression. Anyway when this matter came up before the Industrial Board the President told the members that an application of a Muslim had been received and although usually the Board did not give any financial aid to a Muslim but as this application had been received therefore, some nominal financial aid might be given to him so that Government could claim to have rendered financial assistance to a Muslim industrialist also. The Board recommended that a sum of Rs. 3,000 be given to me, although I had applied for a grant of Rs. 20,000. As against that men belonging to other communities were given bigger sums even though the factories which they had established were either insignificant or very small. Some of the recipients were actually working in their shops or in their laboratories but money was granted to them liberally. Some received Rs. 20,000, some Rs. 10,000 and some Rs. 5,000 and in this way a sum of Rs. 1½ lakhs was distributed out of which a sum of Rs. 3,000 was recommended for a Muslim industrialist. Now what happened next. In the meanwhile the trouble started between the Honourable Premier and the Qaid-i-Azam in regard to the Unionist and Muslim League parties. The result was that all others got their grants but the grant recommended for me was withheld. So far as I have been able to collect any information about it, the Industrial Board recommended that sum but it was cut down at the instance of the Minister because of the political differences between the Muslim League and the Unionist party. (Interruptions.) Now let us proceed further. Mr. Speaker, for the manufacture of table-salt water is required in large quantities. I applied to the Punjab Government that water connection may be given to me from the water scheme of the city. A water connection was given to me. Now the question was as to what would be the charges for

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the necessary water-supply. I wrote to the Secretary of the Municipal Committee inquiring about the water charges. He wrote back that usually the Committee charged 12 annas per 1,000 gallons but from him the charges would be Rs. 1/10 per one thousand gallon. I thought that now the factory had been established and much money had been spent and that something like 2 to 4 tons of table salt had been manufactured it would not matter if some more expenditure was incurred. I, therefore, agreed that water be supplied to me at Rs. 1/10 per 1,000 gallons. When this proposal went back to the Secretary he said that the rate of water fixed by the Municipal Committee was only 12 annas per 1,000 gallons and if he charged Rs. 1/10 from me the auditor would object. So he advised me that permission to that effect be obtained from the Punjab Government. Eventually the papers went up to the Punjab Government. After going through them a Government order that the water connection be cut off. (*Interruptions.*) I have got a copy of that order with me.

This is not old history. It is within my living memory. Water connection was denied to me on the false plea that there was not enough supply to meet the demand of a newly set up private factory. I was ready to risk any amount of money to start a factory, but Government, for reasons best known to it, refused to give me water connection. I was so much upset at this malicious attitude of Government that I decided never to venture such a scheme in future. One or two weeks later, a Hindu friend of mine—I do claim to have one or two Hindu friends—paid a visit to my factory and he also got an incentive to start one such factory. He applied for water connection and inexplicably enough, he was granted the permission to take a connection, from the same source from which I was denied. I at once guessed that the false plea of Government to refuse me supply of water, was based upon prejudice, personal grudge and malicious intentions of the authorities against me. I sought the help of vakils and threatened to file a suit against Government in the High Court. It will not be out of place to mention here that fortunately the Punjab Government is afraid of the High Court. But for the independent stand of the Judicial Department, the Punjab Government would have made us starve and left us naked. (*Interruptions.*) Later on a friend of mine advised me against approaching the court because Government would easily issue orders for staying the proceedings. For God's sake let not industries in the Punjab suffer because of your dirty ambitions to become ministers for gaining power.

I do not claim to have much experience so far as industries are concerned. But I will in my own humble way, try to place for consideration of Government a few suggestions which I feel will be helpful in improving the industries in this province. Coal forms an important part of the industries, but it is said that there is a great dearth of coal in this province. Coal is being excavated from the Khewra Salt Range, but Government, instead of setting up state-owned factories, financed partly by Government and partly by the poor people of the province, is giving monopolies to those firms which pay large amounts of money as bribe to the authorities. The system adopted by Government in excavating coal is very unsatisfactory. Anybody who comes forward with a capital of Rs. 4,000 can start excavating coal and after getting about 10,000 to 20,000 tons or above of coal sells the same in the black-market at exorbitant rates. So far about 200 contractors have been excavating coal from that range. The authorities do not realize that coal is more precious than gold and that such a vast reserve of energy which could be very usefully utilized for the benefit of the country is too precious to be wasted for their petty, cheap and selfish interests. (*Interruptions.*)

Now about salt. Salt is excavated in the Punjab, but the excavation is controlled by the Central Government. Is it not the duty of the Punjab Government to ask the Central Government what right it has to control the excavation of salt in the Punjab? It is in the fitness of things that a representation should be made to the Central Government to this effect. The Government of India has given a monopoly

to the Imperial Chemical Industry, which is a purely foreign concern, with the exception of one or two Indians, who are its directors in name only. Salt is given to this Imperial Chemical Industry for refining purposes at the rate of six annas a ton, while if we want to get salt for the same purpose, we are given at the rate of rupees two a ton. All this has been done to discourage the poor Muslims from building up industries. Government prefer encouraging the foreign British monopolists rather than help the poor Muslims to build up industries in this province. In this foreign company, most of the high officials have been directly imported from England. There is not a single Indian who has been given a high and responsible post. May I ask whether the Punjab Government has made any representation in regard to this racial prejudice?

**Minister for Development :** The agreement was executed in 1934 and it took final shape in 1937. Therefore, the responsibility is not of the present Government.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** I do not find any difference between the 1934 Government and the present one.

**Mr. Dev Raj Sethi :** Is the honourable member prepared to oppose that contract and ask for its cancellation?

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** I am not opposing that agreement.

**Mr. Dev Raj Sethi :** Is it not clear from this that the honourable member supports the British concern?

**Mr. Prabodh Chandra :** When the honourable member was Parliamentary Secretary from 1937 to 1942, why did he not oppose that contract then?

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** I had asked as many as sixty questions in the Council of State, of which I happened to be a member then.

**Mr. Dev Raj Sethi :** What I want to know from the honourable member is as to what he did when he was sitting on the Ministerial benches from 1937 to 1942. (*Loud uproar.*)

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** I was submitting that monopoly has been given to foreign firms. But I earnestly appeal that instead of giving this monopoly to foreign concerns, Indians and even the capitalist Indians should be encouraged to take the monopoly and all high posts should be given to Indian people. I think this is within the power of the honourable members occupying the Ministerial benches, but it seems that they are not prepared to show any interest in this matter.

There are various kinds of raw materials, which can be found in the province if only proper research work is undertaken in this direction.

If this is done. I am sure the industries of this province will improve to a great extent. Dalmia Cement Factory has been started in our province.

*The Assembly then adjourned till 2-30 p. m.*

*The Assembly re-assembled at 2-30 p. m. of the clock. Mr. Speaker in the chair.*

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** Sir, it is regrettable that the very objectionable practice adopted by the Hon'ble Premier of absenting himself from the House, is now being emulated by his colleagues as well. At a time when the Budget is being discussed, not one of the Hon'ble Ministers is to be found in his seat. I think no greater insult than this can be offered to this august House. It is probably because of the snap ministry they have formed that they have not the guts to come forward and face the Opposition.

Any way, Sir, before this digression, I was submitting that Dalmia Cements had started a factory near Khewra. Now I would like to make it clear that I do not grudge their enterprise. It is rather a matter of gratification to me that more and more factories should be established in this Province. I am not one of those who do not want the Hindus to derive any benefit from industries, because the Muslims

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are not being given their due share in it. We are true to our country and do not feel jealous of any other community's prosperity. Again, the agents of Bird and Co. are also carrying on their research and there is still room for a couple of cement factories. If proper research is carried on, there are many other things besides cement for which factories can be started there. But before any research is undertaken, I would like to know if Government have any intention of pursuing a policy of nationalisation of industries. If they really intend to do so to the exclusion of the capitalists, they would be well advised to formulate the preliminary principles now so that the state ownership of industries may be established. Unless that is done, our Province will not be in a position to make any progress industrially. It is only the privileged few, who would get rich at the cost of the middle classes. My honourable friend Ch. Krishna Gopal Dutt while giving expression to his lofty ideas also mentioned a queer thing that there was no need of machinery. He would probably depend on the spinning wheel for industrial progress! He is still clinging to that obsolete emblem which even Mahatma Gandhi gave up long ago. My honourable friend should know that Mahatma ji is now helping the big industrialists.

**Chaudhri Krishna Gopal Dutt :** We believe in basic industries.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** My honourable friend need not take the trouble of giving an explanation. I know how far he is enamoured of western civilization. Nevertheless I beg to differ from the suggestion made by him that the Director of Industries must be a technical man. The difficulty with a technical man is that he is seldom a good administrator. Technical knowledge is a thing quite apart from administrative capacity. Personally I hold that the Director of Industries must be a man who can control the administration of his department. To make up the deficiency on the technical side any number of technical experts can be employed to assist him. I think it is wrong to cite the example of the Director of Agriculture because even in his case technical knowledge is not so very important, as it is in the case of the Director of Industries. In fact, the latter has to deal with many types of industries, each of which needs a different expert. I would, therefore, suggest that only that person should be appointed as the Director who has administrative experience at his back.

Again, I would submit that only such localities should be selected for setting up industries where unemployment is a major problem. Backward areas like Mitan, Rawalpindi and Ambala divisions, especially the districts of Hissar and Rohtak deserve special attention in this respect. It is a wrong policy to establish industries in close proximity to the towns, because it results in attracting the rural population away from their villages. The best course would be to set up industries in those areas where labour is readily available.

Moreover, subsidies are very essential for small industries. The teagardens at Palampur find it very difficult to compete with the plantations of Assam. It is the duty of Government to come to their rescue by granting subsidies and by setting up co-operative societies.

In the end, I would humbly request my honourable friends to eschew tall talk and to give more attention to the practical side of the issues at stake. They should unequivocally declare whether the Congress stands for the nationalisation of industries or not. There should be no 'ifs' and 'buts' about it.

مگر خاموشی سے نائدہ انخفاے حال ہے  
میں خوش ہوں میری بات سمجھنا محال ہے

My friends should know that it is not going to be easy for them to proceed to their homes after the Assembly is adjourned *sine die*. They will have to contend with the hatred of the people of this Province. The nightingale of the Assembly, Ch. Krishna Gopal Dutt, can break into sweet song in the House but when he has to face the fury of the people he will become tongue tied.

Sir, I consider it my duty to inform Government that running away after the session would not prove that they have been successful in forming a Ministry in this province. They should not entertain the idea that the public is behind them. I would like to bring it home to them that through their oppression the Muslim masses have been compelled to show hatred and contempt for Government. They were already fed up with the Unionist Government, but now they are even more opposed to them on account of the scarcity of food stuffs and hardships created by Government as a result of the election campaign. I would like to ask the Hon'ble Ministers whether they ever dared to hear the complaints and grievances of the public personally, and tried to remove them to their satisfaction. The Hon'ble Ministers have been always busy with their tall talks. I would ask them how many new schemes have so far been started for the good of the public. What have they spent on industries? (*An honourable member* : The Government of India have granted Rs. 50,000 for industries). I would suggest to Government that in order to win the public into their confidence, they should introduce new schemes and provide more funds for their welfare. Lip service, I am sure, would not help them the least. They should be at the same time lenient towards them and should give up their present attitude. Their harshness has led to the creation of hatred and contempt in the hearts of the public. Why should they be harsh towards those whom they represent? What does this oppression mean? Why have they deprived them of liberty which is their due right? How far is it favourable for them? We find Government inclined towards suppressing the Muslim masses, so that they may not be able to protest or raise their voice against Government, and should not bring their grievances to light. They should somehow continue in poverty and starvation and should die in destitution. It is a pity that a few individuals opposite, in view of their personal interests, have converted the free atmosphere of this province into a lock up, where any protest or demand for the preservation of due rights of a community is considered a great crime.

**Mr. Speaker :** Please be to the point.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** Yes, Sir, I was referring to the Hon'ble Ministers that they should always keep in view the fundamental principles. They cannot successfully run the Ministry unless and until they please the public. I find that in Pind Dadan Khan tahsil so much raw material is available that many industries can be conveniently set up side by side. But who cares for it? Look at the Government. They are heedless of the places which are useful for the industrial development of the province. I would, therefore, request them that if not much, they should at least start industrial schools at places where high schools already exist. It would certainly improve the general condition of the province.

Sir, I would like to ask the Hon'ble Ministers whether they consider it a service of the country to live within the guard of armed police. Do they ever think of the soldiers, who after a splendid victory are now on their way home? Is it that they want to meet out a treatment similar to that of the public in general and the Muslim masses in particular? I observe that these people, who at one time were proud of their just dealings, are to-day oppressors in the real sense. Justice wherever it is, I am sure, is exclusively due to us. Sir, just imagine what will become of these young soldiers, who while returning home from the battle-field, hear such speeches. They expect much from this Government. They require facilities and comforts in lieu of their war services.

What have Government done for them? What steps have they taken, especially for the welfare of these soldiers if not for the public in general? Today we see that the civilized world laughs at us. Is that what they call civilization? (*An honourable member* : Where have you been for the last four years? Perhaps you have been sound asleep.) Sir, the honourable member should be ashamed of his question. (*Chaudhri Krishna Gopal Dutt* : Your speech is your own condemnation.) Sir, I admit that it was foolish on my part to sit on the Unionist benches, and for them to go



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behind the bars, but there should be some limit to their selfishness. Their party has now been proved to be selfish in the real sense. I would like to tell them that it is the meanest act on the part of any party in this world to give up its principles. (Chaudhri Krishna Gopal Dutt : It is a pity that you call our imprisonment a foolish act. You should be ashamed of that statement.). I am proud of it. (Chaudhri Krishna Gopal Dutt : Then you are not a patriot). You may call me whatever you like.

**Mr. Speaker :** Please speak to the motion.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** Yes, Sir, I was going to refer to the interruptions made by the hon'ble members opposite, during my speech. These interruptions, Sir, compel me to leave the topic under discussion and attend to their questions first. But I am sorry to say that my replies disturb them very much. It is a pity that they desire freedom under the patronage of the British. In fact, it is nothing. Their main idea is to oppose the Muslims, harass them and try to overpower them. They do not want to see the Muslims making any progress. They want us to be dependent upon them. In other words, they want to make us slaves. How can we tolerate it ? Today when we demand our own independence, they begin to say that we are creating disunity. It is a pity :—

ہم آہ بھی دیتے ہیں تو ہو جائے ہیں بد نام وہ قتل بھی کرتے ہیں تو چرچا نہیں ہونا

Sir, I admit that I committed a blunder in becoming a Parliamentary Secretary for the Revenue and Industries Departments, but just look at these people, who are out and out servants of the Ministry. By these words, I do not want to harass the honourable members opposite, but I would like to reply to those, who referred to our old affairs. I would ask them to have a look at their own state and see whether the policy of the Hon'ble Premier, of which they are so proud, is such as to provide their opponents no chance for the present criticism. Please ask them to forget old references. I admit that I committed a sin in the past, but I would not hesitate to point out that whereas I committed the sin individually, I find that they are committing the same collectively. They can say that I followed a party wrongly, but how is it that a party is following a person, who has no party ?

