

Chief Reporter
Punjab Sabha
Chandigarh



1947

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OFFICIAL REPORT



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Punjab Vidhan Sabha
Chandigarh

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1947



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East Punjab Legislative Assembly Debates

1st NOVEMBER 1947

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EAST PUNJAB LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

FIRST SESSION OF THE FIRST EAST PUNJAB LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

Saturday, 1st November 1947

The Assembly met in the Council Chamber, Governor General's Lodge, Simla, at 11 a.m. of the clock. Sardar Kapoor Singh, Acting Speaker, in the Chair.*

OATH

The following members took the oath :—

- Dr. Gopi Chand Bhargava (University).
- Sardar Swaran Singh (Jullundur West, Sikh, Rural).
- Chaudhri Lehri Singh (Rohtak North, General, Rural).
- Sardar Partap Singh (Amritsar South, Sikh, Rural).
- Sardar Ishar Singh Majhail (Amritsar North, Sikh, Rural).
- Captain Ranjit Singh (Hissar South, General, Rural).
- Shri Prithvi Singh Azad (Ambala and Simla, Reserved Seat).
- Thakur Pancham Chand (Kangra North, General, Rural).
- Pandit Shri Ram Sharma (Southern Towns, General, Urban).
- Dr. Sant Ram Seth (Amritsar City, General, Urban).
- Pandit Durga Chand Kaushish (Ambala Division Landholders).
- Chaudhri Suraj Mal (Hansi, General, Rural).
- Chaudhri Matu Ram (Ludhiana and Ferozepore, General, Reserved Seat).
- Chaudhri Sher Singh (Jhajjar, General, Rural).
- Sardar Kehar Singh (Jagraon, Sikh, Rural).
- Chaudhri Sahib Ram (Hissar North, General, Rural).
- Shrimati Shanno Devi Sehgal (South-Eastern Towns, General, Urban).
- Sardar Tara Singh (Ferozepore South, Sikh, Rural).
- Mehta Ranbir Singh (Ludhiana and Ferozepore, General, Rural).
- Sardar Waryam Singh (Batala, Sikh, Rural).
- Sardar Bachan Singh (Ludhiana Central, Sikh, Rural).
- Sardar Narotam Singh (South-East Punjab, Sikh, Rural).
- Sardar Inder Singh (Eastern Towns, Sikh, Urban).
- Lala Kedar Nath Sehgal (Amritsar, General, Rural).
- Mr. Prabodh Chandra (Gurdaspur, General, Rural).
- Sardar Sajjan Singh (Patti, Sikh, Rural).
- Seth Sudarshan (Eastern Towns, General, Urban).
- Pandit Bhagat Ram Sharma (Kangra West, General, Rural).
- Pandit Mohan Lal (Una, General, Rural).
- Sardar Sarmukh Singh (Ambala North, Sikh, Rural).
- Thakur Beli Ram (Kangra East, General, Rural).
- Sardar Piara Singh (Hoshiarpur South, Sikh, Rural).
- Lala Bhagwan Das (East Punjab Commerce and Industry).
- Seth Ganga Saran (Trade Union, Labour).
- Chaudhri Badlu Ram (Rohtak Central, General, Rural).
- Thakur Dalip Singh (Kangra South, General, Rural).
- Chaudhri Ratan Singh Tabib (Ambala and Simla, General, Rural).
- Rao Mohar Singh (North-West Gurgaon, General, Rural).
- Sardar Shiv Saran Singh (Kangra and Northern Hoshiarpur, Sikh, Rural).
- Chaudhri Sumar Singh (Karnal South, General, Rural).
- Sardar Rattan Singh (Ferozepore East, Sikh, Rural).
- Pandit Jiwan Lal (South-East Gurgaon, General, Rural).
- Sardar Gurbachan Singh (Ferozepore West, Sikh, Rural).
- Chaudhri Mehr Chand (Hoshiarpur West, Reserved Seat).

*Sardar Kapoor Singh had previously taken oath before His Excellency the Governor.

Chaudhri Prem Singh (South-East Gurgaon, General, Rural, Reserved Seat)
 Sardar Shiv Singh (Gurdaspur North, Sikh, Rural).
 Chaudhri Sunder Lal (Karnal North, General, Rural, Reserved Seat).
 Sardar Kabul Singh (Jullundur East, Sikh, Rural).
 Mr. Sant Ram (Jullundur, General, Reserved Seat).
 Chaudhri Mangoo Ram (Hoshiarpur West, General, Rural, Reserved Seat).
 Master Gurbanta Singh (Jullundur, General, Rural, Reserved Seat).

EXPRESSION OF THANKS TO GOVERNOR-GENERAL

Acting Speaker: Before the House proceeds with the business on the agenda, I would like the House to place on record an expression of its thanks to His Excellency the Governor-General of India for granting permission for the use of the Council Chamber and other rooms attached to it. I hope honourable members will allow me on their behalf to convey this expression of thanks to His Excellency.

(Voices : Yes, yes.)

ELECTION OF SPEAKER

Premier (Dr. Gopi Chand Bhargava) (Hindustani) : I propose and move—

That Sardar Kapoor Singh do take the Chair of the Assembly as Speaker.

Minister of Revenue and Home Affairs (Sardar Swaran Singh) (Punjabi) : I second the motion.

Acting Speaker: As no other name has been proposed, I declare the member proposed elected as the Speaker of this Assembly.

Premier (Dr. Gopi Chand Bhargava) (Hindustani) : Sir, I congratulate you on your having been elected as Speaker of this Assembly and thank you that you have consented to shoulder this burden. You were a member of the old Punjab Assembly and afterwards in 1946, you were elected as Deputy Speaker. Your capability and experience will be of great help in safeguarding the rights and privileges of the members of the House. At this juncture particularly, the duties of the Speaker are very onerous. He has to discharge them without any prejudice, favour and fear of any one and without being influenced by any one. I hope no member will have a chance to complain. I assure you, that you will have full support from us.

Minister of Revenue and Home Affairs (Sardar Swaran Singh) (Punjabi) : Sir, I congratulate you on your having been elected to the Chair. You have a great responsibility on your shoulders. There are many things as the Premier has said, which are to be accomplished by this Assembly. You have to watch the interests and privileges of all the members, whether they are on Government benches or on Opposition benches. I assure you the full co-operation of all the members in your task of conducting the proceedings of the House. We are all aware, that we are passing through very difficult times and during these times the Chair has great responsibility and in carrying out this duty, you will have full co-operation from us all.

Mr. Speaker : Honourable members, I rise at this moment as the first chosen Speaker of the first Legislative Assembly of the newly created Province of East Punjab after the establishment of the Dominion of India, to submit myself to the will of the House, and in doing so, I should like first of all to tender my heartiest thanks to the House for the unique honour conferred upon me. Though this is our first Assembly after the establishment of the Dominion, most of us have had experience as Legislators in previous Assemblies and we carry with us the traditions of the past. The Chair is not at any time a bed of roses, but at all events where the Speaker has the full confidence of the House, the House may be assured

hat the debates will be conducted in a fair and effective manner. None is more conscious than myself of the heavy burden of responsibility cast on me, and I hope to shoulder it with the goodwill and co-operation of all honourable members of this House. This Assembly is in its infancy and has to build up its own traditions. The rights, duties and privileges of members will always be my first concern and I shall try to so conduct myself as to maintain the high honour, dignity and traditions of all democratic institutions.

Honourable members, while I am making this submission, I am conscious of certain honourable members of this House who are not present amongst us. I wish they were here in our midst to help us in our deliberations but for reasons best known to them, they have absented themselves. As I have been a member of the Opposition for 10 years, I know the important role which the Opposition plays in a democratic system of Government, but I regret to find that those who have to play that part are missing. I hope that some of the honourable members who are present will take upon themselves to carry on the duties of the Opposition.

Some Honourable Members : Certainly.

Shrimati Shanno Devi Sehgal (Hindustani) : May I request you, Mr. Speaker, to address the House in Hindustani ?

An Honourable Member : In Punjabi.

Mr. Speaker : I wish I could accede to the wishes of the honourable members. Some honourable members would like me to speak in Hindi ; there, are others who want me to address in Punjabi and still others who would like that should speak in Hindustani. I, therefore, decided that I had better address the House in English.

Shrimati Shanno Devi Sehgal : We would very much like you to address us in Hindustani.

Mr. Speaker : I might inform the House that I myself have amended the rule as to the language of the House. The old rule laid down that all proceedings of the Assembly shall be conducted in the English language. That rule has now been changed. Under the new Rule the proceedings may be conducted in Hindustani or in Punjabi or in the English language.

MOTION *RE* INDEPENDENCE AND SYMPATHY FOR SUFFERERS OF PUNJAB

Premier (Dr. Gopi Chand Bhargava) (Hindustani) : Sir, I beg to move :—

That this Assembly expresses its heart-felt joy at the advent of independence and ushering in of real provincial autonomy on the 15th August, 1947, and records its deep gratitude to the great national leader, Mahatma Gandhi, who is the father of nationalism in India and all those workers who have suffered and embraced martyrdom in the struggle for freedom of the country. While expressing its full joy at the advent of freedom, this Assembly is fully conscious that real happiness has been marred by the recent tragic happenings due to mass killings, lootings, arson, abduction and other inhuman brutality.

This Assembly expresses its deep sympathy for the uprooted population of the East and West Punjab, who have suffered heavily and assures all our brothers and sisters who have been forced to leave Pakistan for the safety of their lives and honour, that everything possible will be done to ameliorate their sufferings.

Chaudhri Suraj Mal : On a point of order, sir, this resolution is not found on the agenda of the House, nor have copies of it been supplied to us. Can you please ask the Secretary to supply copies of this resolution to the members?

[Premier]

Sir, before proceeding to speak on the resolution, I express my regret for not getting it translated into Hindustani, and I hope the House will appreciate when I say that I had very little time to get it so done. There are two or three parts of this resolution. The first aims at thanking Mahatma Gandhi and those of our patriots who under the leadership of that great man made sacrifices in the cause of the country and finally succeeded in liberating the country from the foreign yoke. It is but necessary that now that we have achieved our independence, we should seize this opportunity to remember and pay our homage to all such patriots. I need not remind the House that when Gandhiji accepted the leadership of the Congress, the first thing that he did was to convert that big organisation into a people's body. He then placed before the Congress and the country a programme of non-violent non-co-operation in order to achieve independence and as we all know it was quite different from the methods employed so far by other people and in other countries to achieve the same end. This programme was adopted by the country and the people and, though one has to admit that it was not worked out in its entirety, its adoption has resulted, I am glad to be able to say, in achieving the end in view. I am aware that there are persons among us who are of the opinion that it is not due to the non-violent methods introduced by Gandhiji that we have got our freedom. They think that it is due to the international situation that independence has been achieved. Such persons, I should say, are sadly mistaken. It is a fact which no fair-minded person will deny that Congress with its non-violent methods was fighting even during the second World War and continued its fight even when the war ended. It is the result of that fight that we have come to occupy the position that we occupy to-day. I might as well say here that if the programme placed before the country by our great leader had been implemented fully, things would have been much better than they are to-day. In any case our thanks are due to Gandhiji and all that galaxy of men and women who made sacrifices for the cause of the country.

Now I come to the other part of the resolution. It was, as you all know, on the 15th of August, 1947, at 12 in the night that the Constituent Assembly made a formal declaration of independence and of having assumed the reins of Government and it was on this auspicious day that independence was conferred upon each province in the country, as provided in the India Independence Act passed by the Parliament. But at that time no one knew that it would be attended with so much misery, bloodshed, arson and loot. No doubt, there had been riots even in March 1947, but the situation grew worse in the beginning of August, 1947, and from the 11th of August onward the situation became still worse, so much so that a number of decisions arrived at by the Punjab Partition Committee could not be implemented. This communal frenzy continued to rage and it even prevented the East Punjab Government to bring here its necessary records. The result was that the Secretariat and other offices could not possibly function for a long time. As I have said before, there was going on at that time bloodshed, arson, looting and abduction and we have no idea up to this time about the number of deaths that have taken place as a result of this madness. In fact none of us had an idea that things would take such an ugly shape. I need not tell you that lakhs of people on both sides have been rendered homeless. Thirty-eight lakhs of Hindus and Sikhs who had their homes and hearths in West Punjab have been uprooted, and so is the case of the Muslims in the East Punjab whose number is about 45 lakhs. Under the present conditions everybody feels that neither a non-Muslim can, now, live in the West Punjab, nor a Muslim can live in the East Punjab. The inhuman treatment meted out to the non-Muslims in Pakistan has created a feeling of retaliation in those who have been evacuated from the Pakistan into the Indian Union. They have undergone untold hardships and have seen with their own eyes their relatives and friends being butchered. Therefore it is not an easy job to suppress the feelings of 38 lakhs of people in spite of the best efforts on the

part of the Government to check such feelings. Such a tyranny is unprecedented in the history of the world. Wars have been fought, and lakhs of people killed. But to turn the whole population belonging to one community out of their homes as has been done in the West Punjab and some other parts of Pakistan, has no parallel in world history. History, of course, records examples of some countries where a specified number of people might have moved from one country into another. But from the West Punjab only, no less than 38 lakhs of people have been evacuated into East Punjab. And not less than 2½ lakhs from Bahawalpur State and quite a large number from the Frontier Province and Sind have been evacuated into the Indian Union. Similarly Muslims have to shift to Pakistan from the Punjab and its States.

I am, therefore, constrained to remark that the tragic happenings that have occurred in this province are unprecedented and unparalleled in history. In fact there is no country in the world where such inhuman brutalities have been committed by one section of the population belonging to a particular religion against another community inhabiting the same country. Obviously under the prevailing conditions the spirit of retaliation that has been engendered in the public here by the atrocities of Muslims perpetrated on the Hindus and Sikhs in the West Punjab, cannot be easily curbed. As a matter of fact no Government effort can possibly suppress or check it completely. Under the circumstances it becomes rather difficult for any Government to assure safety to the Muslims desirous of staying on in the East Punjab. But this may not be misconstrued by them that it is the policy of this Government to drive the Muslims out of this province. Far from it. We want to afford protection to them but the fact of the matter is that the doings of their co-religionists in the West Punjab have created a situation as a result of which they themselves are afraid to stay on in the East Punjab. But when I speak in sympathetic terms for the dislodged Muslims of the East Punjab, I am, as I have already stated, not a whit unmindful of the woeful plight of the Hindus and Sikhs who have been subjected to unspeakable horrors and tortures and have been forced to leave the West Punjab in abject penury. I am fully aware of the fact that the persons who possessed palatial buildings there, are without any shelter here. I also know that my distressed brethren who were leading a happy and a prosperous life in the West Punjab, are now penniless and they have no clothes to cover themselves or any money with which they can eke out an honourable living to maintain their families. I am fully conscious of the forcible conversions inflicted upon my brethren who have been peacefully following their religion. I cannot help saying that these tragedies have eclipsed even the Jallianwala Bagh tragedy which was enacted during our non-violent war of independence. (*Chaudhri Suraj Mal* : It is no use bewailing now.) What I mean to say is that the atrocities committed by the Muslims in the West Punjab are of such magnitude that even the horrors of Jallianwala Bagh pale into insignificance before them. (*Hon'ble Members* : The Punjab has thus been practically finished.) Yes, I realise that my brothers and sisters have grievously suffered but I assure them that every endeavour will be made by this Government to alleviate their distress. I know we are being charged of apathy, inactivity and inability to redress their grievances. I can very well imagine their feelings. They are very sore after having been uprooted from their homes. But they should not lose sight of the conditions obtaining at the time of partition. There was a complete breakdown of transport and communications. Even the postal, telegraph and telephone arrangements had altogether been disrupted. As a matter of fact chaos reigned supreme in the Punjab. In the face of this discouraging state of affairs, this Government shouldered its duties with grim determination. None can deny the fact that the conditions in the East Punjab regarding transport and communications are improving by and by. As compared with August, things were better in September and are still better in November. In fact we are doing our utmost for the restoration of normal conditions and alleviation of the misery of the refugees.

[Premier]

In this connection I would like to make mention of the fact that in the East Punjab the Muslim refugees have fared better. They have not been subjected to insensate butchery or torture as has been done to Hindus and Sikhs in the West Punjab. I do not mean that they have not suffered at all. They were harassed and put to minor hardships while on their way to Pakistan. But they were of such nature as ordinarily befall a person who undertakes journey during the winter even for a few days. I know that false propaganda is being carried on by the Pakistan Radio and exaggerated reports regarding the imaginary sufferings of the Muslim refugees are being published in the West Punjab newspapers. But the fact remains and I can say with a little pride that in the East Punjab the evacuation of the Muslim refugees has been very peaceful and with the exception of a few cases of harassment, there has been no mass attacks on their convoys. I feel this House deserves to be congratulated on the fact that the Hindus and Sikhs in the East Punjab are so considerate that even after the gruesome Jassar happenings they did not retaliate but carried out the instructions of their leaders and the authorities at the helm of affairs at Amritsar. I, therefore, assure the House that although some delay has taken place in our arrangements regarding rehabilitation of the refugees, yet we are trying our utmost to translate our plans into actions. We have our limitations but we hope to tide over the difficulties with the help and advice of the Dominion Government. I think it will now be possible to accomplish things faster than before. In fact the problem of refugees with which we are confronted is of such a gigantic nature, that delay in resolving it squarely was inevitable. I regret this and assure this Hon. House that the Government would do all they can for the betterment of the poor lot of my brethren from the West Punjab.

Before I resume my seat, I would like to say one thing and that is this. It is being freely complained that the people of the East Punjab are not evincing that amount of sympathy or extending help to the sufferers, as they should. This is a slur on our fair name and Mr. Speaker, through you I, on behalf of the Hon'ble Members of this august House, appeal to the public to leave no stone unturned in mitigating their distress. I hope this appeal will not fall flat on their ears. With these words I commend this resolution for the acceptance of the House.

Mr. Speaker : Motion moved :

That this Assembly expresses its heartfelt joy at the advent of Independence and ushering in of real provincial autonomy on the 15th August 1947, and records its deep gratitude to the great national leader, Mahatma Gandhi, who is the father of nationalism in India and all those workers, who have suffered and embraced martyrdom in the struggle for freedom of the country. While expressing its full joy at the advent of freedom this Assembly is fully conscious that real happiness has been marred by the recent tragic happenings due to mass killings, lootings, arson, abduction and other inhuman brutality.

This Assembly expresses its deep sympathy for the uprooted population of the East and West Punjab, who have suffered heavily and assures all our brothers and sisters who have been forced to leave Pakistan for the safety of their lives and honour, that everything possible will be done to ameliorate their sufferings.

Minister of Revenue and Home Affairs (Sardar Swaran Singh) (*Punjabi*) : Sir, I rise to second the resolution that the Honourable Premier has just put before the House.

This is the first meeting of the House since the attainment of independence by our country. Naturally, therefore, it is our duty on this day to pay tribute to the memory of our brethren whose sacrifices and sufferings have brought about this achievement. As soon as the battle of freedom begins, the forces of imperialism take upon themselves the task of suppressing the fighters for freedom. Imperialists at once adopt the policy of divide and rule or some other subtle way to achieve their ends. If you look back to the long struggle for freedom of our own people, you will find similar tactics employed by the British Imperialism

which tried to fight down our movement for freedom from various fronts but we are proud to say that our brave fighters for freedom cheerfully bore the brunt on all fronts and made all kinds of sacrifices to achieve our cherished goal.

There was a time when the forces of freedom were suppressed and it seemed as though all was over. But again they gathered momentum and entered the field of action, possessed of the same strength and earnestness. Now that our country has been liberated from the shackles of slavery after a very long time, it is my duty on behalf of all the people of East Punjab to pay homage to the memory of heroes, known and unknown, whose sacrifices and sufferings have made it possible for us to see this day.

Our struggle for freedom passed through several phases but it is not my intention to go into the details. If at one time, it was fought in a non-violent way, at another time our brave brethren did not hesitate to conduct it in a violent manner. I do not condemn the violent methods employed because I know that whatever they did, they did with very high and good motives. Whether they followed the path of violence or that of non-violence, they succeeded in weakening the hold of British Imperialism and in bringing nearer the day of freedom. It is our duty to remember the sacrifices made by those brethren. Normally our joy at the attainment of independence would have been much greater than it is to-day. But to-day we see dark clouds. Our happiness over the achievement of freedom mingles with our grief over the partition of the country. Those forces which were against the unification of our country have been responsible for the division of our country.

After the division of India, the partition of the Punjab was inevitable. The people of the East Punjab are pained to think that they have lost half of the province. There was a time when they could call the whole as their own. This House to-day represents the East Punjab which is only a part of the whole province. This realization gives us grief and sorrow. But after the division of the country, there was no other alternative but to partition the Punjab. The difficulties that we had to face are manifest to all our brethren. The sufferings of Hindus and Sikhs of West Punjab or of those belonging to other parts of Pakistan, can hardly be described.

They were peacefully living in their homes, managing their property and carrying on their business. The wheel of vicissitudes turned in such a manner as to change their joy into grief, all of a sudden. Our brethren were compelled to leave their hearths and homes in utter confusion. Who is willing to leave settled home life and established business of his own accord and who is further willing to undergo untold sufferings after leaving his home, business and everything ?

Numberless brothers and sisters had to face tremendous difficulties. They had to leave their business and homes in a destitute condition. We have sympathies for all of them and I can assure the House that we shall do all that we can for our distressed brethren. Posterity will judge us by our ability to help our brethren. I feel that despite our best efforts, we cannot relieve even in part the privations that our brethren had to undergo, after having been compelled to leave their homes. Whatever we have, we offer them. Whatever has been done so far to relieve their sufferings is not enough and I am aware of our shortcomings ; our efforts can be the subject of criticism. But nobody should ignore the tremendous nature of the problem that the Government had to face. To make our bleeding brethren forget these sufferings, it is essential to complete the work of rehabilitation effectively and speedily. The sympathy and the resources of the whole of India are there to help us in this matter. This problem is not of the East Punjab alone. It is the problem of the whole of India.

[Minister of Revenue and Home Affairs.]

It is true that we had to receive the first shock and I can assure the House that the East Punjab Government will do its best to render every help that is possible within our resources to our destitute brethren from the West Punjab. I acknowledge with thanks that the Dominion of India has greatly helped us in the task of evacuation of our brothers from the West Punjab. The task is tremendous and difficult and I am also aware that the people are criticising the Government for not doing as much as should have been done and I have no hesitation in admitting the shortcomings on our part. I think I rightly interpret the feelings of my oppressed brethren when I say that the people of India should sympathetically try to realise our difficulties. We are in trouble at this critical hour. But this period of hardship will soon pass away, leaving the imprints of the treatment meted out to us by our brothers, living in other parts of the Dominion. The Punjabis are a brave and self-respecting people. They know how to endure hardships. They can also repair their financial losses. But in no case they are prepared to tolerate any affront to their bravery and self-respect. I assure my brothers from the West Punjab that we are determined to ameliorate their sad plight. To achieve this end, we will leave no stone unturned to utilise all the resources, official and non-official, at our command in the East Punjab and also those available in the States and Indian Union. I am sure that in this manner we will be able to tide over the calamity which has befallen our brethren coming from the West Punjab and other parts of Pakistan. The future will judge us by the amount of help we render to our people in their distress.

With these words, I strongly support the motion proposed by the Premier.

Mr. Speaker : The question is :

That this Assembly expresses its heartfelt joy at the advent of independence and ushering in of real provincial autonomy on the 15th August 1947 and records its deep gratitude to the great national leader, Mahatma Gandhi, who is the father of nationalism in India and all those workers who have suffered and embraced martyrdom in the struggle for freedom of the country. While expressing its full joy at the advent of freedom, this Assembly is fully conscious that real happiness has been marred by the recent tragic happenings due to mass killings, lootings, arson, abduction and other inhuman brutality.

This Assembly expresses its deep sympathy for the uprooted population of the East and West Punjab, who have suffered heavily and assures all our brothers and sisters who have been forced to leave Pakistan for the safety of their lives and honour, that everything possible will be done to ameliorate their sufferings.

The motion was carried.

PRESENTATION OF THE BUDGET

Premier (Dr. Gopi Chand Bhargava): I rise to introduce the Budget Estimates of East Punjab, for the period 15th August 1947 to 31st March 1948. These budget proposals, strictly speaking, are but a continuation of the annual budget forecasts of the pre-partition Punjab for the year 1947-48, in so far as these related to the territory that comprises our new Province of East Punjab. Our Ministry have had no time to take stock of the entire financial position and to reach new decisions that may be called for in our altered circumstances. This is the first budget of East Punjab, and much though I would have liked to have presented it after mature deliberation of the various proposals contained therein, by our Ministry, we hope to be able to repair this lapse when presenting the budget estimates for 1948-49.

Hitherto the Punjab had a proud record of a long series of surplus budgets. But the Punjab—Land of Five Rivers—as such, is no more. We, in the East Punjab, stand on the threshold of a newly carved Province—a Province whose birth-pangs have been accompanied by such terrible suffering and agony as has rarely fallen to the lot of human beings in any country—a suffering shared by all—rich and poor; young and old; men, women and children! This has been the price of our freedom!!

A new province is beset with many and varied problems—administrative as well as economic. In East Punjab we have more than our share of such problems. As a Government, before barely a day old we were faced with the gigantic upheaval of a mass migration of population from West to East Punjab and *vice-versa*. At the same time, the forces of law and order were put to the severest strain. As a matter of first priority we bended all our energies to seeing that the machinery for ensuring security of life and property was maintained at its full effectiveness, for once law and order are lost in a country nothing remains but CHAOS—a dreadful prospect! This House will no doubt endorse the policy of our Government in addressing itself with all its vigilance and resources to this problem as one of their first concern. On behalf of the Government I would like to appeal to this House, and through you gentlemen to the people outside, all over our land, to help us in this task of maintaining law and order, without which no progress is possible, and in the absence of which no Government can usefully serve its public. As your own Government, we are entitled to your support as much as you can claim our service. The good sense of the Punjabis of the Eastern Districts of the Province, seems after all to be getting the better of that temporary insanity, which was born of an unprecedented wave of religious frenzy, bordering on utter fanaticism, and we seem to have turned the corner. We thus have breathing space enough to give some attention to other pressing problems, that have a claim on our time and energy. Consideration of the budgetary position of this new Province, is one such problem.

I propose to invite attention here only to the main features of our provincial finance. Details have been set forth in the Finance Secretary's very able Memorandum with all the care and thought that could possibly be devoted to this work, within the very short time available. Those interested in details will find a study of the printed budget material of great value. Owing to the dislocation of rail and road communications, and in some cases also to the very pressing pre-occupation of the officers on other vitally important problems some of the departments were not able to furnish their estimates, and in such cases, the figures which were approved by His Excellency the Governor of East Punjab for the Provisional Schedule of Expenditure on 13th September 1947, have been adopted in these estimates. The amounts so provided appear in a lump sum in the Budget, as in the absence of departmental details, this was the only possible course to adopt. These figures, however, are not an absolute guess work but are based on the best possible reckoning that the Finance Department could make in the background of their past knowledge and experience of the income and/or expenditure of these departments.

The Province of East Punjab opened with a balance of a hundred lakhs of rupees, and before I state how this balance came to our share, it seems desirable to explain briefly, for the information of this House, how the assets and liabilities of the Punjab are proposed to be divided between the East and the West parts of our old Province. Various departmental committees were appointed to list out all the known assets and liabilities of their departments and to suggest the most reasonable formulae for dividing these between the two parts equitably. The reports of these expert departmental committees were considered by the Partition Council consisting of Sardar Swaran Singh and myself representing East Punjab, and Mr. Zahid Hussain and Mr. Mumtaz Daultana representing West Punjab, which was presided over by the last Governor of the Punjab, Sir Evan Jenkins. Decisions to the satisfaction of both the parties were reached in some cases, while in others—and I might mention the more important ones perhaps—agreement

[Premier].

was not possible, and such items await the award of the Arbitration Tribunal which has been set up for the purpose, and to which both sides will submit their view-points. Some of the more important questions that are up for arbitration relate to the claims which East Punjab has put forward for compensation, (i) on account of the loss of revenue from the Punjab canals, (ii) a share of the unearned increment on all Government waste lands in West Punjab, (iii) a share of the income from Forest Plantations in Canal Colonies, (iv) due allocation of the actual cost of construction of storage bins, etc., and (v) the final adjustment of the Hydro-Electric system. Lastly the very ratio on which the division of our provincial assets and liabilities should be worked out, awaits the Arbitration Tribunal's decision. The Province of East Punjab comprises roughly 13 out of 29 districts of the Punjab of yesterday. We have inherited about 45 per cent. of the population nearly 38 per cent. of the area and barely 31 per cent. of the income of our parent Province. We maintain that we should get 45 per cent. of the assets of the Punjab as our share—the other side argues that we are entitled to only 31 per cent. We base our argument on Modern Social Thought which teaches each citizen to claim, as his right, an equal share of the assets of his motherland. The other side argues that each part should get a share equal to its contribution to the general revenues. Were such an argument to be entertained at all, the revenue yield prior to the creation of the revenue yielding assets should obviously be taken into consideration and not the revenue yield of the respective parts after such assets had been created. Apart from the question of ratio, the case of canal colonies is one of the chief bones of contention. But I would not tire you all any further with the *pros* and *cons* of our disputes on the division of our family inheritance. Suffice it to say that our cases will be fully represented to the Arbitral Tribunal.

The Punjab on the date of partition held cash securities—its liquid assets in hand—of the face value of about Rs. 24 crores, of which securities worth 10 crores were divided in the ratio of 36 and 64, for East and West Punjab respectively. This step was taken in order to provide ready funds for running the administration of the two new Provinces. The working balance of the Punjab with the Reserve Bank of India on the date of partition, amounted roughly to 153 lakhs of rupees, of which the poorer brother (i.e., East Punjab) was given Rs. 92 lakhs Rs. 61 lakhs being allocated to West Punjab. But this was not a gift born of any generosity, and these Rs. 92 lakhs will be shown as a debit to our account when drawing up the final balance-sheet between the two new Provinces. Being poorer, an advance greater in amount to meet our day-to-day expenses, was agreed to by the richer party. To this 92 lakhs was added another 8 lakhs, which was the till money in the various treasuries of East Punjab—thus giving us the opening balance of Rs. 100 lakhs.

The Revenue Receipts of East Punjab for the period under review are estimated at Rs. 528 lakhs against the Revenue Expenditure of Rs. 758 lakhs, leaving a deficit of Rs. 230 lakhs on the revenue account. The main items that go to form the Revenue Receipts are :—

			<i>In lakhs of rupees</i>
Taxes on Income	..	..	100
Land Revenue (net)	...	...	66
Provincial Excise ..	...	..	124
Stamps	..	..	30
Forests	..	...	37
Other Taxes and Duties	...	...	27
Irrigation (net)	...	..	45
Debt Services	...	..	7
Civil Administration	..	..	10
Beneficent Departments	..	..	25
Electricity (net)	..	..	13
Others and Miscellaneous	..	..	44

	Total	...	528

Against these the figures of Revenue Expenditure for the same period are as follows :—

	<i>In lakhs of rupees</i>	
Direct Demands on Revenue	59
Irrigation (Revenue Account)	67
Debt Services	—66
Civil Administration (including Police)	268
Beneficent Departments	203
Works Expenditure	103
Miscellaneous	124

Total		758

Misfortunes seldom come alone and to East Punjab trembling under an orgy of communal rioting and murder came draught in the months of July and August, and floods early in October. At one time lack of rains threatened a serious fodder famine in the Hissar district. Then merciful Heavens sent rains in such abundance that the rivers Ravi, Sutlej and Beas over-flooded their banks, submerging the country-side for miles around, leading to a big loss of life and property, and washing away a number of villages. The damage to our various head-works as a result of these floods is estimated to be in the neighbourhood of 30 lakhs of rupees, of which Rs. 10 lakhs will be spent within the next 4-5 months. Necessary provision for this has been made in these estimates. There has been considerable damage to the Hydro-Electric Works at Jogindernagar due to these floods, as also to some of our roads, but in the absence of any clear indication of the extent of this damage and the funds required to repair the same, necessary provision for the same, has not been possible at this stage. A provision of Rs. 4 lakhs has, however, been made for loans to the poor people whose houses have been washed away by these floods. Deductions have also been allowed for the loss of land revenue consequent on the failure to harvest the Kharif crop which has been abandoned by Muslim Evacuees migrating to West Punjab.

Receipts under Electricity also show a decrease partly due to riots and disturbances and their consequent effect on the consumption of electric power both by the public, and industrial concerns, and partly also due to the lower rates at which electricity has, under our agreement, to be supplied to West Punjab.

On the expenditure side, we have not made any calculated provision for the expenses to be incurred by the Refugees and Rehabilitation Departments, except a provision of about one crore which is nothing more than a token provision. We have assumed that the entire expenditure on the gigantic problem of Relief and Rehabilitation of Refugees would be borne by the Central Government. Under Police a special provision of Rs. 35 lakhs has been made for the raising of a National Volunteer Corps. We expect that responsibility for meeting the military expenditure on the Frontier will be assumed by the Government of India, and that the most that East Punjab Government may be asked to contribute will be the cost of undertaking routine and ordinary police duties in that area. It will be observed that even with our poor resources we are providing a sum of Rs. 203 lakhs for expenditure on Beneficent Departments during the period under review. When it is remembered that the total sum of money provided for Beneficent Activities, for the full year in the 1947-48 budget of the pre-partition Punjab amounted to

[Premier]

713 lakhs, this provision would, proportionately, be found to compare very favourably with the annual provision of pre-partition Punjab. Within the limits of our finances the well being and prosperity of East Punjab will be our chief concern and no available funds that can achieve that end will ever be grudged by our Government. As our law and order problem eases, expenditure on Police will go down, and we can, once peace prevails in the land, look forward to increase expenditure on Beneficent Activities.

I must apologise for omitting any detailed references here to various items of departmental expenditure—New as well as Ordinary. These, as already stated, have been detailed in the Finance Secretary's Memorandum on these budget estimates, and Hon'ble Members would not, I am sure, mind this deliberate act on my part to avoid a repetition.

No provision in these estimates has been made for debt charges, and that because initially, according to the agreement reached between the Dominions of India and Pakistan, such liability will fall on West Punjab, necessary adjustments on this account being made subsequently when drawing up the final balance sheet. The debt of pre-partition Punjab stood at Rs. 31,54 lakhs, and it cannot be stated at this stage what portion of this liability will fall on our shoulders. Nor can we say in what proportions would a final division of cash securities, valuing about Rs. 24 crores, held by the Punjab of old, be made. Pending a final decision of these questions, no provision has been made for debt service charges, nor has any account been taken of the interest that will accrue on those securities, except those of the face value of Rs. 3.6 crores which, according to the division already effected have come to our share.

The various important items of Receipt and Expenditure have been explained in fuller detail in the Finance Secretary's Explanatory Memorandum. If I were to attempt a rough forecast of our annual Provincial finances, basing my calculations on the very careful and valuable information given in that Memorandum, our Revenue Receipts, which are mainly derived from principal heads of revenue, would be somewhat as follows :—

	<i>In lakhs of rupees.</i>	
Taxes on Income, other than Corporation Tax	..	125
Land Revenue	..	140
Provincial Excise	..	190
Irrigation (Direct Receipts)	..	150
Beneficent Departments	..	50
Civil Administration	..	15
Forests	..	50
Stamps	..	40
All other sources of taxation	..	50
		810
Total	..	810

Against these, Revenue Expenditure in a normal year (and I must stress that word 'normal') would be somewhat as follows :—

Cost of Civil Administration would be about Rs. 300 lakhs of which the Police alone would account for about half. Another 150 lakhs per annum would be the

expenditure in connection with Land Revenue, Excise, Forests and Debt Charges, etc. To this total of Rs. 450 lakhs, may be added expenditure on Beneficent Departments of the order of Rs. 300 lakhs per annum. Irrigation Revenue Expenditure and Civil Works charged to Revenue, would account for almost Rs. 100 lakhs each per annum, and Miscellaneous something like Rs. 75 lakhs of which pensions alone would account for about Rs. 40 to 50 lakhs. The total normal annual Revenue Expenditure of the Province, therefore, would range between Rs. 10 and 11 crores.

These are stark facts devoid of any exaggeration, and I admit, as all of you gentlemen would, that they reveal rather a sorry state of the financial position of the Province of East Punjab. In our difficulty we turned to the Government of India for assistance, and I am glad to say that faced as the Central Government are with their own problems—problems as multifarious as they are taxing to the country's resources—they have promised to give our case their most sympathetic consideration. They have, in the meanwhile, advanced us 100 lakhs of rupees in order to enable us to meet the very heavy expenditure in connection with the Evacuees and the Relief and Rehabilitation of our Refugees. But none of us could possibly be content with the hope of assistance from the Centre in order to balance our finances. We have to think of how best, and how soon, we can be self-sufficient, by our own efforts and with our own resources. For not until we can do that can we claim to have the dignity that the Punjab of old held among the Provinces of India. The luck of partition has been against us—the fertile canal colonies have been wrenched from the hands that had done so much to develop and bring prosperity to those areas. Those hands are now waiting to convert other waste lands into something equally prosperous, if not more so. Our hopes now rest on the development of the Bhakra and the Nangal Projects.

The Bhakra Dam Project contemplates the construction of a 500 ft. dam across the Sutlej River at Bhakra in Bilaspur State. The reservoir will store enough water to enable the running of the Bhakra canals on a perennial basis. Besides this, Hydro-Electric Power to the tune of 1,50,000 K. W. firm power will be generated. The exploratory work for the construction of this dam has already been completed and the road and rail communications have also advanced sufficiently to permit of further construction stage of the project being taken up. The expenditure on works, etc., during the current year is estimated at Rs. 148 lakhs.

The Nangal Hydel Project will enable power to be generated to the tune of about one lakh K. W. which will greatly help in the industrial development of the East Punjab Province. The Project will also serve to bring the Sutlej waters, as far down as Rupar, from where the Bhakra canals will take off. The expenditure during the current year on this project is estimated at Rs. 65 lakhs.

To these Projects the Central Government also have given their first priority. These shall be the one development focus on which the eyes of East Punjab Government shall be fixed for some few years to come, and our Engineers are busy devising ways and means of pushing on these works, with the utmost possible speed. But while we are conscious of the fact that we should make efforts to be self-supporting, we do expect a measure of generous assistance from the Government of India during the next six or seven years. Further, we appeal for sympathetic consideration to the Special Expert Committee which is being appointed by the Government of India, to review the working of the provisions relating to the distribution of revenue between the Centre and the Provinces as contained in the Government of India Act, 1935. Whatever the merits and demerits of the justice done to the Punjab by Sir Otto Niemeyer's Committee, when making allocation of these revenues in 1936, we hope that the special claims of East Punjab, which is now a border Province will be prominently kept in mind when making fresh allocations.

[Premier]

In the old Punjab, some amounts were annually earmarked for certain special funds, such as the Special Development Fund, the Peasants Welfare Fund, Famine Relief Fund, etc., etc. These funds, with the division of the Province, have ceased to exist, as their book balances, whatever they were, had formed part of the general balances of the Province which would come up for division in due course. The East Punjab Government have to take fresh decisions regarding the maintenance of these funds, but so far, we have not been able to give our attention to this problem.

I may, however, add that it is not obligatory to create these funds. The Famine Relief Fund was, prior to the introduction of Provincial Autonomy in 1937, required to be maintained under the statutory provisions contained in Schedule IV to the Devolution Rules, but with the introduction of Part III of the Government of India Act, 1935, it was open to Provincial Governments to maintain or not to maintain such a Fund. The old Punjab Governments had decided to constitute a Famine Relief Fund and a sum of Rs. 2 lakhs per annum was credited to this Fund, which was utilized to afford relief on occasions of serious famine, or in times of distress caused by droughts, floods or other natural calamities. It would certainly be desirable to create such a Fund in East Punjab which would really be in the nature of an insurance charge against famines, but the absence of any provision on this account in these estimates only shows that our Government have so far not recorded any formal decision to do so.

One fund in which there was a sum of about 10 lakhs of rupees, known as the Harijan Welfare Fund, was in a category by itself. It has been decided by the representatives of West and East Punjab on the Partition Council that the money in this Fund should be allocated between the two new Provinces in proportion to the Harijan population in their respective areas, as recorded in the 1941 census. It is expected that as a result of this decision, East Punjab would get a credit of about 8 out of the total 10 lakhs in this Fund. Schemes for the welfare of Harijans and the best method of spending this amount are under consideration by the departments concerned.

We must confess that we have not had as much time as we wanted to devote to the problem of considering individually the various items of expenditure that appear in the Budget. The provisions as asked for by the departments were reviewed by the Cabinet in three long sittings, but in respect of some of these, though the provision was allowed to stand, the order of priority of the various items was left to be reviewed, *de novo*, firstly by the Minister-in-Charge and thereafter, by the Cabinet as a whole. We have also decided not to commit ourselves to any of the items of new expenditure as a permanent measure, as we considered it inadvisable to saddle the Province with a recurring liability without first having fully considered the merits of the proposed schemes. In the very near future we hope to be able to give a greater attention to these problems.

I would also like to bring another matter of some importance to the notice of all my colleagues in the Legislature. We are faced with an influx of a number of surplus Government servants who have migrated from West to East Punjab. It has been recognised by the Government that, so far as gazetted officers are concerned, every effort must be made to find suitable employment for them, either in East Punjab, or, failing that, somewhere under the Government of India. In respect of the non-gazetted and subordinate staff generally, the position is very difficult and while every effort will be made to ameliorate the hard lot of these poor unfortunate individuals, uprooted from the cities of their birth and employment, we cannot guarantee employment to all of them since the limits of their employment, in East Punjab are obviously restricted, and their absorption outside the Punjab is beset with practical difficulties. However, we are going to set up a section in the East Punjab Secretariat to record particulars of all the available surplus Government servants, so that all fresh appointments could for some time in the future, be confined only to those whose names appear on our surplus lists. For the present, some of the surplus staff have been granted leave, while others have been

fitted up in the Refugee and Rehabilitation Organisations. Simultaneously, we think it absolutely essential to review the sanctioned cadre strength of all our departments, so that these could be fixed at the most economical possible level, consistent with efficiency. A Special Committee, presided over by the senior-most officer of East Punjab Government, will review the entire cadre strengths of all the departments of our Government. Of the labours of this Committee and its final deliberations, fuller information will be given to the House in due course.

The picture will not be complete if I do not mention here that we have recently decided to give some relief to our Government servants for the abnormal rise in the present-day cost of living. The various concessions which were being enjoyed by all non-gazetted Government servants, before the partition of the Province, were reviewed by the Finance Department in the light of the rates of dearness allowance only recently sanctioned by the Government of India for all their Government servants. As a result of this review and the orders now passed by Government, those drawing pay upto Rs. 50 per mensem will get an additional Rs. 3 per mensem over their existing pay and allowances, those drawing pay between Rs. 51 and Rs. 100 an addition of Rs. 6; and those drawing pay above Rs. 100 up to Rs. 400, something like Rs. 8 to Rs. 10 per mensem on an average, with the one exception of those in the pay range of 201—250, in whose case the addition is lower. All other Government servants drawing pay above Rs. 400 per mensem stand to lose, to varying degrees, by this revision of the rates of dearness allowance, the maximum loss of Rs. 113, falling on those in the pay range of 1,500—2,000 per mensem.

These new concessions involve a total additional expenditure of nearly 15 lakhs per annum, but it is significant to note that two-thirds of this will be enjoyed by those who draw pay below Rs. 100 per mensem.

And now, Sir, I have almost finished. I have presented to the House a very rough and sketchy survey of our financial position and have just touched upon some of the more important administrative problems that have a bearing on our finances. We recognise that the immediate problems for decision by the Government of East Punjab, as also their future plans are, to some considerable extent, linked up with the conclusions that on certain important financial matters may be reached by the Government of India.

To that extent we may appear to be helpless, but only to the extent of our dependence on aid from the Centre. The Punjabi is never known to be downhearted in adversity—that nay, brings out the best in him. We must all, therefore, resolve to gird up our loins, and to the blood and tears of our millions of Refugees who will work to find and create new hearths and homes, let us, who have come out unscathed from this terrible upheaval, add our sweat. Let us resolve to work with a will, a purpose and an integrity unsurpassed before, so that with selfless devotion we raise a new Province from the ashes of the old—an East Punjab, far more prosperous and richer than the Punjab we knew yesterday.

It is usual for all Finance Ministers to close their budget speech with a special commendation of the hard work done before a budget session by the officers and staff of their Finance Department. This year the work has been specially difficult—for these budget estimates have had to be prepared in a record time—and that when often incomplete and at times only scanty material was available to work on. I am deeply indebted to Sardar Kartar Singh Malhotra, our Finance Secretary, whose services have been so kindly lent to us by the Government of India. He has come to us with an established reputation for strong commonsense, hard work and close personal attention to details. The Government of East Punjab are really fortunate in securing his services at this crucial moment when we need a strong and able officer to put our finances on a sound footing. His task has been particularly arduous this time, and I am glad to

[Premier]

be able to say that he has done it with remarkable success in the short time which was at his disposal. I have seen enough of his work to be confident that he will fully maintain the traditions of Exchequer Control so long as the destinies of the department are under his charge. He has been ably assisted by Shri Badri Nath and Shri Khazan Chand, his Under and Assistant Secretaries, respectively, in the preparation of the Budget, in which task their intimate knowledge of the budgetary method and minutiae has proved of invaluable help. Nor must I forget to express my deep gratitude to the Superintendents and staff of the Finance Department without whose active co-operation and willing discharge of duty, this work could not have been performed with any success.

And now, Sir, I beg leave to present to the House the Budget for the period 15th August 1947 to 31st March 1948. (*Applause*)

QUESTION HOUR

Premier (Dr. Gopi Chand Bhargava) (Hindustani) : Sir, Rule 26 of Rules of Procedure lays down that the first hour of every sitting, after the swearing in of members if any, shall be available for oral answers to questions. Answers to questions put by the members are made available to them through the office and the Ministers are required to reply to these questions in the House. But the time at our disposal is very short and the local officers who are to supply information to be incorporated in the answers are very busy. Moreover our offices are also scattered over different places ; it will not be possible to give answers to questions. I, therefore, move —

That the Question Hour be dispensed with for this session of the Assembly.

The motion was carried.

The Assembly then adjourned till 11 A. M. on Monday, 3rd November 1947.

Non-Confidential

East Punjab Legislative Assembly Debates

3rd NOVEMBER 1947

Vol. I—No. 2

OFFICIAL REPORT



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EAST PUNJAB LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

FIRST SESSION OF THE FIRST EAST PUNJAB LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

Monday, 3rd November 1947

*The Assembly met in the Council Chamber, Governor-General's Lodge
Simla, at 11 a.m. of the clock. Mr. Speaker (Sardar Kapoor Singh) in the Chair,*

GOVERNMENT BUSINESS ON THURSDAY

Premier (Dr. Gopi Chand Bhargava) :—Sir, I move—

That Rule 13 of the East Punjab Legislative Assembly Rules be suspended and that Government business be transacted on Thursday, the 6th November, 1947.

Mr. Speaker :—Motion moved :

That Rule 13 of the East Punjab Legislative Assembly Rules be suspended and that Government business be transacted on Thursday, the 6th November, 1947.

Pandit Shri Ram Sharma : (Southern Towns, General, Rural) (Hindustani): Sir, I would like to make a few observations in regard to the motion put forward by the hon. Premier. It has been expressly provided in the Assembly Rules that on Thursdays business other than Government business shall have precedence. This has been done to offer an opportunity to the hon. members to bring forward non-official Bills and resolutions on matters of general public interest for discussion. Now the motion moved by the hon. Premier defeats the object of the opportunity provided under Rule 13. He wants that even the only Thursday which falls during the brief Budget session should be utilised for the transaction of Government business. I do not see eye to eye with this proposition. The hon. Premier will remember that whenever a motion of this kind was brought forward by the Unionist Government, we, who occupied the Opposition benches, opposed it tooth and nail on the ground that the suspension of Rule 13 tantamounted to the usurpation of the rights of the hon. members. If such a motion was passed in the teeth of our opposition, we took it ill. Now my submission is that when we have been placed at the helm of administration, we should not try to strangle this rule at the very start and prevent the non-official business being discussed in the House. The hon. Premier should not lose sight of the fact that for years we have resisted such attempts made by the previous Governments. I think it does not behove us to follow the same tactics, which our adversaries used to adopt. But if he feels that official business will not be completed in the scheduled time without utilising the Thursday for this purpose, then I would withdraw my opposition to this motion. But still I do feel that by way of compromise at least half of the day should be reserved for the transaction of non-official business and the remaining half for the official business. I hope the hon. Premier will see his way to accept this proposal. I may assure him that I have no mind to embarrass him because I fully realise that being a member of the ministerial party I cannot oppose a government motion.

Premier (Dr. Gopi Chand Bhargava) :—Sir, If I knew that objection would be taken to this motion and that a compromise would be

[Premier]

put forward, I would certainly have discussed the matter with my hon. friend before moving it. I may straightaway tell him that Thursday, which under the rules, is fixed for transaction of non-official business, had been allotted for discussion of the budget demands by the Governor because this was the only day when that discussion could take place. As regards the proposal of my hon. friend that half the time on Thursday be reserved for the disposal of non-official business, I am sorry to say that I am unable to accept it. The reasons are obvious. That is the last day for discussion of demands for grants and guillotine is to be applied. If half the time on that day is utilised in discussing non-official business, then very little time will be left for discussion of the budgetary demands. Under the rules the guillotine must be applied $1\frac{1}{2}$ hours before the normal hour of interruption of business and this rule does not permit of any time being spared.

Besides, the hon. members are aware that due to the extreme pressure of work, we have already done away with the off days like Wednesdays and Saturdays, which we used to have previously. The rule of procedure has been framed accordingly by the hon. Speaker in consultation with myself and the Assembly shall now remain in session on all days except Sundays and on days declared as holidays under the Negotiable Instruments Act. I think this should suffice to convince my hon. friend of the urgency of this motion on the present occasion. I may tell him one thing more. We are in a hurry to pass this Budget and to have some essential legislation placed on the statue book so that we can devote our energy and attention to the pressing problems of refugees and their rehabilitation which is confronting us at the plains. Our prolonged absence from Jullundur is neither possible nor desirable. As regards the future, however, I can assure the hon. member that as far as possible, time permitting, no official business will be transacted on Thursdays. I hope in view of my these observations, my hon. friend will not press his proposal.

Mr. Speaker: Question is:

That rule 13 of the East Punjab Legislative Assembly Rules be suspended and that Government business be transacted on Thursday, the 6th November 1947.

The motion was carried.

ELECTION OF DEPUTY SPEAKER

Premier: Sir I beg to propose the name of Thakur Pancham Chand for election to the Deputy Speakership of this Assembly.

Minister for Revenue and Home Affairs: Sir, I second the proposal.

Mr. Speaker: There being only one proposal for the Deputy Speakership, I declare Thakur Pancham Chand elected as Deputy Speaker of the Assembly. (*Cheers.*)

THE EAST PUNJAB ESSENTIAL SERVICES (MAINTENANCE) BILL

Minister for Revenue and Home Affairs (Sardar Swaran Singh): Sir, I introduce the East Punjab Essential Services (Maintenance) Bill.

Minister for Revenue and Home Affairs: Sir, I move—

That the East Punjab Essential Services (Maintenance) Bill be taken into consideration at once.

Sir, in making this motion I am aware of the usual practice in which considerable time is given to the members of the Legislature to consider the various pieces of legislation that are brought before the House, but I need hardly go into the circumstances under which it has been considered necessary to move that the Bill be taken into consideration at once. Provisions analogous to this are already the law of the land and an ordinance to that effect already exists. The provisions of this Bill therefore are not new. It has been introduced in order to make valid certain acts which have been considered essential for the maintenance of essential services in this moment of crisis. It is very essential that there should be powers with the Government to compel people to continue to discharge their duties which are necessary for the maintenance of essential services. There are a number of problems which face us at this moment and it cannot be tolerated that any individual or a group of individuals by resorting to obstructionist tactics may be able to thwart us in the discharge of our responsibilities which we owe to our people and to those lakhs of persons who have been displaced from their hearths and homes of the West Punjab. There are a number of services which might be affected by this. The penal provisions contained in this Bill will be utilised only in those cases where the Government is satisfied that it is essential for the purpose of discharging their duties towards the public for whose benefit and for the protection of whose rights this Bill is proposed to be put into action. I do not want to take long over this Bill because the provisions are not new.

Mr. Speaker : Motion moved —

That the East Punjab Essential Services (Maintenance) Bill be taken into consideration at once.

The motion was carried.

Mr Speaker : The House will now proceed to consider the Bill clause by clause.

CLAUSES 1 TO 10

Mr. Speaker : The question is :

That clauses 1 to 10 stand part of the Bill.

The motion was carried.

TITLE

Mr. Speaker : The question is :

That the title be the title of the Bill.

The motion was carried.

Minister of Revenue and Home Affairs (Sardar Swaran Singh) : I move—

That the East Punjab Essential Services (Maintenance) Bill be passed.

The motion was carried.

THE EAST PUNJAB MINISTERS' SALARIES BILL

Minister of Revenue and Home Affairs (Sardar Swaran Singh) : I introduce the East Punjab Ministers' Salaries Bill.

Minister of Revenue and Home Affairs : I move—

That the East Punjab Ministers' Salaries Bill be taken into consideration at once.

In moving this motion, the intention is to give statutory authority to the ordinance which has already been promulgated and under which the salaries of the Premier and the Ministers have been fixed. Honourable members are aware that before the partition of the province, the Ministers' Salaries Act provided for a salary of Rs. 3,500 for the Premier and Rs. 3,000 for the Ministers. On the other hand, this Bill provides that the Premier be paid at the rate of Rs. 2,000 per month while the Ministers are to receive Rs. 1,500 per month each. In addition to these salaries, the Premier and the Ministers will get Rs. 300 per mensem as conveyance allowance. The salaries of the Premiers and Ministers of the Congress Provinces were already lower than those which obtained in the pre-partitioned Punjab province and by this Bill it is intended, if the House approves, to bring down the salaries of our Premier and Ministers to the level of the salaries that have been fixed in other Congress provinces. The provisions of the Bill that is now before the House are self-explanatory, the intention being that the Premier and the Ministers should not continue to get the salaries that were provided by the Ministers' Salaries Act of the undivided Punjab and that those salaries should be reduced.

I also seek your permission to make a statement in regard to this Bill. Section 82 of the Government of India Act lays down :—

- (3) A Bill which, if enacted and brought into operation, would involve expenditure from the revenues of a province shall not be passed by a Chamber of the Legislature unless the Governor has recommended to that Chamber the consideration of the Bill.

I may inform the House that the Governor has recommended to the House that this Bill be considered.

Mr. Speaker : Motion moved :—

That the East Punjab Ministers' Salaries Bill be taken into consideration at once.

The motion was carried

Mr. Speaker : The House will now proceed to consider the Bill clause by clause.

CLAUSE 1
Sub-clause (2)

Mr. Speaker : Question is—

That Sub-clause (2) of Clause 1 stand part of the Bill.

The motion was carried

CLAUSE 2

Chaudhri Suraj Mal (Hansi, General, Rural) (Hindustani) : I beg to move—

That in lines 2-3, for the words "twenty-four thousand" the words "six thousand" be substituted and in line 5 for the words "eighteen thousand" the words "six thousand" be substituted.

In moving the motion, I would at the outset remind the House that our party, namely, the Congress party, from its very inception, held the opinion that our country being poor could not afford to pay high salaries to public servants and that the ministers would render a great service to the country if they agreed to work on small salaries and thereby set a good example for other servants of the Government. I think I will here do well if I were to read out from the Punjab Legislative Assembly Debates what our Leader of the party and now of the House said in the year 1937. When opposing the Salaries Bill of the then ministers in the Punjab, he was pleased to say :—

Therefore, from the points of view of the condition of our peasantry, unemployment prevailing in the province and the condition of the people living in towns and villages, I feel that we are not justified in giving the ministers more than Rs. 500 a month. It might be said that it will not be enough for them because they have to entertain members of the Assembly, give them tea parties; they have to entertain His Excellency the Governor and they have to entertain other people. Well, we cannot afford to pay our ministers anything more than what I have proposed. It might be said that they will not be able to run the Government of this province because they will have no prestige. I have already submitted that the prestige lies in service and not in money. I do not think there is any man in this country or even in the whole world bigger than Mahatma Gandhi who lives only on 6 pies a day and does not draw a fat salary. He commands more prestige. He commands more respect even from the Imperialist British Government. If you look to the other people who would be running this system of Government if they liked to in other provinces, you cannot say that people there will not command that prestige and honour if they were to take the ministerships in provinces which are bigger than ours. If the members of the Congress party—the majority party—were to take up ministerships, they would be drawing Rs. 500 a month and no one can say that they will not be able to carry on the business in the same way as will be carried on in this province.

Lest I should be misunderstood, I must make it clear that in moving this motion I have been guided by the best of motives. I cherish no ill-will against any of my friends on the Treasury benches. But I cannot but remind the hon. Premier through you that the reasons that he advanced at that time for opposing the Salaries Bill hold good even to-day and with greater force. The conditions of the East Punjab are as bad as and even worse than they were at that time and the people of this small province are passing through worse times. In the circumstances there appears to be no reason why our ministers should not be content with a salary of Rs. 500 per month that was advocated then for the ministers of the greater Punjab by the Leader of the House himself at some length and with a great show of force. The House will be interested to know that Dr. Sahib while opposing that Bill on that occasion was further pleased to say :—

I beg to submit, therefore, that we should look to the condition prevailing in the country and not think that because a certain party is in power, therefore, they can afford to pass anything which they like because they have a majority behind them. We have to see to the interests of the province and not only to judge it from the party point of view. I do not move this amendment simply because I am in the Opposition benches. It has been suggested that a time may come when I may be called upon to take charge of the ministership. I feel flattered by this statement, but I may assure you that I do not think I shall even accept it because I know that my place is not here but elsewhere. I am the servant of the nation—of the poor—and as such I believe I have got no place to work as a Chief Minister but supposing one day I were to get into my head to accept it and I had the majority behind me, I can assure you that I shall be more than satisfied with this small pay and I can assure you that I shall do my best to discharge my duties faithfully.

[Ch. Suraj Mal]

While bringing forward this Bill Dr. Sahib should have taken into consideration the views that he expressed at that time. (*Interruption*). I know there are some "Pithoos" of Dr. Sahib.

Mr. Speaker: I will ask the honourable member not to be personal.

Minister for Labour and Excise: Sir, the honourable member must be asked to withdraw the word "Pithoos".

Chaudhri Suraj Mal: When I am touched I must hit hard. I was saying, Sir, that conditions of the province have now changed for the worse. And then we are now a free people and the independence that we have achieved has placed increased responsibilities on us all as also on the ministers.

Shrimati Shanno Devi Sehgal: The hon. Minister should also take into account the fact that the province has been split up into two parts.

Chaudhri Suraj Mal: As I was saying, the responsibility of the ministers has increased with the newly born independence and the financial position of the country has also become very weak as was admitted only a little while ago by the Honourable Minister of Revenue and Home Affairs. You can very well imagine, Sir, how if the ministers demand such big salaries how it will not be possible to stop the officers of the Government from asking for high salaries and further how it will not be possible to spend more money on very urgent and important problems like the rehabilitation of the uprooted population of the West Punjab which is in great distress at this time and demands every penny that we spare for its relief. Our province is at present in great distress. With what face can we say that the conditions obtaining in the country ten years ago, have now changed? At that time Doctor Sahib and his party were of the view that as commoners it was their duty to serve the poor and that was why he advocated the salaries of ministers being fixed at Rs. 50 per month. Now he has changed his mind. He wants to serve the public as a minister. Let me, however, bring this point home to the hon. Premier in particular and the hon. members of the House in general that the manner in which he has endeavoured to get into office is an open secret. I really fail to understand with what face hon. members support the Bill now before the House and cry from their house tops that the salaries of the ministers should be fixed at more than Rs. 500. I am not unmindful of the fact that many of my hon. friends will contend that they must receive high salaries because of the prestige which they command and the expenditure which they may have to incur. The hon. Premier still upholds the view held by him ten years ago that "Public Service" was his watchword. At the time of opposing the then Salaries Bill and suggesting its reduction to Rs. 500 for every minister, the hon. Premier argued that the question of prestige should not come in the way of its reduction because of their ideal of rendering real service to the public. In my opinion Government servants drawing Rs. 60 per month as their salary are discharging their duties as sincerely and honestly as the hon. ministers themselves and there is no reason why the salaries of the ministers should not be reduced and fixed at Rs. 500 per month. In the circumstances I really fail to understand the purpose with which the hon. Premier has come forward with a proposal quite different from what he had preached about ten years ago and demanding that the salaries for the ministers be fixed at Rs. 2,000 per month. It is but meet and proper on the part of the hon. Premier to give a practical shape to what he had vehemently advocated only ten years ago. Perhaps he wants to throw dust into the eyes of the hon. members of this House and thus wants to draw the same salaries for himself and for his colleagues which the ministers

of the pre-partitioned Punjab were drawing last year. As it is clear from the Bill now before the House the hon. ministers will be provided with well furnished houses. It will not be out of place to mention here that the hon. Premier has gone a step further in this direction. He has brought some articles of furniture of his choice from other houses. (*An hon. member* : It is not a fact.) Sir, if I am permitted, I can prove that he had brought some articles of furniture from other houses and now he might have returned those articles of furniture. The hon. member who doubts the correctness of my statement wants to feign ignorance. He seems to have shut his eyes to all the realities. Perhaps he happens to be a recipient of some stipend from the present ministry. I do not object to it. He can continue his job. Besides the fat salaries, the hon. ministers will be provided with certain other facilities free of any charges. Each one of them will have a car at his disposal. Besides, they will be having sufficient number of servants paid by the Government Treasury, who will be always at their beck and call. The expenditure thus incurred will I am sure be a burden on the Provincial Treasury. The House in general and the hon. members of the cabinet in particular should not be unmindful of the fact that at present, as is clear from the budget, our province is a deficit province. Instead of rushing through such legislation in the House as is instrumental in weakening the already weak financial position of the province, it is the bounden duty of both the hon. members and the hon. ministers to devise ways and means to increase the income of the province with a view to ameliorating the hard lot of the poor people of the province. This is not all. All-out efforts have got to be made to build the character of the people of the province. If this is not done and the present state of affairs is allowed to continue, I am sure confusion worse confounded, will reign supreme in the province. Some ways and means have to be devised to improve the lot of the ill-fed, ill-clad and uncared-for people living in great distress in the province. They have to be provided with certain amenities. It really ill-behoves the hon. ministers to rush through the legislation about their salaries in this House. Their first and foremost duty should be to remove the grievances of the people who are in great distress. If they fail to take effective steps in this direction, I wonder what posterity, who will naturally follow the foot-prints of their ancestors, will think about them.

Lastly, I would like to bring this point home to the hon. Premier that it is but meet and proper on his part to give practical shape to all those expressions that he made ten years ago about the fixation of the salaries of the ministers. I wish to make it clear that the hon. Premier is responsible for fixing fat salaries for the ministers as proposed in the Bill now before the House. Perhaps he forgets his vehement opposition to a similar Bill ten years ago. At that time some of his colleagues were not the members of the then Assembly, and no such responsibility can be placed on them. However, I wish to inform the hon. members sitting on the Treasury benches, that they are not patriots in the real sense of the word. They are rather *psuedo* patriots. They are shifting ground every minute. Even the hon. Premier says one thing at one time and contradicts the same at another time or, in other words, he blows hot and cold in the same breath. I think the hon. Premier must keep his preachings in view and thus accept my amendment. With these words, Sir, I commend my amendment for the acceptance of the House.

Mr. Speaker : Clause under consideration, amendment moved :

That in lines 2-3, for the words "twenty-four thousand" the words "six thousand" be substituted, and in line 5 for the words "eighteen" thousand, the words "six thousand" be substituted.

[Mr. Speaker]

I have received notices from certain other members of amendments to this clause. They can also speak on the motion before the House and their amendments will be put to vote separately if necessary.

Pandit Shri Ram Sharma (Southern Towns, General, Urban) (Hindustani): Sir, I rise to make a few observations in regard to the Bill now before the House. My hon. friend who just preceded me has advanced certain arguments in support of his amendment to the Bill. He wants that the hon. Premier and his colleagues should draw Rs. 500 as their salary. I have also tabled an amendment to this effect and it is an improvement on the amendment made by my hon. friend Chaudhri Suraj Mal. I am of this opinion that it will be just and reasonable if the hon. Premier and his colleagues draw some more amount in the shape of dearness allowance in addition to the amount already suggested by my hon. friend Chaudhri Suraj Mal.

Now our financial position is quite different from what it was about ten years ago. In fact we find a complete change in our financial position and it is but meet and proper on our part to grant some more amount to the hon. Premier and his colleagues in view of the abnormal rise in the prices of commodities. It will not be out of place to mention here that we are already giving some concessions to the Government servants in the form of dearness allowance, etc., to eke out their living and we must not do any injustice to the hon. ministers. We will be doing a great disservice to them if we do not realise their difficulties during these abnormal times when the prices have shot up to the highest levels. I would like to bring this point home to the hon. members of the cabinet in general and the minister-in-charge of the Bill in particular, that the financial position of our newly carved out province is quite different from the pre-partitioned province. The big amount that is being proposed is not in keeping with the financial position of our province. Before the partition of the province, ministers were drawing Rs. 3,000 per month. But now the position is quite different. Now our province comprises of 13 districts only. We have not enough funds at our disposal. We are short of money. We must take the income of our province into consideration and then decide as to how much should be spent on the salaries of the ministers. In pre-partitioned Punjab we had almost surplus budgets. Now the case is quite reverse and we have a big deficit budget this time. We have to carry on the day to-day administration of the province with a deficit of Rs. 2½ crores.

Sir, if you will excuse a little repetition on my part I will say that our resources and income are limited. The exigencies of the situation demand that we in the House should give a lead and set an example for others to follow. We should not be guilty of the act which we condemned at one time. Our province is very small and the income thereof is not much. I would, therefore, request the hon. Premier and other ministers that they should accept my amendment. I know that the ministers of the United Provinces are in receipt of as high a salary as is provided in this Bill for our ministers, but that is a very big province as compared with ours. However, in the case of West Bengal they have agreed to work on a salary of Rs. 750 per mensem. And that province is in no way less important or less rich than ours. If a true Gandhist like Mr. P. C. Ghosh has accepted Rs. 750 per mensem, I see no reason why another Gandhi Bhagat who is said to be much devoted to Gandhi ji should not be content with a similar amount as his salary. Why should he ask for double and even more than double the amount as salary? As far as I understand the conditions in West Bengal are better than they are here and if I may say, the standard of living of the Bengalis is higher than it is here. In short, looking at this question from any point of view, you will come to the conclusion that there is no justification for this big salary provided for

Dr. Sahib and his colleagues in this Bill. While on this point I would request the Leader of the House to act according to the moving spirit of the Congress which he was pleased to profound ten years ago as Leader of the Opposition in the fuller Punjab Assembly. I wonder why, when Mahatma Gandhi can afford to live a simple life with very little expenses and at the same time can do so much work, his devotees should not be able to live similarly and relieve the exchequer of the province of a great burden.

One thing more I must say before I close my speech. Perhaps the ministers may be under the impression that in order not to look small in the eyes of the subordinates they must have very high standard of their salaries. This may be true in the case of Government servants and I see some force in the arguments that a Deputy Commissioner should get more than a Tehsildar and the latter more than a Kanungo. But for the ministers to think in that strain would be I should say, beneath their dignity. They are great not because their salaries are high but for other reasons. I am here reminded of an example of a person wearing tethered clothes who met Shri Pandit Moti Lal Ji, the revered father of our Premier of India when Pandit Ji landed in Russia. On enquiring Pandit Ji was told that that person was no less than one of the ministers holding a very important portfolio. It is time that we develop that spirit and adopt standards of the Socialists. I might also say that I would be too glad to withdraw this amendment if so ordered by the Leader, but I think the circumstances under which we live at present require that the ministers should agree to work on small salaries and I have, therefore, every hope that Dr. Sahib and his colleagues will have no objection in accepting the amendment and would not insist on receiving salaries that the late Sir Sikander Hyat Khan and his colleagues used to get. The proposed salaries plus conveyance allowance and free furnished houses come up to nearly three thousand rupees. Therefore, with these words, I commend my amendment for the acceptance of the House.

Pandit Bhagat Ram Sharma (Kangra West, General, Rural) (Hindustani) : Sir, I had no intention to make a speech on this Bill but two of my hon. friends who have preceded me and who have opposed the Bill, have compelled me to say something in this connection. My hon. friend Chaudhri Suraj Mal has referred to a speech made by Dr. Sahib in 1937 in which he urged that the salaries of the ministers should not exceed Rs. 500 per month. But he has not kept in view the changes which have taken place during this period. He has taken his stand on what was said in 1937 but he has ignored the abnormal rise in prices. Had he taken this fact into consideration and estimated the cost of living, he would not have opposed the Bill. He ought to have known that in some cases the prices have risen ten times and in no case less than five times the prices of articles in 1937. He should have known all this now in his capacity as the Chief Minister of Bharatpur and if he had cared to make a better calculation he would have seen that the value of Rs. 500 in 1937 was at least five times more than the value of the same amount to-day. I myself, as a member of that Assembly, was one of those who did not favour the idea of giving very high salaries to the ministers but as I have said, the circumstances have very much changed and the salary now provided in the Bill cannot be called high in any case. I wonder where my friend Chaudhri Suraj Mal was at that time and why he did not oppose the Bill in the manner he is doing to-day. He was then attached to the late Sir Chhotu Ram and dared not oppose what the latter wanted. Whereas at that time Rs. 3,000 and Rs. 4,000 as the monthly salary of the ministers was quite right, my hon. friend desires that the ministers should now receive only five hundred rupees, in spite of the fact that the prices have gone so high. It would not be out of place to point out that this hon. member who has thought fit to oppose this

[Pt. Bhagat Ram Sharma.]

Bill is, at present, occupying the office of the Prime Minister of Bharatpur State, and in that capacity he is drawing no less than Rs. 2,500 as his monthly salary. It would have been much better if he had taken into consideration the poor condition of the people of the Bharatpur State and offered to receive Rs. 500 as his monthly pay. In that case he would have been justified to make the present proposal and, in that case, I would have had more respect for him. Of course, I do not intend to use any unparliamentary word nor do I like to indulge in personal attacks. But I am constrained to say that here is a case of devil quoting the scriptures.

Chaudhri Suraj Mal : First make it a scripture.

Mr. Speaker : Please address the Chair.

Pandit Bhagat Ram Sharma : I was saying that if the hon. member had been honest in his proposal, it would have been much better. We should keep in view what are bare facts. Taking them into consideration we shall have to concede the bare necessities of life to the ministers. Sir, it is of the utmost importance that we should not bring in our personal prejudices while considering the present amendment. But it has to be regretted that some of the Hon. members are bringing in personal considerations. It may be pointed out that both these hon. members have been aspirants for the ministership but without success. I can only say that these personal considerations should have nothing to do with our business here. If, however, the hon. member is really earnest in his proposal, it should be in a different form. The proposal should be that all the members, including ministers, should stop drawing their salaries as well as other allowances altogether. If the Assembly is prepared to become an association of this nature I would welcome the idea. But in the present conditions the Bill should be passed in its present form.

Chaudhri Suraj Mal : On a point of personal explanation, Sir, my friend has brought this charge against me that I was a candidate for ministership, I may state for the information of my hon. friend that this office has been offered to me more than once, but I refused that offer.

Sardar Bachan Singh (Ludhiana Central, Sikh, Rural) (Hindustani) : I rise to support Pandit Shri Ram Sharma's proposal. As a matter of fact, the big salaries of the Government officials are a relic of the British Imperialism in India. This bill of big salaries was introduced into our system in 1920 and the monthly salary of the Executive Councillors was fixed as high as Rs. 5,000. The Punjab Government had to pay a similar salary to Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain and Lala Harkishan Lal, to maintain their prestige and honour. At that time a peon was getting only four rupees as his monthly pay, with which he could not even make both ends meet. No one from the Government side at that time considered the big salaries of the ministers as improper. Again when in 1937, Provincial Autonomy was introduced in the provinces the salaries of the ministers had to be reduced. But Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, the then Premier, and Sir Chhotu Ram thought it below their dignity to draw salaries less than those drawn by members of the Indian Civil Service. It was the Congress which raised a voice of protest against these high salaries, proposing that no Government official should draw more than Rs. 500 as his monthly salary. The United Provinces Government constituted a Committee in 1920 to report on the salaries of the Government Officials. Mr. Kidwai, who is now a minister of the present Indian Cabinet, was also a member of this committee. The

committee wanted to reduce the salaries of the personnel of provincial services, because they could not touch the services under the direct control of the Secretary of State for India. The provincial service people raised a hue and cry against any cut in their salaries and it was with great difficulty that the committee succeeded in bringing down the salaries to Rs. 650 a month.

12 noon

But the Congress did not stop there. The caravan continued its forward march. Since it has been the champion of the cause of the poor, it did not swerve from its goal of uplifting the down-trodden. It continued to strive for the betterment of the lot of the poverty-stricken teeming millions of India. It worked hard to see that the poor were properly fed and clothed. The leaders of this august organisation who sacrificed their all never thought of getting fat salaries when asked to run the administration as ministers after the attainment of Swaraj. One of my hon. friends while supporting the original motion, referred to the glaring difference between the conditions obtaining now and those in 1937. He further remarked that the present conditions when peak prices were prevailing and living was extremely expensive, entitled the hon. ministers to draw salaries at the proposed rates. I frankly submit, Sir, that this line of reasoning has not the least appeal to me. I think the salary proposed in the amendment moved by my hon. friend Pandit Shri Ram Sharma is most appropriate and reasonable. It is double the amount of the salary which the hon. Premier himself advocated in 1937, as Leader of the Opposition. Then the question of grant of allowances to the officers has been brought in by some of my hon. friends. They in their zeal wanted to show that the salary suggested in the Bill was barely sufficient to maintain the ministers. But may I know the percentage of allowances granted to the civil service officers? To my knowledge the allowance is hardly ten per cent of their pay but I am sure I. C. S. officers do not get any. I, therefore, see no reason why under the pretext of high emoluments alleged to be paid to the I. C. S. officers, the ministers should demand big salaries. I have serious apprehensions that if the Bill is passed as it is, then a vicious circle will start because then the I. C. S. officers will begin to clamour for higher salaries because salaries lower than the ministers will not be commensurate with their position. (*Laughter*). Then, the proposal of my hon. friend Pandit Shri Ram Sharma is still very considerate as it gives hundred per cent increase in the salary of ministers advocated by the Congress in 1937. The House while considering the motion should not lose sight of the fact that the Punjab has been torn asunder as a result of the tyranny of a fanatical community. We are passing through grave and critical times. An unprecedented calamity has overtaken our people. It has not only affected our province but the Indian Dominion also. At this critical juncture we have to serve our people and alleviate their distress with all our might. This is not the time for demanding high emoluments. We must live up to our high traditions of selfless service to the people. We should not prove ourselves a burden to the public exchequer. We should conserve every pie for the amelioration of the sad plight of lakhs of uprooted and penniless refugees from the West Punjab who are rotting in different camps at Kurukshetra and other places. I shudder to think of their condition when I see that winter has set in full swing and these poor people are without blankets and quilts. I, therefore, fail to understand as to what has made the ministers demand such high salaries. Their mode of living is the same as it was in 1937. They have not adopted European style or standard of living. As a matter of fact I see no appreciable change in them in that respect. I think they still cling to the maxim of simple living and high thinking. (*Voices : Now they have changed.*) I beg to differ from my hon. friends' remark. I still believe in the sincerity of the hon. ministers. I consider

[S. Bachan Singh.]

them to be our accredited leaders. I can say with some pride that they are the real type of ministers who are accessible to high and low alike. Well, Sir, I was submitting that the standard of living of the hon. ministers still remains the same. They still cover themselves with a crude type of cover commonly known as *khes*. They do not feel small while wearing it. In other words they can lead a simple life as they are already accustomed to it. In view of this I fail to see why their salaries should be put at such a high figure.

Mr. Speaker, may I through you sound a note of warning to the Government? The public is now wide awake. The electorate has been revolutionised. We should not forget that we are their servants. In this connection I may point out and it is a matter of common knowledge, that when we have to engage a servant, we do so at a salary according to our means. The same analogy is applicable here. The public has full knowledge of the position of the exchequer. It knows whether it can bear the burden of the salaries demanded by its servants, I mean the hon. ministers. The people are already cross with them. They think that by holding the Assembly Session at Simla, we are guilty of wasting public money. They accuse us on our face that we have come here to grind our own axe or at least to draw allowances and enjoy Simla Hills. What I, therefore, want to drive at is that now the people cannot be hoodwinked. They know our worth and work. It behoves us that we should not spoil our past record of public service by asking for high salaries. Our conduct should be such that nobody can pick a hole in it. Then there is another thing which I would like to bring to your notice. You will remember that when we were a party to the formation of the Khizar Ministry, we made it clear that it would have our fullest support only if it worked for the betterment of the poor. We still stick to those high ideals. We are here to look after the interest of the afflicted people. We should think over the matter as servants of the people and not their masters. We are to be very careful in our conduct lest our *bona fides* should be suspected by the people. Besides, we are confronted with gigantic problems arising out of the mass migration of our brethren from the West Punjab. They have been reduced to utter poverty and we have to raise them from the ground and also provide them with shelter. This can be achieved only if the position of our exchequer is strong. I think our ministers should set an example by accepting salaries as proposed in the amendment.

Then another fallacious argument has been advanced and that is that it would be below the dignity of the ministers to accept a salary lower than that of I. C. S. officers, I do not agree with this. We have to cut our coat according to our cloth. We will have to scale down the salaries of those officers who are in receipt of high emoluments in order to bring them to the level of ministers' salaries. While making this pruning we will have to raise the wages of low paid personnel in every walk of life. I would, therefore, request the hon. ministers to rise to the occasion and voluntarily accept the salaries as proposed in the amendment. I may assure them that we have not the slightest intention to harass them by putting forward this amendment, nor have we been actuated by any motives of earning cheap popularity. Our object is that since they are our accredited leaders and true guides, they should not forget the advice of Mahatma Gandhi, which he gave to the princes. Mahatmajī asked them not to ignore the writing on the wall that they must change with the time or they will perish. Our ministers should take stock of the things and act in deference to the wishes of the public. They will deserve the thanks and congratulations of the people if they voluntarily accept low salary. With these words I close my speech.

Mehta Ranbir Singh (Ludhiana and Ferozepore, General, Rural) (Hindustani) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I do not want to indulge in personal attacks, nor would I like to be carried away by the feelings of the moment. I intend to state the facts, pure and simple, as they are and whether they are acceptable to you or not, it is your own lookout. As regards Dr. Gopi Chand's speech, which has been repeatedly referred to, I beg to submit that it was based on the decision of the Congress Parliamentary Board which arrived at fixing the maximum salary of the Ministers at Rs. 500 per mensem. Pandit Shri Ram Sharma and Sardar Bachan Singh are old Congressites and should have known that the question was reconsidered by the Congress Parliamentary Board and the decision was altered. They have no doubt been in the Congress for a long time but they cannot claim to have a more eminent position in the Congress than Panditji, Maulana Azad and Sardar Patel. That decision has been certainly altered. (*Interruption*). Do not be swayed by your emotions and do not make personal remarks. I request the old Congressites to see facts as they are and realise the humble beginning from which we had started. The world has undergone numerous changes since then. Everybody says that he is prepared to work free but the crux of the difficulty is when people do not work even when they are paid for it how could they be expected to work unpaid? For example, there are members who do not even visit their constituencies but receive compensatory allowance regularly.

Pandit Shri Ram Sharma : On a point of order, Sir. May I ask if the hon. member has not indulged in personal attack?

Mehta Ranbir Singh : I have not mentioned anyone's name but if the cap fits somebody, I cannot help it. There are persons in the services and outside, who would be ready to pay Rs. 2,000 per mensem to the Government from their own pocket, not to speak of taking any remuneration, if they were appointed Deputy Commissioners. What I mean to say is that the faithful performance of his duties by a Minister is a matter of primary importance and the question of salaries is only a secondary one. We should have due regard for our Ministers who have to work 18 hours a day. Let us realise our responsibilities. We should bring forward a constructive proposal instead of indulging in useless criticism. We should not behave in an irresponsible way as we will be wasting the precious time of the House.

Pandit Shri Ram Sharma : On a point of order, Sir. May I ask if the hon. member is within his rights to say that we are irresponsible persons and that we are wasting the time of the House?

Mehta Ranbir Singh : I only meant, that they should utilize their time in a more constructive way.

Pandit Shri Ram Sharma : On a point of order, Sir. The hon. member has said that some members have wasted the time of the House.

Mr. Speaker : I have warned the hon. member and he will not say such words in future.

Sardar Sajjan Singh (Patti, Sikh, Rural) (Punjabi) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am really surprised to find that even our responsible leaders are not free from the taint of capitalist mentality. The salary of a person, whether it is Rs. 1,000 per mensem or Rs. 2,000, does not make any difference, so far as his position is concerned. Only that person is great, whom you do the honour of regarding as such. I would request Dr. Gopi Chand not to base his

[S. Sajjan Singh]

Premiership on a higher salary but vindicate his right to it by virtue of his work. In my opinion, a salary of Rs. 1,000 per mensem is sufficient for the Prime Minister. I do not mind if you differ from me in this matter. To rehabilitate those who have come from West Punjab, it will be necessary to nationalize the entire land and the industries of this province. You should set up a good example by accepting less salary and give proof of your real eminence. You are great by virtue of your eminent position. Do your best to serve the public and do not insist on any difference in your salary and the salaries of other Ministers.

Sardar Sarmukh Singh (Ambala North, Sikh, Rural) (Punjabi) : Sir, before I proceed to say anything on the motion before the House, I will crave its indulgence as I am one of those few members who are new to the job. I have been all along of the opinion that the members of an august body like the Assembly had to work on party lines. After they had taken a pledge or oath of allegiance to a particular party they should give up all personal considerations and work as a team in the party which they had joined. But to-day I find that a number of members in this House have said things in total disregard of the party discipline and made speeches either to please persons outside the party or to satisfy their personal vanity.

Chaudhri Suraj Mal : Are the new members entitled to be personal ?

Minister of Revenue and Home Affairs : And are the old members entitled to all kinds of latitude ?

Sardar Sarmukh Singh : So far I have made no personal attack to call for this interruption and I may say that I have no intention to indulge in personal attacks. My learned friend who has opposed this Bill has laid stress chiefly on two points. One is that this is the time to serve the people and to set an example for others to follow and the other that according to the decisions arrived at by the Congress long ago, the Congressmen in the Government should accept very low salaries as remuneration for their services. In reply to these arguments I may repeat the words of my hon. friend Mehta Ranbir Singh who correctly put the position before the House. He was right when he said that the question of salaries for the Ministers was an all-India question and when our great and revered leaders like Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru and Sardar Patel had been forced to accept salaries higher than that fixed long ago by the Congress, it is no wonder if our Ministers do likewise. The circumstances have very much changed during the last ten years and these changed circumstances do require that the salaries of the Ministers should be fixed at a level at which they might be able to live decently. They should have enough means to undertake extensive tours of the province to study the present critical situation and to meet it. I am convinced that the salaries of our Ministers as provided in the Bill are not high if we were to take into consideration the changed conditions. I would, therefore, request the mover of the motion and also those who have supported it not to be led by personal considerations and they may be pleased to take a dispassionate view of the matter before the House. I hope that the amendment moved will be withdrawn.