Sir, I was talking of the Industries Department. Let us leave aside all these contentions. Now is the time for practical work. I know that they have power in their hands, but what is the good of this power if they do not utilize it. They should realize their responsibility and take steps to show some practical work and constructive schemes for the consolation of the public. This is the only remedy for them to recover their lost reputation. They should start industrial schools along with the middle and high classes. We observe that other provinces are borrowing various new schemes from western countries, and developing them to a considerable extent, but our province is unfortunate in this respect. It is making progress towards destruction and devastation under the oppression of these ignorant Ministers.

In the end, Sir, I pray that the present Ministry be reduced to nothingness as soon as possible.

**Minister for Finance** (The Hon'ble Mr. BHIM SEN SACHAR) (Urdu) : First of all I must congratulate my honourable friends Mr. Daultana and Sardar Barkat Hayat for keeping the level of the debate high. The ideas expressed by my friend Mr. Daultana are, with the exception of a few last sentences, in my opinion identical with those expressed on this side. Now, with this identity of thought and with the same aim before us no room should be left for any differences between us. As he has said and as we believe, our primary aim is to create better conditions for the common man.

to increase his income and to give him a few more morsels of food. So far we are in complete agreement and no one can afford to differ from us.

Much has been said about the present condition of industries in this province. Not having been in touch with the department I can not say much about it. But this much I must say that the present condition of industries is far from satisfactory. It is, on the contrary, embarrassing and grave, and demands that no time should be lost in doing the utmost that can be done in this connection.

Sir, Raja Sahib was pleased to remark that we on this side of the House did not follow his line of thought. This indeed is very unfortunate.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** For me too.

**Minister :** He can say whatever he pleases. But I must make one thing clear, and that is that I never give utterance to anything in which I do not sincerely believe. I say what I actually feel. It is for him to take it in whatever light he pleases.

Then, Sir, an oft-repeated charge that is levelled against us is that we have done nothing. True, we have not done anything so far. But please take into consideration the time we have been on these benches. Of course, after some time is past I would not be able to repeat this excuse; after we have had some time and some opportunity to do something, then I shall have either to defend something or to admit my failure about it. So far as the present conditions are concerned, I and my party cannot be held responsible for them. We have nothing to share either in their praise or their blame. Therefore the only thing that I cannot do is to lay before you the present condition of the Department of Industries, and give you a sincere assurance that all that is humanly possible shall be done in order to ameliorate the present conditions.

Raja Sahib was pleased to say that he did not know the position of the Congress with regard to the industries. I tell him what it is. In my hand is a copy of the Handbook of National Planning Committee. On its page 10 we find :—

"Since 1920 Congress has laid stress on hand-spinning and hand-weaving and that emphasis continues. In May 1929, the All-India Congress Committee passed a resolution to the effect that, "in order to remove the poverty and misery of the Indian people and to ameliorate the condition of the masses, it is essential to make revolutionary changes in the present economic and social structure of society and to remove the gross inequalities." This resolution indicates an approval of socialistic theories, but apart from this general approval and some further advances in subsequent resolutions, the Congress has not in any way accepted socialism."

In March 1921, the Karachi Congress passed an important resolution on fundamental rights and economic programme. This resolution contained the following clause :

"The State shall own or control key industries and services, mineral resources, railways, waterways, shipping and other means of public transport."

Then if you turn over page 6 of the Congress manifesto, which has recently been published, you will find :—

"The most vital and urgent of India's problems is how to remove the cause of poverty and raise the standard of the masses. It is to the well-being and progress of these masses that the Congress has directed its special attention and its constructive activities. It is by their well-being an advancement that it has judged every proposal and every change, and it has declared that anything that comes in the way of the good of the masses of our country must be removed. Industry and agriculture, the social services and public utilities, must be encouraged, modernised and rapidly extended in order to add to the wealth of the country and give it the capacity for self-growth, without dependence on others. But all this must be done with the primary object of benefiting the masses of our people and raising their economic, cultural and spiritual level, removing unemployment, and adding to the dignity of the individual."

"For this purpose it will be necessary to plan and co-ordinate social advance in all its many fields, to prevent the concentration of wealth and power in the hands of individuals and groups, to prevent vested interests inimical to society from growing, and to have social control of the mineral resources, means of transport and the principal methods of production and distribution in land, industry and in other departments of national activity, so that Free India may develop into a Co-operative Commonwealth. The State must therefore, own or control key and basic industries and services, mineral resources, railways, waterways, shipping and other means of public transport. Currency and exchange, banking and insurance must be regulated in the national interest."

I will not cite quotations any more. But, Sir, the Congress Party's attitude towards industrial development is crystal clear. I fully accept that the present capitalistic system does not permit weak human beings to exist as human beings. It is not necessary that this system should appear in the shape of mills or factories or mines only. It can take the form of lands as well and the unreasonable and unjust big landlord too exploits the poor tenant and is guilty of other evils which are committed by his fellow capitalists in other fields. It is a human weakness that one tries to exploit other weak persons. Exploitation takes different shapes and forms. Gentlemen, you all will agree with me that this human characteristic is bad and should be destroyed root and branch. I want to tell you, Sir, that in this matter I have not in my mind any considerations either for Hindus, Muslims or Sikhs but I only consider two groups of human beings and they are the "haves" and the "have nots". The other day some Congress workers brought one Musalman to me and complained that the local *thanedar* had snatched away that Musalman's horse and tonga. They told me that he had no other means of livelihood. I may further tell you that that *thanedar* too was a Musalman. I every day see people belonging to one religion exploiting the people belonging to the same religion. We want to make man so strong that he may be able to live in this world without fear from other fellow beings. Come forward and see with your own eyes the extent of exploitation committed by one person upon another. If religion could control this instinct of man then there could not be a better thing but religion has failed to bridle this blind instinct of man. I may tell you that this question does not bear any communal tinge. It is the question of the "haves" and the "have nots". These two groups are to-day arrayed against each other. You can see yourself Sikhs exploiting Sikhs, Muslims doing the same with their co-religionists and the same is the case with the Hindus. We want to free our world from this difference between man and man. My honourable friend, Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din, the other day, while quoting the instance of the Chamber of Prince, said that there communal bickerings are not noticed, because the princes stand for their own personal interests only. Similarly Sir, here we are finding this problem between two groups only and they are the "haves" and the "have nots". We want to combine and unite on one joint platform all those persons who fall in the category of the "have nots" and thus we want to destroy exploitation of one person by another. (*Interruptions*).

My honourable friend Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din is trying to heckle me. If you will examine his bank balances, you will find them in lakhs. He himself is a multimillionaire but so far he has styled himself a "communist" and an upholder of the poor men's cause. (*Interruptions*). I want to submit that this question is not a religious question at all. It is an economic question. It is a question of mal-distribution of wealth and injustice in our social order. (*Interruptions*). We want to exterminate all these differences between man and man. We have not formed this Government for any personal gain but we want to solve these questions which are facing us and are proving obstacles in the way of our progress. I want to assure the House with all the emphasis at my command that if we fail to bring about these changes, then we will gladly submit ourselves before the judgment of the people (*Uproar*). I may tell you that I have got no differences of opinion with you over those subjects which concern the progress and betterment of the Province. I feel sorry when I see that you do not consider a poor man a poor man. You introduce communal controversies and fall in these ugly discussions. I know only one difference and that is between rich and poor. (*Interruptions*.)

**Mr. Speaker :** Please do not interrupt him. He has not given way.

**Minister :** We have such weaknesses, we have such defects that I do not consider it advisable to mention them here. Let us, for example, consider what the former Government did with the poor (*Interruptions*.)

**Mr. Speaker :** Please do not interrupt the Finance Minister. The Opposition benches have been saying all sorts of things for the last two days. Now they should listen to the Finance Minister's reply.

**Minister :** If it can satisfy him, I admit that in shouting I cannot outdo Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din. I was submitting, Sir, that we have to do a lot yet. Do not ask us to-day. "What have you done for the industrial development of the Province, what have you done for the education of the masses, and what have you done for the social uplift of the backward classes of the province"? Kindly keep in view that we assumed responsibilities only a few days ago, and those few days were passed in Ministry forming. Moreover, do not forget what we have inherited from our predecessors. Those whom you call backward classes do not belong to the Muslims only. They are found in every community. We cannot change them overnight. We cannot bring about a revolution in one single day. Give us some time and then ask, "What are your achievements"? Utopia cannot be achieved in a day.

Something was said about the representation of the Muslims in the chemical industries. I am glad that my Muslim brothers have also begun to feel that the foreigners should not be allowed to prosper at the cost of the people of this country. This country had continually been plundered by the foreigners for the past so many years, but they never felt it or protested against that state of affairs. I hope they will realise this fact also that it is the policy of the foreigners to keep the people of this country at daggers drawn, so that their own factories can flourish and thus they sell their own goods at the cost of both the Hindus and the Muslims. (*Loud noise and interruptions*). So far as the complaint of inadequate representation of Muslims in the chemical industries is concerned, let me assure my Muslim friends here that it is the greatest desire of my heart to see all the communities of the province prosper. If one half of the population of the province starves, that cannot bring any joy to me. It is my sincere and earnest desire to see all the people prosperous and in good circumstances.

I would like to read a statement in order to put before you the industrial position of the province, as it was at the time of the former Government, so that you may realise the difficulty of the task before us. A copy, however, was sent to each member but they could not go through it owing to their being busy in elections. Let me first tell you about the industrial policy of the Congress. This is what is given on page 6 of the Election Manifesto of the Indian National Congress :—

"..... and to have social control of the mineral resources, means of transport and the principal methods of production and distribution of land, industry and in other departments of national activity, so that free India may develop into a Co-operative Common-wealth."

Let me now read a few lines from a book "Handbook of National Planning Committee" by name containing the resolutions passed at the Conference of Ministers for Industries in the Congress Cabinets. On page 9 of that book, under the head "Chairman's Note on the Congress policy", it is given :—

"The Congress policy, as is well known, shows a strong bias towards the development of cottage Industries, specially of hand-spinning and hand-weaving. It follows that the Congress would disapprove of any policy which came in the way of its development of cottage Industries. But there appears to be nothing in the Congress Resolutions against the starting or encouragement of large scale Industries provided this does not conflict with the natural development of village Industries."

I must make it clear that I do not agree with the proviso in the last sentence. I believe in the state control of Industries and if there is some sort of conflict in bringing it about I will not mind. What is to be done must be done. We must do what is in the best interests of the masses. If there is a clash of some sort in doing it, let it be. I must also tell you that I am not in favour of the state control of all the industries. Only that which is necessary should be controlled. We want all, whether they are Hindus or Muslims, to get equal opportunities in life.

So far as the complaint of my friend Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan is concerned, I must say that I am not in full possession of the facts. But let me read a few lines from the case to show why the subsidy in question was refused.

"The subsidy in question was refused because a technical expert was not employed by the applicant."

I do not mean to defend anybody. I only want to bring to his notice that the applicant in question did not fulfill the conditions laid down. Leaving this case aside I will read to you now the statement on the industrial development of the Province.

"The Punjab Government have not formally announced the conclusions reached by them on all the aspects of industrial policy, but the question has been engaging their most serious consideration and it has not been possible to make an announcement so far, because certain matters of principle have still to be settled with the Government of India. Industrialisation is not a subject which can be considered on a strictly provincial basis. It must be planned on an All-India basis and in such a way that every Province....."

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** Sir, is the Hon'ble Minister allowed to read out a statement? (*Uproar from the Opposition benches*)

**Minister :** My friends are very restive and they do not want to listen to this statement in which those industrial measures have been detailed which are calculated to do the greatest good to the greatest number for whom they profess to speak. If that is their wish I will not tax their patience any further, but will just place the statement\* on the table of the House, so that it may be placed on record. There is one thing, however, which I would like specially to bring to their notice. That is that in future the Punjab Government proposes to lay special emphasis on the development of cottage industries, because in their case neither capital nor machinery is required from outside. In fact, in developing them we have not to look to other quarters for help. Besides in the case of cottage industries those evils do not arise which certainly crop up on account of large scale industrialisation. For instance, in the case of the cottage industries problems such as the housing problem, the wages problem, the health problem and the medical relief problem of the labourers, do not arise. Then there is another advantage of cottage industries and that is that the state aid can be distributed equally amongst a large number of people and in this way we can put more and more money into their pockets. We can also provide work to a large number of middlemen and other persons. Now those industries which my friends are advocating are such for which we will have to look towards England for help because we cannot get plant from anywhere else. Either we will have to make a request to the British Government to supply us the necessary machinery or we will have to ask them to release a part of our sterling balances so that we may be in a position to purchase cheap plant from somewhere else. But as the development of cottage industries is in our hands, therefore the Punjab Government will prefer them over other types of industries because it is the development of cottage industries which can benefit the poor, those who work with their own hands for earning their livelihood, who live in the villages and who form 75 per cent of the population. It is for them that we want to promote cottage industries and not for the 15 or 20 per cent of people who live in cities and who have other means of earning their livelihood. It is our wish, nay it will be our endeavour, to promote and develop cottage industries in this province and we will give as much state aid as we can to persons who will start cottage industries.

Before I sit down I want to make a request to my friends. Some of them during the course of their speeches have criticised the Director of Industries. They have expressed different opinions about him. That I think is not fair. I say, would it not be better that while discussing such matters we try to avoid levelling criticism against Government officers. When we indulge in such criticism that produces bad results

\*See appendix at the end.

So far I have worked only for a few days with the Director of Industries and I can say that he is discharging his duties very efficiently and honestly and I am thoroughly pleased with his work. It does not behove us that because of our political bias we should say that this man or that man may be appointed as the head of any department. There may be difference between one man or the other, but that does not mean that a person who is already doing good work should be so criticised. It is absolutely unfair to indulge in such kind of criticism and I hope my friends would try to avoid it in future. That is my request to my friends.

**Mr. Speaker :** Question is—

That the demand be reduced by Rs. 100.

The Assembly divided : Ayes 72, Noes 90.