Lala Kedar Nath Sehgal (Amritsar, General, Rural) (Hindustani) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the amendment tabled by Pandit Shri Ram Sharma. You are aware, Sir, of the proverb in Punjabi which when translated means : "the stratagem of grabbing the prey was taught to the lion by the cat. But no sooner did the former receive the

lesson than it pounced upon the cat which had taught the lesson to the lion." I need not remind the House that at the time the Congress was transformed into mass organization by our great and selfless leaders like Mahatma Gandhi, they all raised a voice of protest against the unchecked exploitation of India by the Britishers. They said that the income of our country was very low and the British officers were getting exorbitant amounts as their salaries and that while the average income of an Indian was five or six pice daily, the Viceroy was drawing Rs. 20,000 monthly. Fat salaries have been fixed for the Governors of the provinces. I and most of the other Congress followers went on propagating in every nook and corner of India against the Congress policy for allowing its Governors and Ministers draw huge salaries at the expense of the poor. It will not be out of place to mention here that I.C.S. Officers are being paid very heavily. What I wish to point out is that in India the practice of paying huge salaries should be stopped altogether. People have come to realise that these fat salaries are being paid at their expense and thus they are being looted in the real sense of the word. People demand that the ministers should draw the minimum salaries. In this connection I wish to quote an instance. A few days back I had a chance to talk to some highly paid officials and I discussed this problem with them. They were of the opinion that they were prepared to accept a lower salary only if the ministers were also prepared to accept a lower salary for themselves. I wish to bring this point home to the hon. members sitting on the Treasury Benches that the salaries of the highly paid officials could be reduced if they too would come forward for some reduction in their proposed salaries. I really fail to understand why the hon. ministers, Sardar Partap Singh, Sardar Isher Singh and the hon. Premier who have already lived on Re. 0-8-0 a day while in the prison cannot find it possible now to eke out their living by accepting a lower salary which is quite reasonable and just. It will not be out of place to mention here that these very hon. ministers courted imprisonment for criticising those British officers who were drawing fat salaries and were a burden on the Indian exchequer. These very gentlemen used to believe sometime back in an ordinary handspun *dhoti*, the cost of which would not exceed Rs. 1-8-0. At that time they would not mind its roughness. The financial position of the province which is already weak, will receive a great setback if fat salaries are paid to the ministers and the high officials of the province. This will mean a death blow to the prosperity of the province. As a result of the partition our province now constitutes 13 districts. Our expenditure should in no case exceed our income. We have already a deficit of 2½ crores in the province. Under the circumstances the hon. members sitting on the Treasury Benches would by accepting fat salaries greatly oppress the province. At its Karachi Session, the Congress Committee passed a resolution to the effect that on assuming power the salaries of the Congress Ministers would be fixed at Rs. 500 per month and not more. But some of my hon. friends including my hon. friend Pandit Shri Ram Sharma have advanced this argument that in view of the abnormal rise in the prices of commodities, the salaries of the ministers should not be more than double the amount already mentioned above. I also hold the same view. Other facilities in the form of a free car and a furnished house have been provided for them. I do not object to them, but I am opposed to their getting huge salaries. It is an open secret that Mr. Patel has nominated my hon. friend Dr. Gopi Chand as the Leader of the Congress Party of this province simply because he happens to be a strict follower of the Congress. He is a man of simple tastes and habits. It is crystal clear from this that he has to serve the public in the real sense.

Mr. Speaker : Please do not be personal.

Lala Kedar Nath Sehgal : Sir, I am very sorry. Further I wish to submit that before the partition of the Punjab took place, the whole province consisted of 29 districts. At that time there were only six ministers. But now when there are only 13 districts in our new province and when the land revenue of these districts will not be more than 31 per cent of the total land revenue of the pre-partitioned Punjab, as many as seven members have been appointed as ministers of the province. This is not all. I am given to understand that two or three more ministers will be added to the existing strength of the Cabinet. (*An hon. member :* Is the hon. member too a candidate for one of these posts?) If the hon. member thinks so, then I may assure him that his case will also be considered favourably (*laughter*). I make bold to submit that the present top-heavy administration will be a great burden on the people of the province. Keeping the number of districts of this new province in view, we arrive at this conclusion that there was no justification in appointing as many as seven ministers. What I wish to point out is that our province is at present in great distress. Government will have to give adequate relief to refugees who are already here in the province and those who are expected soon from Pakistan. Those who are already here in this province are in a miserable plight. They have no food to eat, no clothes to wear and no place to hide themselves. They are living on the road-side. May I ask the Hon. Premier as to what steps he is going to take for those ill-clad, ill-fed and uncared-for people who are expected in this province soon from Pakistan? Only recently I saw at Delhi a young graduate refugee selling his little stock of two rupees worth cigarettes. I saw another highly educated young man selling hot tea on the road side. This is the condition of our brethren who have been uprooted and rendered homeless. Yet the hon. ministers press for the proposed fat salaries. In the circumstances the hon. ministers should not only accept the minimum salaries for themselves but should make reasonable reduction in the salaries of highly paid officials with a view to ameliorating the hard lot of the poor people of the province. My hon. friend Mehta Ranbir Singh has remarked in the course of his speech that Congress had changed its own resolution regarding the salary of Rs. 500 to be paid to the ministers and that the ministers of the Indian Dominion were already drawing a higher salary than the proposed salary of Rs. 500. I wish to remind the hon. member that we must adjust the salaries of the ministers after looking into the financial position of the province in general and its income in particular. If the ministers of the Dominion Government are drawing higher salaries it is but meet and proper for us not to follow that policy. I have no hesitation in saying this and I make bold to submit that I am willing to rebel against the Ministers of the Dominion Government also if they do not revise their policy regarding their salaries. Hon. members should not be unmindful of the fact that in West Bengal the salary of the ministers has been fixed at Rs. 750, while the existing conditions of our province do not permit even this amount to be fixed as the salary of the ministers. Let me make this point clear that by making these observations I do not mean making any personal attacks. What I want is that ways and means should be devised to raise the already low standard of living of the people of the province. This is not the time for proposing high salaries. What we have to see and strive for is that our people are well-fed, well-clad and well accommodated. With these words, I support the amendment moved by my hon. friend Pt. Shri Ram Sharma with all the emphasis at my command and I equally hope that other hon. members will also support this amendment.

Sardar Narotam Singh (South-East Punjab, Sikh, Rural) (Punjabi) : Sir, I rise to support the Bill now before the House. I need not remind the House that the ministers have themselves reduced their salaries to

what I should say the minimum. The House, I am sure, will agree with me when I say that we must not lose sight of the conditions prevailing at present in the province and for that matter in the country and to see whether those conditions justify the fixation of the salaries of the Ministers as proposed in the Bill. We must also see that we pay enough to these Ministers so that the best men may be attracted and be forthcoming for the services of the people of the province. You can never expect to draw better staff when you require them to receive small salaries and do hard work for the people. Such a desire seems to be unnatural. I would go further and say that we must allow a certain standard to be maintained by our Ministers if we want them to serve the people in the best possible manner and for that purpose they should have the salaries provided in the Bill.

Mr. Prabodh Chandra (Gurdaspur, General, Rural) (*Hindustani*): Sir, before I proceed to say anything in favour of the amendment moved by my friend, Pandit Shri Ram Sharma, I would like to point out to my hon. friend Pandit Bhagat Ram Sharma.....

Mr. Speaker: May I request the hon. member to please stick to healthy criticism?

Mr. Prabodh Chandra: That is exactly what I am going to do. But the pity is that certain sections of the House have not the patience to listen to what their critics say even with the best of their intentions. There should be sense enough to understand what is good and what is bad and it leads one nowhere if one were to smell a rat everywhere. With your permission, Sir, I would like to relate an incident that happened during the time of Mahabharat. Once Lord Krishna asked Duryodhan to go to a town and catch hold of 4 honest persons. Accordingly Duryodhan went to the town and after a search for them returned saying that he could not find any honest man in the whole of the town. Then Lord Krishna asked Yudhishtar to go and find 4 dishonest persons from the same town. But he also returned with the same reply that no such person was to be found in the whole of that town. This incident may sound something very amusing but there is nothing to wonder at. It is natural that to an honest man every one seems to be honest as a jaundiced eye sees every thing yellow. My friend Pandit Bhagat Ram Sharma should remember.....

Mr. Speaker: The hon. member should not be personal in his remarks.

Mr. Prabodh Chandra: Thank you, Sir. I will request the hon. Leader of the House to go to the masses and to move amongst them for a while. He will know, if he does not know it already, that at this moment no one among the public has a good word to say for the Congress. The reason is not far to seek. The congressmen in our Province particularly say one thing and do the other. They used to indulge in tall talks when they were not in power. They had then promised to the people paradise on earth. But when they are now in power they seem to have forgotten all about those lofty principles which they then placed before the public. My friend, the mover of the amendment, has taken only the salary proposed in the Bill while moving the same. He does not take into account the large sums of money that the Ministers draw by way of travelling allowance which go up to Rs. 2,000 and even more a month in the case of each of these Ministers. In addition to that, they have been provided with big furnished bungalows containing a large number of rooms which could accommodate more than one large family in them. And this they have been provided with at the time when so many of our fellow brethren are without any roof and are dying of cold in the open. My friend, Mahta Ranbir Singh, while opposing the amendment

[Mr. Prabodh Chandra]

under consideration said that the Ministers were required and were actually doing hard work for 18 hours a day and that was in his opinion a cogent ground for giving fat salaries to these Ministers. What a funny argument in favour of the Bill! I am inclined to think that my friend in his desire to help the Ministers, has spoiled their case. He has, I should say, insulted our Ministers by putting this value in rupees of the service that the Ministers do or at any rate are supposed to do. When a man is poor it is very easy for him to say that he would have given lacs of rupees for the suffering humanity. It is only when a man is rich and is prepared to part with his money for the poor that he is adjudged to be sympathetic and benevolent. Similarly now was the time for the Congress, which is in power at present, to stand by its ideals. But I am constrained that the congress ministry in this province at any rate, has gone very much below its ideals. It is a pity that things have gone that way. I have been reminded by you, Sir, that I should offer only healthy criticism and who is there to listen even to that criticism particularly when some of us are candidates either for Ministership or for the office of the Parliamentary Secretary? As I said in the beginning, we are here to offer healthy criticism and to point out the drawbacks in the ministry and the Government and the proper thing for those who occupy the treasury benches and those who are their supporters, is to listen to such criticism with patience and to try to remove the drawbacks pointed out to them. But the case is quite the reverse. With these words I support the amendment moved by my friend Pandit Shri Ram Sharma.

Seth Ganga Saran (Trade Union, Labour) (*Hindustani*): Sir, I rise to say a few words in support of the amendment moved by my hon. friend Pandit Shri Ram Sharma. Much has already been said by hon. members on the Ministers' Salary Bill now before the House. But I really fail to understand the basis on which the salary of the hon. Ministers has been fixed. I think it was but meet and proper on the part of the Government to keep the present condition of the refugees of West Punjab in view before fixing the proposed salary. Government should not have been unmindful of the fact that various problems regarding the refugees confronted them. I think hon. members opposing the Bill now before the House are quite justified in criticising the policy of the Government. I for one feel that if the Government were to accept the amendment moved by my hon. friend Pandit Shri Ram Sharma, no criticisms whatsoever would have been levelled against them. We must keep the present conditions prevailing in the province in view and then fix the salary of the Ministers. Now the times have changed and we too must change with them. Those old days when the Ministers used to draw fat salaries are gone now. I do not intend to go into any further details in this connection. With these words, I support the amendment moved by my hon. friend Pandit Shri Ram Sharma.

Minister of Public Works (Chaudhri Lehri Singh) (*Hindustani*): Mr. Speaker, Sir, to begin with, I regret to say that only those members should send in proposals and second them, as are prepared to follow them in practice. The hon. member who proposed that the Ministers should draw Rs. 500 as their monthly salary is at present the Prime Minister of a poor State, namely, Bharatpur, and in that capacity is drawing no less than Rs. 2,500 per mensem, and that too free of income-tax. Along with that he is trying to have something much more in the form of motor car allowance and various other allowances. He has now suddenly become a sympathiser of the poor Punjabi. I am reminded of a story in this connection of a school-master who advised his students to abstain from smoking, but himself freely indulged in the habit. Such is the case with my hon. friend. He advises the Ministers of the East

Punjab to think of this poor province and himself has not scrupled to draw such a big salary which is a drain upon the resources of that poor State. It does not look nice for a minister to plead in a case like this and fix his own salary. But it is the duty of the hon. members to take certain facts into consideration. The present salary of a minister is Rs. 1,500 per mensem, out of which Rs. 150 is deducted as income-tax. Various other deductions are also made and in this way this salary becomes something less than Rs. 1,350 per mensem. It has been pointed out that the ministers live in big bungalows. These bungalows, as you all know, were occupied by big aristocrats, our predecessors and when they had any guests, they used to send them to stay in hotels. But, at present these residences of the Ministers are available to their guests, including some of the members.

Sardar Bachan Singh : Are these buildings the residences of the ministers or charitable institutions ?

Minister of Public Works : It has been further pointed out that there is too much furniture at the residence of Dr. Gopi Chand. As the Minister of Public Works, I know that the extra furniture that was lying at the residence of Dr. Gopi Chand before he occupied it, was taken out for public purposes. As regards the salaries of the ministers and their consequent richness, you can very well form some idea by having a glance at the ministerial benches. Some of these ministers are wearing jackets while others have simply loose sheets of cloth about them. They cannot afford the luxury of a coat even. This is not due to any thrift on their part, it is rather due to heavy expenses. Doctor Sahib has to attend to so many guests at his residence that it is very difficult for him to meet the expenses of his household within his pay. He could not have formed any idea about the present conditions in 1937. He now feels that even if he were to serve only *dal roti* to his guests, it would cost him a good deal. Even now there is a proposal in the Central Assembly that the monthly salary of a minister should be Rs. 2,500 per mensem. I admit that our province is poor, but taking into consideration the expenses of the ministers, you should accept the proposal. There are quite a large number of Bills where you can profitably enter into long discussions, but the present case requires that you should give your consent at once. Hon. members should cast a look within themselves and just see how many allowances they are drawing.

Shrimati Shanno Devi Sehgal (South-Eastern Towns), General, Urban) (Hindustani) : Sir, before I second the proposal of Pandit Shri Ram Sharma, I want to say a few words. As my throat is hoarse, I would request the House to be more attentive. I want to say something which is of prime importance, that is regarding the work done by our sisters in the history of our country and community. This envelope which usually reaches all the members a day before the session, did not reach me in time. I am thinking about those of our brothers and sisters who are still stranded in the West Punjab and fondly look to the day when they shall once again be together. You may look upon this as a request or as an exhortation, because being a *Kshatherani*, I may be excused for that.

The Assembly then adjourned for lunch and reassembled at 2.30 p.m. of the clock.

Mr. Speaker in the chair

Shrimati Shanno Devi Sehgal : Sir, I was saying that it is only the wearer who knows where the shoe pinches. I do not want to

[Shrimati Shanno Devi Sehgal]

repeat anything. But as the House adjourned for lunch, it is possible you might have forgotten what I was saying. So I have now begun my speech with this proverb. I would like to point out that my spirit is just the same as before, and I want to say the things which should be told by the mothers and sisters of a nation to their sons and brothers, in such critical times when our country is overwhelmed by huge clouds of difficulties. I am glad to see Sardar Partap Singh and Dr. Gopi Chand, the leader of our province, seated before me. I want to remind them that they have dedicated their lives for the service of their country and they have never thought of getting any pay or reward for their services. In this Bill which is under the consideration of the House, provision is made for huge salaries for the ministers. I want to request them that they should rise above these high salaries and thus keep in view the women and sisters who have stood shoulder to shoulder in the service of our nation. It is, therefore, the duty of the hon. ministers to pay heed to the voice of those women on whom untold atrocities have been perpetrated and who have undergone innumerable hardships. It is highly necessary that the Government should pay immediate attention to them to alleviate their sufferings. If you think that I am saying irrelevant things, I beg your pardon. But I cannot help saying that fortunately or unfortunately none of our ministers belongs to the West Punjab, otherwise they would not have shown so much slackness to improve the lot of the miserable refugees coming from that side. I am pained to see that thousands and lakhs of people who were leading prosperous lives in West Punjab, are to-day going about like beggars without any place where they can take shelter. I have only recently come back from a tour of a number of districts of the West Punjab and I have also toured some of the districts of this new province. I find that the plight of the refugees is hopeless. When I reached Jullundur it appeared as if there was complete absence of law and order. The refugees were going about homeless in a state of utter helplessness. They do not succeed in getting the houses allotted to them unless they procure the orders of the officials at the top. In this connection I would like to request the hon. Premier with folded hands that he should vacate the palatial building in which he is living to be put at the disposal of the refugees. The other ministers should also vacate their splendid buildings and start living together in one bungalow. In this way their houses should be made available for the refugees, so that they may be able to take shelter in these houses at this time of distress. There is nothing bad in it, because they lived together in the colleges.

Now the question under consideration is the fixation of salaries of the ministers. The Premier who is a selfless man and a true representative of the people, instead of being desirous of getting high salaries, should not hesitate to work honorarily if such a high office is offered to him by the people. He should, therefore, accept even a smaller salary. Besides, being a Congressite, it is my feeling that the Hindus and Sikhs of the East Punjab are responsible for the blood-bath through which the Hindus and Sikhs of West Punjab have gone; and similarly the Muslims of the West Punjab are responsible for the bloodshed of the Muslims of the East Punjab.

Mr. Speaker: The honourable lady member is irrelevant.

Shrimati Shanno Devi Sehgal: Truth is always bitter and if my brothers do not like what I say, I would sit down.

Mr. Speaker: The honourable lady member can say all these things during the discussion on the budget.

Shrimati Shanno Devi Sehgal: Sir, I want to say that the ministers especially Dr. Gopi Chand and Sardar Partap Singh, who are also members of the Congress High Command, and also Captain Ranjit Singh and Chaudhri Lehri Singh, who are accustomed to make sacrifices in the cause

of the country, should for God's sake create this spirit of self-sacrifice among the members of the services as the services in the West Punjab are doing. If you will not pay any attention towards this matter, the services will not function according to the changed circumstances.

Mr. Speaker : The honourable lady member is again not speaking to the motion. Please wind up.

Shrimati Shanno Dev Sehgal : Sir, I do not want to prolong my speech. As a matter of fact what I want is that the ministers should accept the amendment of Pandit Shri Ram Sharma who has already given them a good deal of concession. The salaries proposed by him are not small. Besides the pay, they will also be entitled to get conveyance allowance and for the tours, they will draw separate travelling allowance. In this connection I want to request the hon. members through you, that they should stop taking their compensatory allowance. They shall not lose much in this way. As compared to that the ministers should also agree to work on smaller salaries. When we leave this House, the people outside will ask us why there was such a great difference between the word and deed of the Congress ministers. I look upon it as a disgrace. Being a Congress worker it is my duty to set my misguided brethren on the right path. I, therefore, hope that the hon. ministers will pay attention to my requests and will accede to the proposal of Pandit Shri Ram Sharma. One of the ministers has remarked in this connection that besides the other guests, some poor members also stay with them; they should, therefore, be paid the salaries as are proposed in the Bill. I think no self-respecting member will stay with the ministers. *(Laughter)* The ministers should, therefore, draw as much salaries as are just sufficient for them. You may continue to live in bungalows here at Simla, but I may tell you that you will have to vacate your bungalows at Jullundur, to be made available for the refugees. If the hon. ministers can work together, they can also afford to live together in the same bungalow.

One of the hon. members has pointed out that our ministers work for 18 hours daily. If I am convinced of that it would be a matter of pleasure for me. Our ministers, no doubt, are busy with the office routine. But what I do know is that they are not devoting as much time for the rehabilitation of refugees as they should.

Mr. Speaker : Be relevant ; please do not repeat.

Shrimati Shanno Devi Sehgal : Sir, I would take only five minutes more to finish my speech. What I want to put before you is that, in view of the serious situation, it is necessary that we should handle it in a serious and sober manner. Failing that, the results would not be satisfactory. Before the Bill is put to vote, I can very well judge the spirit of the House and I know that the hon. ministers have also reckoned the pros and cons. If they know their duty, it would be only fair on their part to accept the amendment. They should not go after high salaries. Our province is in need of persons who can work more, and not of those who get high salaries. The decision, of course, rests with the House. With these words I support this motion.

Premier (Dr. Gopi Chand Bhargava) : Sir, I am somewhat pleased to find that my friends have belied the impression that since there was no party constituting the Opposition in this House, there would be no criticism of the Government in the House. But I am pained at the tenor of the speeches made in course of the discussion to-day. I am pained because of the fact that some members have been swayed away by emotions and have gone to the extent of indulging in personal attacks without caring to give the questions at issue their due importance.

[Premier]

I have always thought high of this Assembly, its members and discussions that take place in its meetings, but to-day I feel considerably disappointed. My disappointment is not because of the fact that the speeches were couched in unparliamentary language but because these were not of the same high standard to which we were accustomed and of which I have always imagined the members of this Assembly to be capable. I hope, however, that in future the members will be careful in discussions and will not drag in the names of our national leaders, while dealing with minor issues of the world in the House. For instance, I feel that they should not introduce in such discussions the name and the manner and mode of living of Mahatma Gandhi about whom a writer recently observed that he had lifted us from the dust and taught us how to behave as human beings. As a devoted soldier and disciple of his, I may say that I do not want anybody who claims himself to be a fellow disciple of that great soul to avail of such occasions to speak against the great Mahatma. It is obvious that if Gandhiji is quoted or his name is referred to in a speech by any member, it is likely that some other member in his attempt to oppose the motion under debate might say something, even though inadvertently, against our great leader. This will adversely reflect on all of us and betray nothing but ungratefulness on our part. This, I am sure, none of my friends will like and I need not elaborate this point.

Chaudhri Suraj Mal : The hon. Premier himself mentioned the name of Mahatma Gandhi in his speech.

Premier : I may remind the hon. member that even in 1937 in the Simla session, when the late Malik Barkat Ali had mentioned in his speech the names of our national leaders while discussing something about the Lyallpur municipal committee, I was against this practice and had objected to it. Anyway, I am against dragging the name of Panditji and our other national leaders in the debates of this Assembly, and on the same grounds I would not like Mahatmaji's name to be associated in the speeches of the members in this House except in a spirit of approbation and gratefulness for their qualities of leadership to the Indian nation.

As regards my faithfulness to Gandhiji and his principles, whether I act faithfully upon his principles or not, or whether I am a true soldier of his creed or not, I know better than others. I am, however, reminded here of what once happened in a meeting of the All-India Congress Committee. The question under discussion was as to whether or not the Congress should contest elections to Legislative Assemblies and Councils in the country. In the course of discussion on this subject one of the members related a story of a thief who had joined an *ashram* after having been convicted of theft six or seven times and even in the *ashram*, compelled by sheer force of habit, he was found to be guilty of theft. The point that was intended to be made out was that old habits die hard. The proverb used in reference to old habit is applicable to the members who even after joining the Congress have not been able to give up their old ways. It is strange, however, that while as members of the Unionist Party, they used to clamour for high salaries, they have adopted a different role when the Congress Party itself has reduced the salaries. They criticise us that we have not reduced our salaries still further and they quote figures and standards which have ceased to exist, probably for all time. The arguments that they have advanced might appear to them to be sound according to their own view point, but I may inform them that the previous resolution of the Congress fixing Rs. 500 as monthly salary has been substituted by another resolution which declares the salary of a minister at Rs. 1,500 as justifiable and reasonable. This figure was fixed by the High Command after taking into consideration all factors that govern such matters and not in a state of fitfulness or emotionalism.

An objection was also raised in the course of the debate that Simla should have been selected as the seat of the Government. A friend even contended that the present session was intended to be held at Simla so that we might come up to Simla from Jullundur and make money by way of travelling allowances etc. I want to make it clear to the House that we have not selected this place as the seat of the Government of our own free will. It is the Governor-General who had selected Simla as the capital of the East Punjab and it was by his orders that the offices were shifted to this place. Lest I should be misunderstood I might say that the Governor too had no other choice in view of the accommodation which was available only at this place for locating the offices. Though the accommodation here too is not sufficient, yet we had to retain the place as our capital under the forced circumstances. But when I and my colleagues felt that we could not discharge our duties properly from this place we did not linger here for a moment. The House will be interested to know that some of my colleagues have come here for the first time. They had been either at Jullundur or on a tour of the province all these three months and I myself have been here twice and that too when official duties which were absolutely essential had to be attended to. That we decided to hold this session of the Assembly here for travelling allowances, is a charge which will not stand a minute's examination. I ask, who on earth with his senses about him will feel pleasure in coming to Simla in this cold weather? The fact of the matter is that there was no other place where we could meet and at the same time find accommodation for the Assembly office and other allied offices and also for the honourable members to stay, and we had, therefore, to come here for this session. Had there been any other suitable place to hold the session of the Assembly, the Government would have been only too glad to select it for the purpose. All the same I am grateful to my friends who have chosen to level this charge, untenable though it is, against us and who have been pleased to say that we undertake tours only with a view to making money out of such tours. I need hardly say in this connection that I am fully conscious of my duties and of the trust reposed in me. In addition to my duties as the Premier I hold charge of the finances of the province and my colleagues know how miserly I am while sanctioning every item of expenditure from the exchequer. The officers of the Government too know that I keep a vigilant eye on the finances of the province and do not allow a penny to be spent unnecessarily, and I am proud to say all this.

One of my friends was pleased to remark that we could reduce the salaries of the Imperial service only if Ministers agreed to accept small salaries. For his information and that of the House I may say that we cannot cut down the salaries of the Imperial Services because we agreed to retain them on the terms that governed their employment before partition of the country took place. While on this point I may also inform the House that only a few months back the Ministers used to draw almost double the amount as salaries and this they did under an Act of the Legislature. I need not say that we could have continued to draw the same salary if we had so minded. There was nothing to prevent us from doing this. But as I and my colleagues thought that the exchequer of the province could not bear that burden, I did not lose a minute in proposing a cut in our salaries and getting an Ordinance promulgated as early as possible to that effect and it is that Ordinance which is now before the House in the form of a Bill. As I have said before, we, of course, could not reduce the salaries of the Indian Civil Service, Imperial Police or other Imperial and Provincial Services because of the simple fact that the Indian Government as well as the Provincial Government undertook to take the personnel of these services on the same terms as governed their employment before we took over. In the light of all this, the

[Premier]

argument that we cannot curtail the salaries of high officials unless we make a cut in our own, has no weight.

While supporting the amendment moved by Pandit Shri Ram Sharma, my honourable friend, S. Sajjan Singh, laid a good deal of stress on the point that all the Ministers should draw equal salaries. If he was really earnest about it, he should have moved a separate amendment to that effect instead of making this suggestion only as a side remark. Such an amendment would have served his purpose well. However, I may say for the satisfaction of my friend that for my part I was not at all anxious to get more salary than what my colleagues will get. It was only after my colleagues insisted that I agreed to my salary being fixed a little above theirs.

We have also been criticised for having commodious and furnished bungalows for ourselves and I have been particularly selected as the target of the attack because I got my bungalow furnished by the furniture which had to be removed from some other bungalows. I will not deny this charge if I can thereby please the fancy of some of my friends. But the circumstances of this case fully justify my doing so. At the time I got that furniture removed for furnishing my bungalow it was lying unused but as soon as I found that it was required at the place from where it was removed, I did not lose even a moment in sending it back. I regret that some of my friends seem to be very much obsessed and agitated over these furnished bungalows and amount of the salary provided for the Ministers in this Bill. They should know that some of us have accepted this responsibility at some sacrifice of more income elsewhere. They could have earned more money from other services.

Shrimati Shanno Devi Sehgal: Will the Honourable Premier please let me know the name of the Minister who could earn more if he had not accepted the office?

Premier: I need not mention names. But I know it for a fact that if some of us had cared to earn more money, they would not have accepted this office with all its varied responsibilities.

It has been contended by one of the hon. members that the Ministers have grabbed many houses for themselves. Let him know that it is not so. We have houses with accommodation just enough for us. I am sure my hon. friends who are already aware of this fact will not doubt the correctness of my statement.

Further, some of my hon. friends have laid much stress on the point that the proposed salaries of the Ministers should be reduced because Government has no money to render all possible help to the refugees from West Punjab. They have also contended that the houses already allotted to the Ministers should be snatched from them and made available to refugees who have been rendered homeless in West Punjab and have no place to protect themselves. I am constrained to remark that some of these very hon. members who are under the impression that we want to draw more salaries and have already grabbed more houses for ourselves, do not realise that it is they who are themselves trying to grab not only one but more than three houses for themselves. These hon. members claim to be very anxious about the accommodation of the refugees. If the hon. members want to know their names, I will have no hesitation in giving them. The parliamentary practice has got to be followed and it is not advisable to give out their names on the floor of this House. It is but meet and proper on their part not to occupy so many houses. They can occupy one house only and the rest of the accommodation, which is already in their possession, can be made available for the

refugees about whom they are so anxious. I know it for certain that they are showing only lip sympathy towards the refugees.

It has also been said that we are badly in need of some monetary assistance. I wish to make this point clear that we are not leaving any stone unturned in rendering all possible help with whatever resources we have at our disposal. It will not be out of place to mention here that a sum of one crore of rupees has been kept at our disposal by the Central Government for affording relief to the refugees. Besides, we have our own fund reserved for this work and we are spending out of it also. I must repeat this fact for the information of the hon. members that we are rendering all possible help to refugees. The argument advanced by some of the hon. members that the very salary proposed to be fixed for the ministers could be conveniently utilised for affording relief to the poor, seems to me to be of doubtful value. I am really constrained to remark that my hon. friends instead of co-operating with us in devising ways and means for solving the refugees problem are levelling criticisms against the Government. It is high time that we sat together and found a suitable solution of all the problems confronting us at this critical hour.

It has also been asked why my salary has been fixed at Rs. 2,000 per month. I am not divulging any official secret if I remind the hon. members.....

Sardar Jagjit Singh Mann : Will the Hon. Premier give the names of those members who have grabbed more houses for themselves ?

Premier : My hon. friend is anxious to know their names. I regret that I cannot do so on the floor of this House. The rules of the Assembly do not permit me to touch any topic which concerns the person of any hon. member. I shall, however, be glad to give him their names privately, if he only takes the trouble of seeing me in my room.

Shrimati Shanno Devi Sehgal : Lala Jagat Narain's name will be at the top of the list.

Premier : No, not at all. The lady member seems to be suffering from an hallucination and living in constant Jagatnarainian phobia.

I wish to make this point clear for the information of the hon. members that the difference between my salary and that of my colleagues was proposed by my colleagues according to the old practice. My colleagues felt that I required more money. They made this proposal and insisted that I should sanction it. Nonetheless I must say that keeping the financial position of the province in view, I take the entire responsibility for the fixation of the proposed salaries of the Ministers upon myself particularly because I know that by doing so I have not infringed any of the principles of the Congress or violated in the slightest degree any of the instructions of the Parliamentary Board. The amounts fixed under the Bill are in conformity with the standards laid down by the Board and, therefore, I would request the hon. members through you that they should support the Bill now before the House in the same spirit in which it has been introduced. With these words, Sir, I resume my seat.

Chaudhri Suraj Mal (Hansi, General, Rural) (Hindustani) :

Sir, I have had the good fortune of hearing the speeches of two hon. Ministers. The hon. Chaudhri Lehri Singh has in the course of his speech remarked that the members of the Cabinet were very poor and that it would not be possible for them to eke out their living with a meagre salary. It will not be out of place to mention here that the hon. Premier also advanced the same argument in support of the Bill now before the House.

Premier : I never said so. What I said was that they could not meet their requirements with a salary of Rs. 1,500

Chaudhri Suraj Mal : The position taken up by the hon. Premier has reminded me of an incident. There use to be a kind-hearted Sub-Judge named Lala Ganga Ram in our district who, thinking that the people appearing before him were really poor, would treat them with great leniency. He was equally sympathetic to the rich and the poor. But the rich people began to take undue advantage of his sympathy by appearing in the court in tattered clothes. Similar is the case with our hon. Ministers. In their private capacities they are sufficiently rich to maintain themselves. But they come before this House by covering themselves with *Kheses* to attract our sympathy. I know they possess bundles of clothes worth thousands of rupees at their places. I may tell them that we are not like Lala Ganga Ram who was unaware of the real position of the people appearing before him. The hon. Premier contended that the hon. Ministers before assuming their new offices were not sitting idle but were earning to eke out their living and that their income was quite satisfactory. Now I do not know as to which of his arguments seems to be reasonable. (*An hon. member :* Let it be both.) (*Laughter.*)

Mr. Speaker : Order, order.

Chaudhri Suraj Mal : What I wish to submit is that the salaries of the Ministers should be fixed at Rs. 500 and not more. By accepting this salary they will be doing a great service to the public. But it seems that they are bent upon fixing fat salaries for themselves. Any hesitation on their part in this direction would mean that they do not want to serve their mother country but only want to multiply their wealth by drawing fat salaries. In fact salaries should be fixed, if at all, according to the amount of work that the recipient is required to do. Panditji is a financial expert, I mean Dr. Sahib. The Government have appointed as many as seven ministers each on Rs. 1,500, although I find that only two of them are in charge of almost all the important portfolios. If I were to have my way I would like Dr. Sahib who is in charge of finance and education to draw the salary of two Ministers. On that analogy the other five additional ministers who hold minor portfolios and have, therefore, very little to do should only be paid some stipend. (*An hon. member.* Did the late Chaudhri Sir Chhotu Ram use to pay stipends to his henchmen?) I cannot help saying that two of our Ministers are as good as seven ministers and the other five are only there to receive salaries.

Mr. Speaker : Is the hon. member now speaking to the motion?

Ch. Suraj Mal : I was trying to impress that the salaries should be paid to the ministers according to the amount of the work they have to do.

Mr. Speaker : The hon. member is repeating his arguments.

Ch. Suraj Mal : I will now close by saying that it is no use saying one thing and doing another. One must be consistent in speech and action. With these words I beg leave to withdraw my amendment.

Mr. Speaker : Is it the pleasure of the House that the amendment be withdrawn?

Some honourable members : No.

Mr. Speaker : Question is—

That in clause 2, lines 2-3, for the words "twenty-four thousand", the words "six thousand" be substituted and in line 5 for the words "eighteen thousand" the words "six thousand" be substituted.

The motion was lost.

Mr. Speaker : Question is—

That clause 2 stand part of the Bill.

The motion was carried.

CLAUSE 3.

Mr. Speaker : Question is—

That clause 3 stand part of the Bill.

The motion was carried.

CLAUSE 1

Sub-clause (1)

Mr. Speaker : Question is—

That sub-clause (1) of clause 1 stand part of the Bill.

The motion was carried.

Title.

Mr. Speaker : Question is—

That the title be the title of the Bill.

The motion was carried.

Minister for Revenue and Home Affairs (Sardar Swaran Singh) : I move—

That the East Punjab Ministers' Salaries Bill be passed.

The motion was carried.

THE EAST PUNJAB POLICE (PROTECTION OF RAILWAYS) BILL

Minister of Revenue and Home Affairs (Sardar Swaran Singh) : I introduce the East Punjab Police (Protection of Railways Bill.)

Minister of Revenue and Home Affairs : I move—

That the East Punjab Police (Protection of Railways) Bill be taken into consideration at once.

In moving this motion, I crave the indulgence of the House to agree to this Bill under which enhanced punishments have been provided for derelictions of duties by the police under certain circumstances. It is a well known fact that criticism has been levelled against those to whom the duties of escorting railway trains and convoys were entrusted. By this Bill it is proposed that if any member of the police or any other person whose duty it is to afford protection to a member of the public, fails to discharge that duty or is guilty of wilful neglect of that duty, he will be liable to a certain punishment which will be more severe than what is provided under the ordinary law.

(At this stage Mr. Speaker left the chair and it was occupied by Mr. Deputy Speaker).

It is essential that the sense of public duty should be enough guarantee of the discharge of the duty, but if any dereliction of duty proceeds from those whose duty it is to afford protection then I am sure the House would agree that we make this liable to enhanced punishment. By this law it is sought that those persons who might be guilty of an offence under this Bill will be liable to suffer enhanced punishment.

Mr. Deputy Speaker : Motion moved—

That the East Punjab Police (Protection of Railways) Bill be taken into consideration at once.

The motion was carried.

Mr. Deputy Speaker : The Assembly will now proceed to consider the Bill clause by clause.

CLAUSE 1

*Sub-clauses (2) and (3)***Mr. Deputy Speaker** : Question is—

That sub-clauses (2) and (3) of clause 1 stand part of the Bill.

The motion was carried.

CLAUSE 2

Mehta Ranbir Singh (Ludhiana and Ferozepore, General, Rural) :
I move—

That at the end of the clause the following be added, namely :—

“ or transportation for life or rigorous imprisonment for a period which may extend to ten years”.

Sir, at the very outset I may make it clear that the intention of this amendment is not to treat the persons described in this Bill leniently. But the intention is to meet certain contingencies which might arise. A situation might arise where a court of justice may find that the person even if found guilty should not be sentenced to death and there may be extenuating circumstances in which death sentence may be too much. So I have moved this amendment with a view to meet that situation. I have every hope that the Hon. Home Minister, who has been a leading lawyer and who knows very well that certain situations do arise in which case if there is no choice before a court and the only choice is death sentence in the event of conviction, it is unjust and too much to award that punishment. My amendment is to enable the court of law to award a punishment which is not rigorous and I have every hope that the Hon. Home Minister will accept this amendment. With these words I commend my amendment to the House.

Mr. Deputy Speaker : Clause under consideration, amendment moved :

That at the end of the clause the following be added, namely :—

“ or transportation for life or rigorous imprisonment for a period which may extend to ten years”.

Minister of Revenue and Home Affairs (Sardar Swaran Singh) : The amendment which has been introduced seeks not to make it obligatory upon a court of law to inflict the highest sentence and is such as to enable the court to exercise its discretion in awarding punishment. I accept it.

*(At this stage Mr. Speaker resumed the chair).***Mr. Speaker** : Question is :—

That at the end of the clause the following be added, namely :—

“ or transportation for life or rigorous imprisonment for a period which may extend to ten years”.

*The motion was carried.***Mr. Speaker** : Question is :—

That clause 2, as amended, stand part of the Bill.

The motion was carried.

CLAUSE 3

Mr. Speaker : Question is :—

That clause 3 stand part of the Bill.

The motion was carried.

CLAUSE 1

*Sub-clause (1)***Mr. Speaker :** Question is —

That sub-clause (1) of clause 1 stand part of the Bill.

*The motion was carried.**Title***Mr. Speaker :** Question is —

That the title be the title of the Bill.

*The motion was carried.***Minister of Revenue and Home Affairs (Sardar Swaran Singh) :** I move :

That the East Punjab Police (Protection of Railways) Bill, as amended, be passed.

The motion was carried.

THE EAST PUNJAB PUBLIC SAFETY (AMENDMENT) BILL

Minister of Revenue and Home Affairs (Sardar Swaran Singh) : I introduce the East Punjab Public Safety (Amendment) Bill.**Minister of Revenue and Home Affairs :** I move :—

That the East Punjab Public Safety (Amendment) Bill be taken into consideration at once.

The motion before the House which relates to the East Punjab Public Safety (Amendment) Bill is very simple. In this Bill it is sought to provide that certain powers should vest in certain officers of the Government who require assistance of certain persons for the discharge of certain duties. It is also provided in another clause that special police officers may be appointed. This has been found necessary in view of the circumstances which have prevailed during the last few months. The normal administrative strength of the police force has not been found to be sufficient to cope with certain emergencies. It has been found necessary that certain powers should vest in officers of the Government to enable them to require the assistance of non-officials. So far as the appointment of special police officers is concerned, I think it is a very good augury that the services of non-officials have been utilised and members of the public have been vested with powers under this Bill. I hope that these provisions which are very salutary and which enable the members of the public to avail the opportunities of service will have the full support of the House.

Mr. Speaker ; Motion moved—

That the East Punjab Public Safety (Amendment) Bill be taken into consideration at once.

*The motion was carried.***Mr. Speaker :** The House will now proceed to consider the Bill clause by clause.

CLAUSE 1

*Sub-clauses (2) and (3)***Mr. Speaker :** Question is—

That sub-clauses (2) and (3) of clause 1 stand part of the Bill.

The motion was carried.

CLAUSE 2

Pandit Shri Ram Sharma (Southern Towns, General, Urban (*Hindustani*)) : Sir, I beg to move :—

That in the proposed section 4B, line 11, between the words "privileges" and "and" the word "pay" be inserted.

My object in moving this amendment is this. Under the provisions of this measure, the district magistrates, sub-divisional officers and police officers not below the rank of Deputy Superintendent, have been empowered to appoint any person to act as a special police officer who will be afforded the same privileges, powers and protection as the regular officers of the police enjoy. As you are aware, we are passing through a very critical time when law and order in the province is conspicuous by its absence and that there is such a sense of insecurity prevailing in the public that they feel as if the Government is non-existent. This state of affairs indicates that the present strength of the police force is inadequate to meet with the requirements of the situation and therefore it has become necessary to recruit special police officers. So far as the necessity of appointing these officers is concerned, I have nothing to say against it. But there is a flaw in the provision which I am afraid will defeat the object of the Bill. Now under subsection 4B where it has been laid down that the special police officer so appointed shall exercise the same powers and enjoy the same privileges and protection and also be subject to the same discipline as the ordinary police officers, no provision has been made to entitle him to receive the same pay or emoluments as will be paid to his brother officer of the regular cadre. The object of my amendment is to remove this very defect. I have proposed that in view of the grave conditions obtaining in the province under which these special police officers will be required to work, they should receive remuneration equal to the emoluments of the regular police officers of their rank. I am of the opinion that in the absence of any remuneration or honorarium, there will be handicap to these officers drawn from the middle classes. It is possible that some affluent persons who are appointed to this job may perform their duties with some zeal, but I have serious doubts about this. My experience in the villages shows that when the turn of rich people comes to keep watch and ward, they play the truant at the time of danger. But the difficulties will arise when such officers are drawn from persons of average means who cannot maintain their families without earning their livelihood. In fact they are the people who can work hard and discharge their duties honestly. But the lack of any remuneration will put them to great hardship. I am, therefore, of the opinion that the special police officers must be paid for the job. I do not know whether or not there is any provision in the original Act for this purpose. If it is there, well and good. If not, I will appeal to the hon. Minister in charge to accept the amendment.

Mr. Speaker : Clause under consideration, amendment moved :—

That in the proposed section 4B, line 11, between the words "privileges" and "and" the word "pay" be inserted.

Minister for Revenue and Home Affairs (Sardar Swaran Singh) : Sir, my learned friend Pandit Shri Ram Sharma is under an erroneous impression that under the original provisions of the Public Safety Act this power of recruitment of special police constable vested only in the district magistrates. I want to make it clear that section 4B which is sought to be added by clause 2 of this Bill is entirely a new provision. Under the provisions of the Punjab Public Safety Act there is no authority vesting in any officer howsoever high he may be to enrol special police officers. So it is not correct that originally this power vested only in the district magistrates and now it is sought to enlarge the recruiting authorities by giving this power

to persons other than district magistrates. This is a new provision and I am sure that this will be welcomed by all because it enables the non-officials to tender public service when they are clothed with a certain amount of authority.

So far as the amendment which has been moved by Pandit Shri Ram Sharma is concerned, I have given my anxious consideration to the proposal put forward by him. There is considerable force in what he says and it may be that after some time if it is found that the duties that are expected from these police officers are of an onerous character or they are likely to last for a considerable time, the Government will be prepared to consider the question of emoluments or allowances to these officers. This is a new experiment and I am sure that with the traditions of public service which this province has, it will be possible to find the right type of persons who will be prepared to come forward and undertake honorarily the duties of these police officers. I might inform the House that this experiment is already being tried and it is meeting with great success and I am glad to inform the honourable members that a large number of special police officers have been recruited at more than one place and they are discharging their duties very conscientiously and are a source of great strength and help to the Government. There is another point that might arise. It may not be very wise to empower the district magistrates to involve the provincial exchequer in an undetermined expense and in these circumstances, I request Pandit Shri Ram Sharma to withdraw the amendment. If at any time it is found that the duties are such that payment is necessary we will be only too willing to make payment. But at the moment I am glad to inform the hon. members that we are in fact getting a fairly large number of public spirited young men who are coming forward and are willing to discharge the duties of the special police constables.

Pandit Shri Ram Sharma : After hearing the Home Minister I am inclined to withdraw the amendment.

The amendment was by leave withdrawn.

Mr. Speaker : Question is—

That clause 2 stand part of the Bill.

The motion was carried.

CLAUSE 3

Mr. Speaker : Question is—

That clause 3 stand part of the Bill.

The motion was carried.

CLAUSE 1

Sub-clause (1)

Mr. Speaker : Question is—

That sub-clause (1) of clause 1 stand part of the Bill.

The motion was carried.

Title

Mr. Speaker : Question is—

That the title be the title of the Bill.

The motion was carried.

Minister of Revenue and Home Affairs (Sardar Swaran Singh) : I move :

That the East Punjab Public Safety (Amendment) Bill be passed.

The motion was carried.

THE EAST PUNJAB ARMED BANDS (ARREST AND DETENTION) BILL

Minister of Revenue and Home Affairs (Sardar Swaran Singh) :
Sir, I introduce the East Punjab Armed Bands (Arrest and Detention) Bill.

Minister of Revenue and Home Affairs : I move—

That the East Punjab Armed Bands (Arrest and Detention) Bill be taken into consideration at once.

The provisions of the Bill are self-explanatory. During the last two months or so our experience has shown that there are certain elements in our society which I might call anti-social elements which have taken to arms and have formed themselves into bands and have been committing various acts of lawlessness. Under the penal law as it stands, there are not ample provisions under which persons indulging in such activities may be adequately dealt with. There are no provisions under the penal law, at any rate as it stands, under which detention of persons who are found to be committing offences of the nature which are brought within the mischief of the penal provisions of this Bill can be ordered. This Bill is already on the Statute Book in the form of an ordinance and in moving that the Armed Bands Arrest and Detention Bill be taken into consideration at once, I am asking the House to approve the ordinance which is already there. I am aware of certain criticisms which have been offered against the provisions of this Bill. I am not sure as to whether those criticisms are going to take a concrete shape in the form of amendments, but I want to urge upon all the members that in the special times we are passing through, everything which the Government is proposing in the form of legislative enactments in order to strengthen its hands in dealing with the forces of lawlessness and disorder, must receive the implicit consent and approval of this House. Our intention is that we should be able to restore completely law and order in this province. I need not go into the details of the grave lawlessness and disorder that prevails in certain parts of the province. By the various provisions in this Bill the Government is arming itself and the penal provisions are being made more stringent so that when an emergency arises and when a necessity arises these penal provisions may be used against those who are bent upon creating lawlessness and disorder. I want to assure this House that it is not the intention of the Government to arm itself with any autocratic power or to assume any wide powers but it is only to deal with lawlessness and disorder. With these words I move the motion—

Mr. Speaker : Motion moved :

That the East Punjab Armed Bands (Arrest and Detention) Bill be taken into consideration at once.

Sardar Kabul Singh (Jullundur East, Sikh, Rural) (*Punjabi*)
Sir, I consider this Bill to be inopportune and unnecessary. I am afraid this Bill, if passed, will be instrumental in giving the police a licence to indulge in corrupt practices. This Bill can be construed to include such implements as knife, club, spade and hoe, which villagers have to carry at all hours. Already, the police does not hesitate to put them in lock-up even on trumped-up excuses and if more powers are given to the police as a result of the passing of this Bill, there is every likelihood that the rustics will be more hard pressed.

I request the House to give active consideration to the prevailing circumstances. Is it not a fact that *goondas* armed with all kinds of deadly weapons such as pistols, revolvers and even sten-guns are roaming about everywhere? In view of this fact, it is really surprising that a Bill is put forward, which aims at preventing a peaceful citizen, from carrying a spear for self-defence. In my opinion, every person should be permitted to keep a revolver and pistol without licence so that he may be in a position to save his life and honour from the *goondas*. No licence should

be required except for sten-guns or bigger arms. At this juncture it is the foremost duty of the Government to raise the morale of the people, which has fallen so low, instead of banning the carrying of small arms which they need every moment for self-defence. I know it from personal knowledge that if most of the people succeeded in saving the honour of their womenfolk, it was due to the fact that they possessed spears. Without any weapon, they could not have done anything in this matter.

When I visited Lahore during March and April last, I was really dismayed to note that the so-called *babus* were so punctilious in the matter of keeping combs and face-powder and did not care to carry anything for self-defence. The cowardice and panic exhibited by the town people were responsible for the crisis in which the country found itself at that time and were partly the cause of the ruin that overtook them. I am afraid panic will cause more harm which will be the result if this Bill is passed and the rustics are legally forbidden to carry swords and kirpans, though the latter was exempted from any such enactment hitherto. To the people who are already complaining of the non-availability of arms-licences this measure aiming at banning the carrying of hatchet, sword or spear for self-defence, will come as a bolt from the blue. I know from personal knowledge that only a few days ago a villager dared not go to his fields for fetching green fodder without being escorted by two or three men. I wonder how people living in villages and engaged in agricultural work can go without any weapons. I am here speaking on their behalf. The foremost need of the hour is to understand the reasons for which people are compelled not to go about without any weapon. I deplore the fact that the morale of the people has fallen so low. On seeing news about the raids on Kashmir in the newspapers, the trading community of Amritsar is stampeded into leaving the city. An enactment is first needed to impose restrictions on them and to prevent the spreading of panic. Instead of passing this Bill, they should be supplied with arms and exhorted to stick to their hearths and homes.

I am afraid the village people will have to bear the worst effects of this measure. I am here to interpret their feelings. I want to impress it upon the House that if village women have not been subjected to such indignities as their sisters in towns, it is all due to the fact that the menfolk of the villages possessed weapons for protecting them. The convoys of refugees can testify to the fact that only those could protect themselves on their way to the East Punjab, who had some rifles with them.

By giving your assent to this Bill, you will in effect put every person behind the bars, who in future carries a spear for self-defence. On the other hand what I think is that it is your duty to tour the villages and encourage the people to make right use of weapons like spear, etc., if need be, for the sake of saving the honour of their women. I do not see any reason why they should misuse them. If by passing this Bill, you ban the carrying of such weapons, they will certainly be compelled to keep unauthorised arms such as rifle and revolver. As every implement used by the farmers is generally sharp-edged, this bill, if passed, is liable to be interpreted to include hoes, axes, etc., even when they are used for agricultural purposes.

I once again emphasise that this Bill is absolutely uncalled for in the prevailing conditions of the province. If passed, it will further dishearten the rural populace. I am opposed to it and I want that it should be withdrawn in deference to their wishes. They are already dismayed because

[S Kabul Singh]

they know that unlike other Governments, their Government will not abolish arms licences. The passing of this Bill, whose sole object seems to be the crushing of the spirit of the people, will further strengthen the feeling of resentment that the people harbour against the present ministry. The fact is that at the present moment, while the *goondas* are in possession of all sorts of arms, the peaceful citizens have no means of self-defence. Some of my brethren are of the opinion that if the possession of arms is freed from restrictions, widespread looting will be the consequence. What I do think is that you cannot put a stop to it, until you root out its underlying causes. So long as the black market flourishes, so long as an article such as a match box worth two pice sells at two annas, you cannot put an end to looting.

While it is being considered to impose a ban on the carrying of weapons, I propose that everyone may be permitted to keep sword and rifle and manufacture bombs and if these are misused the permission can be withdrawn. The exigencies of the time demand that arms licences should be abolished. Instead of this Bill, a Bill should be brought forward to enable the village people to manufacture spears and bombs in their homes.— This will save them from the necessity of going to the *banyas* for this purpose. (*Interruption*). I was pointing to a special class of persons who do harm to the public without being discovered. If what I have said has injured the feelings of some hon. member, I beg to be excused. I am always afraid of points of order. I want to submit that instead of wasting the time and energy on passing a Bill for imposing restrictions on the people and taking negative measures to prevent the spread of anarchy, the Government should endeavour to inspire confidence among the people that it can defend them. Sometime back, the Government was not able to afford protection to the people and it was dubbed as "orphan Government". With these words, I again urge that the Bill is unnecessary and uncalled for and that some better Bill should be introduced in its place to achieve the object in view.

Sardar Udham Singh (Amritsar Central Sikh, Rural) (*Punjabi*):
 Sir, in my opinion, this Bill is uncalled for. Those who think that peace can be established by curbing the rights and liberties of citizens, are surely labouring under an illusion. The Government can achieve its object by inspiring confidence and winning popularity among the people. Repressive measures cannot bring peace and respect for law nor does their use become a popular Government. I want to bring home this fact that those who think that the Government and its officers can restore peace and order by resorting to repressive measures are mistaken. The conditions prevailing in the province to-day show to what extent our people have exhibited self-restraint and avoided indulging in things that were of frequent occurrence across the border. Is it not a fact that while the Ordinance was in force, professional *goondas* and ruffians were roaming about freely with the police and innocent people who were carrying weapons with the help of which they had protected their women were hauled up by the police? Instead of devising ways and means for the maintenance of peace, our
 4 P. M. Government wants to rush through such legislation in this House as is instrumental in creating disorder and confusion in the province. I wish to make this point clear that people would hate the Government for bringing in such legislation in this House which has absolutely no meaning and would not serve any purpose. I wish to submit that Sardar Patel, Maharaja of Patiala and other leaders of the East Punjab

have already decided once for all that no attacks whatsoever would be allowed in future. I would like to bring this point home to the hon. members supporting the Bill now before the House that if they are under the impression that the proposed measure would ensure the maintenance of law and order in the province, they are wrong. I am sure [the proposed measure will make confusion worse confounded in the province. Sir, you are aware of the fact and I trust hon. members would agree with me when I say, that about 2,500 Hindus and Sikhs were killed in Jassar. After this tragic happening, about 10,000 Muslims assembled in Amritsar Mandi. Our Hindu and Sikh brethren got enraged to such an extent that they determined to attack the Muslims and not to spare any Muslim from amongst this gathering. If we had not stopped our Hindu and Sikh brethren I am sure even a single Muslim would not have been saved. In fact we fell on their feet and requested them not to attack them. It will not be out of place to mention here that we requested and at the same time convinced Jathedar Sohan Singh not to attack the Muslims who had assembled there. What I wish to submit is that by giving vast powers to police officers, disorder and confusion would prevail in the province. Under the circumstances I think that Government should not rush through such legislation as will be instrumental in creating confusion.

Sir, you are aware of the fact that the Government of Pakistan have provided arms to their people and so far as our province is concerned no such step has so far been taken by our Government to safeguard the villages situated on the Indo-Pakistan borders. We must learn a lesson from the attacks made on the Kashmir borders by the raiders. Perhaps hon. members are under the impression that there is no likelihood of a war between Hindustan and Pakistan. But I wish to bring this point home to them that there is no alternative for both the dominions except entering into war against one another. Under the circumstances it is but meet and proper on the part of the Government to provide suitable arms to people for safeguarding the province and thus ensure the betterment of the province as a whole. I feel that our purpose would not be served by giving vast powers to police officers. It will not be out of place to mention here that nowadays police officers are arresting innocent persons at the instigation of the communists. If such a state of affairs is allowed to continue, I am afraid there would be confusion in the province.

Pandit Shri Ram Sharma (Southern Towns, General, Urban) (*Hindustani*): Sir, I rise to support the Bill now before the House with all the emphasis at my command. I wish to oppose the arguments advanced by my hon. friend Sardar Kabul Singh who has opposed the Bill vehemently. I wish to submit that of all the Bills which have either been passed into law or which are awaiting passage into law, the Bill now before the House is of the greatest importance and the need of the hour. The Bill, I am sure, will be instrumental in maintaining law and order which is the greatest need of the hour in province. I quite agree with my hon. friend that licences for arms should be freely given. Not only should this be done but the whole province should be converted into a militant province. But the question of granting licences for arms to the people of the province and thus making it a militant province is quite a different one and has no bearing on the Bill now before the House. The present need of the hour is to discourage the bad characters and decoits who commit wanton acts of aggression and indulge in arson, loot and plunder. If we give a long rope to these bad characters and dacoits, I am sure time will not be far off when terrorism will reign supreme in our province. We must put an effective check upon

[Pt. Shri Ram Sharma]

these bad characters and in my opinion the present Bill is intended for the same purpose. In far distant districts and villages I have heard people complaining against the atrocities committed on innocent people by the bad characters and desperadoes who freely move about. Now that the communal disturbances have altogether stopped, people who took active part in these disturbances rightly or wrongly thinking that in the absence of any law to this effect there is nobody to check their movements, continue indulging in loot, murder and arson. In fact in almost all the districts including my own Haryana districts, the strength of the armed bands who have criminal propensities have become more powerful than before. Now men from the general public have out of anger and urge for taking revenge joined hands with these bands and are committing atrocities on innocent people. It will not be out of place to mention here that people who used to condemn these bands previously have now taken pleasure in joining hands with these armed bands. Even in our Haryana districts which were and are comparatively quiet, the number of these armed bands is increasing day by day with the result that they have become a nuisance to the public peace. They took active part in the recent communal disturbances and were busy with plunder and loot. Now that the communal disturbances have altogether stopped and these armed bands want something to find themselves busy with, we find them pouncing upon each other. This state of affairs must be stopped altogether and if this is not done, I am afraid there will be confusion in the province. Those of my hon. friends who oppose this Bill should keep in view the lot of those innocent people who have suffered much at the hands of these criminal desperadoes. I think, the hon. members sitting on the Treasury Benches must have felt even in their own districts that people have formed the habit of committing crimes to the extent of becoming habitual offenders. At present grave danger is confronting the people in the districts of the province as people have bade farewell to their respective occupations and have started joining hands with the armed bands. In this connection I would like to suggest that more strict measures should be adopted to round up bad characters who are day in and day out busy in committing crimes. According to the present Bill the officer in charge of a concentration camp can keep the arrested person in detention for a period not exceeding one month. I want that police officers should be given enough powers to deal with these desperate characters. In this connection I would like to quote an instance. In my district it was after great difficulty and at great risk of his life that a Sub-Inspector of Police succeeded in arresting a bad character and desperado. According to the Ordinance he could be kept under detention for one month only by the local authorities. They wrote to the authorities concerned to renew the period of his detention. No such order was issued with the result that at the expiry of one month, the bad character came out laughing at the helplessness of the Sub-Inspector and the Superintendent of Police. What I wish to point out is that all-out efforts should be made by the Government to bring the armed bands to book and thus stop lawlessness. It will not be possible to maintain law and order in the whole of the province if adequate steps are not taken in time to stop this lawlessness. I wish to bring this point home to the hon. members opposing the Bill now before the House that in case armed bands continue moving about freely and unchecked by the Government, there will be no law and order worth the name in the province. We must not only put an effective check upon the movements of desperate characters but we must stop them altogether. Perhaps the hon. members opposing the Bill want that these armed bands should continue committing crimes and that Government should not stop

them and take any drastic action against them. So far as the argument advanced by certain members that every person should be provided with suitable arms, is concerned, I wish to submit that it is a separate thing altogether. I for one strongly subscribe to their view. Some of the hon. members have in the course of their speeches remarked that police officers should not be given more powers and that these very officers are responsible for creating confusion. They think that in case police officers are given more powers, masses will get displeased with the Government. But I would like to draw their attention to this point that Government will not be able to carry on its day to day administration if it hobnobs with armed bands. Let me make this point clear that the Bill now before the House is not meant for men like my hon. friend Sardar Kabul Singh. I wish to repeat here that the question of providing every person with suitable arms is quite a different one and that it has no bearing with the present Bill. If immediate steps are not taken to stop the movements of the armed bands and if police officers and magistrates are not empowered to deal with the situation on spot, I am afraid Government will not be able to function even for a day. In the circumstances I submit that the habitual offenders are enemies of peace and that their movements must be stopped altogether. With these words, I support the Bill now before the House with all the emphasis at my command.

Chaudhri Suraj Mal (Hansi, General, Rural) (*Hindustani*) : Sir, I had no intention to speak on this Bill but for something that has been said with regard to my constituency. To correct the impression created by my friend on my right (Pandit Shri Ram Sharma) I must say that the incidents related by him have never happened in my constituency. I have, therefore, no hesitation in saying that the circumstances now prevailing in our province do not warrant the present Bill being passed into law. There was, no doubt, a time when the Government required the powers sought for in this Bill and the Governor did the right thing when he promulgated the ordinance which is now before us in the shape of a Bill. But the situation has since improved very much and there appears to be no ground for vesting the Government with the powers for a further period. I may warn the Government that if the Bill is placed on the statute book now, it will operate as an engine of repression against the people and rural population in particular. The Government should not be afraid of a few miscreants who are found in the society at all times. The present law of the land is enough to bring them to book. Out of fear of such few persons Government, particularly a popular Government, should not arm the police with very wide powers. This will only lead to the harassment and disgrace of respectable persons in the society as happened before when the ordinance was in force.

Minister of Revenue and Home Affairs : I must rise to correct the hon. member. This ordinance has been in force for some weeks and I challenge any one to cite any instance showing that a single person has been proceeded against under the provisions of the ordinance.

Chaudhri Suraj Mal : In any case my fears are that those powers are likely to be misused and there is a danger of the agricultural work suffering. The poor peasants and cultivators have to possess sharp-edged implements for cultivating the fields and if these implements are snatched away from them simply because they may be used as weapons, it will be nothing short of oppression. I, therefore, oppose the motion for the consideration of this Bill.

Sardar Waryam Singh (Batala, Sikh, Rural) (*Punjabi*) : Sir, I invite your attention to the conditions on the frontier, especially in

[S. Waryam Singh]

the districts of Gurdaspur, Amritsar and Ferozepore, where robbers come from Pakistan. The people of those districts are coming to this side due to the panic prevailing there. We ought to have created confidence among those people and assured them that they will be safeguarded from those robbers. According to this Bill no one will be able to get a rifle nor be allowed to buy it, that is to say, he will be deprived of his self-protection. This Bill should not apply to those who live on the frontier. In the North-West Frontier Province any voter can have a licence for an arm; similarly people near the border should also be allowed to have arms. The best thing will be for Government to supply arms to those people free of charge and if that is not possible, they should give licences freely and depots should be opened where arms are sold at cheap rates. In Gurdaspur District a robber named Gangoo committed a robbery and while capturing him, one man died and several police men were wounded. I suggest that the police should seize the unlicensed arms. It should be organised in such a way that respectable people should be given the greatest quantity of arms. Goondas are gaining courage, while the Government is issuing arms miserly. If any one gets a licence he does not get the arms. This legislation should not apply to the whole province of East Punjab or at least it must not apply to the frontier districts.

Sardar Bachan Singh (Ludhiana Central, Sikh, Rural) (Hindustani): Sir, I rise to support the Bill under consideration and I do so in view of the extraordinary conditions obtaining at present in the East Punjab. Of course there should be no restrictions on the keeping of arms and I would like the Arms Act to be repealed so that every citizen may be able to possess arms for protecting himself, his honour and his property. As all hon. members rightly said it is only the Goonda element that keeps arms secretly and without licence. The peace loving people do not act in that manner. They have respect for the law of the land and to arm such persons, the Arms Act should be relaxed if it cannot be repealed at once. But the power asked for in this Bill should be ungrudgingly given to the Government so that it may be able to punish the offenders against society of whom even the police fears or to put it more correctly, with whom the police is hand in glove. To check the nefarious activities of such an element the powers as provided in the Bill must be given to the Government under these critical circumstances when lakhs of people have been killed and thousands of women abducted.

Sardar Udham Singh: The hon. member was busy in giving protection to the Muslims at that time.

Sardar Bachan Singh: Sardar Udham Singh has brought this charge against me that I gave protection to the Muslims. Not only as a Congressman, but even as a gentleman it is my duty to help the oppressed and resist the oppressor at every cost. As I have already pointed out, the looting was done in most cases at the instance of police officials and also a number of public workers. Now when those people are being asked to return the looted property, they accuse those government officials and public leaders who at first instigated them to indulge in loot and arson and now hold them guilty of these crimes. I want to make it clear that whoever gives protection to such culprits is guilty of a similar offence. This Bill is, therefore, against those persons who, dressed in uniforms, go about freely molesting and insulting the daughters and sisters of law-abiding citizens. At the present time, there is an acute need for such a Bill. Once again clouds of disorder and lawlessness are appearing on the horizon of India. The situation in Kashmir is becoming more critical

every day. There is quite a large number of persons in our province, who are on the look out for an opportunity to carve out their own states in these critical times as others have been doing in the past under similar circumstances.

Sardar Shiv Saran Singh : That is not true.

Sardar Bachan Singh : As an instance I may tell you how one Lakhu Singh or Lakha Singh sought to establish for himself a state in district Amritsar.

Sardar Udham Singh : There has been no such case in the Amritsar district.

Sardar Bachan Singh : This incident was reported in the daily *Tribune* sometime ago and I can also produce facts which can bear out my assertion. The said person belongs to the Patti tehsil in the Amritsar district and was arrested by a Superintendent of Police.

Minister of Revenue and Home Affairs : Sir, on a point of order, I want to point out that the strain in which my hon. friend is speaking has nothing to do with the present Bill. This Bill makes certain provisions against a particular kind of armed bands and as such the case of one person does not come under this Bill. Moreover the Government has not arrested any Lakhu Singh under this ordinance.

Sardar Bachan Singh : Sir, what I was trying to make clear was that there was a great need for the introduction of the present Bill. Whatever facts I have placed before you are based upon my personal knowledge. The Kashmir problem is becoming increasingly dangerous and as such it is highly essential that our Government should be armed with certain powers to meet any contingency that might arise. This does not mean that the Government so empowered will immediately start arrests of all sorts of people. Rather it aims at giving the Government certain powers which should be available to it to deal with certain emergent circumstances. In fact this Bill is against such armed bands who dressed in uniforms go about plundering and looting law-abiding citizens and molesting their honour. In extraordinary circumstances, the Government has to be provided with extraordinary powers. In this way, you will be strengthening the forces of law and order against the forces of lawlessness and disorder. The Government has to adopt various means to conduct its business. Side by side with the oral propaganda the fear of punishment is also necessary for the successful working of a Government. This Bill should be immediately brought into force. As regards the possible excesses of the police, the Government will have to be vigilant and the offenders should be brought to book. With these words I support this Bill.

Minister for Public Works (Ch. Lehri Singh) (*Hindustani*) : I have no mind to make a long speech on the subject, but I would like to make a few observations to remove certain misconceptions of my hon. friends regarding the Bill under consideration. It seeks to provide for the arrest and punishment of members of armed bands. The persons possessing licensed arms do not come under the mischief of this measure. But my hon. friends have laboured hard to twist the simple object of the Bill by bringing in the bogey of attack by Pakistan on us. It has been stated that if the Bill is enacted into law, our people will be deprived of their arms and they will be face to face with the same danger which is confronting the Kashmir State. These arguments do not appeal to me. On the other hand my experience after touring the province extensively is that armed bands are a menace to the maintenance of law and order. It

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will not be out of place to mention here that we have received letters from the Deputy Commissioners and Superintendents of Police urging us to arm them with powers to cope with this ever increasing menace. My hon. friend Chaudhri Suraj Mal vehemently attacked the Government for putting forward this measure. It appears that he is absolutely unaware of the conditions prevailing in the province; otherwise he would not have hurled baseless accusations at the door of the Government. He must know that maintenance of law and order is a pre-requisite or a *sine qua non* for functioning of a Government. He is the Prime Minister of a State and knows full well from what happened in Bharatpur that no Government can exist if there is chaos in the country. It is therefore obvious that the enactment of this Bill into law is extremely necessary to restore the sense of security in the public as well as normal life in the province. As regards attacks by Pakistan or any other foreign power upon us, my hon. friend may rest assured that this Government will not be found wanting in its duty to defend this land of ours and arm its people. (*Hear, hear*). I think he should have no cause of complaint in this regard as orders have been issued by Government to the District Magistrate to issue licences for arms liberally to the public. In view of this my hon. friends will agree with me that the armed bands found at various places terrorising the people, can in no case be tolerated. They are obstructing the efforts of the Government to restore peace and tranquility in the country. Unless they are done away with, public order and security cannot be restored. I will ask my hon. friends who severely criticised this Bill to move out and see things for themselves as to what is happening in the various districts. These armed bands are working havoc. They commit murder, arson and loot frequently. It is true that at a particular time those persons who took active part in murders, etc., earned great popularity. It is also true that persons in possession of illegal arms were very popular with the public. But now the times are changed. The people's Government has come into power and it has been saddled with the responsibility of restoring order in the country. Therefore no quarter can be given to freebooters and irresponsible persons carrying illegal arms. It is in the interest of the public to put them down with a firm hand. As a matter of fact, we are not against issuing arms. But we want responsible and patriotic persons to possess arms under licence and handle them judiciously. (*Applause*). With these words I resume my seat.

Sardar Shiv Singh : (Gurdaspur North, Sikh, Rural) : (*Punjabi*) : Sir I have stood up to request that the Bill which has been introduced be withdrawn. It was some twenty days or a month ago that I paid a visit to my constituency. The villagers complained that ever since the riots had started, the soldiers of the Pakistan army frequently entered the Indian territory and attacked the people, so much so that the farmers cannot even go out to cut their crops. In this way these Pakistanist soldiers are inflicting heavy losses on us. The people are greatly terrified, because they have not got such arms to resist their attacks as these Pakistanist soldiers possess. I, therefore, urge upon the Government that rifles and guns should be distributed free of any cost if possible among the villagers in our district. I had an interview with the Premier also in this connection and he assured me that he would do the needful. After that I met Sardar Swaran Singh who promised to talk to the Inspector-General of Police to arrange for sending of arms to our district. By placing these things before you, I mean that whereas on one side we are trying to get more arms for our defence, on the other this Bill is being introduced with the purpose that whoever will be in possession of arms, will be severely dealt with. I would like to point out to the House that the time has come when the

Government should allow every one to freely possess arms in view of the danger ahead. The Government should beware of that. We are told that the attacks that are being made on us from the Pakistan side, cannot be called an official war. Such attacks, I would like to point out, will ultimately develop into an openly declared war, in which case the raiders will not be armed with daggers, hatchets and swords, but with rifles and guns. The users of such weapons cannot be resisted except with equally modern weapons. In view of these facts I think that the present Bill is not required. This concerns the danger of external invasion. Now I want to place before the House some facts regarding the dacoits who are highly organised and are equipped with modern weapons. These people can be effectively resisted only in two ways. The first way is to allow the villagers to possess rifles in an unfettered manner, while the second method is that the police officials should honestly discharge their duties and protect the people, which of course is a very difficult thing at present. I would, therefore, request the hon. Ministers to withdraw this Bill. We are passing through very critical times and as such, instead of imposing restrictions on them, people should be freely allowed to possess arms to effectively protect themselves.

Minister of Revenue and Home Affairs (Sardar Swaran Singh): The question may now be put, Sir.

Mr. Speaker: The question is—

That the question may now be put.

The motion was carried.

Minister for Revenue and Home Affairs (Sardar Swaran Singh) (*Punjab*): Sir, I have listened very carefully to the objections that have been raised from different points of view by my honourable friends with regard to the Bill under consideration. In view of the prevailing state of affairs in the province, it was perhaps not strange on their part to confuse the working of various departments of administration with the provisions of this Bill. These are two separate issues. Some members have taken exception to the provisions of this Bill owing to the objectionable behaviour of a certain Police Officer. Some other friends are really against the continuation of the Arms Act. But these objections do not hold good so far as this Bill is concerned. If the members of the Police force do not behave properly they can be set right. It is no argument that the Government should not by a legislative measure arm itself with more powers to deal effectively with lawless element simply because its Police force is not functioning properly or in a right way. It is our bounden duty to establish law and order in the province and to make the Police true servants of the public. Anyone who dares to take the law into his own hands or obstructs the operation of law shall have to be effectively dealt with. The presence of the Police should be a source of strength for a law abiding citizen. In a period of transition, numerous defects creep into the society. The real objective should not be ignored. We aim at making the Police real servants of the people. To refuse to enact a measure intended to give more powers to the Government on the basis of improper action of a certain Police official or the fear of misuse of those powers by the Police, is illogical. I may inform the House that the Arms Act is under the active consideration of the Government and instructions have already been issued to the District Magistrates to issue licences for keeping

[Minister for Revenue and Home Affairs]

suitable arms for self-protection. Necessary alterations can be made in the Arms Act, but the proposed measure is quite different. There is already much lawlessness in the province and organized bands of armed persons are a great menace to law and order. Government cannot allow armed bands to do anything they like and to take the law into their own hands. As Ministers of a civilised Government, it is our duty to establish peace and order in the province and to create a genuine spirit of bravery in the people. No Government worth its name can let the impression grow among the people that it is incapable of protecting their lives and property and that they should organize themselves into bands for mutual protection. It is the foremost duty of every Government to inspire confidence in the people and to show that it can afford them protection of life and property.

There can be no hesitation in accepting amendments to the Arms Act aiming at permitting the people to keep arms for self-defence. The Arms Act is a relic of British Imperialism. A foreign Government does not trust the people and thinks it essential to disarm the population of the subject country. Now that there is a popular Government in the saddle, the people should not distrust it or entertain any fear of it. We have to restore confidence among the people. The object of this Bill is neither to re-inforce the Arms Act of the previous regime nor to harass our innocent brethren. Master Kabul Singh has said that this measure will be judged by its results. Well, the ordinance which is now before the House in the form of the Bill has already been in force for several weeks. Can any one of the members of this House who has been in close touch with his constituency give any instance or cite any case in which the powers conferred by the Ordinance in question were misused? (*Interruption.*) We have not been elected to this House by the people to strengthen penal legislation. I myself have been practising as a lawyer. I know if it is a good thing to save an innocent person from punishment, it is more in public interest to see that a culprit is brought to book rather than escape scot free. The attitude of the general public is different. For instance they would at first detest a person who has been guilty of murder but after a few days they would be inclined to be merciful towards him in the spirit of "let by-gones be by-gones" and after lapse of more time they would even forget his crime. But we cannot be influenced by such feelings because we are responsible for the interest of the society as a whole. We respect the law-abiding persons but we must punish the law-breakers. It is our duty to defend the innocent people and to have regard for them. In the case mentioned above, we have seen that the feelings of mercy saved an individual but they are detrimental to the wider interests of the society.

I once again emphasize that the objections raised against the Bill under consideration are irrelevant. To achieve their real object, those who are opposed to this Bill should bring forward another motion intended to censure the conduct of the police or for the amendment of the Arms Act. If we want to strengthen the law, we are not going to hesitate for fear of the new powers being misused by the police. If after proper enquiry we are convinced that the police have committed any excesses or misused their powers we shall not fail to punish those who are guilty of such acts.

Mr. Speaker : Question is —

That the East Punjab Armed Bands (Arrest and Detention) Bill be taken into consideration at once.

The motion was carried.

Mr. Speaker : The Assembly will now proceed to consider the Bill clause by clause.

CLAUSE 1

Sub-clause (2)

Mr. Speaker : Question is :

That sub-clause (2) stand part of the Bill.

The motion was carried.

Sub-clause (3)

Thakur Beli Ram (Kangra East, General, Rural) (*Hindustani*):
to move :

That for sub-clause (3) the following be substituted—

“ (3) It shall come into force in such areas and on such date or dates as the Provincial Government may, by notification, appoint in this behalf. ”

In moving this amendment I do not like to make a long speech. My object in moving it is very simple and it is that this Act may not be enforced throughout the East Punjab all at once but only in areas in which, in the opinion of the Government, it is necessary to enforce it. It is intended to give the Government a power and I am confident that the Government will have no objection in accepting the amendment moved.

Mr. Speaker : Clause under consideration, amendment moved :

That for sub-clause (3), the following be substituted :—

“ (3) It shall come into force in such areas and on such date or dates as the Provincial Government may, by notification, appoint in this behalf. ”

Minister of Revenue and Home Affairs (Sardar Swaran Singh) (*Punjabi*) : As I have already assured the House that it is not our intention to have powers unless these are quite necessary for the preservation of law and order and as the amendment moved is in keeping with that intention, I have no hesitation in accepting it.

Mr. Speaker : Question is :

That for sub-clause (3), the following be substituted :—

“ (3) It shall come into force in such areas and on such date or dates as the Provincial Government may, by notification, appoint in this behalf. ”

The motion was carried

r. Speaker : Question is :

That sub-clause (3) of clause 1, as amended, stand part of the Bill.

The motion was carried

CLAUSE 2

Sardar Narotam Singh (South-East Punjab, Sikh, Rural) : Sir,
I beg to move :

That at the end of sub-clause (a) the following be added--

“ but does not include licensed arms or arms for which no licence is under the provisions of the said Act or the rules made thereunder, required. ”

My purpose in moving this amendment is that certain conditions may be created, as were brought to the notice of the House, by members who spoke on the Bill, whereby people possessing licensed arms or arms like Kirpan that are exempt, or agricultural instruments, would be treated as carrying weapons or arms and would be unnecessarily harassed. By

[S. Narotam Singh]

this amendment I want to make the law absolutely clear and that no action will be taken against the persons who possess licensed arms [or such arms that are exempt under the rules.

Mr. Speaker : Clause under consideration, amendment moved :

That at the end of sub-clause (a), the following be added :--

“ but does not include licensed arms or arms for which no licence is under the provisions of the said Act or the rules made thereunder, required.”

Minister of Revenue and Home Affairs (Sardar Swaran Singh) (Punjabi) : Sir, I would like to intervene at this stage to assure the House that I myself and the high officers of the Police Department will keep a strict watch over the conduct of the police officers to see that no person is unnecessarily harassed. I need not say that no popular Government which has to go to public for votes can afford to do anything in total disregard of the rightful claims of the public. Such a Government in the nature of things must see that no innocent person becomes the victim of the whims of its officers, but it will also be conceded that it must be fully armed with powers necessary to preserve law and order and it is purely for that reason that we have come to this House with this Bill. I am aware that there are complaints against some of the police officers and they are in some cases genuine complaints, but as I have said before, we will not hesitate to bring such officers to book as soon as their misconduct is brought to our notice and there are grounds to believe that any of them was guilty of some misconduct in the discharge of his official duties. I assure the House once again that I will be vigilant to see that the powers asked for in this Bill are not misused by any of the officers and that these powers are used only against those who obstruct us in the preservation of law and order. I hope that after the assurance given the House will readily agree to this Bill being brought on the statute book. Before I close I may as well say that if the honourable members find any defect in any of the clauses of the Bill and bring forward amendments with a view to improving the Bill, Government will be too glad to accept them.

Mr. Speaker : Question is :

That at the end of sub-clause (a), the following be added :--

“ but does not include licensed arms or arms for which no licence is under the provisions of the said Act or the rules made thereunder, required ”

The motion was carried.

Pandit Bhagat Ram Sharma (Kangra West, General, Rural) :
I beg to move :

That in sub-clause (b), lines 3-4, the words “ or wear, or wears uniform ” be omitted.

The definition of “ Armed Band ” as given in the Bill, reads thus :

“ Armed band ” means any assembly or group of five or more persons, all or any of whom carry or carries, arms or wear, or wears, uniform.”

My object in moving this amendment is that supposing a particular person wears a particular uniform, then it is not possible that he by simply using a particular kind of dress is going to disturb public peace.

The Assembly then adjourned till 11 a.m. on Tuesday, 4th November 1947.

Handwritten signature

East Punjab Legislative Assembly Debates

4th NOVEMBER 1947

Vol. 1—No. 3

OFFICIAL REPORT



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SIMLA
PRINTED BY THE SUPDT., GOVERNMENT PRINTING, EAST PUNJAB
1948

EAST PUNJAB LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

— — —
Tuesday, 4th November 1947
— — —

The Assembly met in the Council Chamber, Governor-General's Lodge, Simla, at 11 a. m. of the clock. Mr. Speaker (the hon. Sardar Kapoor Singh) in the Chair.

BUDGET—GENERAL DISCUSSION

— — —

Mr. Speaker : The House will now proceed with the general discussion of the Budget. If the whips of the parties were to tell me the names of members who wish to take part in the general discussion, I shall be able to fix the time limit for speeches.

Lala Kedar Nath Sehgal : On a point of order, Sir. When we were in the old Punjab Assembly, there used to be a mace signifying the power and dignity of the Chair. But here we do not find it.

Mr. Speaker : We have not got the mace as yet. The one we had at Lahore, has been left in the old Assembly Chamber. (*Laughter*).

At the outset I would request the hon. members who are participating in to-day's discussion, not to be personal in their speeches. Yesterday I noticed that some of the members indulged in talk which I did not like. I trust hon. members will maintain the dignity of the House and raise the level of the debate.

Sardar Kabul Singh (Juliundur East, Sikh, Rural) (*Punjabi*): Sir, the East Punjab Legislative Assembly, as the honourable Premier pointed out yesterday, is holding its first session in free India. I want to say a few words in this connection. It is a fact that the British domination has ended. This too is a fact that our country is independent to a great extent and we have a popular Government here in this province. But we should not lose sight of the fact that every popular Government must necessarily have the full confidence of the people. I would even say that such Government should not only have the confidence of the people, but they should even love it. The agents of the Government or Ministers, when they approach the people, should inspire feelings of enthusiasm, love and pride in the hearts of the people who may think that the reputation of the Government is their own reputation. But what is the state of the people in our country at the present time? They do not think themselves safe; nor do they think that their honour, life and property are safe. In spite of the fact that almost all the Muslims have been evacuated from our province, the Hindus and Sikhs who have stood shoulder to shoulder in these sufferings, are now afraid of each other. Besides this, it is the people who are drawing their salaries out of the revenues of our province, I mean the members of the Services, who are spreading fear and hatred among the people. Although the present Government is our own Government and the Ministers are the representatives of the people yet the members of the I.C.S. and P.C.S. and other services are working in the same old rut. They are doing exactly as they have been taught by the British. It is a matter of deep regret that these people even now are in power and pose to be *chaudhris*. These are the people who tried their utmost to crush political movements. There might be, no doubt, such persons who had genuine differences with Congress and other political bodies. But we have got many instances which show that those official agents did not hesitate to commit even the meanest things to win the goodwill of the Britishers, and took the greatest share in the suppression and crushing of political workers. On the basis of these facts, the representatives of the people and the workers naturally think as to why these persons are allowed to exercise the same influence and power even now when we have won independence.

[S. Kabul Singh]

Sir, I want to convey these public feelings, through you, to the Government. Even now, the officials who tortured with *lathis* the political leaders like Bhagat Singh when he had resorted to hunger strike, are in power. Besides this, the other political prisoners were also put to serious torture. In this connection, I remember that a retired Executive Engineer who was travelling by train met on a railway station a police official who was then an Inspector but is now a Superintendent. It so happened that an Englishman had thrown out of the train the luggage of that Executive Engineer who, in order to win the sympathy of that Inspector, talked to him against the British people. But the man who was taught to win the goodwill of the British at every cost, got down at the next station and got the Executive Engineer arrested under some pretext. What I mean to say is that now that a popular Government in the real sense of the word has been established and the Government which was a dark shadow over our freedom is no more, it is but right that our Government should make such people feel the real change. I would like to place before you a story in this connection. Once a masquerader having disguised himself came to a Sardar Sahib to get some prize. But the Sardar recognized him and told him that he did not deserve any prize, because he had recognized him. The man agreed but said that he would show him how he got money from him in disguise. He, later on, masqueraded himself as a *sadhu* and taking along with him some *chelas* reached the Sardar's village and stayed outside it. The *chelas* made it known that the *sadhu* was a divine being. One day when the Sardar and his wife were going out for a walk, the wife thought of availing that opportunity to pay a visit to the *sadhu* to get his benediction. But the Sardar replied that it did not look nice to go without anything to offer and so the visit might be postponed till some other time. The wife being very insistent, they at last agreed to visit the *sadhu*. As the Sardar had already said that they should not go without any offerings, the wife gave her ring as an offering to the *sadhu* and did obeisance. The *sadhu* took the ring and threw it in fire; when it melted, he flattened the gold into a pice. The Sardar said that if the ring was to be made into a pice, there was no need of deforming it, because he could have got many with that ring. At this the *sadhu* threw off the disguise and appearing in real shape replied as to how he would have deceived him if he had not thrown the ring in fire. He further told him that he had succeeded in getting something from the Sardar only after he had renounced it.

I want to point out, Sir, that we are the representatives of the people and if our Ministers should also become the true servants of the public, the members of the I. C. S. dare not follow the old rut. We even to-day feel that, whereas the British Government is gone, the people who bartered away the honour of the country to acquire big properties, are even now enjoying life. Why should not their properties be confiscated? Their very presence and their possessing big properties are a challenge to our independence and a standing insult to it. As a matter of fact, this should have been the first thing for the Government to do. Even to-day I find that the zaildars, suffaidposhes and big zamindars are in league with the police to accept bribes and are thus bringing a bad name on the present Government. I ask why they are not being dismissed. When I talked about this matter to Sardar Swaran Singh and other hon. Ministers, they told me that they were also in favour of the measure. If that is so, why is it being delayed? It is these zaildars and lambardars who have profited even out of the ruin of the lakhs of our brethren who have come here having lost their all. When the Government formed recovery committees, half the recovered property was misappropriated by these people and the police. If such a property valued at fifty thousand rupees, 25 thousand had already been appropriated for themselves. Whatever loot and bloodshed had taken place on this side, it was only a reaction of the atrocities committed on our people in West Punjab. I do

not deny that the crops and fields of the poor Muslims have been looted and run down. But I say it is these great people who have benefited out of this loot. If at all, the poor people managed to collect one or two bags of wheat and these zaildars forcibly got it from them.

Apart from this, what is the condition to-day of those Sardars who were big landlords holding as many as fifteen and twenty squares of land and who would not sit but on big tables? To-day they are lying on the roads. Sometimes they are directed towards Ferozepur, on reaching which they are told that no more land is available there and therefore they should go to Jullundur. From there they are again told that there is no land for them there and they should go to Karnal. The result of all this is that they are wearing themselves out on roads. The policy of the Government to allot ten acres of land to every farmer was, of course, right. But it is regretted that *kharif* crops have been ruined and there is no hope of getting the *rabi* ones sown in time. Fertile and productive tracts of land are lying barren and hard like cement through carelessness, because this land was not distributed in time. It is a fact, of course, that the machinery of the Government is not sufficient and there are many difficulties in its way. But this kind of work can be assigned to school teachers, because schools have been closed since long. Land should not be allowed to remain unused and barren. If crops are not sown in time, the harvest of the *rabi* crops will be much less and there will be a famine. Besides this, in every other matter also, the rural population is being ignored.