### AYES

Abdul Ghafur, Chaudhri.  
 Abdul Haq, Mian.  
 Abdul Hamid Khan, Rana.  
 Abdul Hamid Khan, Khan Sahib.  
 Ahmad Jan, Maulvi.  
 Akram Ali Khan, Chaudhri.  
 Ali Akbar Khan, Chaudhri.  
 Allah Yar Khan Daultana, Khan Bahadur Mian.  
 Anwar Khan, Rai.  
 Ashiq Hussain, Sayed.  
 Ashiq Hussain, Major Nawab.  
 Atta Mohd. Khan, Sardar.  
 Aziz Din, Chaudhri.  
 Bahadur Khan, Sardar.  
 Bahawal Bakhsh, Chaudhri.  
 Barkat Ali, Malik.  
 Barkat Hayat Khan, Sardar.  
 Bashir Ahmad, Mian.  
 Budhan Shah, Pir.  
 Faiz Mohammad, Khan Bahadur, Sheikh.  
 Fateh Muhammad Sayyal, Chaudhri.  
 Fazal Haq Paracha, Khan Bahadur Sheikh.  
 Fazal Ilahi, Chaudhri.  
 Ghazanfar Ali Khan, Raja.  
 Ghulam Farid, Chaudhri.  
 Ghulam Jilani, Mian.  
 Ghulam Mohammed Shah, Sayad.  
 Ghulam Mustafa Shah Jilani, K. S.  
 Makhdumzada Sayad.  
 Ghulam Rasul, Chaudhri.  
 Ghulam Samad, Khan Sahib Khawaja.  
 Iftikhar Hussain Khan, Nawab.  
 Jahan Khan, Chaudhri.  
 Jahan Ara Shah Nawaz, Begum.  
 Kale Khan, Raja.  
 Karamat Ali Khan, Khan Bahadur Sheikh.

Khair Mehdi Khan, Raja.  
 Khan Muhammad Khan Kathia, Mehr.  
 Mehtab Khan, Chaudhri.  
 Mohy-ud-Din Lal Badshah, Sayed.  
 Muhammad Abdas Salam, Mian.  
 Muhammad Amin, Khan Sahib Sheikh.  
 Muhammad Arif Khan, Mehr.  
 Muhammad Feroz Khan Noon, Malik Sir.  
 Muhammad Hassan, Chaudhri.  
 Muhammad Hussain, Sardar.  
 Muhammad Hussain, Chaudhri.  
 Muhammad Iftikhar-ud-Din, Mian.  
 Muhammad Iqbal Ahmad Khan, Rai.  
 Muhammad Khurshid Ali Khan, Rao.  
 Muhammad Raza Shah Jeelani, Makhdumzada Haji Sayed.  
 Muhammad Sarfraz Khan, Chaudhri.  
 Muhammad Sarfraz Ali Khan, Raja.  
 Mubarak Ali Shah, Major, Syed.  
 Mumtaz Muhammad Khan Daultana, Mian.  
 Nasar Din, Chaudhri.  
 Nasrullah Khan, Chaudhri.  
 Nasrullah Khan Nasir, Rana.  
 Nau Bahar Shah, Syed.  
 Raj Muhammad Khan, Chaudhri.  
 Roshan Din, Khan Bahadur, Chaudhri.  
 Sadiq Hasan, Sheikh.  
 Sahib Dad Khan, Khan Sahib Chaudhri.  
 Salahud-Din, Chaudhri.  
 Said Akbar Khan, Raja.  
 Shahaadat Khan, Rai.  
 Shaikat Hyat Khan, Sardar.  
 Tassadaque Hussain, Begum.  
 Wali Muhammad, Chaudhri.  
 Wazir Muhammad, Malik.  
 Zafar-ul-Haq, Chaudhri.  
 Zafarullah Khan, Chaudhri.  
 Zafarullah Khan Jahanian, Chaudhri.

## NOES

Ajit Singh, Sardar.  
 Allah Bakhsh Khan Tiwana, K. B.  
 Nawab Malik Sir.  
 Bachan Singh, Sardar.  
 Badlu Ram, Chaudhri.  
 Bagh Ali, Mian.  
 Baldev Singh, The Hon'ble Sardar.  
 Beli Ram, Mr.  
 Bhagat Ram Sharma, Pandit.  
 Bhagwan Das, Lala.  
 Bhim Sen Sachar, The Hon'ble Lala.  
 Behari Lal Chanana, Lala.  
 Chandan, Mr., alias Samar Singh.  
 Dalip Singh, Thakur.  
 Dalip Singh, Sardar.  
 Daud Ghaznvi, Maulana.  
 Dev Raj Sethi, Mr.  
 Durga Chand, Pandit.  
 Faqir Chand, Mr.  
 Fazal Ilahi, Mr.  
 Ganga Saran, Rai Bahadur, Lala.  
 Gopi Chand Bhargava, Dr.  
 Guest, Mr. P. H.  
 Gurbachan Singh, Sardar (Ferozepore).  
 Gurbachan Singh, Sardar (Sialkot).  
 Gurbanta Singh, Sardar.  
 Harbhaj Ram, Mr.  
 Hari Lal, Munshi.  
 Inder Singh, Sardar.  
 Isher Singh Majhail, Sardar.  
 Jagdish, Mr.  
 Jagjit Singh Mann, Sardar.  
 Jaswant Singh, Sardar.  
 Jiwan Lal, Mr.  
 Joginder Singh Mann, Sardar.  
 Kabul Singh, Sardar.  
 Kapur Singh, Sardar.  
 Kartar Singh, Sardar.  
 Kehar Singh, Sardar.  
 Khizar Hayat, The Hon'ble Malik Sir.  
 Kidar Nath Sehgal, Lala.  
 Krishna Gopal Dutt, Chaudhri.  
 Lahri Singh, Chaudhri.  
 Man Singh, Jathedar.  
 Mangoo Ram, Mr.  
 Manual, Mr. P.  
 Matu Ram, Mr.

Mehr Chand, Mr.  
 Mohan Lal, Mr.  
 Mohar Singh, Rao Sahib Rao.  
 Muhammad Abdullah, Khan Sahib, Mir.  
 Muhammad Ibrahim, Mian.  
 Muhammad Nawaz Khan, Lt.-Col.  
 Sardar Sir.  
 Muhammad Rafiq, Mian.  
 Muzaffar Ali Khan Qizilbash, The  
 Hon'ble Nawab Sir.  
 Narinder Singh, Sant.  
 Narotam Singh, Sardar..  
 Pancham Chand, Thakur.  
 Parbboodh Chandar, Mr.  
 Parkash Kaur, Shrimati.  
 Partap Singh, Sardar.  
 Piara Singh, Sardar.  
 Prem Singh, Mahant.  
 Prem Singh, Chaudhri.  
 Prithvi Singh Azad, Mr.  
 Rameshwari Nehru, Mrs.  
 Ranbir Singh, Mehta.  
 Ranjit Singh, Chaudhri.  
 Rattan Singh, Chaudhri.  
 Rattan Singh, Sardar (Moga).  
 Sahib Ram, Chaudhri.  
 Sajjan Singh, Sardar.  
 Sant Ram, Mr.  
 Sant Ram Seth, Dr.  
 Shanno Devi Sehgal, Shrimati.  
 Sher Singh, Chaudhri.  
 Shiv Saran Singh, Sardar.  
 Shiv Singh, Sardar.  
 Shri Ram Sharma, Pandit.  
 Sudarshan, Seth.  
 Sultan Ali Nangiana, Mian.  
 Sundar, Mr.  
 Sundar Singh, Sardar.  
 Suraj Mal, Rao Bahadur Chaudhri.  
 Swarn Singh, Sardar.  
 Tara Singh, Sardar Sahib Sardar.  
 Tilak Raj, Professor.  
 Udhram Singh, Sardar.  
 Ujjal Singh, Sardar.  
 Virendar, Mr.  
 Waryam Singh, Sardar.

*The motion was lost.*

**Mr. Speaker :** The question is :

That a sum not exceeding Rs. 39,68,300 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will be incurred in course of payment for the year ending 31st March 1947, in respect of Industries.

*The motion was carried.*

*The following motions were then put from the Chair and adopted : —*

#### LAND REVENUE

That a sum not exceeding Rs. 70,75,700 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the year ending 31st March 1947, in respect of Land Revenue.

#### PROVINCIAL EXCISE

That a sum not exceeding Rs. 16,73,400 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the year ending 31st March 1947, in respect of Provincial Excise.

#### STAMPS

That a sum not exceeding Rs. 2,63,500 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the year ending 31st March 1947, in respect of Stamps.

#### FORESTS

That a sum not exceeding Rs. 84,79,700 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the year ending 31st March 1947, in respect of Forests.

#### REGISTRATION

That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,41,100 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the year ending 31st March 1947, in respect of Registration.

#### MOTOR VEHICLES ACTS AND OTHER TAXES AND DUTIES

That a sum not exceeding Rs. 17,65,900 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the year ending 31st March 1947, in respect of charges on account of Motor Vehicles Acts and Other Taxes and Duties.

#### IRRIGATION

That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,63,04,900 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the year ending 31st March 1947, in respect of Irrigation (Works).

#### IRRIGATION ESTABLISHMENT CHARGES

That a sum not exceeding Rs. 2,04,51,100 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the year ending 31st March 1947, in respect of Irrigation Establishment Charges.

#### IRRIGATION (CAPITAL)

That a sum not exceeding Rs. 5,62,32,400 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the year ending 31st March 1947, in respect of Irrigation (Capital).

#### ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

That a sum not exceeding Rs. 48,76,600 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the year ending 31st March 1947, in respect of Administration of Justice.

#### JAILS AND CONVICT SETTLEMENTS

That a sum not exceeding Rs. 64,92,900 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the year ending 31st March 1947, in respect of Jails and Convict Settlements.

#### POLICE

That a sum not exceeding Rs. 3,11,68,800 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the year ending 31st March 1947, in respect of Police.

#### SCIENTIFIC AND MISCELLANEOUS DEPARTMENTS

That a sum not exceeding Rs. 8,93,700 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the year ending 31st March 1947, in respect of Scientific and Miscellaneous Departments.



**EDUCATION (EUROPEAN AND ANGLO- INDIAN)** ✓

That a sum not exceeding Rs. 6,90,000 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the year ending 31st March 1947, in respect of Education (European and Anglo-Indian).

**EDUCATION (EXCLUDING EUROPEAN AND ANGLO-INDIAN EDUCATION)** ✓

That a sum not exceeding Rs. 2,53,87,400 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the year ending 31st March 1947, in respect of Education (Excluding European and Anglo-Indian Education).

**MEDICAL**

That a sum not exceeding Rs. 80,74,600 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the year ending 31st March 1947, in respect of Medical.

**PUBLIC HEALTH**

That a sum not exceeding Rs. 51,45,000 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the year ending 31st March 1947, in respect of Public Health.

**AGRICULTURE**

That a sum not exceeding Rs. 95,02,400 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the year ending 31st March 1947, in respect of Agriculture.

**VETERINARY**

That a sum not exceeding Rs. 26,23,700 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the year ending 31st March 1947, in respect of Veterinary.

**CO-OPERATION**

That a sum not exceeding Rs. 34,36,300 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the year ending 31st March 1947, in respect of Co-operation.

**CIVIL WORKS**

That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,93,98,370 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the year ending 31st March 1947, in respect of Civil Works.

**BUILDINGS AND ROADS ESTABLISHMENT CHARGES**

That a sum not exceeding Rs. 16,70,200 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the year ending 31st March 1947, in respect of Buildings and Roads Establishment Charges.

**ELECTRICITY SCHEMES—WORKING EXPENSES**

That a sum not exceeding Rs. 29,87,300 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the year ending 31st March 1947, in respect of Electricity Schemes—Working Expenses.

**ELECTRICITY ESTABLISHMENT AND MISCELLANEOUS EXPENDITURE**

That a sum not exceeding Rs. 27,87,200 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the year ending 31st March 1947, in respect of charges on Electricity Establishment and Miscellaneous Expenditure.

**CIVIL WORKS (CAPITAL)**

That a sum not exceeding Rs. 64,69,700 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the year ending 31st March 1947, in respect of Civil Works (Capital).

**ELECTRICITY SCHEMES (CAPITAL EXPENDITURE)**

That a sum not exceeding Rs. 96,12,300 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the year ending 31st March 1947, in respect of Electricity Schemes (Capital Expenditure).

### FAMINE

That a sum not exceeding Rs. 3,05,000 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the year ending 31st March 1947, in respect of Famine.

### SUPERANNUATION ALLOWANCES AND PENSIONS

That a sum not exceeding Rs. 72,36,900 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the year ending 31st March 1947, in respect of Superannuation Allowances and Pensions.

### STATIONERY AND PRINTING

That a sum not exceeding Rs. 26,53,200 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the year ending 31st March 1947, in respect of Stationery and Printing.

### MISCELLANEOUS

That a sum not exceeding Rs. 69,35,100 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the year ending 31st March 1947, in respect of Miscellaneous.

### EXTRAORDINARY CHARGES AND EXPENDITURE ON POST-WAR RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT SCHEMES

That a sum not exceeding Rs. 25,69,490 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the year ending 31st March 1947, in respect of Extraordinary Charges and Expenditure on Post-War Reconstruction and Development Schemes.

### CAPITAL ACCOUNTS OF OTHER PROVINCIAL WORKS—OUTSIDE THE REVENUE ACCOUNTS

That a sum not exceeding Rs. 13,45,000 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the year ending 31st March 1947, in respect of Capital Accounts of Other Provincial Works—Outside the Revenue Accounts.

### CAPITAL OUTLAY ON PROVINCIAL SCHEMES OF STATE TRADING

That a sum not exceeding Rs. 31,62,900 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the year ending 31st March 1947, in respect of Capital Outlay on Provincial Schemes of State Trading.

### ADVANCES

That a sum not exceeding Rs. 8,08,100 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the year ending 31st March 1947, in respect of Advances not bearing interest.

### LOANS AND ADVANCES

That a sum not exceeding Rs. 40,04,400 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the year ending 31st March 1947, in respect of Loans and Advances bearing interest.

### ADJOURNMENT

**Premier :** Sir, I beg to move —

That the Assembly at its rising today shall stand adjourned *sine die*.

**Mr. Speaker :** motion moved is :

That the Assembly at its rising today shall stand adjourned *sine die*.

**Raja Gharanfar Ali Khan :** Sir, I move the amendment which stands in my name :

That for the words "*sine die*" the words "to 5th May, 1946" be substituted.

**Mr. Speaker :** Motion under consideration, amendment moved is :

That for the words "*sine die*" the words "to 5th May, 1946" be substituted.

**Premier :** The fear probably is that the Government will not call a session. A few days after the formation of the ministry we had to pass the budget. The budget session had to be held under the Government of India Act in order to vote funds before a particular date. Hereafter, the usual sessions will be held and it is for the ministry to consider from time to time when a session is to be called. It is not the practice of the House to fix a date for the next session. It should be left to the Government to come forward and ask for a session when necessary. I want to dismiss from the minds of my honourable friends the idea that we will shirk facing the House, when necessary.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** The object of giving notice of this amendment was not to fix the next meeting exactly on the 5th of May. The idea is to impress upon the Government the desirability of calling a meeting of the Punjab Legislative Assembly at a very early date. As honourable members are aware, we had no time to discuss either any non-official legislation or even to complete those Bills which are already pending before the House and which have cost the province a good deal of money.