The reason why the High Court is brought to Simla is said to be the inability to find any other suitable place. I do not know how far it is correct. But I ask, how will the poor people manage to reach Simla? We, the members have reached here like bags in lorries, in spite of all the facilities provided for us and what would be the condition of the poor farmers reaching Simla with their quilts? They could take one day's extra food too with them when they were going to Lahore. But what would these people do now? To have the High Court here, is to deprive the villagers of justice. Taking into consideration their ruin, ignorance and poverty, the High Court should be shifted to some city down in the plains.

The most important thing that I want to say is that people have lost self-confidence and they have no trust in the Government. I said this yesterday and I am going to repeat it to-day. The people had no arms in March last, that is why they were robbed. Some of our brethren considered it a trouble to carry even a stick, and those who wanted to possess revolvers were not allowed to do so. Our neighbouring country, Pakistan, has lifted all restrictions on the possession of arms and consequently everybody is now free to possess arms, while on this side, the Government at first ordered that licences of arms would be issued to such persons who will be recommended by the M. L. A.'s. After that, the sub-inspectors and inspectors of police began to make inquiries and the arms licences began to be issued on the recommendations of the lambaridars. I ask, how can we, who are part and parcel of the Government, tolerate that the sub-inspectors of police should have the audacity to insult us and licences are not issued on our recommendations? I, in fact, want that the licences should be freely issued and ammunition freely supplied. If the people misuse the arms, the licences of such persons can be cancelled and their revolvers and guns can be confiscated. The shops from where people should freely buy arms should be made common. If this is not done, people will buy rifles, for four and five thousand rupees and revolvers for Rs. 1,500 in black market. How far can the Government go on making searches? To search every house and every village, is impossible. If you want therefore that the people should not possess illegal arms, facilities should be provided for them to buy arms unrestricted and according to their own choice from open shops. I would request that there should be no licence for the possession of arms like pistols, rifles, etc., because

[S. Kabul Singh]

these things are to-day considered as quite ordinary. Licence, of course, can be made necessary for bigger arms like Sten guns and Bren guns. The British Government stopped the Licences of arms in fear lest the people should put an end to its very existence in a spirit of revolt. Such fears do not exist in the case of a popular Government. The people should be provided with arms and ammunition so that they may have confidence in themselves and trust in the Government. Our neighbouring country has made the arms common. I know how strong they are. But we should depend upon ourselves. Even a small thing that happens to-day is sufficient to create panic. If Kashmir is invaded, the people here become panicky. When I was in Montgomery jail, its roof would begin to leak even if it rained at Lahore. Similar is the case at present. Even a trifle can create panic and it acts as a hindrance to the establishment of peace. Government should itself distribute arms in the villages in the boundary area and ammunition should be made available to them, so that even the poor and middle class people should be able to buy it to defend their and their mothers' and sisters' honour. If bombs and guns cannot be freed from the restriction of licence, there should be no licence for the possession of spears at least, so that the public might have some sort of means of defence. It is a fact that the police is very unpopular. But all the same, a close co-operation is needed between the police and the public at the present moment. The members should tour their *naqas* to bring it home to the police, that they are the servants of the people and the Government is a Government of the people. It should be made clear to them that the days of British Government are gone. It is of course right that the complaints and difficulties of the police should also be removed. They should be given quarters to live with their families. Their salary should also be increased. If even then they indulge in bribery, they should be severely dealt with.

Mr. Speaker : I have received a long list of the names of members who wish to take part in the debate to-day. The number is as high as twenty. One hour will be taken up by the Ministers to reply, so that there are 180 minutes left for all the other honourable members who want to speak. There is, therefore, no alternative for me but to request honourable members to speak for ten minutes each. The honourable member in possession of the House may please wind up.

Sardar Kabul Singh : Sir, obeying your order, I would place a few things before the Government. I want that ammunition be made common. The institutions of *sufaidposhes* and *lambardars* should be abolished and the members of the I. C. S. and P. C. S. and other Government officials should be brought to their senses and their brains should be purged of insolence. They should be strictly warned that they are no longer required to please the British and that they are now the servants of the public. Provision should be made to impart military training in the villages. Titles, grants of land, jagirs and other dead institutions of slavery should be abolished; these relics of national treachery and old flattery should now be destroyed. The honourable Ministers should tour the villages to restore confidence in public. I admit that they have plenty of official business. But the office routine can be left to their subordinates. Otherwise we should be given facilities to take over that work. With these words, I request the Government to take these suggestions of mine in the spirit in which they have been made.

Pandit Shri Ram Sharma (Southern Towns, General, Urban) (*Hindustani*) : Sir, as many of my hon. friends have to speak and the time at my disposal is very short, I would try to make my submissions briefly. The convention of the Assembly has been to discuss the Budget from all points of view. As the hon. Finance Minister has himself stated in his Budget speech, it is not a

budget of the province in the real sense ; the present Budget has been presented with a view to observe the convention laid down by the Assembly. The following lines have been used by the hon. Finance Minister in his Budget speech :

These Budget Proposals, strictly speaking are but a continuation of the annual Budget forecasts of the pre-partition Punjab for the year 1947-48, in so far as these related to the territory that comprises our new Province of East Punjab.

From the last year's Budget, which was prepared by Shri Bhim Sen Sacher and which was passed by the then Governor due to the breakdown of the ministry, separate Budget proposals are made and duly published in a book form which relate to twelve or thirteen districts and it is on this basis that the Budget speech has been prepared. There is nothing new in it, except that the Budget has been prepared for a few of the preceding and a few of the following months. It is said that due to shortage of time no change could be effected, but I affirm that there was ample time at their disposal. There is always time for those who really mean to work and work with determination and will. So far as the hon. Finance Minister is concerned, he was elected Leader of our party on June 29, 1947. He should have known that this work was to be done by this party or in other words by the Leader of the party and the whole responsibility in this direction rested on him. He ought to have known that he had to shoulder this responsibility both as the Leader of the party and as the Finance Minister. He had about four months at his disposal. In spite of the fact that a long time has passed since 15th August when the new ministry was formed, we are told that the Government did not get time to consider financial matters. At the same time we are being assured that the pending proceedings will be completed in the next Budget session and that the present Budget speech was made only to follow the convention of the House. I for one subscribe to this view.

I wish to submit that an appeal has been made by the hon. Minister for helping the Government in maintaining law and order in the province. I support this appeal whole-heartedly. But what I want to know is as to who is after all responsible for this chaos. I make bold to submit that the officials of the department under the direct control of the hon. Premier, the deputy commissioners and the officials under him who work on the old lines, are really responsible for this chaos. So far as the members of the House are concerned, we are helpless. I do not mean that the hon. Ministers are responsible for creating this chaos. But if this state of affairs continues, then they will be held responsible. I wish to bring this point home to the hon. Ministers that if they act quite honestly and with good intentions, then in that case law and order can easily be maintained. They should master the situation quite efficiently. If they fail to do so then there is every likelihood of the conditions getting worse. They must put in hard work with full determination to maintain law and order in the province. They should not work half-heartedly. By dismissing and punishing heavily those officials who resort to corruption, Government would be able to put an end to lawlessness rampant in the province. Zaildars, lambar-dars and susedposhes are no longer required. This system should be abolished.

Minister for Home and Revenue : The institution of honorary magistrates has already been abolished.

An hon. member : The lambardari system should also be abolished.

Pandit Shri Ram Sharma : I wish to submit that the hon. Ministers should be careful while delivering their speeches. They should not make any propoganda with a view to impress upon the public that the *sangh* organisation is a peace-loving organisation. It is crystal clear from this that on the one hand the hon.

[Pt. Shri Ram Sharma]

Ministers support the movement of the so-called peace-loving organisation, while on the other they appeal for the maintenance of law and order throughout the province. This system of playing double game should be stopped altogether.

Minister for Home and Revenue : Your country is a free country now.

Pandit Shri Ram Sharma : There is no doubt about it that our country has attained freedom. But in my opinion freedom is not yet complete. However I wish to point out that in future hon. Ministers should be cautious while delivering their speeches. In fact they should see for themselves as to how far they are justified in saying that the *sangh* movement is quite close to the Congress movement.

Again I want to submit that the budget shows a very heavy deficit. It is also clear from it that even the monetary assistance already made by the Central Government would not cover the whole expenses. Salary Bill has already been passed. Keeping the present heavy deficit budget of the province in view, it is but meet and proper on the part of the hon. Ministers, I. C. S. officers and other officers drawing fat salaries to make adequate reduction in their salaries. In these disturbed days a heavy deficit is inevitable and under the circumstances efforts should be made to curtail the expenses. Income should be raised through proper means. It would be a great mistake if the income is not raised by proper means. A high official to-day told me that he was prepared to accept a lower salary if the Ministers were themselves prepared to accept their reduced salaries.

Now I would like to make a few submissions about the National Volunteer Corps. I would request the Minister in charge that he should not recruit those men who have taken part in the recent disturbances. Those men who have indulged in arson, loot and plunder, should not be recruited at all. In fact such element should be eliminated from the police department also; only those Hindu and Sikh young men should be recruited in the National Volunteer Corps who hold Congress view.

I would like to suggest that ways and means should be devised to make the province strong both physically and materially. The more interest the hon. members take in discharging their duties efficiently, the more prosperous will the province become. Let me make it clear to the hon. Ministers that by helping their kith and kin they will not be helping the province to become prosperous. If they try to benefit their friends and relations, they will meet the same fate which the Unionist Government has already met.

Thakur Dalip Singh (Kangra South, General, Rural) (*Hindustani*) : Sir, before I say anything about the Budget, I have to say two things. I am a villager and belong to rural area and I would say something about villagers. The hon'ble Minister for Finance is not present to-day. I hope whatever I would say will be conveyed to him and whatever has been omitted and left, will be taken into consideration next time and spent in the right way. Our Budget is a deficit budget and we are all sorry for that. We should try that our deficit budget is changed into a surplus budget and to meet that end, we should seek the co-operation of public servants and the public.

It is a well-known fact that we have a deficit budget, but many "Headings" have been omitted, which were acquired after great struggle. I mean the following three funds :—

- (1) *Peasants' Welfare Fund*—It was exclusively meant for villagers. Many students were awarded scholarships out of this fund. Now the hopes of all those students have been shattered, as they will not get any such aid from the Government.

(2) *Development Fund*—It was meant to improve the state of rural areas. This fund has also been closed, that is, we have been deprived of our rights.

(3) *Famine Relief Fund*—This fund was utilized wherever famine occurred. Now also there are signs of famine, but there is no provision for it.

Now I come to Punjab Co-operative Union and the Provincial Bank. These two institutions were semi-Government institutions. Primary units were run by these institutions. Lacs of rupees of rural areas are lying in these banks and are locked up there. Inspectors and sub-inspectors are working but they have not been paid for the last three or four months. Many employees of Provincial Bank and Union are running hither and thither and they do not know what to do. The high officials get their salaries and they do not know about others. The Minister in charge may kindly pay attention to them and reorganise them.

Every one knows that my district is mountainous and the Dogras of this district have saved the lives and honour of Hindus and Sikhs alike and they bring them to East Punjab. In the last budget an amount was set apart for roads, but it has not been provided in the present budget. Certain bridges were also to be erected, as our district during the rainy season becomes Andamans, that is, a place for transportation. Transport and motor lorry traffic is closed. As regards schools, there are only three high schools in such a big district. There are only two big straight roads, one Hoshiarpur to Dharamsala and the other Kangra to Kulu. The second one is better and on the former a lorry takes 8 hours to complete the journey of 75 miles. One is so wrapped in dust that he cannot be recognised.

Mehta Ranbir Singh (Ludhiana and Ferozepore, General, Rural) (*Hindustani*): Sir, we have met in such circumstances in which we have never met before. This is the first time in the history of Punjab that it is faced with a deficit of two crores and some lakhs of rupees in its budget. What is the cause of this deficit? The cause is that the fertile tract which the people of East Punjab brought under cultivation at the cost of their own resources, has been snatched away from them. This taking away of the tract of land which is, as a matter of fact, the best tract in the whole of Asia, has fallen upon the resources of the East Punjab as a serious blow. We might have recovered from this blow, if things had stopped there. But unfortunately our Government has not as yet assumed complete charge, when new and un hoped for burdens of heavy responsibilities fell upon its shoulders. All this is the direct consequence of the hatred and the two nation theory propagated by the Muslim League which assumed ultimately the shape of a conflagration. It was due to this spark of hatred that the peace not only of the Punjab but of the whole of India was jeopardized. While Mahatma Gandhi is trying to extinguish this spark of hatred through love, Sardar Patel on the other hand, is pouring sand over it. There can be no peace and prosperity in the country much less in the East Punjab so long as this fire of hatred and violence is going on and we should all try to extinguish it by all possible means. Our province is like a patient whose condition is precarious. Such a case demands the services of an able physician, an efficient surgeon and proper nursing. I am glad that the Government of our province as in the efficient hands of Dr Gopi Chand, as Premier and Sardar Swaran Singh, as the Minister of Revenue and Home Affairs. Under their able leadership we have every hope that our province will regain the lost ground. For this purpose it is also necessary that the fifth columnists, whosoever they may be, should be completely exterminated. I am sure our Home Minister will not spare such fifth columnists even if they happen to be once our friends and belonging to our own ranks. If such persons are spared, the consequences will be bad. It is also incumbent upon us that we should give our Government our whole-hearted co-operation in this matter.

[Mehta Ranbir Singh]

Now I come to the actual budget. Although the hon. Minister for Finance is not present in the House, I am confident that my word will be conveyed to him. On page 137 of the budget a sum of Rs. 93,000 has been earmarked as grants to non-Government secondary schools for Europeans. We cannot afford to set apart such a big amount for the education of the European children when our own boys and girls require our attention for their education. Moreover, these Europeans draw high salaries with which they can themselves afford to provide for the education of their children. There is one more point to which I draw the attention of the House. I suggest that various departments of the Government which are allied to each other should be brought under one head. For instance, the departments of the Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals, the Inspector-General of Prisons and the Director of Public Health are very closely related to each other. We may not reduce the salaries of the heads of the departments. But we can certainly bring about some saving in the expenditure and also efficiency in work if some heads of departments are prepared to do more work and take charge of other allied departments as well. I want to place one more suggestion before our Premier. It is that he should try to utilise the services of such members of this Assembly who are not doing anything useful at present. Their services can be made use of in the administrative work of the Government. In this way the work will be distributed and our Government will become truly democratic, and a good deal of expenditure will also be saved.

Master Gurbanta Singh (Jullundur General, Rural, Reserved Seat) (Punjabi): Sir, it is my first opportunity to speak in this Assembly since the attainment of independence by our country. The budget has come in for a lot of criticism because it is a deficit budget. From my experience as a member of the

12-0 noon.

District Board, I know that it is common practice to present a deficit budget advisedly. The Secretary of the District Board used to do like this. He would present a deficit budget in the beginning and at the end of the year he would announce a surplus with the object of winning popularity and admiration. Though I know that there are a number of defects in the budget, I have no intention to criticise it. I have risen to narrate the sad story of the difficulties and hardships that confront my brethren who have come from West Punjab. It is well-known to hon. members that refugees from West Punjab have to squat on the platforms of railway stations for days together on their arrival in East Punjab. When they reach the territory of the Indian Union after remaining hungry for several days, they are dismayed to find that even here there are no arrangements to feed them. When they manage to cross the border, they naturally think that their hardships will come to an end and that they will at least be well fed. But they are disillusioned to see the treatment meted out to them by their brethren and curse the advent of independence which has made people hard-hearted towards their brethren who are hovering between life and death. It is a pitiable sight to see refugees rotting on platforms and their women and children starving and shivering with cold. In my opinion, they have a prior claim on the Government's attention and sympathy. The plight of such refugees is heart-rending. Government has given land to the agriculturist refugees and houses to the urban refugees. But the *Achhut* refugees have been left to their fate. Even those *Achhut* families who were agricultural tenants for the last fifty years are not being allotted any land. In the Jullundur district which is my home district, no land has been allotted to *Achhut* refugees. I pleaded with Sardar Ishar Singh that the Sikh *Achhut* agriculturist tenants who have come as refugees should at least be allotted land. He directed me to see the Revenue Officer. When I went to see the latter, he told me that land was available in Nikodar tehsil. I proceeded to Nikodar and met the tehsildar but he told me that no more land was available for settling the refugees. I knew that thousands of acres of land was still unoccupied in that tehsil. Then I suggested to the Revenue Officer that the

land reserved for agriculturist refugees of particular districts of the West Punjab was still lying unoccupied and might for the present be allotted to *achhut* agricultural tenants so that they might bring it under cultivation and make it a source of their livelihood. But he paid no heed to me and refused. Now may I ask whether it is not an injustice to them? I am constrained to say that the Government is taking advantage of the newly acquired independence to crush our community. Again I may refer you to the havoc wrought by flood in Ferozepore. The cultivators who suffered loss were given land to cultivate at other places and they were on their feet again. But what about the poor cobblers? They have been totally undone. They have lost their hutments and also the wherewithal to work. They have no money to purchase anything, nor is the Government willing to give them any place where they might build their huts and take shelter. Petitions have been submitted to the Government several times on their behalf but to no purpose. No doubt the rehabilitation of refugees from West Punjab is a colossal problem. But what is to become of *achhuts* of East Punjab who have been ruined by floods? I cannot help saying that to neglect the *achhuts* is to further depress the depressed class. In view of these ugly realities, freedom has no meaning for us.

Now I give an account of the oppression by the police and the *goondas* in the rural areas. I narrate here only a few cases, though I have a long list of them. A man and a woman belonging to *achhut* community were shot by the *goondas* in village Samran. The man was killed and the woman wounded. When people went to the police station to lodge a report, the police refused to entertain it and spurned them away. Such things are of frequent occurrence. *Goondas* abducted some *achhut* girls from village Tarkan. When the relatives of the girls went to the Adampur Police Station to lodge a complaint, they were told that it did not matter much if some of their girls had been abducted. I cite another case. When the sister-in-law of a landlord owning fifty *ghumaons* of land was abducted by the *goondas*, the police refused to entertain the complaint. At Rahmanpura Mandkol which is near the Contonment an *achhut* girl was murdered by the *goondas* who did not even allow the dead body to be removed. Similarly, in many other villages, the *goondas* are in hand and glove with the police and have taken the law into their hands. A buffalo belonging to an *achhut* of Ramnagar was stolen by the dacoits. Thanks to the intervention of Shri Prithvi Singh Azad, it was restored to the original owner. But you will be surprised to know that the Head Constable of the Police-post near the Governor's bungalow in Jullundur is in possession of a buffalo belonging to Gahia, a cobbler, and refuses to give it back to the owner. Is that the sort of justice we are having in this province? I am constrained to say that the police officials' heads have turned. They think that those who were rotting in jails only six months ago and have now come into power can do nothing against them. They do not care for the Ministers even. I would submit to the hon. Ministers that until they enforce their control over the police, it will not desist from going to any lengths. I relate another interesting incident in this connection. During the flood days, the *achhuts* of Adampur had between themselves collected some planks of wood. Six of these planks were forcibly taken away by the local goldsmith. The matter was referred to Shri Prithvi Singh Azad. He himself went to the Police Station to lodge a report. But they refused to entertain it unless the complainant himself was present. When at last the latter came, the Sub-Inspector suggested to Shri Azad that a compromise between the two parties would settle the matter. Azadji gave proof of his kind-heartedness by readily accepting the suggestion. We in fact wanted that a report be lodged and the offender be brought to book. But owing to the weakness exhibited by Shri Azad, we had to agree to the compromise. Thus the *Thanadar* had his way. I would request the Ministers to develop an iron will and nerves of steel; otherwise the administration will fail. The police is used to high-handed ways since the

[Master Gurbanta Singh]

the days of British rule. Unless they mend their ways, there will be no improvement in the condition of this province. I have already stated that their heads are turned and it is essential that they should be set right. I relate another similar case to illustrate my point. On 27th October some Muslims with the help of Muslim troops made a raid on our village, as a result of which the villagers sustained a heavy loss. A large number of persons were wounded. The raiders carried away a large booty, including 100 cattle heads. I went to Sardar Swaran Singh and narrated the gruesome story to him. The Superintendent of Police was also sitting with him. I told them that the Muslims had looted the village while they were at hand and requested that they should take immediate action in the matter. The Superintendent deputed a Deputy Superintendent for investigation. But the latter instead of rounding up the miscreants and calling for the explanation of the military-men reported what the troopers had told him, that they had fired in self-defence and were not the first to begin the fight. Now here was an occasion for the police to take a bold stand, but they meekly accepted the excuse put forward by the Muslim troopers. What I mean to say is that so long as the attitude of the police does not change and they do not realise their duty to share the sufferings of their brethren in distress and endeavour to protect them from the oppressors, whether they be *goondas* or Muslim troopers, conditions will not improve in this country and there will be no peace in the land. I, therefore, urge that the police staff soaked in old bureaucratic traditions should be given the sack and their posts filled by those who would realise the sufferings of the poor and try to afford them protection. With these words, I finish my speech.

Chaudhri Matu Ram (Ludhiana and Ferozepore, General, Rural, Reserved Seat) (*Hindustani*): Sir, my friend Master Gurbanta Singh has stated a good deal about the plight of the *Harijans*. Partly I endorse what he has said. But there are matters regarding which I differ from him. Masterji has emphasised that the Government is not doing anything for the *Harijans*. I attribute his anxiety about this matter to inferiority complex. We are not weak people. I believe that the more a community faces repression, the more it progresses. Our country achieved freedom. Now it is for us to maintain it and to march forward from progress to progress. If the Services co-operate with the public, it will not be difficult to maintain our freedom. We, *Harijans*, are servants of the public and shall remain so. Masterji has complained against the attitude of the police. I suggest that the Government should gradually terminate their services and replace them by poor and deserving *Harijans* who have neither houses nor lands from which they might earn a living. It is high time for the Government to attend to the *Harijans*. If it neglects them, the consequences will be disastrous. There is some talk about Hindu-Sikh differences. We do not discriminate between the two communities. We serve both. At present most of the Police Officers are communal-minded. I propose that they should better be replaced by *Harijans*, whose ideal is service under all circumstances. Masterji need not worry. The police will come to its senses. Some zamindars ask *Harijans* to leave East Punjab, as Muslims have done and migrate to West Punjab. But may I ask whether if we quit East Punjab, they would undertake to do our job? I doubt very much if they will agree to do it. So we have to live in the Punjab. To those who say that the Government is not doing anything for us, my reply is that it is the people's Government and that it cannot afford to ignore us. We are not weaker than the Muslims, though of course we are not so foolish as to demand the vivisection of the country. We shall patiently test you. Whether you want to keep us with you as brethren or whether you intend to give us a separate place, it is for you to decide.

Sir, there is another thing which I want to submit for the consideration of the House. In my opinion, it is very necessary to test those persons in the services who were formerly the henchmen of the British and are now posing as well-wishers of their community. Why are they not told that they are now living in free India and that they must shed their old official airs and work in co-operation with the public? It is the official class that breeds the germs of communalism. The Muslim League owed its success to the backing of the official class and its success proved so harmful to the country, I am afraid our services are also permeated with the spirit of communalism. A Hindu official helps the Hindus first and Sikh Official the Sikhs. One day I happened to visit the Civil Secretariat before the partition took place and I was surprised to find Muslim Officers openly carrying on League propaganda. This spirit is to be found in the official class of this province also and it is fraught with grave consequences. I belong to District Ferozapore. I am sure that if the Additional Deputy Commissioner had not been guilty of unpardonable negligence, the flood would not have wrought such havoc in the city as it did. It is detrimental to the interests of the province to retain the services of such officers. To appoint such persons to high posts and to give them high salaries is a gross injustice to our talented young men and harmful to the country.

Sardar Bachan Singh (Ludhiana Central, Sikh, Rural) (*Hindustani*)—Sir, I studied the budget from one end to the other several times in the hope of finding some good points in it on which I might congratulate the Leader of my party who is responsible for its preparation. But I am sorry to confess that I could find no such point. Some of the hon. members seem to have exhibited a feeling of uneasiness on the deficit in the budget. But my feelings are different. I have seen the budgets of some of the advanced and rich countries and have found large deficits in them. I also know that the sponsors of such budgets, instead of feeling a sense of shame, take pride in presenting such budgets. Why? Because they have a programme of development schemes to account for the deficit. I would have felt much pleasure if the hon. Finance Minister had presented a budget with much more huge deficit running into millions only if he had incorporated in it big schemes for development and schemes intended to benefit the people at large. But the budget as presented to this Assembly appears to me as if we belonged to a backward province. Here in it as many as 268 lacs are allotted to be spent on Police and Administration and only two crores are intended to be spent on the beneficent department, such as Education, Health and Medical. This is a pitiable state of affairs. The plea can be advanced that we had little time for the preparation of the budget and it is only a continuation of the old. A similar plea was given when we met to discuss the budget in the old Assembly in 1946. It was then said that the budget under discussion was prepared by the Unionists and that we would present our budget next time. When our turn came the old Assembly was dissolved and now when this new Assembly has come into existence the plea is put forward that we had been heavily pressed by hardships and the time at our disposal was very short to enable us to master the situation. I do not deny the gravity of the situation but I contend that such a budget should have been presented as had enabled us to face these misfortunes manfully and had acted like a lighthouse to show the way out of this dismal state of affairs. It matters little whether the budget is prepared by Lala Bhim Sen Sachar or Dr. Gopi Chand Bhargava. The real thing that matters is whether it helps in the advancement of the province or it is only a blot on the fair name of the Punjab. I am a defender of the fair name of the Congress and a faithful soldier of the country and I wish that my country should prosper like other free countries. (*An hon. member*: Are you faithful to your country?) Yes I am loyal to my country and to fulfil my pledge of loyalty I have courted imprisonment twelve times and have spent my youth behind the prison bars. I still spend

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almost the whole of my time in the service of the country and pay little attention to my household affairs. The deficit of more than two crores shown in the budget is not due to the fact that some industrial scheme has to be undertaken. The supporters of the budget might mention Bhakra Dam and Nangal Project for its justification. But my friends should know that these schemes are being financed by the Central Government, though something different might be shown in the official records. The public demands action on the part of the Government and it cannot be satisfied unless the paper schemes are put into practice. I have made an extensive tour of the East Punjab and seen the general dissatisfaction among the people. As a member of the Government party I wish I could hold my head with pride on the achievements sought to be made in the budget and comparing it with the Unionist budgets, I could proclaim that the Punjab has thrown away the yoke of Unionist bureaucracy from its neck. But I am sorry to confess that the things are different here. One day while going on a tonga I began talking to an aged lady sitting besides me. In the course of the talk she burst out saying that we might have achieved independence but only utter ruination is our lot. This is only one instance and it gives an insight into the general feelings of the people. I wish the Government could ameliorate the sad plight of the people and win back their sympathies. When the budget of the Central Government or that of the United Provinces is presented, the newspaper and public not only of India but in England and America give it top priority and it forms the subject of many high level discussions seeking to point out its merits and demerits. But when the Punjab Budget is presented it rouses no interest in the public and I do not find anybody talking about the budget on the roads of Simla. The plain reason for this lack of interest is that it envisages no plan for putting into practice the development schemes. I think it is no credit to the Finance Minister to present such a Budget to the House. Just as the Governor sanctioned the budget after the partition, similarly this budget should have been passed by the Financial Secretary and things would have been set going. I realise that ours is not the province of the days gone by and we are occupying our seats here as free members. I think I would have neglected my duty if I had not raised my voice against the budget proposals which contain nothing to satisfy anybody. If the people are dissatisfied with the budget we should have courage to tell them that this is only a continuation of the old one and we will present our budget next time of which we can be rightly proud. I request the hon. Finance Minister to present such a budget in future as will enable us to build a stronger and greater Punjab on the ashes of the old, so that not only we but the whole world should be proud of it.

Sardar Jagjit Singh Mann (Jullundur Division landholders) (*Punjabi*):
 Sir, when the Budget is presented to the House, after going through it one comes to know about the present and the future policy of the Government. At this stage I do not intend discussing the facts and figures given in the Budget. My heart goes to those distressed people who have no food to eat, no clothes to wear and no place to hide themselves in. I do not want to enter into any details as to how people who were living in plenty have now been rendered homeless. But I cannot do without remarking this and I make bold to submit that the hon. Ministers showed a great deal of slackness in this direction. At the time of the partition of the Punjab on the basis of two nation theory they ought to have devised ways and means for the safety of the province. It will not be out of place to mention here that Mr. Jinnah had been propagating about the establishment of an Islamic State for the last five or six years and he ultimately did succeed in his mission. Our leaders in general and the then Ministers in particular did not pay any heed to it. In March last, in Rawalpindi division, mass killing of the non-Muslims was resorted to by Muslims to such an extent that non-Muslims were completely wiped out. After the partition of the province, the minorities were left to their own fate and no ways and means were

devised to safeguard them. These minorities were left at the mercy of the Muslims who were no less than wolves. Our leaders have shown slackness in the discharge of their duties. And whatever has happened or is happening, they will be held responsible for that before God. I am really constrained to remark that Hindus and Sikhs from West Punjab are being treated as criminal tribes in other provinces. Our entry has been banned in other provinces. I had a chance to go to the United Provinces and it was after experiencing great inconveniences that I succeeded in procuring a permit for going to Mussoori. Our permits were checked many times *en-route*. I do not intend entering into further details in this direction. But I have no hesitation in saying that so far as the Sikh community is concerned, our leaders have let us down. We have been rendered homeless and we have no homeland. (An hon'ble member: Are some of the present Ministers included in those "leaders"?) Yes, some of the Ministers are included in them. What I wish to point out is that Sikhs have no homeland. They have been ruined. Our Gurdwaras at Nankana Sahib and Punjab Sahib are to-day lying locked in Pakistan. I am informed that Pakistan flags are flying over them. This is all due to the defective Sikh leadership. Our leaders have done such deeds that the coming generation will not excuse them.

I wish to make a few observations with regard to the evacuation of Refugees. The work of evacuation is completely unsatisfactory. In the absence of sufficient number of trucks and adequate military escort the evacuation work is going on at a very slow speed. There is no satisfactory arrangement of trucks and trains for evacuating those Hindus and Sikhs who are at present marooned in Pakistan.

Now I come to Rehabilitation Department. I really fail to understand the working of this department. There is complete *Sikhashahi* or high-handedness everywhere in the department. In fact no law or regulation is followed in the department. Refugees do not know what to do and where to go. I have had enough opportunities of moving about. Refugees owning land in West Punjab are wandering about in East Punjab and elsewhere. They are not sure whether they will be compensated or not. Government has shown a great deal of slackness in the performance of its duty. I wish to bring this point home to the Hon'ble Ministers that when they cannot do anything substantial for the refugees who are in a miserable plight, it is really no use for them to adore those treasury benches. I would like to invite the attention of the hon. Minister in charge of the Rehabilitation Department to make all-out efforts to remove the defects already mentioned by me. In this connection I would like to suggest that Refugee Enquiry offices should be set up at Ferozepore, Amritsar and Atari so that the refugees may be supplied with all the necessary information. Refugees owning land in West Punjab should be asked to give affidavits as to how much land they owned and the Government should grant them 50 or 60 per cent of this land or whatever it thinks fit for the present. But on the other hand what is happening is that refugees who did not own any land in the West Punjab have been granted lands, so much so that some persons have been given villages, while those who possessed land in West Punjab have not been given any land here. Government ought to have taken affidavits from the refugees owning land in West Punjab and given some land for the time being till definite settlements were arrived at. If the affidavits proved to be false later on, the whole land granted on the basis of this statement should be confiscated at once.

Sir, the time at my disposal is very short and I wish to make brief observations. My Hindu and Sikh brethren who have been forced to leave West Punjab have been rendered homeless. We have been deprived of our property and belongings. So far Government has not adopted any clear cut policy in this direction. We do not know whether we shall receive our property back, and if at all we get it back we do not know whether it will be restored to us or whether we shall be compensated in East

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Punjab or elsewhere. We are kept in the dark as to where our losses will be made good. We have heard that we will be allotted two or three squares of land at the most and we have also come to know that Government is contemplating to nationalise the lands. So far as the nationalisation of land is concerned, I quite agree with it. But mere nationalisation of land will not do. Nationalisation of industries must also be undertaken. Not only this, but the palatial buildings of the rich including those which fetch huge amounts of rent should also be nationalised. If this is done, I have no objection to lands being nationalised. Land owners alone should not be made the targets. I would like to ask the Minister in charge of the Rehabilitation Department as to what will be the basis of giving compensation to refugees. I would like to bring this point home to him that if he and his Government do not take any immediate steps in this direction they will be committing a great blunder. If their losses are not made good they will have no other alternative before them except making all-out efforts to pull down the Ministry.

Sardar Sajjan Singh (Patti, Sikh, Rural) (*Punjabi*): Sir, I have carefully gone through the Budget presented to the Assembly. The Government is spending Rs. 1,56,64,400 on Police. This provision is not at all in keeping with the policy of the Congress and its by-laws. The Congress promised to help the poor when it came into power. You will find while going through the Budget that the Inspector-General of Police draws Rs. 2,160 per mensem, a superintendent of police Rs. 800, an inspector of police Rs. 238, a sub-inspector Rs. 140, a head constable Rs. 80 and a constable Rs. 25 or in other words, the Inspector-General draws a salary equal to that of eighty constables and a superintendent equal to that of 30 constables, an inspector equal to that of 10 constables, and a sub-inspector equal to that of 5 constables. This is an injustice for the poor, I mean the constables, head constables and assistant sub-inspectors. It is they who are seen going about in the villages and towns and it is they who are in fact responsible for the preservation of law and order. They in fact form the pivot of the administration. In spite of this they are so low paid that it is not possible for them to make both ends meet. Naturally they resort to corrupt practices and I need not say that the burden of this falls on the poor people. It is a sort of direct tax on the poor people. Now that the Congress Government is in power, it should raise the pay of the low and lower a little the pay of those who are well-placed so that we may be able to raise the standard of the man in the street. If we cast a glance at the conduct of Amritsar Police we find that they have wrought havoc in the city and I would suggest that they should be fined instead of being paid any salary. I once went for the recovery of looted property from a Sub-Inspector of Police, and we were able to recover two truck loads of goods worth Rs. 58,000. I toured 7 thanas and I found every one right from a constable up to Deputy Superintendent, had some share in the looted property. There was of course one man that is Head Moharrar, who was an exception to this. The reason is obvious. The controlling authorities did not realise their responsibility. I told them about the speech delivered by Shri Jawahar Lal, but they replied that their immediate officer was Deputy Superintendent; hence the result was loot and arson. I think the Act that was passed yesterday will prove effective only if it is acted upon very strictly and if the Ministers do not show any favour to certain government officers. In my constituency, there are armed gangs who indulge in loot and robbery. The officials and the *goondas* are there hand in glove. I am, however, glad to say that since Chaudhri Ram Singh, Senior Superintendent of Police, has taken over charge at Amritsar, he has taken the officers and *goondas* to task. There is now no one to encourage the *goonda* element and things have a little bit changed now.

There is one thing more that I wish to place before the Government. Now private armies are coming into existence. Instead of joining hands with the Government of the free province they are growing as separate entities.

(An hon'ble member : You are over-age.)

Mr. Speaker : Order, order.

Sardar Sajjan Singh : If our Government permits the formation of private armies and thereby allows fascist tendencies to grow, it will find itself very soon faced with tremendous difficulties. May I ask my friends, the Ministers or Dr Sahib as to what is going to be the policy of the Government towards these private armies? There are armies like Punjab Frontier Corps and Desh Sewak Sena, which are at present in infancy, and I understand that those who will join them, will be trained in shooting. But in course of time they are likely to prove a menace to the administration of the country.

Mr. Speaker : Before I call upon the next honourable member to speak I would like to make an announcement. Under Rule 10 (1) of the East Punjab Legislative Assembly Rules, I have nominated the following honourable members as members of panel of Chairmen :—

Pandit Mohan Lal.

Sardar Narotam Singh

Sardar Shiv Saran .

Rao Mohar Singh.

Chaudhri Suraj Mal : (Hansi, General, Rural) (*Hindustani*) : Sir, I have a great many things to say on th budget in the little time at my disposal. My friends have already said several things. I think they should realise the circumstances through which we are passing. We are passing through critical times. The command of the province should have been entrusted to a man who would have coped with it and who was conversant with the circumstances prevailing in our province. But it was entrusted to a person who was quite new and unacquainted with the ways of Government. When the riots broke out at Ambala and the situation became intense, Dr. Gopi Chand, our Premier visited that place. The officials of Ambala met to consider ways and means to handle the situation. Dr. Sahib was also present at the meeting. He was requested to arrange for more troops in the city, because the forces already stationed there were not sufficient to cope with the grave situation. Now Dr. Sahib became utterly confused and did not know what to do under the circumstances. He then thought of ringing up Sardar Baldev Singh with a view to requesting him to send more troops. Sardar Baldev Singh asked him the strength of the reinforcement that he should send. Doctor Sahib did not know what to say and at last told the Defence Minister to send one platoon, without knowing that the strength of a platoon is only ten or twelve persons. When he was told of that, Doctor Sahib fumbled, and demanded a company and then a regiment and even a brigade afterwards. This is the standard of intellectual equipment of our leader and as such you can yourself form an idea about his administrative ability.

Mr. Speaker : I would ask the hon. member to address the Chair, and not to be personal.

Chaudhri Suraj Mal : Sir, I stand before you and I am addressing you. I was only saying that our Ministers lack administrative experience and have no guts to face a critical situation. We should thank God that in the present crisis, we have not been left at the mercy of these administrative heads. There have been a few officers of the Central Government in our province, who have been carrying on the provincial administration. Most of the people feel that they should not depend upon the Government but should do something of their own accord, because they know that their leaders are nonplussed if confronted with a serious situation. The present lawlessness proceeds from the very homes and families of these Ministers. I can challenge anyone on this point that in most cases it is the friends and relatives of these Ministers who are the cause of unrest

[Ch. Suraj Mal]

and lawlessness among the public. How can the local officers dare touch such big persons? The result is that there is confusion and disorder. The only way to protect ourselves and our honour is to organise ourselves and to depend upon our own resources. Today we have been pushed back from the Ravi river, and if this state of affairs continues we might be pushed beyond the Jumna even. If such a thing has not happened, it is I think entirely due to the martial races of our province, that is the brave Khalsa and the Jats. We would have been no more if we had depended upon these Ministers. Sir, I admit that I have also a share in the Government and our five friends sit on the ministerial benches. But I regret to say that they have no influence among the masses. It would not be out of place here to point out that the present Government has undone what its predecessor had done in the direction of rural uplift and the amelioration of farmers. This is amply borne out by the present budget in which no provision has been made for the peasant welfare, famine relief and such other objects. This Government is steadily pursuing the policy of giving out the very roots of the jats of this province. I may, therefore, sound a note of warning to the jats that, if they do not remain highly vigilant, they will be completely exterminated by these people.

The Assembly then adjourned for lunch and re-assembled at 2.30 p. m. Mr. Speaker in the Chair.

Mr. Prabodh Chandra (Gurdaspur, General, Rural) (*Hindustani*) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, before proceeding with the general discussion of the budget I would like to make a few observations with regard to the general administration. It was a practice of this august House that whenever the Assembly was in session, the hon. members had a right to make interpellations. Besides this, every Thursday was set apart for the transaction of non-official business. During this session we have been deprived of this opportunity as a result of the motion moved by the Hon. Premier yesterday. I do not know the circumstances under which the Leader of the House was forced to bring forward that motion. Now, Sir, the right of interpellation by hon. members is of the utmost importance. It is through this channel that information on matters of urgency and public interest is elicited on the floor of the House. But this opportunity, too, has been snatched from us during this session. Under the circumstances before actually taking part in the general discussion of the budget, I would draw the attention of the Government to certain facts on which the public feel very strongly.

The people are very much agitated over the lack of change in the mentality of the high officials. Just as in the old regime jobbery and snobbery was rampant in the officers, a similar state of affairs is visible even after the establishment of a popular Government in this province. But whereas under the old rule jobbery and snobbery of the officers was accompanied by efficiency in the disposal of work, the officials under the present popular ministry possess all such qualifications *minus* efficiency. This is extremely regrettable. Then another thing which is exercising the minds of the public is favouritism, nepotism and what not shown by the officers in the matter of distribution of posts and jobs. Relationship to a Minister, no matter if it is far fetched, is considered to be a sufficient qualification for appointment of a candidate to a post. No heed is paid to his capabilities, intelligence and suitability. I may submit in this connection that under the old administration the British Officers had no relatives in this country and so this evil was absent. But with the advent of a popular Government this evil has begun to flourish with great vigour. I would counsel the Government to nip it in the bud. It would not be out of place if I quote a few examples to elucidate my point. The other day I met an old friend of mine. He is a matriculate and a man of average ability. I asked him as to what he was doing these days. He said that he was an officer in the Rehabilitation Department drawing a salary of Rs. 400 per month. I enquired how he managed

to get into this job. He said he was the brother-in-law to the brother-in-law of a certain Minister and that was a sufficient passport. (*Laughter*). Then there is one Professor Mr. J. B. Seth. His whole life has been spent in teaching physics. But the hon. members will be surprised to hear that he is being appointed as head of the proposed Training College at Jullundur. To cut short, whosoever pledges fidelity to an hon. Minister or is related to him, is sure to get into a good job. If what I have stated on the floor of this House is incorrect, then it behoves our readers to contradict it publicly to assuage the feelings of the public. By doing so they will save the Government from the ignominy which is being inflicted upon it.

The second point to which I want to invite the attention of the Government is this. Every body condems the disturbances that recently broke out in our province. I do not know how far killing of Muslims by the Hindus and Sikhs was considered a step in the right direction but the fact remains that every officer right up to the Ministers wanted that this should happen. Now what we hear is that our constitutional Governor has, over the head of his Cabinet issued a circular to the District Magistrates to prepare lists of persons who participated in killings, arson and loot. What I want to drive at is that under the garb of this circular the poor people will be made the scape-goats and all the officers and men of influence including *goondas*, who were recipient of the booty will be shielded. I want that every guilty person, be he even a Minister, should be brought to book alike. I know of certain instances where the pick of the looted property has gone to the officers in Gurdaspur district. Now what will happen under the circular? During recovery of looted property things like radios singer sewing machines, etc., will be sent to the houses of high police officers and the broken cots, etc., will be sent to the refugee camps.

Now I advert to the rehabilitation of refugees. My brothers coming from the West Punjab have suffered untold hardships. They think they have paid the price of the independence conferred on our people with their life and blood in abundance. But what treatment is meted out to them when they migrate to this province? They are placed in such environments that they begin to wonder whether this was the independence under which they were to go, without food and shelter, justice and safety of their honour. I am constrained to remark that in the true sense of the word independence has been conferred on *goondas* who have a free hand everywhere. There is none to stop the depredations of these brigands and maintain law and order. A great injustice is being done by the officers in the matter of rehabilitation of refugees. The lands go to their own men and the distribution is not made on merits. I can quote chapter and verse on this point but suffice it to say that Mr. Roshan Lal, Deputy Commissioner, Karnal, showed all possible favours to one of his relation namely Khushi Ram who came from Vihari. He gave him the best lands to till and palatial buildings of a certain Nawab to live in, best buffaloes, bullocks, etc., to use, ignoring altogether the rights of other refugees. I would request the hon. Minister to hold a sifting enquiry into the matter. Then I would like to make mention of the criminal delinquency on the part of a person no less than that of Mr. Vishnu Bhagwan, Deputy Commissioner, Ferozepore. During flood days, when it was his duty to be present at the headquarters, he shifted to Faridkot with his family. I think evasion of duty at a critical juncture, when people look to the officers at the helm of affairs for help and guidance, is a crime which cannot be condoned under any circumstances. May I just tell the hon. members the secret of Russia's success? It is the devotion of their nationals to duty which has led that great country from success to success. I would, therefore, request the Government to impress upon their Services the desirability of never being found wanting in their devotion to duty.

Then there is the question of location of offices. The delay in the announcement by Government of its capital is considerably agitating the minds of the public. It is a thousand pities that Government have so far failed to arrive

[Mr. Prabodh Chandra]

at a decision as to where they should set up their capital. This indecision has kept the business community in great suspense. As a result of this, businessmen have not been able to settle anywhere. I am of the opinion that while leaving Lahore our ministers ought to have decided the seat of the Government. In the meantime they should have set up their offices around that place in thatched huts or tents. But they could not shed their old habits. They wanted to live in well furnished bungalows in order to appear high and great to the public. I may tell them that their greatness lies in their service to the people and not residence in palatial buildings. Their location of offices in Simla, Ambala and Jullundur reminds me of an interesting incident. In 1935, two or three parties interested in the advancement of education wanted to establish a college. One party was in favour of opening it at Gujranwala, the other liked it to be started at Rawalpindi. So what happened was that by way of compromise it was decided to set up the college at Gujranwala and the boarding house at Rawalpindi. Thus both the parties were pleased. Similar is the case with our Government. One party favours one place and the other the second. I would strongly request the Government to shake off this inertia and come to a quick decision with determination regarding the setting up of a capital. Mistakes may occur in the selection of the place but they can be pardoned for that. This will relieve the suspense of the businessmen and will pave the way to various openings for the labour class to earn their livelihood.

Sardar Shiv Saran Singh (Kangra and Northern Hoshiarpur, (Sikh, Rural) (Punjabi): Sir, Sardar Bachan Singh and Pandit Shri Ram have in their speeches to-day laid great emphasis on the awful extent to which lawlessness is prevalent in the province. I want to say a few words in this respect. My friends will be remembering that after the dissolution of the Coalition Ministry, an anti-Pakistan front was formed to resist the establishment of Pakistan in the Punjab and to prevent the Muslim League from coming into power. As a result of this movement, the efforts of the Muslim Leaguers to form their own Ministry were foiled and Section 93 rule was enforced by the Governor. It is known to everyone that during that rule, Hindus and Sikhs both in towns and rural areas were at the mercy of *goondas*, since the protection of law was not afforded to them. The life and honour of Hindu and Sikh ladies was in great peril at that time. If they had not then formed groups and other organizations for self-defence, they would not have been able to save the honour of their sisters and daughters. The partition of the Punjab and the creation of a separate province in East Punjab were the outcome of their efforts. It is a matter for sorrow and surprise that now that the new province has come into existence, it has been forgotten that these very persons who are now being dubbed as disturbers of law and order and armed bands were responsible for saving the lives and honour of Hindu and Sikh women from Muslim *goondas*. Is it proper on our part to dub the saviours of our honour as *goondas* and law-breakers? I wish that the hon. Minister of Home Affairs would accept amendment to Armed Bands Bill because I am sure that, otherwise, the Police Officials will have so much power that they would be in a position to harass and implicate even law-abiding citizens. I wish the hon. Finance Minister would not be so much worried about what he calls the 'dreadful prospects', because Hindus and Sikhs even if armed can be trusted to respect the law. Have not searches revealed big hauls of arms and ammunition from the Muslim houses? Can any one say that Hindus and Sikhs are in possession of more arms than the Muslims were? There can be no comparison between the happening in Ferozpur and in West Punjab. I do not deny that Muslims were attacked at various places in East Punjab. But what treatment had our brethren in West Punjab

received at the hands of Muslims? Every body knows how they were compelled to leave Pakistan in disgrace after being looted and murdered, in spite of the assurances of Mr. Ghazanfar Ali. All that happened in East Punjab was by way of retaliation. But even on this side, the Muslims were not entirely innocent. On 13th July 1947, as many as thirty-five shops containing goods worth five lakhs were looted in Tehsil Headquarters of Garhshankar of Hoshiarpur district with the active support of the Muslim Naib-Tehsildar and Sub-Inspector of Police. When our worthy Premier of India, Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, came on a visit to Hoshiarpur I had acquainted him with all the facts. When the Hindus and Sikhs of West Punjab were made victims of large scale slaughter and looting and they began to pour into East Punjab after having lost their all, it was only then that cases of stabbing and looting of Muslims began to take place in a spirit of retaliation. As I had told Panditji, there has been no rioting in East Punjab except by way of retaliation. In view of all these facts, it is a matter for regret that the Government has imposed collective fines on Hindus and Sikhs in East Punjab. These orders should be canceled at once. I may assure the hon. Ministers on the floor of this House that Hindus and Sikhs of East Punjab shall respect the law under all circumstances. Bhai Piyara Singh and I have been touring the countryside and exhorting the people to refrain from indulging in theft, robbery, dacoity or any crime. I appeal to the Government not to harass them by imposition of collective fines.

I am surprised to see that some followers of the party who are old Congressites have made personal attacks on the worthy leader of their own party and have thus brought down the level of debate in the House. Probably they want to see the failure of the first administration of the East Punjab. Some of these Congressmen are still friendly towards the Communists who have proved traitors to the country by supporting the League in achieving Pakistan. This is clear from the fact that the Communists were allowed to present an address to the General Secretary of the Congress at Hoshiarpur.

In the end, I want to draw the attention of the House to the question of affording relief to the refugees and the flood sufferers. The work of rehabilitation should be undertaken with the help and co-operation of non-official bodies and organisations. The flood has wrought great havoc in Hoshiarpur. The road to Anandpur has been badly damaged and arrangements should be made for its repairs and making it *pacca*. With these words I resume my seat.

Chaudhri Sahib Ram (Hissar North, General, Rural) (*Hindustani*): Sir, I congratulate the hon. Finance Minister on the presentation of the budget which he has been able to prepare in a very short time. Pandit Shri Ram Sharma and Chaudhri Suraj Mal have stated some irrelevant things about which I want to clarify the position by stating true facts to the House. My friend Pandit Shri Ram resides at a place from where he cannot form a true picture of the problems of the province. He made a reference to Hansi which is in his own constituency but so far as I know he has never paid any visit to any town in Hissar district since his election to the Assembly and he is quite ignorant of the facts. I think no better budget could be presented under such circumstances. The Government is busy with the rehabilitation work. The evacuation and rehabilitation of a population of 40 lacs is not an easy job and it is quite possible that there might be left some short comings in this task. There is no provision in the budget or making arrangements for the supply of drinking water in our district. I think attention should have been paid to this problem. My friends know only how to criticise everything whether good or bad. Allegations of misappropriating certain funds were made against us whereas the fact is that Chaudhri Suraj Mal himself collected a sum of Rs. 60,000 from Hansi Tehsil for supplying

[Ch. Sahib Ram]

arms to the people but nobody knows whether any guns were supplied or not. The second charge levelled against me is that I am receiving a stipend for supporting the Ministers. But in this connection, I would like to request Chaudhri Sahib to have a peep into his own guilty conscience. The facts are that Chaudhri Sahib got two squares of land for himself and one for his brother as a compensation for his war services. My friend has been hurling accusations at the Ministers because he used to receive grants of money and land from the previous Governments and the present Government is not prepared to grant him any such favour. But I do not possess such a corrupt nature. Neither am I getting any stipend from the Government nor have I any desire to receive one in future. The story of Dr. Gopi Chand making a telephonic call to Sardar Baldev Singh from Ambala is a fabricated one. The call was in fact made to the Maharaja of Patiala at Rajpura and I was accompanying Dr. Sahib at that time. But my friend has twisted the whole thing to serve his own purpose. Ch. Suraj Mal gave ample proof of his courage and bravery by running away with his family to his village when the disturbances broke out in Hissar.

Pandit Shri Ram Sharma : On a point of order, Sir. The hon. member is becoming persona in his speech. Has he any right to be personal?

Mr. Speaker : I will ask both the hon. members to resume their seats and request the hon. member in possession of the House not to be personal.

Chaudhri Suraj Mal : Let him say what he wants. We are thick-skinned.

Chaudhri Sahib Ram : The hon. Ministers have been accused of secret activities but I think special police shall have to be employed to watch the secret activities of my friends, though this might cause a further deficit in the budget.

Mr. Prabodh Chandra : On a point of order, Sir. He is again becoming personal.

Chaudhari Sahib Ram : My friends argue that there was sufficient time to prepare the budget since the 29th June. But I think my friends have weak memory because everybody knows that the present ministry came into power only after the 15th August. A further delay was caused due to the disturbances and now my friends are putting obstructions in the way of the Government.

I was talking of Chaudhri Suraj Mal's flight from Hissar at the time of disturbances. He should have helped the Government in restoring peace at that time but he chose the safer course. He promised to come back with his nephews after leaving his family in his village.

Mr. Prabodh Chandra : On a point of order, Sir. Will you please explain to him what is personal and what is not?

Chaudhri Sahib Ram : This is an open discussion and I have to refute the allegations made by my friends over there. (*Interruption.*)

Pandit Bhagat Ram Sharma : On a point of order, Sir. If an hon. member makes certain allegations against the Leader of the House and another member tries to clarify the position and states that these allegations are not correct, is there anything personal in it?

Mr. Speaker : One irrelevance does not justify another.

Chaudhri Sahib Ram : And when Chaudhri Sahib returned with his nephews, peace had already been restored in Hissar.

Yesterday, an objection was raised that the number of Ministers had been increased unnecessarily. But I would like to inform the House that the number of Ministers was increased when a written demand to this effect was made by some members including Pandit Shri Ram Sharma.

Pandit Shri Ram Sharma : Sir, I wish to submit that the hon. member who just preceded me has, in the course of his speech, made some allegations against me. He has said that I collected about one lakh of rupees for some work. Let me inform the House in general and the hon. member in particular that it is not correct. It is a condemnable and baseless allegation. Further he has made the allegation against me that I requested the Hon. Premier to add one more member to the Ministry. Let me again assure the House that what the hon. member has said is not a fact, I have really no words to express my condemnation of the statement that the hon. member has made about me.

Pandit Mohan Lal (Una, General, Rural) (Hindustani) : Sir, we are faced with difficult problems and are passing through a crisis. Keeping all this in view, it is but meet and proper on our part to have complete co-operation in this House and outside. But I am constrained to remark that even in Congress itself we find this party strife and mismanagement. If such is the state of affairs in the province, I fail to understand as to how and when any steps will be taken to improve the hard lot of the people. I take this opportunity of appealing to the hon. members in the name of millions of hungry peasants and labourers that they should keep themselves above party politics and then devise ways and means for the removal of hunger and poverty and for the maintenance of peace in the province. In addition to these problems a serious thing has cropped up and that is regarding the strained relations between Hindus and Sikhs. (*Interruption*). Hon. members are of the view that this topic should not be touched at present as it would aggravate matters and create intricate problems. Britishers have already left this place but their creations are still to be found here. They did not only create the two-nation theory, but really speaking they have created a many-nation theory in this country. So far as the two-nation theory regarding Hindus and Muslims is concerned, it is already finished. Now the Hindu-Sikh theory has cropped up. This theory does not apply to Hindus and Sikhs because they are one in reality. No importance should be attached to these so-called strained relations. (*An hon. member: After all who is responsible for it ?*) I am coming to that. The hon. member should not be impatient. I do not hold any particular community responsible for it. Some party in both these communities is responsible in creating such an unhealthy atmosphere. We cannot deny this fact that there is a party among the Hindus which is dreaming of Hindu India. The new party is named "Sangh Party". Similarly there is a party named "Akali Party" among the Sikhs which is not above communalism. This party is responsible to a greater extent for creating the existing strained relations. They have poisoned the minds of many. It will not be out of place to mention here that an hon. member has in the course of his speech complained that Sikhs have been rendered homeless and that they have no home land. I have had a chance to talk to many responsible Sikhs and they expressed this view that Sikhs are separate from Hindus and that Sikhs should be given more rights. In villages both high and low too subscribed to this view. The House is fully aware of the havoc caused during the recent disturbances. We must take a lesson from the recent disturbances.

Minister for Home and Revenue : Sir, the strain in which the hon. member is speaking has nothing to do with the general discussion of the Budget.

Pandit Mohan Lal : Sir, this matter concerns the administration of the province. There cannot be an efficient administration in any province unless there is complete co-operation amongst the people. I have made this submission only after keeping this fact in view.

Mr. Speaker : We had a convention in the Punjab Assembly to avoid raising communal matters. We were not allowed even to ask questions which savoured of communalism. I would request the hon. member not to initiate communal matters in this House also.

Pandit Mohan Lal : I do not belong to any communal party. I had made this submission with a view to ameliorating the hard lot of the people of the province. What I wanted to point out is that there should be no communalism worth the name in our province.

Minister for Home and Revenue : His speech is not relevant to the topic under discussion.

Pandit Shri Ram Sharma : Sir, is it unparliamentary to discuss communalism with a view to putting an end to it ?

Mr. Speaker : It is for me to decide whether a certain matter increases the communal tension or decreases it.

Pandit Shri Ram Sharma : We can condemn communalism with your permission.

Minister for Home and Revenue : If it is relevant.

Pandit Mohan Lal : Sir, if you do not allow me to have my say about this topic, I must be permitted to say only this much that unless communalism is not uprooted from this province, we cannot have peace and prosperity in this province. It is our bounden duty to devise ways and means to ameliorate the hard lot of the poor people. The administration of the new Government must be based on efficiency and discipline. We have to develop the morale of the people. The old social customs have to be dispensed with. I wish to draw the attention of this House to the Punjab Tenancy Act which is replete with defects. This Act relates to the Jagirdari system too. According to this Act, revenue to the extent of half of the yield of the land is being paid to the landlords. This system is prevalent in my district too. For years together we have been fighting against it. Now that we have attained freedom, I hope Government will not hesitate to put an end to this system by amending the Punjab Tenancy Act.

A similar defective Act is the Land Alienation Act. It will not be out of place to mention here that so far as my constituency is concerned, my predecessors did not take any pains to ventilate the grievances of the poor people of my illaqa. A great part of this illaqa has been washed away by floods. Not to speak of hon. Ministers, even Deputy Commissioners seldom care to visit the illaqa. I would like to request the hon. Ministers in general and the hon. Premier in particular that so far as Bakhra Project and Nangal Scheme are concerned, my illaqa should not be ignored. The people of my illaqa affected by these projects should be compensated with adequate lands elsewhere.

Sardar Jagjit Singh Mann : Sir, on a point of personal explanation. The hon. member has referred to two-nation theory. I would like to make it clear what I have said in my speech. I never meant that we wanted home-land. What I said was that our leaders mishandled the situation at that time and because of that mishandling we did not get a home-land.

Dr. Sant Ram Seth (Amritsar City, General, Urban) (*Hindustani*) : Sir, many honourable members have said about law and order before me in this Chamber. The trend of argument of each of them is such that it seems that the responsibility lies on our Premier. On 28th January last an agitation was

started by Muslim League and it lasted for 35 days. The member in charge of Law and Order was Sir Khizar Hayat Khan, but he had not the courage to quell the disorder as was done by Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan in the case of *khaksar* movement. Our coalition ministry resigned on 2nd March. On 3rd March whatever brutal inhuman acts were committed in Multan and Rawalpindi Divisions are well known to all. On the 4th, disorder began at Lahore and on the 5th bloodshed began at Amritsar. The responsibility for all these cannot be thrust upon Doctor Sahib. If you trace the whole account, you will find that during the months of April, May, June and July the provincial Governor was in charge of Law and Order, but there was no law and order. The Premier had been doing his best to persuade the Governor to maintain law and order and he did not preserve law and order. Thus Dr. Gopi Chand cannot be held responsible when police, military and boundary force failed in the performance of their duties. On the night of 14th August, when the partition took place and the Punjab was divided into East and West Punjab, whatever happened is well known to you all. This Ministry was formed on the 17th August. The anarchy, which prevailed in the East and West Punjab was due to Sir Bertrand, Montagu and Macdonald, who gave their plans to Muslim League and caused all this catastrophe. Congress had nothing to do with it. Congress wanted to keep law and order in the country, but unluckily Britishers and Muslims were against it. We had no violence in our brain and we have been urging the public not to adopt such measures, which will lead to ruin Hindus and Sikhs. I remember an incident of 1919. The Khilafat Committee declared police and military services as *haram* and to live as a slave in India was also declared to be *haram*. Many people left India but no country could accommodate a population of 9 crores. Some of them died in the way, while others returned as destitutes through Afghanistan. Since that time, we have been telling Muslim League that partition will be harmful but they turned a deaf ear to it. The anarchy began and the Muslims acted according to the programme of Mr. Jinnah. According to that programme, the houses of Hindus were set on fire and when they left their houses in order to save their lives, they were shot. This was the reason why the people thought of retaliation.

Chaudhri Sher Singh (Jhajjar, General Rural). (*Hindustani*): Sir, before I place before the House my views about the budget, I want to draw the attention of our Premier and Minister of Finance to an article of Mr. Kumarappa, which was published in the "*Hindustan Times*," a few days back. In that article, Mr. Kumarappa points out that our legislatures are slavishly copying the example of British people in the framing of their budget. In our country, the biggest industry is agriculture and as such maximum provision should be made for it in our budgets. But it is regretted that in the present budget of our province, only 3 per cent of the total expenditure has been set apart for agriculture. This provision is quite insufficient for this purpose. Mr. Kumarappa has also pointed out that a large number of people of our country is dependent upon cottage industries which go a long way to remove unemployment. But a perusal of this budget shows that no encouragement is intended to be afforded to the cottage industries. It is disappointing that no provision has been made even for this purpose.

After this I draw your attention to education. Out of a total sum of Rs. 7,98,00,000 set apart for beneficent departments, only Rs. 2,30,00,000 have been earmarked for education. This, too, is dispairing. Our system of education too is defective, and to improve it Mahatma Gandhi has put forward a scheme, namely Wardha Scheme of Basic Education. Under this head also no provision has been made in our budget.

Again there is a great lack of technical and professional education and specialisation in our country. But in this budget a sum of only Rs. one lakh

(Ch. Sher Singh)

and 34 thousand has been set apart for these purposes. One thing more that is disappointing in this budget is that not a single pie has been set apart for adult education. I may point out that various ambitious schemes are being made by the Central Government and many other provinces with a view to educating the adults in 10 or twenty years. Our neighbouring province has also framed a ten year plan for a similar purpose. But in our budget no provision has been made under this head.

Our Finance Minister, in his Budget speech, pointed out that the Government was giving top priority to the work of evacuation of refugees from the West Punjab and to their rehabilitation. He also told the House that the Government had made plans to provide suitable employment to the employees of West Punjab. There is quite a large number of teachers from the West Punjab, who are at present out of work. I think, that if our Government gives them the work of adult education, it shall serve two-fold purpose. Whereas these needy persons shall get employment, they will also serve the useful purpose of imparting education to the adults.

The next item in the budget to which I draw the attention of the House is Excise. Under this item the Government revenue is Rs. 1,24,00,000 while expenditure is only Rs. 6,96,000. A lot of illicit distillation and smuggling from the states is being done in our province resulting in the deterioration of the character of our people. In spite of this fact, the staff employed for this purpose is not sufficient nor is it well provided for. I once had an occasion to talk to an Excise Inspector who complained that they were not provided with any uniforms and thus they could not arrest any person if they so liked and even the drivers of lorries did not give them a ride if they so required for official purposes. I think these complaints are just and our Government should make better provision for the Excise staff. They should be given uniforms to carry out their official business successfully. The provision of Rs. 6,96,000 is inadequate for this purpose. I am sure if we spend more on this department, the revenue accruing from it will also increase.

Sardar Kehar Singh (Jagraon, Sikh, Rural) (*Punjabi*): Sir, I am here as a member of the Assembly since one and a half years. Though I have not been able to understand what my duties are in my constituency, I do understand the duties of patwaries and the police. The sub-inspector of police is there to afford protection to the people, but I cannot understand what are the duties of M. L. As. in their constituencies. If I approach the sub-inspector for some public work I am not needed there, and if I want to suggest them the devices to eradicate *goondaism*, they never care. If I call upon the tehsildar in connection with a fair distribution of land and the injustice done in certain affairs, he turns a deaf ear to my complaints. What I mean is that these Government servants were employed by the British and they had engaged them of their own accord and they did not care for the masses. Now a popular Government is in the saddle. Our Government should build a nation of its own. We have to mould such Government servants according to times. They are still pacing the way built by the British. They have not yet changed. I warn the Government that they are a great menace to the Government. The Government should not neglect it. These old servants do not refrain from their old activities. If some Congressman complains to them of unjust treatment, they will at once seek shelter from a Panthic member and say that now Congress is in power, these Congressmen harass them because they did not vote for them in the election. They employ such like tactics and create factious spirit in the member. I once again warn the Government of the danger and ask it to be more careful and beware of these tactics. Besides, the manner in which

the Government servants, especially the police officials address the public, is highly objectionable. I have been just reminded of an incident. When I was in America, while walking on a road I saw that a girl was walking absent mindedly and did not see the direction of the policeman who was controlling the traffic but went ahead. The policeman said in a harsh tone, "Do you not see the direction of my hand that the way is closed?" The girl shuddered. She was no doubt wrong but she felt too much of the tone of the policeman and she could not endure it. She made a complaint before the high official with the result that policeman was removed from that duty. What I mean is that the police should have a control on the tongue and they should speak politely and sweetly. But we see that bad abuses which you never come across elsewhere can be heard from the police. I have heard that they are being trained in abusive language, Perhaps necessary training in abuses is compulsory at the Phillaur Training Centre. (*Laughter*). So I do not blame the Government. These are the trainees of the ex-Government and are still in power. The Government should warn them that they should mend their ways; otherwise it will have to repent. Besides I have witnessed another thing of which police is a bit proud, the *turedar* turban. (*Laughter*). Some of our Ministers used to wear *turedar* turban but they are now left wears in Pakistan. Now no member amongst ourselves likes it. No high official a *turedar* turban. But ask these policemen why they are enamoured of it. They do not speak politely with the public. They do not safeguard the rights of the poor. They are enamoured of *turedar* turban. (*Laughter*). The policeman should follow the ways of our Ministers in the matter of wearing turbans. Greatness does not lie in *turedar* turban but lies in serving the public and saving them from tyranny and in speaking to the masses politely. I finish my speech with these words

Sardar Narotam Singh (South-East Punjab, Sikh, Rural) (*Punjabi*): Mr. Speaker, although I have not perused the whole budget, yet to the extent to which I have been able to go through it, on the basis of that I can say that it is a budget well-prepared by experts. They have fully taken into consideration the circumstances obtaining in the province while working out figures of receipts and expenditure. Despite this laudable effort on their part, I feel that certain important things have been omitted which ought to have found a place in the budget and for which funds ought to have been provided by the Government. In this connection I would like to draw the attention of Government to three or four matters of vital importance. The first is the defence of the East Punjab. The hon. members are already aware that Kashmir has been invaded by hordes of raiders fully armed and well-equipped with modern weapons and that the State lay prostrate and helpless before the Indian Dominion troops went to its rescue. Our province is now a frontier province. If we show any slackness in its defence, it will be no wonder if some day it may also become a victim of the inroads of an enemy. I, therefore, submit that Government should make every endeavour to arm the province adequately. The present arrangements for its defence are not sufficient in my opinion. It is a pity that while we clamour for the strengthening of our safety measures, we find the Government attempting to whittle down our strength to defend ourselves by means of certain measures which have been enacted into law. I am aware that a sum of Rs. 35 lakhs has been earmarked for the establishment of National Volunteer Corps. No doubt this is a step in the right direction; yet this is a very small amount as compared with the requirements of the critical times through which we are passing. I may sound a note of warning to the Government that unless and until we fully arm ourselves, there is a danger lest we should meet with the same fate which has befallen our brethren coming from the West Punjab.

The second point which I would like to mention is the necessity of maintenance of law and order. It is a matter of common knowledge that no

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Hindu or Sikh wanted to indulge in the killing of Muslims. The whole responsibility lies on the shoulders of the Muslim League. The game of brutality was started by it. The Sikhs took to retaliation only when things had gone beyond the limits (*An hon. member*: After six months.) This is not discreditable. They waited perhaps to see if wiser counsels would prevail with the Muslim League and it might stop the insensate butchery of Sikhs and Hindus in the West Punjab. Then it is human psychology that a person takes the extreme step when the provocation becomes intolerable. Similar is the case with the Sikhs. We sincerely regret the killing of innocent Muslims but for all this the Muslim League is responsible. It brought things to such a pass that people of this province were goaded into paying the Muslims in the same coin and using the same language which the prime movers of the Muslim League understood. On the other hand the Sikhs hate this killing business. They have high traditions at their back. The Sikh history is replete with such incidents where they sacrificed their all for the liberation of helpless Hindu girls abducted by the Muslim rulers. So it was natural that owing to recent happenings, law and order received a setback. I do not accuse the Government for this state of affairs because the responsibility for this lies elsewhere. I feel it becomes incumbent upon us to do our utmost for the maintenance of law and order and help the Government to the fullest extent in achieving this end. I would also urge the Government to strengthen the defence of the province by distributing arms free or on licence to the public. If their resources are limited, they should approach the Central Government to impress upon it the inadequacy of the present defence arrangements and the desirability of taking effective measures to fortify the province. We should not lose sight of what is happening in Pakistan. The other day Mr. Jinnah broadcast a speech about the formation of National Guard—a sort of militia which he said would be used both for military purposes as well as civil administration.

We on the other hand have deprived the people of the weapons that they already had with them. I may assure hon. members that nobody cherishes any covert designs. The Akalis regard every Hindu as their brother. We look upon India as our own country. We are prepared for its defence at any cost. We trace our origin to Hindu ancestors, and we have been defending the Hindu community from the very beginning. I do not deny the possibility of any element of Sikh community being against the Hindus. But I may assure the Hindu brethren that the Panth does not harbour any ill-will towards them and that it will never commit itself to any policy or programme which is detrimental to the interests of the country. At the recent Patiala conference which was attended by Sardar Patel, His Highness the Maharaja made it clear that the Darbar would gladly accept the guidance of the Congress leaders in State matters and act upon their advice. We assure the Hindus that they should not entertain any doubt regarding our intentions. We shall consider a person who raises the question of a separate State for the Sikhs as enemy of the country and of the Sikh community.

While criticising the administration, some members have suggested that the institutions of lambarbars sub-inspectors of police and honorary magistrates should be abolished altogether. Now if you want to do away with all of them including the police, whom would you substitute in their places for carrying on the administration of the country? No country can do without police force. I doubt if those who advocate the abolition of lambarbars and zaildars know their true functions and the manner in which they are selected. I may assure them that the duties of lambarbars and zaildars are as important from administrative point of view as those of other Government officials. They constitute part and parcel of the administration. (*Interruption*). I have been in the Congress party. I was elected on Congress ticket some years back and was a member of the Opposition. I know from personal experience that administration cannot be

carried on efficiently without the co-operation of the class from which lambardars and zaildars are drawn. Even under the British rule, the bureaucracy had to seek the co-operation of this class. If you find any defects in these time-honoured institutions, try to remove them but why should you insist on their abolition ?

Another problem that requires our attention is that of rehabilitation of lakhs of refugees who are in great distress. We have received a sum of one crore of rupees from the Central Government for this purpose but that is not much since it comes to Rs. 3 per head as the number of refugees is thirty lakhs. I do not deny that our Government has done a good deal for the refugees but it is not enough.

Chaudhri Badlu Ram (Rohtak Central, General Rural) (*Punjabi*) : Sir, I want to say a few words. I wish to speak in Haryana. Some members have spoken in Punjabi, some in English and some in pure Hindi. I want to speak in pure rural language. With regard to the Salaries Bill which was moved by the Ministers who work for 18 hours a day and on which discussion took place yesterday, if I tell all about it to my Jat brethren, they will make fun of it. It is alleged, in my village that those who learn English are not honest. (*Laughter*). I would have welcomed the Budget if it was presented in Haryana or Hindustani language but I regret that it is in English. One day an M. A. was sitting by me in my village. I asked him what will become of English. He said, " please ask about it in the Assembly ". Now I enquire this from the Speaker.

Mr. Speaker : The proceedings of the Assembly should be in English under the Government of India Act, 1935. Now that section has been deleted. The Speaker has been empowered to make provision as to the language to be used for conducting the proceedings in the Assembly. Under the rules as modified the proceedings shall be conducted in Hindustani or in Punjabi or in English language. I did not know that Haryana has a different language. Otherwise I would have made provision for it in the Rules. If you adopt a motion to the effect that all the proceedings should be in a certain language, it will be acted upon.

Chaudhri Badlu Ram : All the proceedings of the next session should be in Hindi or Hindustani so that men like me may also get benefit of it. If it is adopted it is good.

Then what I want to say is that Jats and rural members have spoken much but none has presented the exact picture of the villages. If you want to raise the standard of the villages, collective system of farming should be enforced. It will be beneficial for the cultivators and also to the Government. We will devote day and night for the growth of corn which will be a blessing to the country. The land owned by the people of my constituency is situate at a distance of 2 miles and in some cases even more than that? If there is one man in the family, how can he manage to control all the land. It affects the work of cultivation adversely. Advantage lies in the collective system of farming. It will be useful for us and India as well.

Our communications are also bad. No one pays attention towards it. The tracks leading to the fields are also bad. Villagers have to suffer a lot because of bad communications.

I joined the Congress long ago and I was sent to jail. After my release went to my home and was elected by the villagers to the Assembly, due to my work which I had done for them in my constituency. I was opposed by the lawyers of Rohtak district who knew English, but my brethren sent me here. I witness those things happening here which I had not found in the Congress. I had never witnessed factious spirit but I discover it here. If anyone opposes me in my home, I will at once turn him out.

[Ch. Badlu Ram]

One thing is this, that I was pleased to know that we are free. British have gone, the English language may also take leave. One thing more I want to let the House know is that zaildars and safaidposhes are not needed. Their suspension will increase the revenue of the Government. Now I take my seat. I will say more if I get another opportunity.

Mr. Sant Ram (Jullundur, General Rural) (*Hindustani*): Sir I rise to make a few submissions about my Harijan brethren.

Mr. Speaker: As the time at the disposal of the House is very short, the hon. member is given seven minutes for making his speech.

Shrimati Shanno Devi Sehgal: I have no objection if you give forty minutes to the hon. Premier. Many hon. members have to speak on the Budget now before the House.

Mr. Speaker: Members have spoken for three and a half hours. The Ministers have to reply. Otherwise there would be no use of discussing the Budget.

Shrimati Shanno Devi Sehgal: They have no reply to give.

Mr. Sant Ram: Sir, I wish to lay before the House the conditions prevailing in the province before the 15th of August. Certain Harijan friends of mine came to me and told me that the population of Harijans was about ten crores. They wanted me to tell them whether Harijans were within their rights to demand their due rights according to their population. I told them that previously there was only one Harijan member in the Interim Cabinet and that it was a matter of gratification that now we find two Harijan members in the new Cabinet. I also told them that similarly in the Cabinets of the other provinces Harijans would be duly represented. Now that India has attained freedom, there is no reason why Harijans should suffer any inconvenience. In fact we were under the impression that after 15th August when India attained freedom all-out efforts would be made to remove the difficulties of the Harijans. But I am constrained to remark that our condition is the same as it was before 15th of August. There is no adequate arrangement for accommodating our Harijan brethren from West Punjab. It will not be out of place to mention here that our Harijan brethren are put to great inconvenience in Jullundur division. They are not permitted to enter into houses without presenting *riat nama*. All the houses in which our Harijan brethren were living have either been washed away by the recent floods or are in a very dilapidated condition. Hindu and Sikh zamindars do not make any repairs of these houses. They are told that in the absence of *riat nama* no repairs could be made. They sent representations to the Deputy Commissioner and I regret to say that no action whatsoever was taken by him in this direction. What I wish to submit is that since India has attained freedom the system of presenting *riat nama* should be stopped altogether. I personally went to see the Deputy Commissioner and he told me that he had already issued a circular in this connection. Now our Government is not a Government of the rich people. It is common man's Government. It is the Government of the man-in-the-street. The difficulties and the inconveniences which we were facing when the British were at the helm of affairs in India, should no longer exist now. There should be no law regarding the presentation of *riat nama*. This system should now be abolished.

As I have already submitted, no adequate arrangements whatsoever have so far been made to rehabilitate our Harijan brethren who have come from West Punjab. They are fully conversant with the art of farming and they must be given sufficient land for this purpose. It will not be out of place to mention here that I had a talk with the hon. Minister for Revenue and Home Affairs in this connection and he was pleased to direct me to the Director, Rehabilitation Department. On seeing the Director of Rehabilitation I was directed by him to the

tehsildar who told me that he was sorry he could not do anything in this direction as there was no land at his disposal for rehabilitating purposes. What I wish to point out is that about four hundred Harijans have come from West Punjab and they have no food to eat, no clothes to wear and no place to hide themselves in. It is the bounden duty of the Government to make satisfactory arrangements in this direction. I wish to submit that we have already opened an office for depressed classes in Jullundur.

Now that our country has attained freedom, the people residing in it are the servants of the State in the real sense. My hon. friend Chaudhri Matu Ram in the course of his speech said that we are the servants of all the communities of India and that we shall continue doing so in the future too. So far as these remarks of my hon. friend are concerned, I also subscribe to them. But I wish to submit that hon. members are fully aware of the fact that we earn our living as coolies by carrying luggage, etc. Not only this, we do all the dirty jobs. What I wish to submit is that it is also the bounden duty of Hindus and Sikhs to serve their mother country in the real sense. They must also take conspicuous part in sharing our work.

I wish to bring this point home to the hon. members that in every village forced labour is the order of the day. Day in and day out we are ceaselessly working without any due remuneration. I regret to remark that we are forcibly asked to carry the luggage of the guests or relations of tehsildars, lambardars or zaildars. I have really no word to express my whole-hearted condemnation of this kind of forcible work. It will not be out of place to mention here that if we refuse to do this work we are harassed beyond description. I would like to urge upon the hon. members sitting on the Treasury Benches that they must make all-out efforts to remove our difficulties. I wish to make this point clear on the floor of this House that so far as Harijans are concerned we are prepared to serve our mother country in the real sense and that we are in no way prepared to work ceaselessly without remuneration. We are prepared to defend our mother country at all costs. It is our bounden duty to get ourselves recruited to the Army and thus serve our mother country in the real sense. In fact we are prepared to share the burden of our mother country in whatever form it may be. I hope that our Government will try their best to remove almost all the difficulties of our Harijan brethren as soon as possible. With these words, Sir, I conclude my remarks and resume my seat.

Minister for Public Works (The Hon'ble Chaudhri Lehri Singh) (*Hindustani*): Sir, it is with mixed feelings of pain and pleasure that I have heard the hon. members participating in the discussions regarding the Budget now before the House—pain because some hon. members have levelled destructive and uncalled for criticisms against the Government, and pleasure because I see a remarkable improvement in hon. members taking lively interest in the administration of the province. In fact the old order has changed for the better. Every hon. member has a right to point out defects in the administration. If Government servants do not function properly in the interests of public, hon. members have every right to point out their defects to the Government. So far as these defects are concerned, I may assure hon. members on behalf of the Cabinet that they will not be given a chance to make any complaint with regard to the general administration and Government servants. There is no doubt about it that Government servants are the tools of the old administrative machinery. These Government servants are the creation of that Government which used to make appointments on recommendation alone and not on merit. It will not be out of place to mention here that competition did not at all exist at that time. However, I wish to make this point clear that officers are trying to change their attitude and have to some extent already changed their attitude. It is an open secret that the present Government is not a bureaucratic Government. It is common man's Government. The attitude of the officers is changing. My hon. friends contend that there must be an overnight

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change in their attitude and that if they do not change but continue adopting old bureaucratic tactics, their services should be dispensed with. I would like to inform them that this is not possible. It will take some time to change their attitude and we must give them an opportunity to do so. I for one agree with the hon. members that there are defects in the day to day administration. But efforts are being made to remove such defects and bring them to the right path.

I also subscribe to the view of the hon. members that most of the Government servants have taken part in loot and plunder in the recent disturbances. But I wish to make it clear that Government is shortly bringing in legislation to this effect. So far as I. C. S. officers are concerned, I have no words to express my appreciation of the suggestions put forward. I will try to make them understand privately so that they may change their attitude in the interests of the public welfare and I may assure them that I will succeed in bringing them to the right path. It has been argued that high Government officials in general and the Deputy Commissioners and Superintendents of Police in particular avoid interviewing M. L. A's. I have enquired into this matter.

Shrimati Shanno Devi Sehgal: These officers want the recommendation of the Ministers.

Minister for Home and Revenue: M. L. A's are part and parcel of the general administration.

Minister for Public Works: I was submitting that I have enquired into this matter and have found that Deputy Commissioners have always welcomed meeting them. M. L. A's are under the impression that high officials ignore them. But that is not a fact. Perhaps they feel that these high officials do not dance to their tunes. As regards Government services I submit that Deputy Commissioners and Superintendents of Police will consult the M. L. As. As regards rehabilitation in urban areas, it will be entrusted to five M. L. As. and their co-operation will be sought as suggested by Mehta Ranbir Singh. The services will be set right at the most in one year. Representation of various interests in services will also be kept in view. There is the Congress party and the Panthic party in the House. Both parties are working in a team spirit and it does not behove any one of us to say anything which may please one and displease the other and thus cause a split among them. I might also say that the remarks like these that a Minister does not know what a platoon is do not smack of good taste. If any of us goes wrong and if the members are dissatisfied with the conduct of any one of us the best course is to censure his conduct in the party meetings and not here on the floor of the House. The members may have any number of grievances against their leaders but they will do well to ventilate them in party meetings because it is the party who selected them. While on this point I may as well say that to talk of Sikhs, Rajputs and Jats and to say any one of these classes is superior to the other is to cause a rift in our compact society. Such irresponsible talks are sure to have a very bad effect on the ministry and on the administration of the country as a whole. I may further say that these talks are very likely to change the map of India. The Congress represents all classes in the country alike and no communal considerations find favour with it.

With regard to roads and bridges, a sum of Rs. 18,000 has been allotted for them. The roads to be constructed or repaired pass through both urban and rural areas, but I may assure the House that attention will be paid to rural areas especially in the Kangra district. If hon. members are anxious to know something in detail about the matter, further information can be had from me privately.

Now I wish to say something about the capital of the province. As the House is aware a committee has been appointed to select a suitable site for the purpose. I may state for the information of the House that this committee is working in right earnest with a view to acquiring land for the capital town and I may also inform the House that it is intended to erect a big town fitted with water works, roads and other amenities of life wherein it will be possible to accommodate as many as 50,000 souls. Side by side other colonies will be set up to make room for lakhs of people and effort will be made to provide work to men of different professions. The details regarding the capital town will be published shortly and I hope this will satisfy the hon. members that we are not sitting idle over this matter.

As regards the Hindu-Sikh question, Sardar Swaran Singh has gone to various places. Sardar Swaran Singh and Dr. Gopi Chand, the representatives of Panthic and Congress parties have a joint policy and whenever such differences arise they will be dealt with, in a fit and proper manner.

(Minister for Home and Revenue) The Hon'ble Sardar Swaran Singh *Punjabi* : Sir, I have noticed that in most of the speeches made to-day, the Government servants in general and the police in particular were the target of attack. The Government servants have been severely criticised and perhaps rightly too. In reply to that criticism I must say at the outset that the mettle of which they are made and the atmosphere in which they have received training during the service is not a secret to the members of the House and it is not also unknown to my friends that just before the partition of the province they were working under two different kinds of influence. On the one hand they had to please their English Masters and on the other they had to flatter the Muslim influential element in the services. They had therefore these handicaps in the discharge of their duties. But I am glad to be able to tell the House that in spite of these handicaps and the very critical situation of the province under which the officers had to work, some of them did their duty in a commendable manner. I would like the members to bear in mind the picture that the Punjab presented just before we undertook the responsibility we were called upon to undertake. Soon after the Unionist Ministry resigned, Sir Evan Jenkins took over the reins of the Government under section 93. Up to the midnight of the 14th August 1947, he tightly held the control thereof in his own hands. He was all in all and would brook no interference from any of us. In this connection, I may as well say that there were 60 to 65 per cent Muslims in the Police Department and it will also interest the members to know that it has always been the policy of the Government under the British rule not to post any Hindu or Sikh officer in the East Punjab. Almost all the district magistrates and superintendents of police posted to this part of the province used to be either Britishers or Muslims and the reason is not far to seek. The East Punjab was very much politically advanced and the work of crushing the spirit of the people in the East Punjab could not be entrusted to the Hindu and Sikh officers.

Master Kabul Singh : May I know whether the Partition Committee had no power to order transfer of the officers.

Minister for Home and Revenue : I must admit that we in that Committee had no such powers. And then came the transfer of power with all the handicaps and limitations. I may remind the House that every Muslim officer, whether he was working in the East Punjab or in the West Punjab, opted for the West Punjab as all the Hindu officers opted for the East Punjab. In spite of all these handicaps and the critical circumstances, the senior members of the services have discharged their duties with great courage and efficiency. Our difficulties were not ordinary administrative difficulties; they were a sort of national calamity. The conditions under which 40 or 45 lakhs of people have been rendered homeless have created huge problems. And our officers have courageously faced all these difficult problems, working day and

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night. I know some of the subordinate officers have not kept their heads cool in these critical times and I am not prepared to defend them. But so far as the senior officers are concerned, they must be thanked for the difficult work they did and the guidance they gave. Such officers include senior officers of the Civil Secretariat, district officers and Superintendents of Police. I will not be doing my duty if I do not thank these officers. They could not have worked a miracle with the help of Alla Din's lamp to keep the civil administration in perfect order under these distressing conditions, when lakhs of people had to migrate from one part of the country to the other. The officers did their best, but still it would be too much to expect of them to have performed the task with perfection.