I refer to the District Board Bill. As you are aware, the District Board Bill has been in hand for the last three years and it is time that we passed that Bill into an Act. Similarly, the problem of food is going to take a very serious shape after a few days. We would like the House to express an opinion on what they think should be the best solution of bridging over this period of scarcity and famine. Similarly there are other most important questions which have to be discussed. So far as this session is concerned, I won't call it a session at all. We were here just to register the decrees of the Secretariat. The Budget, as the Honourable Minister for Finance has said, does not belong to him, it does not belong to this Government, but it belongs to the Secretariat. So, what we have done during these days is just to endorse a Budget which was presented by the Secretariat to the Honourable Minister for Finance and he, with an apology, presented it to the House. I would ask the Honourable Premier to give us some idea of when the Government proposes to call the next session. Is it to be in April, is it to be in May or is it to be in June? I would request you to insist upon the Premier to give the House some idea as to when we are meeting. It is no use their running away with this session. They should not be afraid of facing the House. At least one or two parties there claim to be democratic parties. My point is, have we to revise provisions of this Budget or not. Have we to spend this money just as it is contained in this Budget which we have hurriedly passed without reading and without studying because there was no time to study it, there was no time to go through these big volumes. We had insufficient time to discuss the various demands for grants. I would submit that the Honourable Minister for Finance, if he really means what he says, should now ask the Leader of the House to give us some idea as to when they are holding the session. I appeal to the Honourable Minister for Public Works, who appears to be an honest man (*Laughter*) and straightforward man to kindly ask the Leader to give some idea when he wants to meet. I heard rumours in these circles that they will run away with this Budget and will not call a meeting till November, they are afraid of facing the public and the House.

**Mr. Speaker :** 'Sine die' means that they are not certain when they will call the next meeting. There has never been an amendment to such a motion here. I permitted it because I knew that the honourable member wanted to impress on the Ministry the desirability of an early session.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** There has never been such a coalition before.

**Mr. Speaker :** Order, please. After what the Honourable Premier has stated, does the honourable member want to press his motion?

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** Certainly unless he gives an idea when he wants to hold the next meeting of the Assembly.

**Khan Bahadur Sheikh Karamat Ali :** You will perhaps remember that he, in his zeal, wanted to make a change in the daily hours of work of the Assembly and he said that if they are not prepared to sacrifice time, they should not come to this House. (*Uproar*) Let him show his zeal now that he is a politician and can devote time.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** Ask them to answer the question.

**Premier :** I have said what I had to say. Never in this House has a month or day been given before.

**Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan :** Is he prepared to give the date to Mr. Bhimsen Sachar? (Shame, shame from Opposition benches).

**Mr. Speaker :** The question is—

That in the motion for the words "*sine die*" the word "to 5th May 1946" be substituted

The Assembly divided : Ayes 78, Noes, 90.

#### AYES :

Abdul Ghafur, Chaudhri.  
Abdul Haq, Mian.  
Abdul Hamid Khan, Rana.  
Abdul Hamid Khan, Khan Sahib.  
Ahmad Jan, Maulvi.  
Akram Ali Khan, Chaudhri.  
Ali Akbar Khan, Chaudhri.  
Allah Yar Khan Daulatana, Khan Bahadur Mian.  
Anwar Khan, Rai.  
Asghar Ali, Khan Sahib Captain Chaudhri.  
Ashiq Hussain, Sayed.  
Ashiq Hussain, Major Nawab.  
Atta Muhammad Khen, Sardar.  
Aziz Din, Chaudhri.  
Bahadur Khan, Sardar.  
Bahawal Bakhsh, Chaudhri.  
Barkat Ali, Malik.  
Barkat Hayat Khan, Sardar.  
Bashir Ahmed, Mian.  
Budhan Shah, Pir.  
Faiz Muhammad, Khan Bahadur Sheikh.  
Fateh Muhammad Seyyal, Chaudhri.  
Fazal Haq Paracha, Khan Bahadur Sheikh.  
Fazal Ilahi, Chaudhri.  
Ghazanfar Ali Khan, Raja.  
Ghulam Farid, Chaudhri.  
Ghulam Jilani, Mian.  
Ghulam Mohammad Shah, Sayad.  
Ghulam Mustafa Shah Jilani, Khan Sahib Makhdumzada Sayad.  
Ghulam Rasul, Chaudhri.  
Ghulam Samad, Khan Sahib Khawaja.  
Iftikhar Hussain Khan, Nawab.  
Jahan Khan, Chaudhri.  
Jahan Ara Shah Nawaz, Begum.  
Kale Khan, Raja.  
Karamat Ali, Khan Bahadur Sheikh.

Khair Mehdi Khan, Raja.  
Khan Muhammad Khan, Kathia, Mehr.  
Mehtab Khan, Chaudhri.  
Mohy-ud-Din Lal Badshah, Sayed.  
Muhammad Abdas Salam Mian.  
Muhammad Amin, Khan Sahib, Sheikh.  
Muhammad Arif Khan, Mehr.  
Muhammad Feroz Khan Noon, Malik Sir.  
Muhammad Hassan, Chaudhri.  
Muhammad Hussain, Sardar.  
Muhammad Hussain, Chaudhri.  
Muhammad Iftikhar-ud-Din, Mian.  
Muhammad Iqbal Ahmad Khan, Rai.  
Muhammad Khurshid Ali Khan, Rao.  
Muhammad Raza Shah, Jeelani, Makhdumzada Haji Sayed.  
Muhammad Sarfraz Khan, Chaudhri.  
Muhammad Sarfraz Ali Khan, Raja.  
Mubarak Ali Shah, Major, Syed.  
Mumtaz Muhammad Khan, Daulatana, Mian.  
Nasar Din, Chaudhri.  
Nasrullah Khan, Chaudhri.  
Nasrullah Khan, Nasir Rana.  
Nau Bahar Shah, Syed.  
Raj Muhammad Khan, Chaudhri.  
Roshan Din, Khan Bahadur, Chaudhri.  
Sadiq Hasan, Sheikh.  
Sahib Dad Khan, Khan Sahib Chaudhri.  
Salah-ud-Din, Chaudhri.  
Said Akbar Khan, Raja.  
Shahaadat Khan, Rai.  
Shaukat Hyat Khan, Sardar.  
Tassadaque Hussain, Begum.  
Wali Muhammad, Chaudhri.  
Wazir Muhammad, Malik.  
Zafar-ul-Haq, Chaudhri.  
Zafrullah Khan, Chaudhri.  
Zafrullah Khan Jahanian, Chaudhri.

## NOES :

Ajit Singh, Sardar.	Mehr Chand, Mr.
Allah Bakhsh Khan Tiwana Khan Bahadur Nawab Malik Sir.	Mohan Lal, Mr.
Bachan Singh, Sardar.	Mohar Singh, Rao Sahib Rao.
Badlu Ram, Chaudhri.	Muhammad Abdullah, Khan Sahib Mir.
Bagh Ali, Mian.	Muhammad Ibrahim, The Honourable Mian.
Baldev Singh, The Honourable Sardar.	Muhammad Nawaz Khan, Lieutenant-Colonel Sardar Sir.
Beli Ram, Mr.	Muhammad Rafiq, Mian.
Bhagat Ram Sharma, Pandit.	Muzaffar Ali Khan Qizilbash, The Honourable Nawab Sir.
Bhagwan Dass, Lala.	Narindar Singh, Sant.
Bhim Sen Sachar, The Honourable Lala.	Narotam Singh, Sardar.
Behari Lal Chanana, Lala.	Pancham Chand, Thakur.
Chandan, Mr. alias Samar Singh.	Parbodh Chandar, Mr.
Dalip Singh, Thakur.	Parkash Kaur, Shrimati.
Dalip Singh, Sardar.	Partap Singh, Sardar.
Daud Ghaznavi, Maulana.	Piara Singh, Sardar.
Dev Raj, Sethi, Mr.	Prem Singh, Mahant.
Durga Chand, Pandit.	Prem Singh, Chaudhri.
Faqir Chand, Mr.	Prithvi Singh Azad, Mr.
Fazal Ilahi, Mr.	Rameshwari Nehru, Mrs.
Ganga Saran, Rai Bahadur Lala.	Ranbir Singh, Mehta.
Gopi Chand Bhargava, Dr.	Ranjit Singh, Chaudhri.
Guest, Mr. P. H.	Rattan Singh, Chaudhri.
Gurbachan Singh Sardar. (Ferozepore).	Rattan Singh, Sardar (Moga).
Gurbachan Singh, Sardar (Sialkot).	Sahib Ram, Chaudhri.
Gurbanta Singh, Sardar.	Sajjan Singh, Sardar.
Harbhaj Ram, Mr.	Sant Ram, Mr.
Hari Lal, Munshi.	Sant Ram Seth, Dr.
Inder Singh, Sardar.	Shanno Devi Sehgal Shrimati.
Isher Singh Majhail, Sardar.	Sher Singh, Chaudhri.
Jagdish, Mr.	Shiv Saran Singh, Sardar.
Jagjit Singh Mann, Sardar.	Shiv Singh, Sardar.
Jaswant Singh, Sardar.	Shri Ram Sharma, Pandit.
Jiwan Lal, Mr.	Sudarshan, Seth.
Joginder Singh Mann, Sardar.	Sultan Ali Nangiana, Mian.
Kabul Singh, Sardar.	Sundar, Mr.
Kapur Singh, Sardar.	Sundar Singh, Sardar.
Kartar Singh, Sardar.	Suraj Mal, Rao Bahadur Chaudhri.
Kehar Singh, Sardar.	Swaran Singh, Sardar.
Khizar Hayat, The Honourable Malik Sir.	Tara Singh, Sardar Sahib Sardar.
Kidar Nath Sehgal, Lala.	Tilak Raj, Professor.
Krishna Gopal Dutt, Chaudhri.	Udham Singh, Sardar.
Labri Singh, The Honourable Chaudhri.	Ujjal Singh, Sardar.
Man Singh, Jathedar.	Virendra, Mr.
Mangoo Ram, Mr.	Waryam Singh, Sardar.
Manual, Mr. P.	
Matu Ram, Mr.	

*The motion was lost.*

**Mr. Speaker :** The question is—

That the Assembly at its rising to-day stand adjourned *sine die*.

*The Assembly divided : Ayes 90, Noes 78.*

**AYES :**

Ajit Singh, Sardar.	Mehr Chand, Mr.
Allah Bakhsh Khan Tiwana, Khan Bahadur Nawab Malik Sir.	Mohan Lal, Mr.
Bachan Singh, Sardar.	Mohar Singh, Rao Sahib Rao.
Badlu Ram, Chaudhri.	Muhammad Abdullah, Khan Sahib Mir.
Bagh Ali, Mian.	Muhammad Ibrahim, The Honourable Mian.
Baldev Singh, The Honourable Sardar	Muhammad Nawaz Khan, Lieutenant-Colonel Sardar Sir.
Beli Ram, Mr.	Muhammad Rafiq, Mian.
Bhagat Ram Sharma, Pandit.	Muzaffar Ali Khan Qizilbash, The Honourable Nawab Sir.
Bhagwan Dass, Lala.	Narindar Singh, Sant.
Bhim Sen Sachar, The Honourable Lala.	Narotam Singh, Sardar.
Behari Lal Chanana, Lala.	Pancham Chand, Thakur.
Chandan, Mr., alias Samar Singh.	Parbodh Chandar, Mr.
Dalip Singh, Thakur.	Parkash Kaur, Shrimati.
Dalip Singh, Sardar.	Partap Singh, Sardar.
Daud Ghaznavi, Maulana.	Piara Singh, Sardar.
Dev Raj, Sethi, Mr.	Prem Singh, Mahant.
Durga Chand, Pandit.	Prem Singh, Chaudhri.
Faqir Chand, Mr.	Prithvi Singh Azad, Mr.
Fazal Ilahi, Mr.	Rameshwari Nehru, Mrs.
Ganga Saran, Rai Bahadur Lala.	Ranbir Singh, Mehta.
Gopi Chand Bhargava, Dr.	Ranjit Singh, Chaudhri.
Guest, Mr. P. H.	Rattan Singh, Chaudhri.
Gurbachan Singh Sardar (Ferozepore).	Rattan Singh, Sardar (Moga).
Gurbachan Singh, Sardar (Sialkot).	Sahib Ram, Chaudhri.
Gurbanta Singh, Sardar.	Sajjan Singh, Sardar.
Harbhaj Ram, Mr.	Sant Ram, Mr.
Hari Lal, Munshi.	Sant Ram Seth, Dr.
Inder Singh, Sardar.	Shanno Devi Sehgal, Shrimati.
Isher Singh Majhail, Sardar.	Sher Singh, Chaudhri.
Jagdish, Mr.	Shiv Saran Singh, Sardar.
Jagjit Singh Mann, Sardar	Shiv Singh, Sardar.
Jaswant Singh, Sardar.	Shri Ram Sharma, Pandit.
Jiwan Lal, Mr.	Sudarshan, Seth.
Joginder Singh Mann, Sardar.	Sultan Ali Nangiana, Mian.
Kabul Singh, Sardar.	Sundar, Mr.
Kapur Singh, Sardar.	Sundar Singh, Sardar.
Kartar Singh, Sardar.	Suraj Mal, Rao Bahadur Chaudhri.
Kehar Singh, Sardar.	Swaran Singh, Sardar.
Khizar Hayat, The Honourable Malik Sir	Tara Singh, Sardar Sahib Sardar.
Kidar Nath Sehgal, Lala.	Tilak Raj, Professor.
Krishna Gopal Dutt, Chaudhri.	Udham Singh, Sardar.
Lahri Singh, The Honourable Chaudhri.	Ujjal Singh, Sardar.
Man Singh, Jathedar.	Virendra, Mr.
Mangoo Ram, Mr.	Waryam Singh, Sardar.
Manual, Mr. P.	
Matu Ram, Mr.	

**NOES :**

Abdul Ghafur, Chaudhri.	Abdul Hamid Khan, Rana.
Abdul Haq, Mian.	Abdul Hamid Khan, Khan Sahib.

Ahmad Jan, Maulvi.	Mohy-ud-Din Lal Badshah, Sayed.
Akram Ali Khan, Chaudhri.	Muhammad Abdas Salam, Mian.
Ali Akbar Khan, Chaudhri.	Muhammad Amin, Khan Sahib Sheikh.
Allah Yar Khan Daulatana, Khan Bahadur Mian.	Muhammad Arif Khan, Mehr.
Anwar Khan, Rai.	Muhammad Feroz Khan Noon, Malik Sir.
Asghar Ali, Khan Sahib Captain Chaudhri.	Muhammad Hasan, Chaudhri.
Ashiq Hussain, Sayed.	Muhammad Hussain, Sardar.
Ashiq Hussain, Major Nawab.	Muhammad Hussain, Chaudhri.
Atta Muhammad Khan, Sardar.	Muhammad Iftikhar-ud-Din, Mian.
Aziz Din, Chaudhri.	Muhammad Iqbal Ahmad Khan, Rai.
Bahadur Khan, Sardar.	Muhammad Khurshid Ali Khan, Rao.
Bahawal Bakhsh, Chaudhri.	Muhammad Raza Shah Jeelani, Makh-dumzada Haji Sayed.
Barkat Ali, Malik.	Muhammad Sarfraz Khan, Chaudhri.
Barkat Hayat Khan, Sardar.	Muhammad Sarfraz Ali Khan, Raja.
Bashir Ahmed, Mian.	Mubarik Ali Shah, Major Syed.
Budhan Shah, Pir.	Mumtaz Muhammad Khan Daulatana, Mian.
Faiz Muhammad, Khan Bahadur Sheikh.	Nasar Din, Chaudhri.
Fateh Muhammad Sayyal, Chaudhri.	Nasrullah Khan, Chaudhri.
Fazal Haq Paracha, Khan Bahadur Sheikh.	Nasrullah Khan Nasir, Rana.
Fazal Ilahi, Chaudhri.	Nau Bahar Shah, Syed.
Ghazanfar Ali Khan, Raja.	Raj Muhammad Khan, Chaudhri.
Ghulam Farid, Chaudhri.	Roshan Din, Khan Bahadur Chaudhri.
Ghulam Jilani, Mian.	Sadiq Hasan, Sheikh.
Ghulam Mohammad Shah, Sayad.	Sahib Dad Khan, Khan Sahib Chaudhri.
Ghulam Mustafa Shah Jilani, Khan Sahib Makhdumzada Sayad.	Salah-ud-Din, Chaudhri.
Ghulam Rasul, Chaudhri.	Said Akbar Khan, Raja.
Ghulam Samad, Khan Sahib Khawaja.	Shahaadat Khan, Rai.
Iftikhar Hussain Khan, Nawab.	Shaukat Hyat Khan, Sardar.
Jahan Khan, Chaudhri.	Tassadaque Hussain, Begum.
Jahan Ara Shah Nawaz, Begum.	Wali Muhammad, Chaudhri.
Kale Khan, Raja.	Wazir Muhammad, Malik.
Karamat Ali, Khan Bahadur Sheikh.	Zafar-ul-Haq, Chaudhri.
Khair Mehdi Khan, Raja.	Zafrullah Khan, Chaudhri.
Khan Muhammad Khan Kathia, Mehr.	Zafrullah Khan Jahanian, Chaudhri.
Mehtab Khan, Chaudhri.	

*The motion was carried,*

*The Assembly then adjourned sine die.*

(Statement laid on the table by the Honourable Mr. Bhim Sen Sachar,—vide page 806 *infra*).

The Punjab Government have not formally announced the conclusions reached by them on all the aspects of industrial policy, but the question has been engaging their most serious consideration and it has not been possible to make an announcement so far, because certain matters of principle have still to be settled with the Government of India. Industrialisation is not a subject which can be considered on a strictly provincial basis. It must be planned on an all-India basis and in such a way that every Province has an opportunity of developing its natural resources to the fullest possible extent. The Government of India in the Department of Planning and Development undertook this task some time ago and issued a detailed statement about their industrial policy. The most important proposal of the Central Government was to bring under central control by means of legislation almost all the important and basic industries. They had also expressed their views on such questions as nationalisation of industries and their regionalization. The Punjab Government have agreed that Central Government should, in co-operation and co-ordination with the Provincial Governments, plan the regionalisation of industries, but they have made it quite clear to the Government of India that the distribution or allotment within the Province itself must be left to the Provincial Government. The Punjab Government have opposed the centralization of all the important industries, and suggested that if any industries are to be brought under central control in the national interest, the Punjab should be directly represented on any Board that may be set up for the purpose. As regards nationalisation, we have agreed with the Government of India that all public utility services should be under direct State management and control, but we have reserved our right to nationalise any other industries. It has already been decided to bring the transport industry under Government control and the question of starting certain other basic industries like the manufacture of ammonium sulphate and the distillation of Punjab coals under Government ownership is under consideration. The nationalisation of mineral assets of the Province, particularly the oil fields, has also been engaging the attention of Government for some time. It would thus appear that the Punjab is ahead of other Provinces in this respect. Next in importance to nationalisation, is the question of State control over the development of various industries. The Punjab Factories Amendment Act, 1940, was passed to ensure a planned and ordered development of new factories and the expansions of existing ones. Government have also prescribed certain conditions for the new textile mills to be established in the Province: 40 per cent of the total capital for each textile mill is to be allotted in the first instance to bona fide agriculturists of the revenue division in which the factory is to be established, another 10 per cent may be purchased by Government at their option and yet another 10 per cent is reserved for the Peasant Welfare Fund. In the allotment of the textile mills due regard has been paid and will be paid in future to the interests of various classes and communities.

The Punjab Government have associated themselves with the various panels and policy committees of the Government of India. Whenever it was felt that representation for the Punjab was necessary on a particular organisation, the Government of India were addressed in the matter, and they acceded to this Governments' request in most cases. The Director of Industries, experts of his Department and numerous non-official technicians and industrialists have acted on the various panels and committees and their services have been appreciated on several occasions. It may also be added that the Government of India have now selected a few industrialists from the Punjab to accompany a Technical Mission to Germany.



A planned economy presupposes a balance between industry and agriculture. It was for this reason that a Joint Development Board representing all these interests was appointed several years ago and it has done very useful work. The sum allotted to the Department of Industries in the present Budget appears to be small, but it is pointed out that the 18 schemes included in the new expenditure during 1946-47 do not by any means constitute the post-war programme of the Department. The post-war programme will come into operation later. The 18 schemes in this budget are merely attempts at reorganisation of some of the present activities of the Department and are meant to set the stage for the post-war schemes. The post-war programme is a 5 crore plan. This sum is not very large as compared with the allotments to some other departments, but it is only provided for expansion in the activities of the Department to meet post-war requirements. The schemes do not represent an industrial plan for the Province; nor do they set out what new large scale industries can be started in the Punjab. A glance through the pages of the booklet issued by the Government of the Punjab on the Post-War Development Plan will show that the Industries Department have a sound and realistic conception of the work in hand. The most important feature of this plan is the development of cottage industries, and the schemes suggested to achieve this subject have been prepared after a very careful study of similar schemes in other Provinces and other countries. The pamphlet distributed to the members of the Legislative Assembly, on the activities of the Department during 1940-45 will show the remarkable progress made by the cottage industries under the direction of the Department during the war. Barrack blankets, cotton cloth, parachutes, cutlery, surgical instruments, hand tools and machine tools worth crores of rupees were supplied to the Defence Services by the cottage and small scale manufacturers under the supervision of the Department of Industries.

The next in importance is industrial education, because the biggest bottle neck in the way of industrialisation is the shortage of technical personnel. Apart from the schemes outlined in the programme, the Punjab Government have also agreed to send a large number of students for technical training abroad under a similar scheme sponsored by the Central Government.

Financial assistance to soldiers and industrial research come next, and very liberal provision has been made for both.

As regards an industrial plan for the Province, the Punjab Government appointed a committee of industrialists, experts, Government officials, and Members of Legislative Assembly in August 1943, to examine the industrial position in the Punjab and suggest the starting of new industries. This committee and the various sub-committees constituted under it have done valuable work. Several research schemes proposed by this committee have already been implemented. It was decided some time ago that a summary of the conclusions reached by this committee should be published in the form of a simple and brief industrial plan, and a sub-committee of prominent industrialists under the chairmanship of the Director of Industries was appointed to prepare this plan. The plan is almost complete, but could not be published as some of the members remained busy with political activities. The plan envisages the development of about 25 different industries with a total capital investment of Rs. 40 crores. In addition, they will provide employment for lakhs of other workers engaged in subsidiary or secondary industries. In the preparation of the plan very great care will be taken to ensure a proper distribution of industries in the various parts of the Province and as all these industries will utilise the raw materials found in the Punjab they will help to maintain a decent level of prices for agricultural commodities. The shortage of electrical power is certainly a very severe handicap, but Government are doing everything in their power to push through large hydro schemes which will make available a very considerable amount of power at a cheap rate for domestic, industrial and agricultural purposes. For the present the new industries will

have to import their own generating plants and every assistance is being given by the Department to the industrialist in the procurement of capital goods from abroad and in obtaining other priorities. It will not be out of place to mention that the Punjab was one of the first Province to set up an Industries Committee. Other Provinces formed similar committees much later on a suggestion from the Government of India.

The Punjab Government have decided to purchase a share in the Government of India Ammonium Sulphate Factory in Bihar. This share will enable them to have a Director on the Board of Management and in this way the Province will profit by the experience of the Government of India, and will also be able to obtain its requirements of the fertilizer from them until it has established its own factory. A Committee has also been appointed by the Punjab Government to prepare a scheme for the setting up of a State owned Ammonium Sulphate factory in the Punjab.

As regards labour welfare, the Punjab Government have, as far as possible, carried out the suggestions of the Indian Labour Conference, and Standing Labour Committee of the Government of India. A Labour Officer has already been appointed and it is proposed to train five or six employees of the Industries Department in the United Kingdom in Labour Welfare work.

It is not considered necessary or expedient that the post of the Director of Industries should be held by a technical man, because this Department has to deal with many kinds of industries and it will be impossible to find a man who has technical knowledge of all industries. Moreover, it has been found that a specialised knowledge of a particular industry is a serious handicap to an expert in dealing with other industries and matters of general policy and administration. Several Provincial Governments have tried both business men and technical men for these posts, but on account of the changed nature of the duties attached to this post the general tendency now-a-days is against the employment of such persons. The reason is that the functions of this post involve a very great deal of office work, administrative control, management of funds, dealings with public, correspondence with various departments of Government and negotiations with other Governments and outside organisations. The Punjab Government tried the experiment of appointing a technical man, and for several years the post was held by a gentleman with high technical qualifications and business experience. They then appointed specially selected men from the Punjab Civil Service cadre. These gentlemen maintained a very high standard of efficiency and integrity but were handicapped from lack of administrative experience in responsible posts, and from the fact that they were not of a sufficiently high status to represent the Province in All-India conferences and committees. It has, therefore, been decided to follow the example of certain other Provincial Governments and appoint a member of the Indian Civil Service as Director of Industries.

# PUNJAB LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

SECOND SESSION OF THE 2ND PUNJAB LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

FRIDAY, 19TH JULY 1946

*The Assembly met in the Assembly Chamber at 10 a. m. of the clock. Mr. Speaker in the chair.*

## REFERENCE TO LATE MALIK BARKAT ALI

MINISTER OF DEVELOPMENT (The Honourable Sardar Baldev Singh) : It is with great regret that I rise to make this reference to the sad death of an honourable member of this House, the late Malik Barkat Ali. His sudden and tragic death, while he was conducting a case before the Tribunal, was a great shock to his friends and admirers, and the incidence singles him out as a martyr to his duty. During the early days of his life he had to overcome many obstacles which he did successfully with perseverance and courage for which he was known throughout his life. He passed his M.A. examination in 1904 and immediately after successfully competed for the Provincial Civil Service, topping the list. The Service was not suited to his temperament and he resigned within a few months and took to journalism. He successfully edited "The Observer", a bi-weekly paper, and while he was editor of this paper, he studied Law and passed his LL.B. examination, again topping the list of successful candidates. A few years later he gave up journalism and took to law. He was a successful lawyer, and within a few years of his joining the legal profession he made a name for himself in the High Court. He was elected to this House in 1937 and everyone of us knows how much he contributed towards the debates of this House. In 1945 he was returned to this House again, but his association this time has, alas, been cut short by death. I have no hesitation in saying that in Malik Barkat Ali's death we have lost a great politician, this House a great parliamentarian, the Punjab a great Punjabi, the High Court a shining light and the Muslim League a staunch supporter and a pillar of strength to the Party.

With these words I ask you, Sir, to convey the sympathies and condolence of this House to the bereaved family of Malik Barkat Ali. I also propose that the House be adjourned for an hour as a mark of respect to his memory.

SARDAR SHAUKAT HYAT-KHAN (South-Eastern Towns, Muhammadan) : (Urban) : It is with a deep sense of grief that I get up to mourn our departed colleague. In Malik Barkat Ali we have lost not an ordinary politician but a great patriot, a statesman and a great gentleman. He, Sir, set an example of political integrity which is second to none in this country. He faced temptations, not once but several times and he stuck his ground and showed to the world that principles meant more to him than personal gain. While this House has lost in him a great parliamentarian, we on this side of the House have lost our pioneer member who led this party through many a storm and placed it on a firm rock. He was not only the first member and the oldest member of the Muslim League party in this House, but he was like a father to the party who guided its destiny through many a difficult time. While we all mourn his death, it is not for me to dilate on his many qualities. I could go on for hours on end. I can only say that in Malik Barkat Ali not only has the Punjab lost a great man, but India has lost a son which she could ill afford at this juncture. I join my honourable friend the Leader of the House in that our condolences be conveyed to the bereaved family, and support the resolution that the House be adjourned for one hour.

MINISTER FOR REVENUE (The Honourable Nawab Sir Muzaffar Ali Qizilbash) : I would like to join the Leader of the House and the Deputy Leader of the Opposition in saying a few words expressing my regret at the great loss to the Punjab. Malik Barkat Ali's and my family connections were at least 50 years

[Minister for Revenue]

old. He was a man of convictions and carried out what he believed to be right. He kept up his friendship although politically he saw differently. He was a parliamentarian of the first class order. He was a constitutionalist second to none in India. His death is a great loss to the Musalmans, to the Punjabis and to India. With these words, Sir, I associate myself with what has been said in the House.

**FINANCE MINISTER** (The Honourable Lala Bhim Sen Sachar) : I join the honourable members of the House in expressing my grief over the death of our friend Malik Barkat Ali. I wholeheartedly associate myself with every word of praise that has fallen from the lips of the speakers on either side of the House. Malik Barkat Ali's intellectual attainments, Malik Barkat Ali's erudition, Malik Barkat Ali's constitutional knowledge, Malik Barkat Ali's debating skill and above all his qualities of gentlemanliness entitled him to a prominent place in the public life of the province.