A good amount of harsh criticism has also been levelled against the Ministers. But I may inform the House that the Ministers did their best under the circumstances although it could be still better. I admit that there have been shortcomings but judging under calmer conditions after some time, hon. members will agree with me that the Ministers have done their best under the circumstances. I know when humanity is in distress human beings must hold somebody responsible for their sufferings. As, in the present case, we had accepted the responsibility to serve the people of our province, it was but natural that they should place the blame on us. We, however, are determined to do whatever we can to relieve their sufferings.

I am pained when I hear that there is nothing commendable in the whole of the budget. It would have been much better if hon. members, who have sought to point out dirty gutters, had also cared to point out the beautiful trees and palaces that are present in the budget.

Well, I would like to advert to the criticism levelled by my hon. friends against the services. It is common knowledge that as a result of the partition of the Punjab, the situation became so complicated that the administrative machinery could not cope with it. The services which had worked under the influence of bureaucratic régime till the 14th of August, failed to bring about the requisite change in their angle of vision on the very morrow of conferment of Independence on India. I have no hesitation to admit this fact. But I can say without any fear of contradiction that there have been honourable exceptions who realised the position, grasped it and put body and soul to face the situation arising out of the changed conditions. I think it would be unfair on our part to condemn them outright. We should, however, be not too harsh upon them. They are a capable and an intelligent class of people. If they succeeded in running the administration of an alien Government with marked efficiency, I have every confidence that with the realisation that now the Government in power is of the people, by the people and for the people, they will mould themselves to the changed conditions and make this administration as great a success as they did under the old régime. But I can assure the House and I have not the slightest hesitation in saying, that if the services ignore the writing on the wall, they will be removed. But I have a complaint against my hon. friends too. May I just ask them whether they have also changed? Candidly speaking the strain in which the speeches have been made by them on the floor of this House strengthens my view that they have not. I may tell them that it is they who constitute the Government. The responsibility of running the administration lies on them. They have to fully realize their responsibility in shaping the policy; they have to lay down the policy which they want us and the services to carry out. If then we and the officers are found wanting in translating that policy into action, then the hon. members will be free to condemn us wholesale. Then I and my colleagues may be blamed for not setting things right.

I may tell them that they are equally responsible for bringing about adjustment in the services. I repeat that it is they who have to formulate policies and make rules which we and the services have both to carry out in the best interests of the province. Have they ever cared to make an endeavour to this effect? I assure the hon. members that under the circumstances we are doing our best to bring home to the services the change that has taken place. I would, therefore, ask my hon. friends not to pull our legs while we are after the problem in right earnest.

The police has been made a special target of severe criticism by the hon. members. Some of them took strong exception to the allocation of funds made in the budget for this department. I may make it clear to them that no Government worth the name can run its administration efficiently without spending sufficiently on the police. This is essential if the police is to serve the public in the true sense of the word. The police has been much maligned because previously it allowed itself to be used as a tool in the hands of imperialists. It remained so till August 14 and on the 15th an overnight change could not come over them. But I am glad to say that certain police officers have changed beyond recognition and signs of change in others are quite visible. I, therefore, submit that hon. members should not grudge the amount that has been set apart for the maintenance of law and order. Besides, just realise the meagre police arrangements that exist in the rural areas. We have one police station for over a hundred villages to control them and the strength of the police posted there comprises of one sub-inspector and 12 constables. This arrangement is quite insufficient. Obviously we shall have to spend more on police. Then, Sir, with a view to bringing about a healthy change in the angle of vision of the police, we are actively contemplating to set up a National Volunteer Corps, a body which will truly be a servant of the people. A Bill to this effect will shortly be introduced in the House. This force will be constituted on lines which we lay down. Only those persons will be enlisted who are imbued with the feelings of service to the people. I would go further and say that only true public-spirited persons whom my hon. friends recommend will be recruited. We, in consultation with and with the full approval of the hon. members, want to bring in it such an element which may entirely change the outlook of the police as early as possible and also remove the sense of insecurity from the public mind, which has been created as a result of the misdeeds of *goondas*. I am sure this force will prove a terror to the mal-characters.

Sardar Kabul Singh : On a point of order, Sir. We do not object to the funds set aside for this purpose. We will not grudge even if they are enhanced. But we are afraid lest undesirable persons should infiltrate to this force. I think that the representatives of the electorate should be consulted in recruiting volunteers to the National Volunteer Corps.

Minister for Home and Revenue : I assure my hon. friend Sardar Kabul Singh that the Corps will be constituted in full consultation with the hon. members of the House. (*Applause*). Whatever rules you may lay down or instructions you may give in connection with the recruitment of Commanders, District Commanders and rank and file, will be strictly complied with.

Shrimati Shanno Devi Sehgal : On a point of order, Sir. The police has been entrusted with the onerous duty of maintaining law and order under the present trying conditions. Since the life of a constable is ever in danger, I request that particular attention should be paid to increase his salary. This should be done even if the salaries of high officers are to be cut down. This is necessary to enable him to maintain his family properly.

Minister for Home and Revenue : I would not have given way but for my respect for my sister. The point raised by her could easily have been discussed when the demand regarding General Administration is under discussion. However, I may tell her that the Pay Commission appointed by the Government to go into this matter will be shortly submitting its report. This point will be decided after giving full consideration to the report.

I was referring to the National Volunteer Corps. I think I have made myself fully clear regarding the position which the Government is taking up in connection with the constitution of this force. Then, Sir, Arms Act has come in for much criticism by hon. members. I may straightaway inform them that instructions have already been issued to the Deputy Commissioners that where conditions are returning to normal, they should be liberal in issuing licenses for arms. (*Applause*). I have gone a step further and it is to this effect. I have instructed them that whosoever produces illegal arms, should be given a licence to keep them. (*Applause*). As a matter of fact I want to see every deserving Punjabi carrying a gun not for any bad motive but for defending his dear motherland and the honour of his sisters and daughters. (*Hear hear*). I am till more anxious to see the spirit of helplessness or being defenceless, being banished from the minds of the public. (*Applause*). But I make no secret of the fact that I am deadly against arms retained by or issued to undesirable persons who should be a menace to the peace and tranquillity of the province and a threat to the honour of law-abiding people. I want every gun to be a guarantee for the maintenance of law and order in the province. I, therefore, ask hon. members to put forward persons who are prepared to take arms and use them with a sense of responsibility to the state. I do not mince matters. I have opened my heart and I am sure I am interpreting the feelings of my colleagues on the subject. But despite this I regret to find that my hon. friends still accuse us of inactivity or apathy. It appears that the hon. members have still doubts of this Government being their own. I may tell them that this is their Government and they are part and parcel of it. They should join hands with us at this critical juncture and put forward constructive suggestions for the betterment of the poor lot of the uprooted people and for the restoration of normal life in the province. I know things cannot be set right in one day, yet I think we will win through if we make an iron determination to tide over the difficulties confronting us in regard to matters like rehabilitation of refugees. We want your unstinted help in this direction.

Premier (The hon. Dr. Gopi Chand Bhargava) (*Hindustani*) : Sir, before I reply to the criticism of the budget, I think I should besides thanking the critics, congratulate those members who have had the opportunity of making their maiden speeches to-day. Among the critics one of the members has remarked that the Budget is dull and dry, poor in substance as well as in form, as compared with the budgets of previous years. I do not deny lack of sugar and ghee in it, but I may remind the members that they should not expect these things in Government measures hereafter, particularly because we are passing through critical times involving a high degree of sacrifice and suffering to us.

An hon. member has criticised me for my ignorance about such terms as platoon brigade, company battalion and so on. I want to inform my learned friend that the person who telephoned to me had asked for a brigade. My friend is himself Prime Minister of a State and as such concerned in civil and military matters. I may assure him that my knowledge of military affairs is in any case not less than his, though I do not boast of it. An hon. member has also remarked that we do not know the art of carrying on Government, that we are yet children in this respect and that the Government of

Indian Dominion has appointed two Ministers to supervise our work. I wish he had made a careful study of newspapers and the relevant facts. The Ministers in question are members of the Emergency Council. Its meetings are held at Delhi and are always attended by us. It is only after consultation with us that they decide as to what kind of help should be given to us.

Another hon. member has questioned as to why the Governor, despite his being a constitutional head, issued a circular without consulting his cabinet. I may inform the hon. member that his statement is not true inasmuch as the Governor has always been acting as the constitutional head and has never done anything without consulting me and my cabinet.

Now I shall try to reply to other objections. It was stated by an hon. member that the Central Government is financing us for the execution of Bhakra and Nangal Projects. If the hon. member had cared to go through the previous budget, it would have been clear to him that the expenditure on these two projects has in the past been met from the exchequer of this province and in future also it will be met by this province. It must also be realised that these schemes will not cost us two or four hundred thousand rupees. But the execution of these schemes will cost as much as sixty crores of rupees. Provision of Rs. 1,48,00,000 and Rs. 68,00,000, respectively, for the schemes that I have referred to existed in the previous budget and the work is already under progress. The necessary financial papers in respect of these schemes are under preparation and as soon as they are available, we shall not hesitate to approach the Central Government for help. When this province is part and parcel of the Indian Union, why should we feel shy of asking help from the Central Government?

While referring to the provision for Education Department in the budget, an hon. member asked as to why a sum of Rs. 92,900 has been set apart for the education of Europeans. I may inform the House that under certain sections of the Government of India Act, 1935, the burden of expenditure for the education of Europeans and Anglo-Indians was placed on the provincial exchequer as a charged item and so we had to give what the Education Department demanded for this purpose under this item. With the passing of the Independence Act, the section in question has been superseded and it is hoped that expenditure on this item will be stopped altogether in a period of ten years. I may, however, state for the information of the House that the number of European students receiving education in this province is very small. There are also a number of Anglo-Indians in such schools but they are our nationals and must be treated as such. Even now 40 per cent of the total number of students receiving education in the European schools are Indians. In a few years the grant under this special item will be abolished and these schools will be treated at par with other schools regarding the grant of money.

My friend, Chaudhri Badlu Ram, has suggested the immediate implementation of the scheme of consolidation of holdings. I may inform the House that the Government also wanted to do this but as most of the officers were busy with the work of rehabilitation and resettlement of refugees, it had to be postponed by a few months. I may, however, assure the House that it is certainly our intention to introduce the system of co-operative as well as compulsory consolidation of holdings as soon as possible.

Another objection was raised that sufficient provision has not been made in the budget for basic, literary, technical and professional education. It has also been said that I was nominated as leader of the Congress party on the 29th June and that there was plenty of time for me to see that everything was set right. My friends, however, ought to know that at that time the Governor was all in all and had all the powers of administration under section 93 of the Government

[Premier]

of India Act and until the province was actually partitioned I had in fact no power to enforce my will. We had not known till then what money will come to us and how the assets will be divided and what shape our budget will ultimately take.

With regard to the various funds, I would like to explain the position to the House. The Special Development Fund, Peasants Welfare Fund, Famine Relief Fund and the Harijans' Fund were amalgamated and the Punjab on the date of partition held cash securities of the face value of about Rs. 24 crores, of which securities worth 10 crores were divided and we received only 3.6 crores as our share which is lying in the Punjab treasury at present. It was decided by the Partition Council that the money in the Harijan Welfare Fund should be allocated between the two new provinces in proportion to the Harijan population in their respective areas and it is expected that as a result of this decision, East Punjab would get a sum of about 8 lacs out of the total 10 lacs in this fund. These funds will be kept as Security Funds and when the rest of our share is received, the money thus available will be used for the purposes for which these funds were created. It makes absolutely no difference whether money comes from the General Fund or from the individual funds, as the purpose of each fund will also be served in this manner without any difficulty. I would like to submit that we are greater well wishers of the Harijans than any one else.

A proposal was also made to amalgamate the departments of Inspector-General of Prisons, Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals and Director of Public Health into one Department of Public Health under one head. Two schemes were suggested in this connection. I would like to inform the House that a committee including myself was set up to consider such proposals and it submitted its recommendations in five volumes. But due to the shortage of time, we could not implement these schemes and it is too early to say which of these schemes will be put into practice. It will be known in due course of time. But I may assure the House that whichever scheme is implemented, it will make arrangements for serving the public in a better way. I have taken a pretty long time of the House but still I have to reply to many more questions.

I think no greater injustice can be done to the Ministers than charging them with having incited the people to create disturbances. (*Loud cheers*). On the contrary, we took drastic steps to quell the disorders and gave wide powers to the officials for suppressing lawlessness, so much so that we have been accused of having taken too strong measures against those who created trouble. These allegations have been made against us by some interested parties. We are all *Punjabis* and want to serve our brethren irrespective of their caste, creed or social status. We are fully aware of the sad plight of the people and know that they have undergone many hardships and sustained heavy losses of property and other valuables. I emphatically declare that the Government will not make any discrimination whatsoever in the matter of rehabilitating the refugees.

I know that some people had to suffer owing to the strict measures we had to take in order to restore law and order and which resulted in the imprisonment of their relatives or friends. But I think the Government would have neglected its duty if it had not taken these measures for restoring law and order. Some persons even threatened to overthrow the Government, but when strong action was taken against them, their rebellious spirit disappeared and they pleaded for their release on the ground that they had always been with the Congress.

Some objection was also raised against the conduct of certain officers. I want to impress upon the House that all the officials do not belong to the same category and that there are good as well as bad officials in the services. My learned friend has just paid a tribute to a certain Deputy Commissioner for his good work and has pleaded that he should not be transferred. I know that

there are some black sheep among the officers but it is no good generalising things and tarring all of them with the same brush. Sardar Swaran Singh has clarified our position about the officers in detail and I fully agree with him. There are good officers in all districts who are rendering really useful service to the people and the Government. I assure the honourable members that we will dismiss the corrupt officers as soon as we get sufficient proof against them. I may also point out that allegations have been made against certain officers merely because they refused to give priority to the work of the members. If ten persons approach a certain officer with different suggestions, how is it possible for him to carry out all the suggestions and satisfy all of them? Under these circumstances, it is very difficult for the officers to discharge their duties. I would request my friends that whenever they have to make any representation to a Deputy Commissioner or to some other officer, they should do so either jointly or through us. In this manner the work will be done smoothly and efficiently. Our object is to serve all—Hindus, Sikhs, Parsis, Harijans and Anglo-Indians—without making any distinction. We are Punjabis and will serve the whole population of the East Punjab. We are Indians and as such it is our duty to serve our countrymen. We are working to the best of our capacity and with the best of intentions. We may not come up to the high expectations of some people, but I can say that we consider it our foremost duty to serve the distressed people who have come from the West Punjab after undergoing terrible sufferings. The Sikhs were born to fight against injustice and to defend the poor and the weak. He is not a Sikh in the true sense of the word who sheds the blood of the innocent, even though he may be having the external signs of the Sikh religion. In this respect I try to follow the way shown by the *Gurubani* and I have no doubt that the Sikh members of the cabinet and those with us inside and outside the House are also acting in the same spirit.

The Assembly then adjourned till 11 a. m. on Wednesday, 5th November 1947.

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East Punjab Legislative Assembly Debates

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OFFICIAL REPORT



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SIMLA

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1948

EAST PUNJAB LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

FIRST SESSION OF THE FIRST EAST PUNJAB LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

Wednesday, 5th November 1947

The Assembly met in the Council Chamber, Governor General's Lodge, Simla, at 11 a.m. of the clock. Mr. Speaker (The hon. Sardar Kapoor Singh) in the Chair

DEMANDS FOR GRANTS

GENERAL ADMINISTRATION

Premier (the hon. Dr. Gopi Chand Bhargava) Sir, I beg to move —

That a sum not exceeding Rs. 67,93,000 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the period 15th August 1947 to 31st March 1948 in respect of General Administration.

Mr. Speaker : Demand moved —

That a sum not exceeding Rs. 67,93,000 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the period 15th August 1947 to 31st March 1948, in respect of General Administration.

GENERAL POLICY

Pandit Shri Ram Sharma (Southern Towns, General Urban) (*Hindustani*) : Sir, I beg to move —

That the demand be reduced by Rs. 100.

To-day the hon. Premier has put before the House a demand of Rs. 67,93,000 in respect of General Administration. The purpose of my cut motion is to throw some light on the existing conditions and also to suggest some constructive measures in respect of this demand. Before I take up this demand, I wish to submit that yesterday during the Budget discussions many hon. members must have been surprised and at the same time must have felt sorry on seeing that criticisms were levelled and also that amendments were moved by the hon. members belonging to the Congress party. But I want to make this point clear that it is not an innovation and that it is not a bad practice too. Some of the hon. members who hold this view that the hon. members of the Congress party are not within their rights to criticise the working of the Cabinet and the General Administration, are under a wrong impression. Even the Cabinet members belonging to our Party.....

Mr. Speaker : The hon. member has to discuss the General Administration and not any particular party.

Pandit Shri Ram Sharma : Sir, before I take up the General Administration of the province, I would like to clear the misunderstanding regarding the Congress party, which to some extent is prevailing in this House and outside in the public minds. The point at issue is whether I, as a member of this House, am within my rights to criticise or discuss a party of which I also happen to be a member.

Mr. Speaker : It would be better to do that in the party and not here. At present the question of General Administration is under discussion.

Pandit Shri Ram Sharma : Sir, I was submitting that I am within my rights to level criticisms against the General Administration of the province. In view of the fact that India has attained freedom, I really fail to understand as to why any hon. member in this House or anybody else outside this House should be of this view that we are not within our rights to level criticisms for the betterment of the province as a whole. It is crystal clear that I have risen to move the cut motion with a view to criticising the demand in respect of General Administration moved by the hon. Premier who is the Leader of the party of which I also happen to be a member. I think I am within my rights to criticise the demands moved by the hon. Finance Minister. However if you feel that I am irrelevant —I think I am not —I shall close my remarks here.

Mr. Speaker : Please be relevant. I will not allow you to discuss any party or the leader of any party.

Pandit Shri Ram Sharma : Sir, I wish to submit that my intention in moving this cut motion is to impress upon the Government that it is very necessary to remove the glaring defects in the administration of the province. It will not be out of place to mention here that if no criticisms are levelled against the Government in respect of the General Administration, the very spirit of democracy will get crushed. Yesterday also criticisms were levelled against the Government in respect of the Budget. To-day the demand for General Administration is under consideration of the House and if I make any criticisms, these will be meant for the betterment of the province as a whole and if any hon. member finds that I am not justified in doing so, then the best thing would have been to accept silently almost all the motions moved by the hon. Ministers. But this practice is undemocratic and no improvement in the administration of the province can be possible. Yesterday, when the Budget was under discussion, only one hon. member who happens to be "illiterate" member of this House, has paid tributes and congratulated the hon. Finance Minister and the rest of the members did not hesitate to level criticism against the financial policy of the Government.

Mr. Speaker : Please do not cast reflection on any member. You should be careful in future.

Mehta Ranbir Singh : May I know the name of the college from which the hon. member has got his degree ?

Pandit Shri Ram Sharma : I am not personal. I was never. I may assure you that personal remarks were made in almost all the speeches made in this House yesterday. (*An hon. member :* You are responsible for starting this unparliamentary practice of making personal attacks.) What the hon. member has just now remarked is not correct. This practice has been started by those hon. members who are candidates for Parliamentary Secretaryship. What I wish to submit is that personal attacks should not be made in this House. I would therefore request you not to allow anybody to make any personal remarks, relevant or irrelevant in future.

Now I come to the demand of the General Administration. In this demand the salary of the Governor has been provided in the Budget according to the old estimates. These items are all non-voted items. I wish to bring this point home to the hon. members that I have no personal grudge against His Excellency the Governor and even if I had any, that cannot be expressed on the floor of this House. But I cannot do without remarking how better it would have been if a person from amongst the Indian leaders had been appointed Governor of this province as we find in other provinces. Previously all the Governors of the provinces were Englishmen drawing fat salaries. Now that India is free, it is but meet and proper not to give fat salaries to Governors. There must be a great difference between the expenditures of the old and new Governors. Now that the old order has changed yielding place to new, the Indian Governors should not incur the same expenditure on maintaining their pomp and show as was being incurred by their predecessors. The hon. Premier has remarked that no reference should be made about the great leaders of our country like Mahatma Gandhi and others. I beg to differ from this view. In my opinion I am justified if I say that every hon. member has a right to make any reference about our great leaders who are the makers of our country. At times we cannot help making a reference about our great leaders. Our great leader Mahatma Gandhi has in one of his statements remarked that the Premiers and Governors of the provinces should lead a simple life and that their expenses should not exceed their bare necessities, so that they may serve the people whom they represent in the true sense of the word and thus inculcate a spirit of simple living and high thinking, which may be followed by the people. (*Interruption*) Sir, an illiterate member asks me to have training.

Premier : Although it is not unparliamentary to call a member illiterate, yet it is not proper and it lowers the standard of our House.

Mr. Speaker : Calling a member "illiterate" is not proper. Not only to-day but even yesterday remarks were made describing some members as "illiterate". Such remarks create a bad impression on the minds of the public and lower the dignity of the whole House. I would, therefore, request members not to pass remarks which in any way discredit other members or in any way reflect upon their dignity.

Pandit Shri Ram Sharma : Sir, whatever you say is quite all right, but you will agree with me that if a member asks another member to take training in an undesirable tone, it is also improper.

Under the demand for General Administration is an item relating to the salaries of the Ministers and Parliamentary Secretaries. We have passed the Bill for Ministers' Salaries and I do not therefore wish to criticise that item nor do I wish to oppose it and thereby be guilty of indiscipline. But I wish to appeal to honourable Ministers to follow the example of the late V. J. Patel, who although he drew his salary according to the regulations, gave away a major part of it to Mahatma Gandhi to be spent at the latter's discretion. He never felt the need of an Act to bind him to that course of action. Our Province is new and has a deficit budget. We have to infuse the spirit of "sincere work on nominal remuneration" among other public servants. The Congress high command has fixed Rs. 1,500 per mensem as maximum salary and no minister in any other province is drawing a salary beyond this limit. But in our province the case is different. The hon. Premier is drawing Rs. 2,000 a month and a conveyance allowance, with a free and furnished house. I for one feel ashamed when I visualise what people outside must be thinking of our proud organisation like the Congress and the Congress Government in this Province. I do not say that the Ministers are not rendering good services and if work alone had to be taken into consideration I would have recommended a salary of Rs. 10,000 for each one of them. But I believe it is derogatory for the Ministers to measure the worth of their work in terms of money.

Mr. Speaker : The hon. member had already discussed this matter when the Ministers' Salaries Bill was before the House. If, however, the hon. member wants some reduction in their salaries he is free to bring in an amendment to the Act. In this connection, I would like to refer the hon. member to Rule 141 of the Rules of Procedure, which lays down:—

Debate on motions must be confined to the administrative matters for which the Government is responsible and not deal with matters requiring legislation.

Pandit Shri Ram Sharma : Sir, I beg to submit that to me it appears that we are within our rights to discuss items relating to Ministers' salaries for which the sanction of the House is being sought and would like to have your ruling on the point. Although the Act has been passed I believe we can express our opinion on the item and say whether the amount be sanctioned or withheld or partly sanctioned. Sir, to get anything done by the Ministers through legislation is a different matter. I now only appeal to the good sense of the Ministers and particularly the hon. Premier to reduce their salaries keeping in view the welfare of our province and while discussing the general administration of the province, if I criticise the Ministers as administrative heads, I think I am within my rights.

Mr. Speaker : The honourable member is perfectly justified in his criticism so far as it relates to the administrative responsibilities of the Ministers. The honourable member should avoid being personal.

Pandit Shri Ram Sharma : To criticise the Premier is not personal. I am not criticising Dr. Gopi Chand Bhargava. I am criticising the Premier of the

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Province and the Leader of the House and I am at perfect liberty to do so. I am criticising his activities as the administrative head of the Province; those actions will go down in history.

Mr. Speaker : The hon. member may proceed with his speech. And he should curtail his remarks ; otherwise the House might consider the question of fixing a time limit on speeches.

Pandit Shri Ram Sharma : I want to submit that there is generally no time limit for a cut motion on general administration. I was saying that if our Ministers were to set such an example before the people of our province, we shall be rightly proud of them. There is one more point on which I want to express my regret. After that I will conclude. It is a matter of pain for me when the Premier says that his colleagues forced him to accept Rs. 2,000 as his monthly pay so the cabinet minus the hon. Premier have over-ruled the decision of the Congress High Command fixing Rs. 1,500 as the maximum salary for a Minister. I am sorry to say that when I glanced at the budget I found that the expenditure to be incurred on the Ministers is Rs. 1,47,750 while the total expenditure set apart for all the members together does not exceed Rs. 1,40,000.

Sardar Shiv Saran Singh : On a point of order. This matter has already been thoroughly discussed on the floor of the House on the very first day when the Ministers Salaries' Bill was under consideration. I do not think the honourable member is within his rights to raise it again.

Mr. Speaker : The hon. member can discuss the Ministers while criticising the general administration of the province.

Pandit Shri Ram Sharma : I am very glad that you have removed the honourable member's misunderstanding. What I want to place before the House has not so far been discussed. We had this grievance against the previous Government that, whereas the high ranking officials of the Government were being paid very high salaries, the subordinates could not even make both ends meet with the salaries that they were getting. It is a matter of regret that even now, the salaries of a few ministers should be more than the combined expenditure set apart for 81 members, which is Rs. 1,40,000. This thing is extremely painful. If these excesses continue, I am sure many defects are bound to creep into the administration.

There is one more cause for the inefficiency of the general administration, that is the defective distribution of portfolios among the Ministers. I have never come across such an instance where the portfolios of law and order, revenue and Irrigation are given to the one and the same Minister. Even in the previous Government such a thing never took place. One Minister held only one portfolio. The present allotment of portfolios would result in inefficiency and lack of vigilance on the part of the Ministers. I, therefore, suggest that whereas a Minister should not hold more than one important portfolio, the Premier, being the Chief among the ministers, should not hold any portfolio but be in a position to supervise the general administration. In the House of Commons, the Premier does not hold any particular portfolio. The work of administration is properly distributed among the Ministers known as the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Foreign Secretary, Dominion Secretary, etc., each holding only one portfolio. But here in our province each hon. Minister is entrusted with the administration of more or less ten departments. You will not find such a thing in any other country. I am glad to know that the Premier works till late in the night. But after all he is a human being and as such cannot do full justice to the heavy work of many departments at a time. There is always a limit to the human strength. I have not the slightest doubt about the capabilities of the honourable Ministers and it is a matter of pride that they work hard till very late in the night.

Premier : Thanks for the tribute.

Pandit Shri Ram Sharma : I feel greatly flattered to see that the hon. Premier agrees with me. Now, Mr. Speaker, I do not believe in burning midnight oil. There is a limit to everything. I cannot imagine that an hon. Minister centralising too many portfolios can do full justice to the work of various departments under his charge. For instance, the hon. Premier is holding numerous important portfolios like Finance, Industry, Education, Medical and Local Self-Government. I wonder if he is ever able to devote undivided attention to any of the subjects. Then, Sir, the salary paid to him has not been fixed in proportion to the amount of work that he will be required to put in. Then why should he keep so many departments under his charge? Besides, we all know that the responsibility of the ministers is joint. Obviously the Premier is responsible for the whole administration. I think he should keep his hands free to look after and supervise the work of his colleagues. But what do we find here? There are certain Ministers who have more leisure than work (*laughter*) and hence they eat and make merry in the Simla Hills. The senior most minister, the hon. Chaudhri Lehari Singh, has the least work.

Minister for Home and Revenue : Heavens save us from friends like Pandit Shri Ram Sharma!

Pandit Shri Ram Sharma : I hope I will not be misunderstood for making these observations. I sincerely wish that the portfolios be distributed in such a manner that each Minister is fully occupied. Now, Sir, I advert to the work concerning the Ministry of Rehabilitation and Reforms.

Minister for Public Works : I may tell my hon. friend that we have no Ministry of Reform, of course Rehabilitation we have.

Pandit Shri Ram Sharma : If that is so, may I enquire from the hon. Premier as to who is in charge of the Reforms?

Premier : I have not been able to follow the hon. member. What does he mean by Reforms Department?

Pandit Shri Ram Sharma : I mean the department which is connected with the constitution.

Minister for Home and Revenue : So far as constitution is concerned, there is no such portfolio. We have got nothing to do with the framing of the constitution. It is the concern of the Constituent Assembly. If my hon. friend means holding of elections, that will be after the constitution is framed and that information can be imparted then.

Pandit Shri Ram Sharma : I know the framing of constitution is the concern of the Constituent Assembly, but what I mean is that there must be a department under a Cabinet Minister whose job it is to see that the constitution is properly implemented and that if there be any lacuna requiring amendment, it should be reported to proper quarters.

Premier : I am constrained to remark that although my hon. friend is fully aware of the fact that no provincial Government is vested with the power of framing constitution, yet he is pressing that there must be some department of reforms under the charge of a Minister.

Pandit Shri Ram Sharma : I know full well that a provincial Government is not competent to frame constitution; yet I think the work of its implementation can certainly be entrusted to an hon. Minister who will see and report as to how it works and where difficulties arise in the application of its provisions.

Mr. Speaker : Then the hon. member can give suggestions.

Pandit Shri Ram Sharma : I hold the view that our province is closely connected with the constitution work. Now everybody knows what havoc the demon of communalism has wrought in our country. India has been vivisected and the Punjab has not only been partitioned but also torn asunder as a result of fanaticism generated by communalism. So every patriot wants to see this evil buried deep and extirpated altogether. It is a matter of gratification that one healthy step in this direction has been taken and that is that future elections, be they to local bodies or legislatures, will take place on the basis of joint electorates. Under this system constituencies will have to be reconstituted and this thing is closely connected with the Rehabilitation Department. Now this Department has to perform very important duties. It has to see that while rehabilitating refugees in the villages, people belonging to one community are not allowed to preponderate overwhelmingly. If no heed is paid to this fact, then there is every likelihood of the seeds of communalism being sown, which after sprouting will prove troublesome. Since we have had very bitter experience of this evil, I would urge upon the hon. Minister of Rehabilitation, that he should give this matter his careful and active consideration. The reason why I am pressing this point time and again is that we have been endeavouring for the last so many years to get rid of this virus of communalism from our body politic and now that we have achieved this end, our efforts should not go waste by proper attention not being paid to the matter of rehabilitation and resettlement of refugees in this province. The matter is of vital importance, because if one community is allowed to preponderate at one place, then there is every possibility that people may become staunch communalists and thus Hindus or Sikhs may develop communal outlook to the detriment of the Congress goal of perfect amity among the different communities. What will be the result? Communalism will raise its head in a different form. It is the bounden duty of the Ministry of Rehabilitation to see that this evil is banished for ever and no room is left for it to flourish. This is quite a new department which has been brought into existence under the duress of tragic circumstances. We should mould its working on our own lines and not allow red tapism to enter into it; otherwise it will be no better than, as the adage goes, old wine put in new bottles. (*Laughter*). Here we have to tackle problems requiring quick but mature decisions. I would, therefore, request the Rehabilitation Minister to see that the object of the constitution to drive away the demon of communalism lock, stock and barrel, is in no way defeated. We have already paid a heavy price for it. As a matter of fact we want every person in this country to be imbued with the spirit of nationalism and true patriotism. I want to emphasize that we should create such an atmosphere in the province as would make it impossible for communalism to vitiate the life of the people in this province. As the spread of communalism in the services will have profound influence on the administration of the province, I thought it proper on my part to invite the attention of the honourable Minister and the House to this matter

Our brethren in West Punjab have migrated to this province in millions and still more are coming. I want to draw the attention of the House to their pitiable plight. A friend of mine who came from Rohtak only yesterday has depicted to me the pathetic picture of lakhs of starving people lying along roadside from Karnal to Ambala. He tells me that it sinks one's heart to see such a spectacle. Though this matter concerns the Honourable Minister of Refugees and Rehabilitation, I would like to invite the attention of the whole cabinet in view of its great importance. My friend to whom I have referred, heard people saying that in some respects they had not to undergo such privations even when living in Pakistan as they are now face to face with. What I have seen with my own eyes in Rohtak inclines me to believe my friend's observations, though I do not deny the possibility of a little bit of exaggeration

in his statement. I am given to understand that the West Punjab Government is doing the work of resettlement of the Muslim refugees from East Punjab in a very efficient manner. As soon as they are taken to Pakistan they are informed of the place and the district in which they can settle. Vacant houses are given for their accommodation. I am inclined to deplore the short sightedness of our brethren who were responsible for destroying houses and other buildings vacated by the Muslims on this side. Even the Financial Commissioners and Deputy Commissioners could not stop the destruction of houses and other roofed accommodation which could have been utilized by our brethren coming from West Punjab. In spite of their barbarism and bestiality, the Muslims of the West Punjab have proved themselves to be wiser inasmuch as they did not destroy anything that could be of use to them. I know that even officers could not prevent the destruction of property in Rohtak and Hissar. The outcome of all this is that in some places there is no roofed accommodation under which refugees from West Punjab can take shelter. I am constrained to say that this shows slackness, carelessness and inefficiency of the Administration. It is not yet too late to make amends for our shortcomings. I do not know what the Government is doing in the matter. There is nobody to look after the refugees. One officer directs them to go to another. From one place they are driven to another. When the convoys of refugees reach Amritsar first, what is the use of making Jullundur the headquarters of the Government? Why do not the officers concerned take their offices to Amritsar and Ferozepore from where they would be in a position to direct the refugees to the particular place where they may be settled? The special trains run from one place to another, carrying refugees who do not know where to go. When the refugees manage to reach a place after facing many difficulties, they are told that they cannot get land or houses because they have been allotted some other district. For instance, when people from canal colonies began to arrive in Karnal they were told that that district was not allotted to them and that they could not settle there. I have to point out with great regret that the work of rehabilitation has so far been carried on in a very muddling, awkward and inefficient manner. It is therefore, the foremost duty of the Government to realize its responsibility for providing housing accommodation and food to the refugees. Failure to perform it might prove suicidal for the Government. There is a limit to power of endurance. The tragic drama of Bengal will not, I think, be enacted in East Punjab. In Bengal more than 2 million people died, though thousands of bags of rice were lying in the houses of the Government officials and in the shops. This will not happen in East Punjab. Death will first take its toll from the Treasury Benches. People will not die here of starvation quietly as in Bengal. You can postpone everything else but you cannot leave the homeless destitutes to their fate. I am glad to know that it has been decided to finish this session in a few days. When the members of the House go back to the plains, they will find an ocean of human beings struggling between life and death. In the present circumstances, this province needs only two departments, one of rehabilitation and the other of law and order. We will not mind if the rest of the departments stop working or their ministers start doing some other business. This would not result in any catastrophe. If the problem of rehabilitation of refugees is not solved, maintenance of law and order in the province is impossible. When people are dying of starvation who cares for law? It is for this reason that I have tried to invite the attention of the Ministers to this problem with all the emphasis at my command. If our Government cannot surpass the West Punjab Government in efficiency, it should at least be equally efficient. There should be a systematic plan for this purpose. It should be settled before-hand as to where the refugees from a particular district have to settle. I know that the Government officials, Secretaries, Financial Commissioners and Commissioners cannot accomplish this work without the co-operation of the people. The situation is extraordinary and the Government alone cannot cope

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with it. I feel that the district officials like the Deputy Commissioners and the Superintendents of Police have not as yet realised that they cannot handle any situation without the active co-operation of the public. It is not possible for the Government to accomplish the huge task of rehabilitation alone and they should invite the public to help them in this matter. I also urge upon my party and other organisations which are known for rendering service to the public that they should undertake this work whole-heartedly.

There is provision for nine Parliamentary Secretaries in the Budget who will be paid at the rate of Rs. 500 per month. Even during the time of the Sikander Ministry when the province used to have a surplus budget, the number of Parliamentary Secretaries was not as large. The appointment of seven Ministers and nine Parliamentary Secretaries will entail unnecessary burden on the Exchequer and it is not a matter of pride for the Government. If thirteen members out of a House of twenty hold office under the Government it will be a mockery of the democratic system of Government. I do not know whether our Government intends to act upon the dictum of the English politician who once said that every man had his own price and he could be bought or sold. I think there is no need of Parliamentary Secretaries and the provision is being made for them to increase the ministerial groups' strength in the party and in the House. I want to remind the hon. Premier that a democratic Government is not run on these lines and instead of employing such methods, he should rely upon the support of the people won by dint of true service to them. It is below the dignity of this House to have such a large number of Parliamentary office-holders under the Government in the House. I am saying all these things just by the way. If the hon. Premier agrees with me, well and good; otherwise I will have to withdraw the motion for the sake of party discipline. My hon. friend Seth Bhagwan Dass has accused me of angling for Parliamentary Secretaryship for myself. It is baseless. I am not so fortunate as my hon. friend who follows Dr. Sahib like a shadow and that too with disinterested motives like a Chandiwala to Mahatma ji.

Now Mr. Speaker, I want to say a few words about your staff. I think this act of mine will not be taken as an offence. The Reporters form an important part of your staff. I request you to employ more Hindi Reporters for reporting the speeches of those members who speak in pure Hindi and Hindustani. Only the other day Chaudhri Sher Singh delivered his speech in very good Hindi. Though I am used to speak in Hindustani I would also wish to speak in Hindi in future. I hope the hon. Speaker will pay attention to this matter. I do not say that there should be no English Reporters but what I contend is that there is very little work for the English Reporters and therefore more Hindi Reporters should be employed. (*Some hon. Members.* There should be Punjabi Reporters also.) Yes there should be Punjabi Reporters as well. I also request the hon. Speaker to provide his office with Hindi and Gurmukhi typewriters. The present stenographers are English knowing people and under the changed circumstances Punjabi, Hindi and Urdu Stenographers should also be employed.

Now I want to say a few words about the Civil Secretariat. Our province has been reduced to less than a half. Though there is new work on account of new problems, yet it is confined only to twelve or thirteen districts. I do not understand why provision under the heading "New Expenditure" is made in the budget for the employment of a Deputy Secretary, under-Secretary and Officers on Special Duty. This expenditure amounts to a total of Rs. 18,000 monthly. Though I have not worked in the Secretariat yet I know that the staff is lightly worked and in any case the work for thirteen districts cannot be equal to that of twenty-one districts. While presenting the budget it has been said that the number of Secretaries who used to carry on the work of undivided Punjab was insufficient for the province comprising only thirteen districts. It is a gross mis-statement.

Minister of Home and Revenue : I would like to state with regard to the provision referred to, that the number of Secretaries is less than before. I think it will save much time of the House if he points out the relevant item in the budget.

Pandit Shri Ram Sharma : Provision has definitely been made for five secretaries and it will be wasting a little more time of the House if I search it out from the book. But I request the hon. Home Minister to open the Budget book. He will notice that against the expenditure under the Civil Secretariat the words "This is a new Expenditure" are written against the cross sign, and this new expenditure which amounts to Rs. 18,000 monthly is meant for the Deputy Secretary, Under Secretary and officers on special duty.

Minister of Home and Revenue : That comes under the head "Technical Expenditure" and it was only a rough estimate at the time of the partition. We had to create these posts to get the partition task accomplished; otherwise the number of secretaries has been reduced from what it was before.

Pandit Shri Ram Sharma : I thank the hon. Minister for this information and also for including new expenditure in the budget. I wish that, if the number of posts cannot be reduced to less than a half of the previous number, it should not in any case be more than half of that number. I do not want to discuss the Technical Expenditure but at the same time I cannot refrain from saying that under this expenditure eighteen new persons are shown in the proposed strength of the subordinate staff of the Secretariat. I would like to request the hon. Home Minister to keep in mind that ours is a deficit province and he should try to reduce the expenditure to the minimum possible. All-out efforts should be made to reduce other enhanced expenditure provided

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in the Budget. New expenditure has been shown under the Food Purchase department. We are given to understand that the Central Government is anxious to dispense with the existing control system. The Food Purchase department should show some work worth the expenditure shown in the Budget. Previously there were many defects in the Civil Supplies department. The Minister in charge of this department must not leave any stone unturned in removing all the defects in the department. In fact this department should also show some work worth the expenditure shown in the Budget. Previously there were two or three Financial Commissioners and now there are as many as two Financial Commissioners, out of whom one is in charge of the Rehabilitation department. We feel that their services are more useful to us at this critical hour. The commissioners and the deputy commissioners should see whether there is any justification for maintaining their existing staff which is already heavy. Government have not cared to look into this matter but have instead shown an enhanced expenditure which must be curtailed in view of the present conditions prevailing in the province. Hon. Ministers have not been appointed from above; they are the representatives of the man in the street. They must keep themselves regularly in touch with the conditions prevailing in the province. They will not be able to know the difficulties of the people by staying at Simla and by being busy with other less important matters. It is their bounden duty to be in touch with what is happening in the villages and on what lines the village officials in particular perform their day to day duties. In fact they should always know what the people whom they represent want. They are not Ministers alone. They are both Ministers and leaders.

The C. I. D. whose function is to collect information has completely failed. Previously the lambardars, safaidposhes and zaildars used to keep the deputy commissioners informed about the movements of bad characters, dacoits and thieves. This system of providing information to the high officials has completely

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failed. The commissioners and the deputy commissioners are not so much well informed as the man in the street is. The previous Government had set up a Special Enquiry Agency. The purpose of the then Government in setting up this agency was quite different. The setting up of a Special Enquiry Agency is very essential and the sooner it begins to function properly the better it would be for the maintenance of law and order in the province. At present the position in the province is this. There is only one sub-inspector, one head constable and one or two constables for more than two or three districts for collecting information. If for instance this be the strength of the staff for the districts—there is one Inspector for Hissar, Gurgaon and Rohtak—it will be very difficult for the officers to collect the required information from a far distant village in Rohtak when this staff will already be busy with its work in some village in Hissar. I would therefore impress upon the Minister in charge of the department to strengthen this agency by employing more officers with a view to be informed of the intentions of those people who are apt to indulge in loot and arson and thus cause commotion in the public peace. As I have already stated there are two types of crimes. One type includes professional criminals, the other type includes those who want to take undue advantage in abnormal times already thus get encouragement in the absence of any strict watch over them. This type includes men from the gentry also who indulge in actions forbidden by the Government.

Sardar Jagjit Singh Mann: On a point of order, Sir. I want that a time limit should be fixed as other members also want to speak.

Mr. Speaker: That is not a point of order. It is for the House to fix a time limit. The Leader of the House and the hon. members should indicate their desire.