I had the privilege of knowing Malik Barkat Ali personally. Every time he met you, you were left with the impression that you were dealing with a gentleman. He had the courage of conviction and never swerved for a minute from the path of his duty. We have lost in Malik Barkat Ali a friend, a politician, a patriot, a great parliamentarian and a great student of constitutional law. His loss will be all the more felt now when the Constituent Assembly is about to sit, when we need the best of brains to hammer out a constitution for the whole of India and for our province. He will be missed and missed badly. He will be missed all the more, because he was one of those who believed in cementing relations between the warring elements in the province and from that point of view we will miss him every time. I join the honourable members who have spoken in asking the leave of the House to convey our sympathies to the bereaved members of his family.

**RAJA GHAZANFAR ALI KHAN** (Pind Dadan Khan, Muhammadan, Rural) : Malik Barkat Ali's sudden death is a terrible blow so far as the Muslim League Party is concerned. At this critical juncture particularly we needed his services the most. His death is not merely an irreparable loss to this Province but it is a loss to the entire country. Men of his high character, of his exceptional abilities, of his parliamentary talents are very difficult to find. Malik Barkat Ali was exceedingly popular not only with the members of the Bar but with all his colleagues. While he was the strongest champion of the rights of the Muslim nation, he was a true nationalist inasmuch as he was prepared to make any sacrifice for the freedom of this country. Malik Barkat Ali's loss is very much felt but God's will must be done. I would request you to convey the sympathies and condolence of this party to the bereaved family. We all earnestly pray that his son Shaukat Ali may rise to the same heights as his father and may take his father's place.

**MR. C. E. GIBBON** (Anglo-Indian) : Mr. Speaker, Sir. As possibly the youngest member in this House but the representative of a very seasoned community, I rise to associate myself on behalf of the Christians of the Punjab with the sentiments already expressed. The late Mr. Barkat Ali was well known to the Christian communities, and was held in high esteem and respect. Although his talent, knowledge and eloquence will be missed in this House, his illuminating speeches, to which you and I will often refer, lie not far distant from this Chamber, bound in volumes lettered with gold. His name, an everlasting name in heaven, shall flourish in fragrance and beauty as long as men shall last upon earth, hearts remain to revere Truth, Fidelity and Goodness. Rear then monuments to his name, dedicated to the Fatherhood of God, and to the brotherhood of man.

**MR. SPEAKER** : I would like to associate the Chair with the sense of grief. I shall not say much about the qualities of Malik Barkat Ali and his abilities which other members of the House have spoken of. I have had the honour of enjoying his friendship for a long time. I had great deal to do with him when I was in charge of examinations and many a time I had taken advantage of and benefited from his advice. Everybody including Muslims, Christians and Sikhs looked upon the late Malik Barkat Ali not only as a great lawyer, but as a great gentleman. He was very catholic in his friendship and in his generosity and I deemed it a privilege

and good luck that I had the opportunity to give my shoulder to the coffin of late Malik Barkat Ali. Now I shall ask the House to stand and pass the resolution of condolence which is to be conveyed to the bereaved family.

*The resolution was carried, all members standing.*

MR. SPEAKER: The next question is—

That the House do now adjourn till 11 a.m. as a mark of respect to the memory of the late Malik Barkat Ali.

*The motion was carried.*

*The Assembly then adjourned till 11 a.m.*

*The Assembly re-assembled at 11 a.m. of the clock. Mr. Speaker in the chair.*

### ELECTIONS TO THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

MR. SPEAKER: Honourable members, I have received the following message from His Excellency the Governor, which I shall read out to you:—

"In exercise of the powers conferred upon me by subsection (2) of section 63 of the Government of India Act, 1935, and in pursuance of paragraph 21 of the Statement of the British Cabinet Delegation dated the 16th May 1946, I send the following message to the Punjab Legislative Assembly:—

#### MESSAGE

I am charged to convey to the Punjab Legislative Assembly the request of His Excellency the Viceroy that the Assembly proceed with the election of the Punjab representatives to the Constituent Assembly which it is proposed to bring into being.

You are accordingly requested to elect twenty-eight representatives, of whom sixteen shall be Muslims and four shall be Sikhs.

Instructions in regard to nominations were communicated to Members of the Punjab Legislative Assembly along with the summons to attend the present meeting. The Muslim and Sikh seats in the Constituent Assembly shall be filled by such persons as are chosen by Muslim and Sikh Members as the case may be of the Punjab Legislative Assembly. The General seats should be filled by persons chosen by such Members of the Punjab Legislative Assembly as are not Muslims or Sikhs.

All the elections should be held by the method of proportional representation with the single transferable vote. The elections will be held on Friday 19th July and the results will be published in the Official Gazette as soon as possible.

E. M. JENKINS

*Governor of the Punjab*

I would like to consult the Leader of the House and the Leader of the Opposition if one hour will be sufficient for carrying out the election. Now, the ballot papers will be distributed to the honourable members and their signatures will be taken. After that I will give them time to mark their papers and put them in ballot boxes.

RAJA GHAZANFAR ALI KHAN: Sir, before these ballot papers are distributed, may I request you to ascertain whether every member is sitting in his own seat, because no ballot paper can be distributed to a member who is not sitting in his own seat.

MR. SPEAKER: It is only a question of administrative convenience. When the ballot paper is given, the signature of the member concerned will be taken and it will be given to the member when he is sitting in his own seat. (*An honourable member*: But the ballot papers are already given to us.) No. Those were the samples. That was a replica of to-day's ballot papers with the names that was sent to them, so that they may familiarise themselves and that they should prepare themselves beforehand as to how they were going to vote. Same kind of ballot papers are given to them to-day but of different colours. There are different colours of ballot papers for different constituencies. These papers are to be put individually by each member in the boxes provided here according to the colour of boxes. Whips will not be permitted to take others' papers and put them

<sup>1</sup>Vide Appendix at page 331 *infra*

<sup>2</sup>Punjab Government Notification No. 4838-PG-46/28009, dated the 22nd July 1946.

[Mr. Speaker]

in ballot boxes on party lines. Every member should put his own ballot paper in the box.

**RAJA GHAZANFAR ALI KHAN :** May I draw your attention to the fact that Government is carrying on canvassing on the floor of the House. They are forcing an honourable member to sign the ballot paper.

**MR. SPEAKER :** If there is any such thing, every member is free to ask for Chair's protection. Members are free to go to lobbies, but ballot papers must be put in the boxes by their own hands. Those who want to vote in secrecy and feel that others may not know what they are doing, they are permitted to come in the centre.

**RAJA GHAZANFAR ALI KHAN :** The honourable Mian Bagh Ali's seat is on this side.

**MR. SPEAKER :** I find that Mian Bagh Ali is sitting in his proper seat.

**RAJA GHAZANFAR ALI KHAN (Urdu) :** Sir, I wish to submit that my honourable friend Mian Bagh Ali is being induced by the Honourable Minister to affix his signatures on some paper. He is being forced to sign a piece of paper in the House to the effect that his seat should be where he is sitting at present. But the seat that has been allotted to my honourable friend Mian Bagh Ali is on this side of the House. He has been made to sit on the Coalition benches forcibly, and this practice is against the very rules and regulations governing the procedure of the House. I submit, Sir, that unless he is asked to take his proper seat, no ballot paper whatsoever should be supplied to him. Further, I wish to make this point clear that yesterday my honourable friend Mian Bagh Ali had, in his letter, written to you that his seat should be fixed on the League benches. Thereupon you were pleased to order that he should be given a seat on the League benches. Now that the House has already started to proceed with the business of electing members to the Constituent Assembly, it really ill-behoves my honourable friends opposite to force the honourable member to occupy a seat on those benches, when his seat has already been allotted on these benches.

My point of order is this that the ballot papers should be given to the honourable members of this House after they occupy the seats allotted to them.

**MINISTER FOR REVENUE :** The ruling has already been given to this effect. (*Interruptions*).

**RAJA GHAZANFAR ALI KHAN :** My point is this that my honourable friend Mian Bagh Ali has already been allotted a seat on these benches. It will not be out of place to mention here that you were pleased to give your ruling to the effect that ballot papers should be supplied to those members only who are in their seats. In this connection I would request you to let me know whether any changes can be made in the seating arrangements after the business of the House has been resumed.

**MINISTER FOR DEVELOPMENT (The Honourable Sardar Baldev Singh) :** May I point out, Sir, that you have already given your ruling. The honourable member is sitting in his own seat.

**MR. SPEAKER :** I shall consider this point. Mian Bagh Ali will not be given his ballot papers. I will consult my Secretary.

**MIAN MUHAMMAD NURULLAH :** Sir, before ballot papers are issued may I draw your attention to Rule 49 which says —

Except as provided in the rules, the first hour of every sitting, after the swearing in of members, if any, shall be available for oral answers to questions.

May I ask when notice of questions was given, why questions have not been put on the agenda, and why the Government does not allow us to redress the grievances of the public in this House, and why we are being debarred by this mandatory procedure ?

**MR. SPEAKER :** I have considered this matter very carefully because I myself was in great doubt, and my first reaction was that although this session is for a

special purpose, yet it should not do away with questions. I consulted other Speakers because they were also in the same difficulty; and all other Speakers, except two are of the opinion that questions cannot appear on this day, and that no other business except the business for which the special session has been called, should be allowed. Moreover I have taken the view that the Article on the subject of Questions in our Constitutional Manual cannot be binding at today's session, which is of a particular nature. This kind of compartmental election is not contemplated by our Rules or the Government of India Act. Therefore, I have ruled that there should be no questions.

CHAUDHRI MUHAMMAD HASAN: Who are those two Speakers?

MR. SPEAKER: In these two cases, one said that the business of the House could not be interrupted because of this, their session was going on; in Bengal they started on the 17th, I think.

KHAN BAHADUR SHEIKH KARAMAT ALI: Is the decision of the Speakers based on some statute, or is it their own opinion?

MR. SPEAKER: Somebody has to judge. In this case the judgment must be with the Speaker. (*Interruptions*). I shall not permit any votes to be cast after 12.30. The House will proceed with the motion that the House do adjourn *sine die* at 12.30.

RAJA GHAZANFAR ALI KHAN: May I bring it to your notice that your orders have been deliberately defied by your subordinates inasmuch as M. Bagh Ali has been given ballot papers in spite of your clear orders that he will not be given ballot papers.

SECRETARY: The ballot papers were given before the orders of the Speaker.

RAJA GHAZANFAR ALI KHAN: May I show you the chart where M. Bagh Ali has been given a seat on this side? If the ballot papers have been wrongly given they may be destroyed and new ballot papers issued to him when he comes to his own seat.

MR. SPEAKER: Please proceed with your elections. I shall have to consult my staff on this point.

RAJA GHAZANFAR ALI KHAN: In case that gentleman comes and puts his ballot papers in this box, please depute your Secretary to stop him from putting his ballot papers in the box.

MR. SPEAKER: The rule regarding the seating arrangement is—

"Members shall sit in such order as the Speaker after consultation with the Leader of the House and leaders of parties may appoint."

That we did after ascertaining the wishes of the Leader of the House and the leaders of the various parties. Yesterday Mr. Bagh Ali gave in writing that he wanted to sit with the Muslim League and with my permission a seat was allotted to him in the Muslim League benches. This morning he occupied another seat according to his own wishes.

CHAUDHRI MUHAMMAD HASAN: He was coerced.

MR. SPEAKER: I cannot say that, because I saw no coercion. He has again given in writing that he wants to sit with the Ministerialist Party and as I have not yet passed any orders on this request of his, I rule that his seat is the one allotted to him yesterday and he should occupy that at present. I may, however, make it clear that I cannot bind him permanently to occupy a particular seat and he is free to sit wherever he likes. (*Loud cheers from the Muslim League benches*). Mr. Bagh Ali, you are free to have the protection of the Chair and can come up to me to mark your paper, if any coercion is practised.

## ADJOURNMENT

MINISTER OF DEVELOPMENT (The Hon'ble Sardar Baldev Singh): I move—

That the House do now stand adjourned *sine die*.

MR. SPEAKER: The motion is—

That the House do now stand adjourned *sine die*.

RAJA GHAZANFAR ALI KHAN (Pind Dadan Khan, Muhammadan, Rural): Mr. Speaker, I rise to oppose this motion and the reasons for my opposing this motion are three. The first reason is that when this Government brought a similar motion that the House should stand adjourned *sine die* on the last day of the Budget session

[Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan]

I opposed that motion. The reason that I gave then was that it was a very brief session only for ten days and there was lot of legislation pending and that the Government should not run away with the session by having meetings for only ten days and that they should continue the meeting. As far as I remember, the Honourable Finance Minister—he was then speaking on behalf of the Government—gave an assurance that the meeting of the Assembly will be called at a very early date. My amendment was that the meeting should be held in April. The Leader of the House said that it was impossible to fix the date then, but he said that the meeting would be called at a very early date, possibly in May. Now it is July and when, by the force of circumstances, a session of the Assembly has been called, why should the Government not take advantage of this and carry through the important legislation and all other vitally important matters concerning the welfare of the province? This is the first reason why I oppose this motion. The Government have not given any indication why they are not continuing this session. Tax-payers' money is being wasted. The members have come all the way. They will get their travelling allowance but as you know there is no daily halting allowance. So, if the Assembly continues for another ten days, it will not cost anything to the tax-payers but we shall be able to carry through important legislation. That is the first reason.

The second reason is based on the constitutional question involved in this matter. I submit that the procedure followed by this House is abnormal. It is, if I may say so, in contravention of the provisions of the Government of India Act. While the Governor has powers to summon a session, and I admit that the Governor has the authority to order that a particular business should be carried out expeditiously, I do not think the Governor has got the powers to prevent the House from carrying any other business in addition to the business ordered by the Governor.

MR. PARBODH CHANDAR: What about Sind?

RAJA GHAZANFAR ALI KHAN: Is he the follower of Sind? What about Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru? (*Interruptions*). He believes more in Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah than those numerous statements issued by that crack President of the Congress. May I remind my honourable friend over there that Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, while commenting on the Sind position, said that if the Governor prorogues the Assembly and there is a no-confidence motion tabled, then for the government to be carried on will be carrying on the government on anti-democratic principles. May I ask whether he would like to follow Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru or Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah?

MR. PARBODH CHANDAR: Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru.

RAJA GHAZANFAR ALI KHAN: The Congress Party, instead of being ashamed of seeing dictatorial methods being followed by their Ministers, are proud of following the Sind Government. Why feel proud of following the Sind Government? I admit that I do not feel proud in following Sind or any other Government. Follow the democratic principle and procedure and do not go by what Sir Ghulam Hussain says. (*Interruptions*). I do not mind giving way provided I am asked to do so in a parliamentary way. Let me tell my honourable friends that if they want to ask questions I shall give way but running commentary is a most undesirable thing.

PANDIT SHRI RAM SHARMA: You generally do so.

RAJA GHAZANFAR ALI KHAN: You must follow others. You have no commonsense of your own. (*Laughter*). Take the case of Sind itself. The interpretation of His Excellency the Governor of Sind, who by no means is a great authority on interpretation of constitutional law and whose decision cannot be binding on other Governors, was to the effect that if a special session is called by the Governor to do a particular work, then it is up to the Governor to prorogue the session. These gentlemen sitting on those benches do not seem to understand the a, b, c, of constitution. There in Sind the Governor was definitely of the view that if a special session is called for special purpose, then it is up to the Governor to issue the order to prorogue the session. What is happening in the Punjab? His Excellency the Governor of the Punjab does not seem to agree with the opinion of the Governor of Sind and I say that he is welcome to have his own opinion because



Sind Governor's opinion is not binding on any Governor. The present Governor quite constitutionally, and I do not say that we admire his trying to follow constitution honestly, said that he won't prorogue the session. He said, "I won't take the responsibility, the Assembly meeting has been called, they shall elect members of the Constituent Assembly and if the Assembly want to go on with the business and if they want to pass a few other important bills, then I will not come in their way". Let responsibility be shared by those people who by force of circumstances and machinations of a Governor, who I am glad is no more in this province, are sitting on those benches. I ask them, is it proper for them to get up and say that the House stands adjourned *sine die*? Why are they afraid of bringing up the business which they know will expire if the Assembly does not pass it in time? I refer to the Rent Restriction Act. This has been prolonged by an Ordinance. If the Ordinance is not approved by the Assembly, then six weeks after the session is over that Ordinance will lapse. What will be the consequences, I ask? I have received numerous telegrams from various tenants. They say that if that Act is allowed to lapse, it will mean a great hardship to poor and middle class men. Now, the Government will turn round again and say, "Oh, never mind, we will advise the Governor to renew the Ordinance, we shall advise him to take action under the Defence of India Act". Do they not feel ashamed of it? The Congress Party are boasting of independence and sovereignty of the Constituent Assembly and not thinking for one moment that to advise the Governor to rule the province under the Defence of India Act is the most disgraceful thing and any political party should feel ashamed of it. (*Cries of shame, shame, from Opposition benches*). This is my second reason.

The third reason which I consider to be the most important of all is that we have tabled a number of no-confidence motions against this Government. The Honourable Leader of the House must be aware of it. You must have seen, as other members must have seen in the papers, a challenge thrown by the Leader of this Party, the Nawab of Mamdot, to the Government that if they have got the courage they should come forward and face our no-confidence motions.

MINISTER FOR FINANCE: And this is your opportunity!

RAJA GHAZANFAR ALI KHAN: This is no no-confidence motion. The Honourable Finance Minister is probably thinking that a motion that the House may adjourn *sine die* is tantamount to a no-confidence motion. I think he will have to write a new dictionary and if he is given time he would interpret the constitutional law in intricate matters in his own way. But even a layman, a man of average intelligence knows that there is a lot of difference between a motion that the House do stand adjourned *sine die* and a motion that we have got no confidence in this irresponsible Government. I can assure you that I have been hearing in the lobbies that there are quite a number of gentlemen here who believe and honestly believe that if the Government think that they cannot bring forward any legislation in this session and that they want to adjourn the House *sine die*, it is their responsibility, because after all to see that the province is governed properly and legislation is passed in due course and in proper time, is primarily the duty of the Government and not the responsibility of the members. Therefore, there are a number of members who say that if the Government want to adjourn the House *sine die*, why should they come in their way and not let them adjourn *sine die*? Therefore an honest man, a sincere man may hold the opinion that he will not stop the Government from adjourning the House *sine die*, but if a no-confidence motion is moved, he will certainly vote down the Government. That is a matter of common sense, that is the ordinary logic. This Government are the most unscrupulous and dishonest because they are trying to win over the members to their side. This is the Government, who, as we all know, is wasting public money in the form of grants of lands and *jagirs* ruthlessly, because they know that they are short-lived. These murderers, I call them as such because I know in villages in the matter of important problem of procurement of food, sugar, kerosine oil and cloth, this Government is using all such methods, to keep themselves in office. But let me assure them that they will not remain there very long. If they were sure of their position, this temporary officiating Leader of the House would have the courage of his conviction to accept

[Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan]

our challenge. Here is an opportunity, here is this Muslim League party, only 80 in numbers and according to the *Tribune* four of us have already gone to that side and according to the *Milap* and other such papers our number is reduced to half. Would you not welcome this opportunity and say that the House stands adjourned till Monday when no-confidence motion will be taken up? If you are sure of yourself, if you are sure that you have got a majority, then why do you not face it? You know that in constitutional language, failure of a no-confidence motion is tantamount to a motion of confidence in you. Do you not know that your confidence is shaken, your credit is nil and you are disowned by every section of this House? Do you know that your own followers have been passing resolutions at different places condemning your action? Do you realise that you have used the Defence of India Act most ruthlessly? Are you aware what treatment is meted out to the socialist members of your Congress party? Do you know what has happened? Have you read the resolutions passed at Khanewal and other places saying that the public have no-confidence in the Government? Probably the Honourable Finance Minister or somebody else for the matter of that, because I find no difference between a Unionist, a Congressite and a Khalsa — all are in the same boat, all irresponsible and hankering after power. ....

MR. DEV RAJ SETHI: Is the honourable member relevant in discussing all these things?

RAJA GHAZANFAR ALI KHAN: May I ask my honourable friend whether he has been appointed a Parliamentary Secretary? Does he know what happened last evening? The honourable temporary Leader of the House called the pressmen and gave them a list of six *Achhuts* who are appointed as parliamentary and private-parliamentary secretaries. It is published in the papers.

MINISTER FOR DEVELOPMENT: I never gave any list.

RAJA GHAZANFAR ALI KHAN: I know it and I will not accept your word.

MINISTER: I am not here to convince you, I do however state for the information of the House that I never gave any such list.

RAJA GHAZANFAR ALI KHAN: I withdraw my words. I do not want to attack your honesty and I do not doubt your words. Will you, like a gentleman, tell me, is there no member of the Government who gave to the press a list of 6 *Achhuts*—2 Parliamentary Secretaries and 4 Private Parliamentary Secretaries?

MINISTER FOR REVENUE: No.

RAJA GHAZANFAR ALI KHAN: Is it not a fact? Guilty conscience. (*Laughter*).

MINISTER: No member of the Government gave any such list.

RAJA GHAZANFAR ALI KHAN: This morning various papers published it and I do not want to divulge the names because after all our sources of information are meagre and limited. We have not got C. I. D. people. What I mean to say is that the representative of the A. P. I. told me that names were given by a Minister but later on one of the Ministers sent a note saying not to publish the list. This is a fact which nobody can deny. I pity these poor and ignorant people. They were kept in their houses for nights and days together. They were not allowed to see the sun. What I mean to say is that with all these powers, with all these unscrupulous intentions and with all this artificial and vague majority, can you have the courage to get up and move a motion that the House stands adjourned till 10 o'clock to-morrow and that you will not take up any other business except the no-confidence motion, whatever temptation and whatever pressure you may have to bear? I repeat the challenge of my Leader that we shall defeat you and we shall kick you out.

MR. SPEAKER: Please use parliamentary language.

RAJA GHAZANFAR ALI KHAN: The word "kick" is the mildest Parliamentary language used for this purpose because they live on kicking. (*Laughter*).

MR. SPEAKER: Please do not use this word.

**RAJA GHAZANFAR ALI KHAN :** All right, Sir, I do not use that word. Let me close my remarks with these three things. First, by carrying this motion you will be doing great injustice to the province. (*Interruption.*) Why do you not defeat the no-confidence motion? Let the Honourable Minister for Development get up and give us some reasons for not doing it. But we shall take you to the division, not because we are sure of our victory. I can assure you that while in this case we are not quite sanguine, but by God's grace we shall defeat you if you allow us to bring a no-confidence motion. Even if it is not possible to defeat you now we shall still bring in a no-confidence motion, because I will not only be voicing the feelings of the majority of members of this House but I shall be voicing the feelings of an overwhelming majority of the Punjabis. (*Hear, hear.*) I would remind you that two or three months will not make any difference. You should know that your edifice is going to fall. You have got no policy, you have got no principle, your Congress Sikhs owe allegiance to somebody else. They do not know where they stand. If the Panthic party started a *nirocha*, then my honourable friend Sardar Baldev Singh would not be able to flatter these members to come to this House. May I ask those uninvited guests why have they come here? Surely not to elect the members of the Constituent Assembly, for while that business was being carried on they were sitting in the lobbies. Now when that work is finished, like faithful soldiers they have been ordered by the Government to fall in. You have not the courage to see that this Government is turned out. I appeal most earnestly to the Honourable Minister for Finance and to the Honourable Minister for Public Works, because I know he is a Jat and the Jats have got more courage than other people. I appeal to him to ask these gentlemen to allow us to move the no-confidence motion on Monday. No harm will be done; it will be a question of a few hours for you to see whether the House has got confidence in you. I know your weaknesses; I know the number of no-confidence motions brought against you by your own party. If they with sheer force of numbers carry through this somewhat non-controversial motion of the House adjourning *sine die*, let them not live in a fools' paradise. Let them not carry away with the idea that this House or the province has got any confidence in them.

**MINISTER FOR REVENUE** (The Honourable Sir Muzaffar Ali Qizilbash) : Mr. Speaker, I wish to take up the constitutional position, but before doing that I would like to say that the oration of Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan was absolutely irrelevant, any way he is a past master in doing propaganda for his party and always make things irrelevant appear relevant. Sir, the main point is whether we would adjourn *sine die* or not, and whether we should allow the no-confidence motion or not. Briefly my point is that usually the sessions of the Assembly are called by the Governor on the advice of the Ministry, he never calls it of his own accord. In the present case however the Governor has been instructed by somebody else to call this special session for a special purpose, and that is by His Excellency the Viceroy. If the Governor calls a session on the advice of the Viceroy, it is also his duty to prorogue it. The *sine die* motion is only moved when the Ministry advises the Governor to call a session. But we advised him not to prorogue it as the Opposition were shouting that they had a majority and that they were bringing a no-confidence motion; we advised the Governor not to prorogue the Assembly although the right thing would be to prorogue it. We would like to give you an opportunity on the floor of the House of defeating us, and if you defeat us on this division we will go out of office. For the last three years we have been hearing that the Government was going to be defeated. (*Voices from the Opposition.*) For the last three years? (*Laughter.*) There is nothing new. Sir, you are an old member of the House. You will remember about three years ago when my friend Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan crossed the floor in the last Assembly and went in the opposition. Since then he has always been saying 'we are going to beat you' and throw you out. One session came and then another session but they could not show their majority. Now there is this new Ministry and again they have started saying we will beat you. Again this propaganda has started.....

**KHAN BAHADUR SHEIKH KARAMAT ALI :** On a point of order.

**MINISTER :** I do not give way. (*Interruptions.*)

**KHAN BAHADUR SHEIKH KARAMAT ALI :** Mr. Speaker, on a point of order. The Honourable Minister has referred to three sessions whereas there has been only one session.

**MR. SPEAKER :** It is no point of order.

**KHAN BAHADUR SHEIKH KARAMAT ALI :** All he is talking about is irrelevant.

**MR. SPEAKER :** Order, order.

**MINISTER :** What would they do? They would do exactly what Raja Sahib has done, false propaganda. They will say we will defeat you on a no-confidence motion. Government would be wasting time on a no-confidence motion. If you defeat us on the motion to adjourn *sine die*, we will take it as a vote of no-confidence against us. I wanted to clear the position of the Ministry as far as the question of proroguing was concerned. We want to give an opportunity to the Opposition to call for a division. If they have a majority and can defeat us, we are prepared to give way. If the Governor had prorogued the Assembly there would have been malicious propaganda. So we say it before the whole world: here is a motion, go to the lobbies and defeat us.

**KHAN BAHADUR SHEIKH KARAMAT ALI :** Sir, I rise to oppose the motion to adjourn *sine die* on the ground that this Government has so far failed to do its duty towards the public by not meeting the wishes of the public. Ever since this Government has come into power we have been deferring the non-official business which I personally believe is the only business through which one can learn how far the Government discharges its duty faithfully to the public. Since this Government has come into being by unfair means, they have not given us an occasion to ventilate the grievances of the public and have thus failed in doing real justice to the demands of the public. My friend the Revenue Minister said that this session has been called at the express bidding of the Viceroy and that the Governor was compelled to call the meeting. I am very much surprised at this kind of logic in the argument. After all a session has been called and there is nothing to prevent us to go through some other business in the same session. Even if this session has been called on account of the bidding, order or request of the Viceroy, I do not see why the Leader of the House should not have brought forward some additional business. As has been pointed out by Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan, the Rent Restriction Act, which has expired, has been brought into force by an Ordinance for one month. Where is the reason for the Government in not bringing forward the required legislation before the House or for issuing the Ordinance which I personally believe is most barbaric and cannot be tolerated in normal times? There is absolutely no justification for promulgating the Ordinance, when the Assembly is meeting and when the required legislation can be rushed through in the interest of the public. Therefore I submit that instead of bringing this very important matter before the House, an unusual method has been resorted to by issuing this Ordinance. The work of passing such a legislation could be rushed through in this session. It definitely locates the whole thing to very ante-date times when things were not regularly done by legislation. I personally believe that this Government should be ashamed of having recourse to things which could only be permitted in abnormal times. War is over now and there is no occasion for the Government to defer legislation and take action by means of Ordinances.

Further, Sir, I submit that the members opposite have so far prevented us from showing to the world outside what we wanted to do and what these gentlemen did not allow us to do. It is a well known fact that we wanted to bring forward a number of non-official Bills and resolutions which the party in power did not allow us to move. By moving this motion that the Assembly do now adjourn *sine die* this Government have resorted to the same old tactics which the previous Unionist Government adopted for preventing conscientious members of the Opposition to do their duty towards their constituents for the protection of whose rights and interests they have been elected to this House. As everybody knows we have given notices of a good many questions and resolutions; there are other very important matters which we wanted to discuss on the floor of the House, but the Government would not let us have our say. I do not see any reason why we should not be given an

opportunity to voice public feelings and ventilate public grievances here. It is not only we who feel it, there are several members of the other party also who are really conscientious people and who realise that they should be given opportunities, so that they can honestly face the world outside when they are called upon to show what they have been doing here in this House. I fail to understand why the Leader of the House is so keen in preventing us from doing our duty towards those whom we have the honour to represent here. It is nothing but a negation of all democratic principles. They have resorted to the tactics of the last Governor whose actions, to say the least, were not of a high character. But that gentleman who stood in our way is fortunately no longer here and they should not have recourse to those very weapons against us. After all we are not asking for much time. You can meet even to-morrow or on Monday. I would appeal to the good sense of the members of the Congress Party who have tall traditions. Can they by such actions show an honest face to the world outside? My honourable friend the Finance Minister, in last session presented a Budget which he did not even own and which he was very reluctant to present and about which he said that the defects in the Budget were due to past history. Have they forgotten all those tall traditions and all those promises? We are going to throw you out not merely because you are incapable but because you have forgotten what you promised to do and you are not fit to be where you are. Why should you gag public opinion in this way? There are, as I have already said, a number of resolutions, there are no-confidence motions, and there is a very important piece of legislation, the Rent Restriction Bill, pending. With what justification have they come forward with this *sine die* motion? For the last four months we have had no opportunity to meet and if this occasion has arisen in deference to the wishes of His Excellency the Viceroy, why should we not utilise it to the best interests of the people of the province? With these remarks, Sir, I oppose the motion now before the House with all the force that I can command.

MINISTER FOR DEVELOPMENT (The Honourable Sardar Baldev Singh): Sir, I would like to reply to the criticism by my honourable friend, Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan who has blamed the Government for bringing forward this motion. As a matter of fact, Raja Sahib has not put forth any substantial argument against this motion. As far as I have been able to gather from his speech, it seems to me that he himself is not sure of his party's strength.....

RAJA GHAZANFAR ALI KHAN: On this question.

MINISTER: During the last Budget session, my colleague the Finance Minister promised that he would be prepared to call for a session when he was ready with a revised Budget. So far as the present session is concerned the position is that it has been forced on us.

RAJA GHAZANFAR ALI KHAN: We all agree it has been forced on you.

MINISTER: If my honourable friend will allow me to proceed with my speech he will be convinced that what I am saying is based upon facts. It was at the instructions of His Excellency the Viceroy that we had to meet to elect our representatives to the Constituent Assembly. As far as any other business is concerned, we have certain Bills under consideration but the difficulty is that they are not yet ready. Another difficulty is that the Honourable Premier is not here and it is obvious that it is not possible for us to place any business before the House without his consultation. These are the two main obstacles. Coming now to the constitutional issue, I admit that I am not an expert in constitutional law but from whatever little I have gathered, the position is this. The present session has been called at the instance of His Excellency the Viceroy, for a specific purpose. We could either have requested the Governor to prorogue the Assembly or to ask the Speaker to adjourn it *sine die*.

RAJA GHAZANFAR ALI KHAN: That he would not do. He is an honest man.

MINISTER: We have not taken shelter behind the powers of the Governor as some people in an adjoining province have done. We have taken the responsibility on ourselves. By moving this motion we have assumed the responsibility for ending the session. If you want to move a motion of no-confidence against us and

[Minister for Development]

if you are sure of your strength, you can outvote us on this motion and the House is bound to meet on Monday. Therefore the present Ministry has adopted the best course which was open to it without putting the Governor or the Speaker in any awkward position. If the Opposition is sure of their strength it is for them to outvote us. I can assure you that it is not the desire of any member on this side of the House to sit in their seats with the help of the Governor. I can assure the members opposite that we propose to continue to sit in these seats as long as we enjoy the confidence of the majority in the House and if we do not enjoy that confidence, I repeat that you will not find us here for a minute longer.

Another point has been put forward. Raja Sahib has mentioned the Rent Restriction Act. We know our responsibility. We know how to safeguard the interests of the public, and I can assure the House that Government will do all that is possible and will not let anybody suffer. When the session was forced upon us, we were not ready with the Bill. The new Bill is under preparation, and it will not be long before it comes up for discussion. (*Interruption*). Raja Sahib is in the habit of making a running commentary, but I will not take notice of it! He is free to act as he likes!

Then, Raja Sahib has also asserted that Government have promised to make appointments of Parliamentary Secretaries. I have not the least hesitation to admit this before the House. It is the right of any Government to make appointments of Parliamentary Secretaries. We have not appointed any of them up till now, but we will not hesitate to do so and indeed you will see they are appointed.

I have not much to say on this motion. I hope I have been able to clear the position as far as Government is concerned. I wish to repeat that as far as the no-confidence motion of my friends is concerned, we are not afraid of it. We have given you an opportunity to try your strength by taking upon ourselves the responsibility of moving this motion for adjournment of the House *sine die*. If you are sure of your strength here is an opportunity for you to defeat us and you will have Monday for moving your no-confidence motion. If you do not enjoy a majority, then the House will survive and adjourn according to the motion which I have moved.

RAJA GHAZANFAR ALI KHAN: May I ask one question? Is it a fact that Government advised the Governor to prorogue the session but the Governor refused, and then Government approached the Speaker to adjourn and he refused?

MINISTER: If my honourable friend will believe me the point that was raised by Government was that as this session has been called by the Viceroy, the responsibility lies with him to end it through the Governor. But we did not take that course. We decided to take upon ourselves the responsibility for ending the session.

MR. SPEAKER: The question is—

That the House do now stand adjourned *sine die*.

The House then divided: Ayes 87, Noes 80.

#### AYES

Ajit Singh, Sardar.  
Allah Bakhsh Khan Tiwana, K. B.  
Nawab Malik Sir.  
Bachan Singh, Sardar.  
Badlu Ram, Chaudhri.  
Bagh Ali, Mian.  
Baldev Singh, The Honourable Sardar.  
Beli Ram, Mr.  
Bhagat Ram Sharma, Pandit.

Bhagwan Dass, Lala.  
Bhim Sen Sachar, The Hon'ble Lala.  
Behari Lal Chanana, Lala.  
Chandan, Mr., alias Samar Singh.  
Dalip Singh, Thakur.  
Dalip Singh, Sardar.  
Dev Raj Sethi, Mr.  
Durga Chand, Pandit.  
Faqir Chand, Mr.

Fazal Ilahi, Mr.  
 Ganga Saran, Rai Bahadur Lala.  
 Gibbon, Mr. C. E.  
 Gopi Chand Bhargava, Dr.  
 Guest, Mr. P. H.  
 Gurbachan Singh, Sardar (Ferozepore)  
 Gurbachan Singh, Sardar (Sialkot).  
 Gurbanta Singh, Sardar.  
 Harbhaj Ram, Mr.  
 Hari Lal, Munshi.  
 Inder Singh, Sardar.  
 Isher Singh Majhail, Sardar.  
 Jagdish, Mr.  
 Jagjit Singh Mann, Sardar.  
 Jaswant Singh, Sardar.  
 Jiwan Lal, Mr.  
 Joginder Singh Mann, Sardar Bahadur  
 Sardar.  
 Kabul Singh, Sardar.  
 Kapur Singh, Sardar  
 Kartar Singh, Sardar.  
 Kehar Singh, Sardar.  
 Kidar Nath Sehgal, Lala.  
 Krishna Gopal Dutt, Chaudhri.  
 Lahri Singh, The Honourable Chaudhri.  
 Lehna Singh Sethi, Dr.  
 Man Singh, Jathedar.  
 Mangoo Ram, Mr.  
 Matu Ram, Mr.  
 Mehr Chand, Mr.  
 Mohan Lal, Mr.  
 Mohar Singh, Rao Sahib Rao.  
 Muhammad Ibrahim Barq, The  
 Honourable Mian.  
 Muhammad Rafiq, Mian.  
 Muzaffar Ali Khan Qizilbash, The  
 Honourable Nawab Sir.

Narindar Singh, Sant.  
 Narotam Singh, Sardar.  
 Pancham Chand, Thakur.  
 Parbodh Chandar, Mr.  
 Parkash Kaur, Shrimati.  
 Partap Singh, Sardar.  
 Piara Singh, Sardar.  
 Prem Singh, Chaudhri.  
 Prithvi Singh Azad, Mr.  
 Rameshwari Nehru, Mrs.  
 Ranbir Singh, Mehta.  
 Ranjit Singh, Chaudhri.  
 Rattan Singh, Chaudhri.  
 Rattan Singh, Sardar.  
 Rattan Singh, Sardar (Moga).  
 Sahib Ram, Chaudhri.  
 Sajjan Singh, Sardar.  
 Sant Ram, Mr.  
 Sant Ram Seth, Dr.  
 Sardul Singh, Sardar.  
 Shanno Devi Sehgal, Shrimati.  
 Sher Singh, Chaudhri.  
 Shiv Saran Singh, Sardar.  
 Shiv Singh, Sardar.  
 Shri Ram Sharma, Pandit.  
 Sudarshan, Seth.  
 Sultan Ali Nangiana, Mian.  
 Sundar, Mr.  
 Sundar Singh, Sardar.  
 Suraj Mal, Rao Bahadur Chaudhri.  
 Swaran Singh, Sardar.  
 Tara Singh, Sardar Sahib Sardar.  
 Tilak Raj, Professor.  
 Uddham Singh, Sardar.  
 Ujjal Singh, Sardar.  
 Waryam Singh, Sardar.

## NOTES

Abdul Ghafur, Chaudhri.  
 Abdul Haq, Mian.  
 Abdul Hamid Khan, Sufi.  
 Abdul Hamid Khan, Rana.  
 Abdul Hamid Khan, Khan Sahib.  
 Abdul Sattar Khan, Khan.  
 Ahmad Jan, Maulvi.  
 Akram Ali Khan, Chaudhri.  
 Ali Akbar Khan, Chaudhri.  
 Allah Yar Khan Daultana, Khan  
 Bahadur Mian.  
 Anwar Khan, Rai.  
 Asghar Ali, Khan Sahib Captain  
 Chaudhri.  
 Ashiq Hussain, Sayed.  
 Ashiq Hussain, Major Nawab.  
 Atta Muhammad Khan, Sardar.  
 Aziz Din, Chaudhri.

Bahadur Khan, Sardar.  
 Bahawal Bakhsh, Chaudhri.  
 Barkat Hayat Khan, Sardar.  
 Bashir Ahmad, Mian.  
 Budhan Shah, Pir.  
 Daud Ghaznavi, Maulana.  
 Faiz Muhammad, Khan Bahadur  
 Sheikh.  
 Fateh Muhammad Sayyal, Chaudhri.  
 Fazal Haq Paracha, Khan Bahadur  
 Sheikh.  
 Fazal Ilahi, Chaudhri.  
 Ghazanfar Ali Khan, Raja.  
 Ghulam Farid, Chaudhri.  
 Ghulam Jilani, Mian.  
 Ghulam Mohammad Shah, Sayad.  
 Ghulam Mustafa Shah Jilani, Khan Sa-  
 hib Makhdumzada Sayad.

Ghulam Rasul, Chaudhri.  
 Ghulam Samad, Khan Sahib Khawaja.  
 Iftikhar Hussain Khan, Nawab.  
 Jahan Khan, Chaudhri.  
 Jahan Ara Shah Nawaz, Begum.  
 Kale Khan, Raja.  
 Karamat Ali, Khan Bahadur Sheikh.  
 Khair Mehdi Khan, Raja.  
 Khan Muhammad Khan Kathia,  
 Mehr.  
 Mehtab Khan, Chaudhri.  
 Mohy-ud-Din Lal Badshah, Sayed.  
 Muhammad Abdas Salam, Mian.  
 Muhammad Abdullah, Khan Sahib Mir.  
 Muhammad Amin, Khan Sahib Sheikh.  
 Muhammad Arif Khan, Mehr.  
 Muhammad Feroz Khan Noon, Malik  
 Sir.  
 Muhammad Hassan, Chaudhri.  
 Muhammad Hussain, Sardar.  
 Muhammad Hussain, Chaudhri.  
 Muhammad Iftikhar-ud-Din, Mian.  
 Muhammad Iqbal Ahmad Khan, Rai.  
 Muhammad Jamal Khan Leghari, Khan  
 Bahadur Nawab Sir.  
 Muhammad Khan, Mir.  
 Muhammad Khurshid Ali Khan, Rao.

Muhammad Nurullah, Mian.  
 Muhammad Raza Shah Jeelani, Makh-  
 dumzada Haji Sayed.  
 Muhammad Sarfraz Khan, Chaudhri.  
 Muhammad Sarfraz Ali Khan, Raja.  
 Mubarik Ali Shah, Major, Syed.  
 Mumtaz Ali Khan, Sardar.  
 Mumtaz Muhammad Khan Daultana,  
 Mian.  
 Nasar Din, Chaudhri.  
 Nasrullah Khan, Chaudhri.  
 Nasrullah Khan, Nasir Rana.  
 Nau Bahar Shah, Syed.  
 Raj Muhammad Khan, Chaudhri.  
 Roshan Din, Khan Bahadur Chaudhri.  
 Sadiq Hasan, Sheikh.  
 Sahib Dad Khan, Khan Sahib Chaudhri.  
 Salah-ud-Din, Chaudhri.  
 Said Akbar Khan, Raja.  
 Shahaadat Khan, Rai.  
 Shaukat Hyat-Khan, Sardar.  
 Tassadaque Hussain, Begum.  
 Wali Muhammad, Chaudhri.  
 Wazir Muhammad, Malik.  
 Zafar-ul-Haq, Chaudhri.  
 Zafrullah Khan, Chaudhri.  
 Zafrullah Khan Jahanian, Chaudhri.

*The Assembly then adjourned sine die.*



## APPENDIX

*Vide page 319 ante.*

Representatives of the Punjab Legislative Assembly elected to serve on the Constituent Assembly :—

### GENERAL COMMUNITY

1. Suraj Mal, Rao Bahadur Chaudhri.
2. Gopi Chand Bhargava, Dr.
3. Shri Ram Sharma, Pandit.
4. Tek Chand, Bakhshi Sir.
5. Prithvi Singh Azad, Sardar.
6. Chaman Lall, Diwan.
7. Mehr Chand Khanna, The Honourable Mr.
8. Harbhaj Ram, Chaudhri.

### MUSLIM COMMUNITY

1. Muzaffar Ali Khan Qizilbash, The Honourable Nawab Sir.
2. Jinnah Mahomed Ali, Mr.
3. Abdur Rab Nishtar, Sardar.
4. Iftikhar Hussain Khan, Nawab.
5. Mumtaz Mohammad Khan Daultana, Mian.
6. Muhammad Feroz Khan Noon, Malik Sir.
7. Ghazanfar Ali Khan, Raja.
8. Haleem, Prof. Abu Bakr Ahmad.
9. Muhammad Iftikhar-ud-Din, Mian.
10. Muhammad Hasan, Chaudhri.
11. Karamat Ali, Khan Bahadur Sheikh.
12. Jahan Ara Shah Nawaz, Begum.
13. Ghulam Bhik Nairang, Mir.
14. Nazir Ahmad Khan, Khan Bahadur Chaudhri.
15. Omar Hayat, Dr. Malik.
16. Amjad Ali, Syed.

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N.-B.—The Sikh members abstained from electing their representatives.

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