Pandit Shri Ram Sharma: Government should have a Special Enquiry Agency to check both types of these crimes in the province. I would request the hon. Minister in charge to strengthen the staff of this agency.

Minister for Home and Revenue: Sir, I wish to inform the hon. member through you that the Special Enquiry Agency and the C. I. D. are two different organisations. The Special Enquiry Agency is meant for investigating the circumstances leading to the crime. So far as the C. I. D. is concerned, it is already strong and can be strengthened if the hon. member so wishes. I may repeat for the information of the hon. member that the Special Enquiry Agency and the C. I. D. are two different organisations. The function of the C. I. D. is to collect information.

Pandit Shri Ram Sharma: Now I take the allotment of grant for Circuit Houses. These are the relic of imperialism and all meant for lords like Lord Curzon. They contain very big beds which even our Prime Minister will feel awkward to occupy. I have seen the Circuit House at Ambala and it reminds one of the pomp and show maintained at the cost of the poor people for Lords like Clive. The circuit houses have now no place in our society and must be scraped. Our finances do not permit such luxury.

I take next the case of special funds. I am aware that 8 lakhs of rupees have been set apart for Harijans and I congratulate the Government on making this provision although I forgot to do so yesterday. But I am sorry to note that nothing has been set apart for peasant welfare and development purposes or for famine relief. It may be true that it will not be possible to make such a provision in this Budget for the reason explained by the hon. Premier in his Budget speech. But when he said in the same breath that it was not obligatory for the Government to make such a provision, he, I should point out, gave an avoidable cause of complaint of indifference towards them on the part of the Government. I must admit here that the Congress in the Punjab has not been

so solicitous about the welfare of the peasants in particular and the rural population in general, as it has been of the other part of the population and to give them, who are already dissatisfied, a handle now is to afford them an opportunity for propaganda against the Government. I do not subscribe to the claims of some of my friends that except Jats, Sikhs and Rajputs none is capable of ruling. I am, on the other hand, convinced that every community has that capacity. But I must warn the Government that anything said or done unwisely by the Treasury Benches goes a long way in strengthening the propaganda against the Government. I cannot keep saying once again that it was unwise on the part of the hon. Premier to have said in his Budget Speech that it was not obligatory on the part of the Government to create funds for peasants, for development and for famine relief. I forgot to say that a person or a community which claims its descent from Raja Ram Chandra is as much capable of running a Government, as any other class of persons and I, therefore, do not admit this claim that only certain communities are capable.

Premier : On a point of order, Sir. These funds and the discussion about them have nothing to do with the general administration.

Pandit Shri Ram Sharma : If the hon. Premier had only dropped a hint that I was not to say these things, I would not have dared to utter a word. Now I come to Bhakra Dam.

Premier : On a point of order Sir. We are discussing General Administration. The hon. Member is irrelevant.

Mr. Speaker : The demand under discussion is General Administration and not Public Works or Irrigation. It was a convention in the Punjab Legislative Assembly that when discussion took place on the demand for General Administration the Assembly could discuss not only the Departments included in the Demand but other Departments of Government. But I would ask the members to discuss only those items which come under the Demand for General Administration.

Sardar Jagjit Singh Mann : This is against the convention.

Mr. Speaker : The reason for the practice in the Punjab was that this Demand included the salaries of the Ministers and therefore all the departments in their charge could be discussed while discussing this Demand. All the same I would ask the members not to take too much liberty but to stick to the demand under discussion.

Minister for Home and Revenue : Sir, the difference between then and now is that some members were then in opposition but now they all are members of the Treasury Benches.

Mr. Speaker : I think it is for the members to realise and I hope they would do so.

Pandit Shri Ram Sharma : Sir, I am thankful to you for the ruling. I am doing so on behalf the members who are absent to-day. I was saying that the special funds should have been retained as usual so that those concerned should have no opportunity to do propaganda against the Government and the Ministers for their apathy towards the public.

There is quite a large number of Gazetted Officers and subordinate employees of the Government who have come as refugees from the West Punjab into our province. A perusal of the Budget shows that the Gazetted officers will be provided suitable employment, while nothing is being done for the subordinate staff. I think the high ranking officials, on account of their education and administrative experience, can find jobs even in other provinces and in the offices of the Central Government. Room, should, therefore, be made for the subordinate staff, who form the backbone of the administration.

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So far as the people of Haryana *Prant* are concerned, they are already under-represented in the Government services. Therefore more recruitment of people from these districts should be made for Government services. Credit is due to Sir Chhotu Ram for the fact that he got the people of this backward area into Government services. I would like to draw the attention of the hon. Home Minister towards such people of the Haryana *Prant*, on whom the Government has served notices of discontinuation of their services. The result will be a serious dissatisfaction among the people. Our Government should approach the Government of India to absorb the thousands of people that have come from the West Punjab and room should also be made for these people who have as much right on the East Punjab as on the rest of India.

Premier : What should be done if the Indian Government refuses to act up to the suggestion made by the hon. member ?

Shrimati Shanno Devi Sehgal : You must resign.

Chaudhri Sahib Ram : Shrimati Shanno Devi wants the Premier to resign in order that room may be created for Pandit Shri Ram Sharma to become Premier. (*Laughter.*)

Pandit Shri Ram Sharma : I would request the hon. Premier to adopt such methods against the Government of India, in case our demands are not acceded to, as we have been using against the British Government to achieve our freedom. These methods vary from hunger strike to open revolts. I would also like to urge upon the Government that the Bhakra and Nangal Projects should be constructed as early as possible in order that people in Haryana *Prant* and elsewhere may be helped. I think our Government should approach the Indian Union Government to give us as much loan as is required for the completion of these projects. I may point out that the plans for these projects were started in 1921 and up till now only promises have been given to the people of our area. In the distressed days of Michael O'Dwyer he used to go to the people of Haryana *Prant* and tell them that they should help the Government in the First World War and the Government in turn would change their barren jungles into beautiful fields. People, I may inform the House are fed up with these promises. What is required on the part of the Government is to give top priority to the work of these projects and they should be completed as early as possible. This is the only way by which the deficit in the revenue of our province can be made good. The Haryana *Prant*, to which even the hon. Premier has some far off connection, will greatly profit by these schemes. One thing more that I want to put before the House concerns Sardar Swaran Singh. In my opinion he is the only Minister worth the name.

Mr. Speaker : Please do not be personal.

Pandit Shri Ram Sharma : Sir, I was going to say something about law and order.

Sardar Shiv Singh : On a point of order, Sir. I want to know if the hon. member is within his rights to keep the House engaged for one and a half hours without giving the chance of speaking to other members, who have managed to reach here in spite of the difficulties of transport and other inconveniences.

Mr. Speaker : There is no time limit.

Pandit Shri Ram Sharma : I was saying that at present there is complete absence of law and order in our province. I may point out that the existence of our Government depends upon law and order. In some places the police with the help of the volunteers of the Saugh is freely indulging in loot in small towns and as regards the situation in Hansi, even Shri Thakur Das Bhargava, the brother of the hon. Premier knows full well how the magistrates

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are enjoying drinks and doing something worse while looting is going on. Such Officers, I would suggest, should be dismissed forthwith. If they are not dismissed, and the administration remains as at present, the Ministers themselves may be dismissed. With these words I conclude my speech.

Mr. Speaker : Demand under consideration, motion moved.—
That the demand be reduced by Rs. 100.

Pandit Bhagat Ram Sharma (Kangra West, General, Rural) (*Hindustani*): Sir, I feel I will be failing in my duty if I do not offer felicitations to the hon. Premier and his worthy colleagues as well as the hon. members who have striven hard for the maintenance of law and order in the province. I know many an hon. member had been a victim of wanton attacks by Muslim fanatics and many more had to flee for their lives under trying circumstances. It is a matter of gratification that despite these trials and tribulations they have kept their heads cool and have incessantly tried their utmost for the restoration of peace in the country. So far as the services are concerned, those officers who kept poised the equilibrium of their mind at this critical juncture and extended their fullest co-operation in carrying out the policy of the Government, deserve our congratulations. I am fully aware of the fact that a fairly large number of officers allowed themselves to be carried away with the current of events during the past months and were guilty of gross negligence of duty. Sir, through you I want the strong feeling of this House to be conveyed to these officers that if they do not mend themselves and fail to change with the times, they will be removed from service. I would urge upon the Government that it should be brought home to the officers that since August 15, a new era has commenced when our country has thrown away the shackles of foreign domination. Now the people's raj has come to stay and, therefore, these officers are severely warned who were corrupt under the bureaucratic regime. If they fail to bring about a healthy change in their outlook and do not realise that service to the people and maintenance of law and order are their primary duties, they should take it for granted that their services will be dispensed with. But on the other hand I am in favour of a resolution being passed by this House commending the work of those officers who having been impelled by motives of patriotism and services to the country, have put in untiring effort and unremitting labour for bringing about peaceful conditions in the province.

Well, Sir, the tremendous upheaval which we have witnessed in our country during the last two months is unparalleled in history. As a result of this cataclysmic change, the Punjab has been partitioned. Lakhs of Hindus and Sikhs have been reduced to poverty and uprooted from their homes under the tyranny of a fanatical community. I am told that the refugees are in a sad plight. They are being knocked from pillar to post having no place to take shelter and no means to make an honourable living. Those persons who were leading a cosy and comfortable life, are squatting on the roadsides and railway platforms to pass the days of their misery. While submitting this state of affairs, I do not mean that the hon. Minister of Refugees and Rehabilitation has been sleeping over the matter. He, in fact the whole Government, is doing its best to ameliorate the poor lot of these afflicted people. It is true that the problem of refugees has not been tackled to that extent to which everybody wants. But keeping in view the handicaps and adverse circumstances under which the hon. Minister incharge had to work, I can say without fear of contradiction that he deserves our thanks for the laudable work he has done in alleviating the distress of the refugees. However, I would like to lay stress on the fact that instructions should be issued by the Government and particularly the Ministry of Rehabilitation that the officers should treat the refugees with perfect courtesy. They should consider these refugees as an invaluable asset because I am sure they will not refrain from making any sacrifice that is required of them for the betterment of the province.

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Then, Sir, I am pained to remark that here at Simla under the very nose of the hon. Ministers, nasty treatment has been meted out to the refugees by a certain officer in the matter of allotment of shops and houses. If this can happen here, then I think nowhere in the province things can be set right and officers made to behave properly. I am just now told and it is a matter of gratification that that officer has been transferred from this place. People were not treated fairly with regard to the disposal of some shops. The officer concerned who was responsible for this unfair treatment has been transferred from Simla. So what I meant to say is that our Government had to face tremendous difficulties. People who had lost their all were not in a mood to listen to anyone owing to emotional upsetting and loss of balance of mind. But the members of the cabinet ought to be congratulated for remaining unruffled and keeping their mental equilibrium in the hour of crisis. (*Interruption*). I would like to say what I know about District Kangra. I was there when disturbances occurred in East Punjab. The Deputy Commissioner and the Superintendent of Police did laudable work and kept a strict watch over the subordinate staff. Anyone who accepted bribes was called to account. When complaints were received from Haripur and Nurpur Police Stations, Pandit Din Dyal secretly hastened to those places and recovered the looted property though he did not arrest the culprits. Afterwards Sardar Karan Singh visited those places but I do not know in what way the culprits were punished. I would request the Minister in charge of Law and Order to see that the officials concerned are duly brought to book. Pandit Din Dyal himself was there during those days. What I want to emphasize is that officers of every place are not of the same type. At some places they did make efforts to see that peace and order are not disturbed.

I do not want to speak for a very long time. I shall now relate the chief grievances of the people of my district. Sir, you have already been to that place and must be aware of the difficulties of the people. Some members of the cabinet have also visited the district. Chaudhri Lahri Singh travelled along a road different from the one by which you had travelled. This road is half kacha and there is a river in the middle to be crossed. There are only two roads, which can be rightly so called in the whole of the district. The rest are tracks which cannot be called roads. The money allotted to my district for road-building is very little. My district is already very backward. **Even** in the road plan prepared by the Government of undivided Punjab, it had been ignored. Now that the country has achieved independence and our Government has got more powers, will it be too much to expect of it to bring the amount allotted for road construction to this district at par with that allotted to Amritsar or Jullundur districts ?

Sardar Bachan Singh : On a point of order, Sir, can a member address anyone else except the chair?

Mr. Speaker : I wanted that the hon. member should realize it himself.

Pandit Bhagat Ram Sharma : Moreover, Sir, my district needs more schools, owing to its backwardness. You will be grieved to know that in several villages of my district, even drinking water is not available. The denizens of those villages take water for drinking purposes from kacha pools, which is quite unfit for human consumption. For miles on either side of these villages no drinking water is available. It is the foremost duty of the popular Government to arrange for supply of water to these villages. The hon. Minister concerned should ask for a report from the district officials and take necessary steps to arrange for providing water to these villages.

If cottage industries receive encouragement from the Government, they can become a source of supplementing the income of the villagers of my district. Cottage industries can certainly thrive in these villages, because the people are already in the habit of spinning wool and manufacturing handwoven woollen cloth. Such cloth is sold on the occasion of fairs. Sometimes they manufacture this cloth even on a commercial scale. I would request the hon. Minister concerned to give attention to this matter and consider the question of promoting cottage industries by advancing loans and subsidies to the workers engaged in them, as provided in the State Industries Act, so that they might be in a position to purchase looms and other requisite equipment. I have already submitted a few words about the means of communication in the district. I again emphasise the necessity of improving them because the progress of trade and industry is directly dependent on them. Industry cannot thrive unless transport is available to bring the manufactured goods to the market.

Another important matter to which I draw the attention of the House concerns the fruit industry of my district. Everybody knows that the Kulu Valley is well-known for its fruits. It is a pity that owing to the bad condition of the Kulu-Pathankot road, transport is difficult and a large portion of the total produce of fruit goes waste because it cannot be exported to other parts of the country. This year too the road had given way at several points between Kulu and Pathankot and remained unfit for plying of vehicles and even for the passing of animals. The result was that the fruit yield was wasted to a very large extent. Kulu Valley can supply fruit for the whole of India; provided there are adequate facilities for its transportation. Those who are engaged in fruit industry should be helped so that the whole country uses the fruit of this Valley.

I want to inform the House about one thing more which will cause a great surprise to it. In the previous settlement, the Government termed certain trees growing on the farms of zamindars as 'wild trees'. I cannot understand how the trees growing on the farms of a zamindar who has put in his labour to plant them, can be termed as 'wild'. In the remarks column of the official record, it is written that these wild trees are Government property. The people of our district have been protesting against this law and there have been many disputes and civil suits have also been filed against the Government on this account. This is a great injustice that has been done to the people of Kulu Sub-division of Kangra district and it should be redressed now by granting to zamindars the right of possession over the trees growing on their own farms.

Without taking more time of the House I want to stress that the strain of the speeches delivered by some of the members would make one believe that there is no unity amongst ourselves. Some persons bear old grudges against each other but they should try to forget these in the changed circumstances. I want to impress upon the members that the people of the province are looking towards us for guidance as this province holds a very important position from the defence point of view. India's strength depends on the strength of the East Punjab. The need of the hour is love and unity amongst the people of the province. It is only through unity and love that we can consolidate our position and run the administration in a way that alone can build a greater and stronger Punjab. Let us make East Punjab the sword arm of India in the real sense of the word and let every Punjabi become the defender of this land of ours.

Sardar Udham Singh (Amritsar Central, Sikh, Rural (*Punjabi*): Sir I want to say that when we discuss these matters we ignore the circumstances under which this change took place. It is neither a source of joy nor did we intend that such things should happen. What has taken place did not have our assent. Misunderstandings may arise on such occasions. What has been done in the West Punjab is not at all due to the happenings in the East Punjab.

(Sardar Udham Singh)

The fact is that a certain party wanted to break the peace of India. First of all the trouble started in Noakhali and Bihar. Certain changes took place in the Ministry of the Punjab last year in March and no one dreamt that there would be murder and arson without any previous preparation. The Ministry resigned on the 3rd of March this year and the bloodshed began on the 4th. It took a serious turn on the 5th. According to old military tactics, the enemy was weakened in order that they may surrender soon. Serious communal disaster took place in Rawalpindi, Multan, Lahore and Amritsar. I am sorry to note that all my brethren speak of the disorder in the east. I want to stress that sportsmanship lies in facing the enemy and in eradicating the main cause of the disorder. This lawlessness has not been originated by us nor by our friends. This has been caused by those miscreants who molested the honour of our women-folk. I wonder where our holy Gods were when we saw girls being molested under our eyes.

Sardar Shiv Saran Singh: They were siding with the Muslims at that time.

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. The honourable member should not interrupt nor should he pass any remarks.

Sardar Udham Singh: I want to inform the House that whatever the position was in the past, the Congressite and Mahasabhite should say that we can save our honour.

The Assembly then adjourned for lunch and re-assembled at 2-30 p.m. of the clock. Mr. Speaker in the chair.

Sardar Udham Singh: I wish to submit as to how the wave of disorder spread over the whole of the province. Some people are of the opinion that Muslims were harassed unduly in East Punjab. But I wish to make it clear that there is hardly any district in the province where Muslims did not attack Hindus and Sikhs. Instances in this connection are not wanting. At Amritsar Muslims started attacking Hindus and Sikhs. Similarly in other districts, namely, Lahore, Gurdaspur, Hoshiarpur, Jullundur and Ludhiana, Hindus and Sikhs were attacked first by the Muslims. I have no hesitation in saying this and I make bold to submit that in almost all the districts of our province Muslims started attacking Hindus and Sikhs. Whatever little has been done by Hindus and Sikhs in defence in this direction, has been done simply to cover their weaknesses and timidity. However, it is an open secret that Hindus and Sikhs have suffered untold hardships at the hands of the Muslims. They have been harassed beyond description.

There is no doubt about the fact that most of the officers who did not come to our rescue at such a critical hour, took some active part in plunder and loot. But I wish to bring this point home to the hon. members that during the recent disturbances when Muslim League miscreants created havoc in East Punjab, there were three types of police officers. One type included those who oppressed Hindus and Sikhs. They went to the extent of registering cases against them under section 302, I. P. C. for no fault of theirs. The other type included those officers who held their services more dear than anything else and did not believe in harassing Hindus and Sikhs. The third type included those who had some sense of self-respect. They could not tolerate their brethren being oppressed by Muslims. When they saw for themselves the atrocities committed upon their own brethren, they got enraged and thus started helping us. At the time when the Britishers were at the helm of affairs in the administration of our country in general and our province in particular, police officers opposed almost all our political movements with a view to maintaining their services or getting some promotions. They did not hesitate to fire at our young men who were

taking active part for the sake of freedom. I remember how ruthlessly they lathi-charged people simply because they happened to take part in political movements for obtaining freedom of their mother-country. These officials have not changed their attitude yet. Perhaps they have not realised that the times have changed now. I know certain police officers who used to boast that their main qualification was that they had crushed many political movements and that they had shot down people taking active part in political movements without any rhyme or reason.

So far as those officers who helped us in time during the recent disturbances are concerned, I have no grudge against them. But I must oppose those officers who fired at our young men simply because they were taking part in political movements. Some of my hon. friends were in the course of their speeches laying much stress on this point that police officials including other officers took active part in loot and plunder. I do not object to what they have said. But I will go to the extent of saying this, that looted property has, as a matter of fact, been stored in the houses of many police officers. I may, however, bring this point home to them that at that time it was not a crime to kill a person who had already harassed us or take part in plunder and loot. Under the circumstances I think whatever they may have done could not be termed as bad. Keeping the conditions prevailing at that time in the province in view there was no alternative for them except resorting to such act as they deemed fit. It will not be out of place to mention here that during the recent disturbances I told people who had already heard harrowing tales of oppression and repression from refugees from Rawalpindi that they were at liberty to do whatever they liked. But at the same time I beseeched them not to touch a single woman or child. Thereupon they told me what sort of inhuman and unscalled for treatment their womenfolk and children had received at the hands of the Muslims in Pakistan. They also told me that it was humanly impossible for them to tolerate the atrocities committed by them on the women-folk and children. Here I must appreciate their spirit of retaliation. I think whatever they have done cannot be termed as bad. Personally I am opposed to committing atrocities on women-folk and children and I have no words to express my strong condemnation of such actions. But I must say that if our Hindu and Sikh brethren had not risen to defend themselves, the province of East Punjab would not have existed at all. We would not have found ourselves here in this House nor would there have been any Ministry in this province. We would have found the flag of Pakistan flying everywhere in the province. Either we would have been slaves or we would have been no more on the surface of the earth.

I wish to submit that it has been said that in Pakistan adequate arrangements are being made for refugees and that refugees are systematically despatched to villages. I do subscribe to this view. But I wish to make it clear that in Pakistan people have not to bear the burden of the refugees as we find here in our province where Government is every day faced with a new problem regarding the refugees. It will not be out of place to mention here that in Pakistan almost all the villages have been cleared of non-Muslims and that Hindus and Sikhs are not found there. Not only this, there have been large scale massacres at various places in West Punjab. A Muslim Additional District Magistrate was responsible for killing thousands of non-Muslim passengers. At Toba Tek Singh, District Lyallpur, a railway train containing about six thousand passengers was stopped about two miles away from the railway station. The passengers were told that the train was bound for Multan. Only 200 passengers were saved and the rest were killed on the spot. It will not be out of place to mention here that there were about 1,100 girls in this train. We have been deprived of Lyallpur, Montgomery, Multan, Sind and such other districts which we brought under cultivation with great toil. We are all conscious of these misfortunes and those who do not feel are not human beings. As a matter of fact no one can help feeling for these unfortunate people. Our independence owes much to the sacrifices of

[S. Udham Singh] these martyrs. Had they not sacrificed and the British plan to demark the boundary line up to Sutlej had come into vogue, there would have been much unemployment to-day and it would have been difficult for the labourers to get work. Amritsar devoted all its energy in driving out the Muslims but for which Sutlej would have been decided as the boundary line. Had all the officers, deputy commissioners, revenue officials, kanungos and patwaris acted upon the decisions of the Cabinet or on the Rehabilitation Director's proposals, no one would have been in trouble. The deputy commissioners, tehsildars and revenue officers interpreted things in their own way, causing great trouble. Patwaris, kanungos and revenue officials distributed land according to their own will. This was perhaps due to the fact that their relations and brethren had come as refugees and they wanted to help them. But it resulted in corruption. The evil cannot be eradicated in this way or by distributing land among the destitutes. Now the question is, what a man who has left one square in the West Punjab should get and what one who has left 10 or 20 squares should get. We left 100 per cent of land there and here only 60 per cent is owned by the Muslims. This land is not insufficient if it is distributed in a proper way. Everybody has come from Pakistan and he has the right to settle anywhere in India. This question not only pertains to East and West Punjab but it is rather an all-India issue. I want to request our Government to tell the Indian Union that the uprooted people from the West Punjab should get 100 per cent of land. I may inform the Government that we will live in peace after driving out each and every Muslim. The Government will not be able to afford protection to the Hindus and Sikhs from the West Punjab, if it will not drive out the Muslims. If the Government keep in view the number of mills and markets which have been left by Hindu and Sikhs in Pakistan, it will well realise their difficulties. It will know how it should tackle all the problems. The main difficulty in the way is the Police which is in the good books of the Government. The Hindus and Sikhs who have fought for their country were shot at by the Police and those who survived are behind the bars. No district is an exception to it: The old clothes of the Muslims were in no way inferior to those of the Hindus and Sikhs. It is the duty of the Government to collect the clothes left by the Muslims and distribute them to the refugees. The cultivators have also come from the West Punjab. There is only one misunderstanding. We can make the province prosperous by nationalizing land. If socialism prevails in the province the land will have to be nationalised. All the wealth of the province may be socialised. There is no other alternative. We have to compensate those who have left their all in Pakistan. In Amritsar district and some districts of Doaba like Jullundur, Ludhiana, Hoshiarpur, etc., the available land for cultivation is already much less. In these districts, most of the people own only one or two acres each. Now that the Government is allotting ten acres to every refugee farmer, the people who on this side already own only one or two acres think it advisable to become refugees and in this way get ten acres of land. The Government should do some thing for these people also and they should be given more land.

Besides this, I would like to draw the attention of the Government to another matter. Quite a large number of young men have been disabled in the present disturbances while manufacturing bombs. Somebody's hand has been blown away while there are others who have lost either their arms or legs. Some of them are still under treatment in hospitals. Our Government should pay attention towards those brave young men who have saved our nation without any consideration of gain in the present disturbances. If fire arms had not been made in this way, I think all of us would not have been present here to-day and the whole of India would have been Pakistan. It was necessary to manufacture bombs in order to resist the enemy forces. We ourselves have been manufacturing bombs. Our brethren from Hissar know full well that in view of what the Muslims did at Hansi it was necessary to manufacture firearms. This work has been done by those

young men at the cost of their lives and without any considerations of personal gain whatsoever. At the time when the soldiers and policemen were working on pay these young men were busy in the making of bombs without getting any reward. Now that they have been disabled, it is the duty of our Government to make some provision in the budget for such young men. If we do not help these young men now, I think we will be deprived of their help at the time of a possible invasion from Pakistan within one or two years. I would like to point out to the House that the people who even after the invasion of Kashmir think that Punjab will not be invaded, are in the wrong. Mr. Jinnah is employing fascist methods. Up till now our Government is simply considering the question of the formation of National Volunteer Corps and as yet the procedure for issuing the licences is being debated. I request the honourable Ministers to expedite this work. We are even now passing through a phase of war. The Government should immediately arm all the young men between the ages of 18 and 25 years. Military training should be made compulsory for all young men and every one should know the use of rifle. I would even say that the refugees coming from the West Punjab should also be mobilised for war. They should be told to be determined to go back to their own homes and to get back the properties they have left on that side.

The domination of the British over us has ended and our country is now independent. But it is regretted that there is no change in the outlook of the members of the services. Nor is there any change in the outlook of the police. This change in outlook could be brought about only if the same people who have brought about the revolution, had been in police and other Government offices. Look at the High Court, for instance. Its offices have been brought to Simla. How can the poor people for whom it used to be difficult to reach Amritsar and Lahore, reach Simla now when there are so many difficulties regarding conveyance? This fact has altogether been lost sight of though the High Court is there to decide vital questions of life and death of the people. It is therefore incumbent on the Government to make quick decision regarding the High Court being shifted to some city down in the plains. Why are not such judges who have no regard for the public dismissed even?

Mr. Speaker : The hon. member should not discuss High Court Judges.

Sardar Udham Singh : I would now like to draw your attention to the rehabilitation of refugees. Even in this department, the employees have not as yet given up the past corrupt habits. Bribery and favouritism are rampant. I want to point out that if such corrupt patwaries, qanungoes and tehsildars do not set themselves right, they should at least be suspended if not dismissed for their antipathy to the public at this critical time. I know certain cases wherein attempts have been made to corrupt even some public workers. When those Government servants were asked why they did such things, they in return invited the public workers as well to take their due share.

I want to point out one thing more to our honourable Ministers. The refugees coming from the West Punjab can be provided here only up to 60 per cent of the total land that they have left behind. Our Government should therefore approach the Dominion Government to provide land to the refugees of the West Punjab even outside our own province. Another evil is the prevalence of corrupt practices. To check this evil we shall have to exert ourselves boldly. There is not a single department of the Government where one can get anything done without offering bribes. There are various forms of bribery. Depriving deserving persons in order to favour their relatives is one. The ministers are being pestered with requests. If a person requires a house, he runs after Sardar Ishar Singh Majhail. Others who are anxious to get a shop or land hang about Sardar Partap Singh. If the Ministers are unable to help them, they are taunted for not having helped their own relatives. It is a time of ordeal for the Ministers. They should resist such evil practices

[S. Udham Singh]

with a strong determination. It is only then that they can set an example for the officers in their departments. I know that in practice it is very difficult to set an example of impartiality because everybody who is seeking a job tries to get a recommendatory letter from some Minister.

Shrimati Shanno Devi Seghal : But what would you say if the Ministers recommend people of their own accord ?

Sardar Udham Singh : Perhaps the hon. lady member has been to a Minister for recommending some one. I have had no such experience because I have never approached any Minister with this object (*Laughter*). I was also going to say that the Ministers are compelled to recommend persons for allotment of houses, shops and posts and applications are submitted to the officers concerned through the Ministers. Most of the visitors who have come to this place these days, have come with some definite object such as getting some work done through the Ministers. I would therefore request the Ministers to root out this evil of favouritism and nepotism. Merit should be the criterion for recruitment to all posts. Houses, shops and land should be allotted to the sufferers according to their deserts. If these principles are not followed, it will not be possible to improve the condition of the province or to run the administration smoothly. We should fully realise our responsibility. The members of this House should not think in terms of party labels, whether they belong to the Congress or the Akali party or any other party. We should rather think that we are part and parcel of the Government of this province, being the true representatives of the people. (*Hear, hear*). We should consider it our duty or rather keep before us as our motto, 'equal service to all without any distinction.' (*Cheers*.) It is only then that we can save this province. If my friends do not shed party considerations, God alone should protect this province. I submit that with a popular Government in power, we should consider ourselves as representatives of the people and endeavour to promote the general well-being of the province rather than be guided by factious spirit. We should keep this aim before us. The attitude of the services has not yet changed and that is why we shall have to make strenuous efforts. Even God is not pleased with us at the present moment. This province has never witnessed scarcity of wheat and cotton. As a result of the happenings which were the direct outcome of the partition of the Punjab crops have suffered and new crops have not been sown because our brethren from West Punjab arrived here long after the rains had fallen and therefore could not till the land in time. Owing to this delay, the work of sowing the winter crops has not been completed. In this connection, I would request the Minister in charge of Irrigation Department to arrange for the supply of water for irrigating the districts of Gurdaspur and Amritsar and the areas comprising the four *thanas* of Lahore district which are included in the East Punjab from the Upper Bari Doab Canal whose source is at Madhopur head. The water in the wells in the portion of East Punjab which is adjacent to Lahore district is brackish and I am afraid that crops in that area might fail for this reason. The Irrigation Department should arrange for the supply of water to that area as early as possible as otherwise the crops will be ruined. Already there is a threat of famine in this province. I have to say a few words about some important things and after that I shall resume my seat.

Mr. Speaker : The hon. member has taken a good deal of time. I would request him to wind up. Representations have been made to me that a large number of members want to speak on this cut motion. Although rules do not permit fixing time limit for speeches on cut motions, yet if the House unanimously agrees to fix time limit, I would be glad to do so. May I know if it is the unanimous desire of the House to fix a time limit?

Hon. Members : Yes, yes.

Sardar Jagjit Singh Mann : This request was made to you much earlier .

Mr. Speaker : I fix ten minutes for each member.

Sardar Udhm Singh †: The Province is not governed by a foreign Government. A truly representative Government is in the saddle. It is therefore proper that the grants of land which people had got from the previous Government as compensation for giving false evidence and reports, should be forfeited forthwith. (*An Hon. Member* : They have already lost them). My friend is thinking of the grants of land in Montgomery and Lyallpur districts. I admit that those lands are now part of the Pakistan territory. I am referring to those estates and grants of land which have been assigned to big jagirdars, zaildars and sufedposhes in East Punjab. Such people have been helping the police in harassing the nationalists. The grants enjoyed by them should be confiscated. I want to invite the attention of the Government to the lambardar's perquisite which is otherwise known as *panchotra*. I cannot understand why this extra burden of fee for collection is thrust upon the landowners, who have to pay the land revenue. Besides this, the cultivators have to pay other cesses which collectively constitute 25 per cent of their total income. This is really an unjustifiable burden on the peasant. Take the case of Chaukidara cess. The chaukidar's pay comes from the pocket of zamindars, but he is considered to be Government employee. What a glaring injustice is this ! It is stated in the Chaukidara Act that the Chaukidar is a servant of the village but that he will work under the instructions of Deputy Commissioner. What a paradox is this ! The zamindar engages a chaukidar, but the Government thinks itself to be its master. The manner in which the chaukidar performs the functions is well-known to every one. If the Government must have a chaukidar in villages, it should take the responsibility of paying him. I therefore urge upon the Government to reduce the incidence of unreasonable cesses levied on the cultivator by which it takes away 25 per cent of his total income. The *panchotra* should be abolished altogether.

Besides this, I want to say something on the rehabilitation of refugees. Land should be allotted to them as early as possible. If sufficient land is not available in the province, our Government should urge upon the Central Government to allot land so that they might utilize it to earn a livelihood for themselves and their families. With these words I resume my seat.

Pandit Jiwan Lal (South-East Gurgaon, General Rural) (*Hindustani*) : Sir, my district is situated on the fringe of the Punjab and my turn to speak has also come towards the end. I want to say a few words about administrative matters particularly those pertaining to district administration. At the very outset, I would stress the need of posting a man of strong personality as Deputy Commissioner in every district as this post is the pivot of the administrative machinery of the district. The administration of a district where the Deputy Commissioner is not efficient, is marked by carelessness and inefficiency and the subordinate officers become slack and negligent. Zamindars and other members of the public have to go from pillar to post and they can not make themselves heard anywhere. It is therefore essential that the Deputy Commissioner in every district must be a man of high calibre. We were wont to remark that the I.C.S. constitutes one of the pillars of the British rule in India. We cannot deny that most of the members of the I.C.S. are capable persons and are well-versed in administrative matters. In my opinion an I.C.S. man should be posted in every district. I know from personal knowledge that under a Deputy Commissioner who is an old P.C.S. man nearing retirement, the administration of the district deteriorates from bad to worse. Efficient or strict administrative control alone can check corruption, theft and dacoity. But these evils are generally rampant in districts in which the administration is slack.

Now I want to say something regarding the prevention of corrupt practices. In my opinion, there should be an corrupt practices enquiry

[Pandit Jiwan Lal]

committee in every district. One such committee was formed on a provincial basis sometime back. But I think the Augean stables of corruption cannot be cleaned without the help of local people. Therefore, I urge that a committee with this object should be formed in every district and it should associate local men with its work. During the electioneering campaign it was trumpeted abroad that under the Congress rule, there would be no corruption and that this evil would end with the British rule. The knell of the latter has been sounded but this pestilence is still prevailing. (Laughter). The public is sick of the unending series of controls. When disturbances broke out in district Gurgaon, shopkeepers in every village collected large quantities of sugar by making bogus entries and began to sell it in black market. As many as four bags or even more were issued in the name of supposed persons and sold in black market. Similarly cloth was also sold in the black market. I am deadly against dishonest and corrupt persons and do not hesitate to give my opposition a practical shape. Sometime back I furnished evidence against a cloth sub-inspector and a foodgrains sub-inspector and both were dismissed from service. In my life-time, I have seen through some twenty corrupt officials being dismissed by my efforts. (Laughter). This pestilence does not appear to have been eliminated as yet, but is proving to be a great obstacle in the way of smooth and efficient administration. It has to be rooted out. A committee should be constituted in every district with a view to find out the corrupt and dishonest officials, to collect necessary evidence and to see that they are brought to book. I know that even when the Deputy Commissioners are aware that certain subordinate officers are corrupt, they hesitate to report against them. These officers are getting regular increments and promotions. If at all the Deputy Commissioner begins to view seriously the conduct of an officer, the latter spends some money on a party and escapes by pleasing the Deputy Commissioner. I advocate strongly the abolition of controls. I can assure that the controls are only serving the purpose of *banyas* and corrupt officials who are making capital out of them. Whenever the question of abolition of controls is moved, they conjure up a vision of dreadful results. In my opinion the controls are absolutely uncalled for. If they are abolished, corruption and black market will end. We used to complain against and condemn the police staff. Now this department has surpassed them in corrupt practices. Another matter to which I want to refer is the control over *khaddar*. It is an indigenous product. There should be no restrictions on its sale and purchase. It is really surprising that there is a ban on the import of *khaddar* from the United Provinces. *Khaddar* should have been exempted from any such restrictions.

Another thing that I want to state is that if squares of land in East Punjab are granted to those who enjoyed grants of squares of land in West Punjab, what will become of the other refugees who have lost their all? With the installation of a popular Government, such lands should have been confiscated. Now that the grantees of the West Punjab have lost them, not through man's design but through God's dispensation, they should not be granted any more squares in East Punjab. Another thing to which I might refer is that no orders have so far been sent to district authorities as regards the method of new recruitment to the various posts and as to whether the appointments are to be made on consideration of ability and merit alone or on some other considerations also. If any orders have at all been issued, they are not being acted upon.

Shrimati Shashi Devi Sehgal (South-Eastern Towns, General Urban) (*Hindustani*) : Sir, I rise to speak on general administration. The Speaker has allotted for me ten minutes to speak. It is impossible to bring out all the important points in such a short time. So I beg to request that more time be allotted for this purpose. There is only one lady member in the House who wants neither ministership nor parliamentary secretaryship. I shall speak for 15 minutes with your

permission. How should we manage the provincial administration and how should we help millions of destitutes pouring in from the West Punjab? I want to say something in this connection. The conditions prevailing in our province are unsatisfactory. So far we have not considered them in all seriousness. Our officials do not pay attention to them. If they do not do away with the various handicaps, we will not be able to provide shelter for millions of destitutes. I beg to submit that certain points have been raised in the House which should not be taken notice of. I wish to draw the attention of the honourable Ministers to the statements in which they have said that they have not been able to get enough time to do their best in the interest of the province. We are yet infants. Time is short. How could the work be done. I want to present five words for the Ministers to run the administration. There are thirteen ruined and deserted districts in our province. There are two districts of Rohtak and Hissar, where there is a great scarcity of fodder. Ambala District is almost dry. Poverty prevails in Kangra District. This small province can become prosperous. The Minister informed the House yesterday about the schemes for the expansion of twenty cities. I congratulate the hon. Minister on it. I miss the presence of the Prime Minister. I want to draw his attention to these five words, strength, boldness, service, practical wisdom and patience, with the help of which our province is sure to flourish. The administration cannot run smoothly if the spirit as shown by the three Ministers in their speeches the other day, is not changed. I want to urge on the Ministers that they should realise their responsibilities. I make bold to say that Congressmen should have courage to face the masses. I am constrained to inform the Ministers that if they cannot help the masses, they should have enough courage to face them. Amritsar is packed with refugees these days. Mujahid Sahib pays visits to the place off and on because he is hailed as Rehabilitation Minister. Sardar Partap Singh made his maiden speech on Civil Supplies. When Sardar Patel came to Amritsar to stop lawlessness, our worthy Premier also accompanied him. Sardar Patel in his speech sympathised with the refugees from the West Punjab, but our worthy Premier did not even attend the meeting. Workers from East and West Punjab gathered there. He never cared to listen to their grievances. He is not bold enough to face the public. If the administration had controlled the situation in East Punjab in the very beginning we would not have seen such havoc. If the Prime Minister cannot face the public, let other Ministers face it. If he cannot help the destitutes from the West Punjab by allotting land and providing shelter, he can cheer them up by giving them a patient and sympathetic hearing. It is said that the work is too difficult. I do not understand how it is too difficult. Hundreds of Magistrates and police officials have not yet been posted to their respective duties in the East Punjab. He should prepare a list of such officials and see how much work is to be allotted to each of them. I am surprised at the distribution of portfolios among the Ministers in the East Punjab. I do not mind if there are thirteen Ministers instead of seven, but they should not be allowed to draw fat salaries. Unless every minister works like a soldier, administration cannot run smoothly. If the Ministers, Secretaries, Magistrates, Deputy Commissioners and all others in the province work like soldiers, no one will be able to create difficulties in the way of civil administration. My Honourable friend Chaudhri Badlu Ram told the other day that if anyone opposed him in the House, he would turn him out at once. I know the virtue of discipline. The hon. Speaker should enforce it with all the requisite rigidity.

Mr. Speaker: I give two minutes' concession to the lady member.

Shrimati Shanno Devi Sehgal : Thanks. I have finished my speech.

Chaudhri Samar Singh¹ (Karnal South, General, Rural) (*Hindustani*) :
Sir, there are certain important points to which I would like to draw your attention

[Ch. Samar Singh]

Much has been said by the hon. members on the police administration in the province. I wish to make a few submissions with special reference to certain points regarding my own constituency. In the recent disturbances the police officials did not give a good account of their work. It will not be out of place to mention here that when people resorted to plunder, loot and arson, the sub-inspectors of police were sitting idle in their homes and when the conditions improved they came out and wanted to snatch away the looted property or anything they could lay their hands upon. When they did not succeed in getting anything they looted the property of *Hindus* including *baniyas*, who had already suffered at the hands of the Muslim looters and some of whom were forcibly converted to Islam. These very police officials were responsible for killing the poor innocent people. They did not stop there. They went to the extent of laying their hands upon the valuables left by them. It will not be out of place to mention here that I warned a certain Sub-Inspector of Police not to resort to such foul play and I came to know afterwards that he had conspired against me by involving me in some criminal case. I am really constrained to remark that now-a-days when India has already attained freedom, police officers do not hesitate to involve poor innocent people in criminal cases without rhyme or reason. I am surprised how they dare to resort to such foul play. Instead of bringing the real culprits to book police officers do not hesitate to involve poor and innocent people.

Sir, you are fully aware of the fact the River Jumna touches the boundary of Karnal District. You are not unmindful of the fact also that the River Jumna has a tendency to have its course throughout the Punjab. The recent floods caused by heavy rains, swayed about fifty villages and thus rendered the poor villagers homeless. Their pitiable condition is beyond description. During the last Budget Session I had made this suggestion that a dam about one and-a-half mile long should be constructed with a view to stopping the floods from swaying the villages. I would now request the Minister-in-charge to devise ways and means to construct the said dam. I am sure, if this is done, many villages would be saved from the floods. Some provision must be made in the Budget for this purpose. I would also suggest that ways and means should be devised to change the course of River Jumna.

Now about the rehabilitation. I had a chance to discuss with the Deputy Commissioner the question of providing lands to refugees from West Punjab. He expressed his difficulty in this direction mainly due to the slackness of tehsildars and girdawars in promptly carrying out the instructions issued by the authorities. In my opinion the main difficulty in this direction is that there is something wrong with the instructions issued from above. At present the position is that only seven districts have been allotted for refugees from 27 districts for rehabilitation purposes. In other words it means that rehabilitation work is to be started in seven districts for people who were living in as many as twenty-seven districts. I have also come to know that some changes have already been made in this direction. District Ferozepore, District Karnal and five Sikh States have already been allotted for refugees from the Districts of Sheikhpura and Gujranwala. In other words it means that two districts and five States have been reserved for refugees from two districts for purposes of rehabilitation. On the one hand we find so much of choice for refugees from two districts in West Punjab, while on the other there is no adequate arrangement whatsoever for refugees from Rawalpindi and Jullundur division. Yesterday a certain hon. member complained that the District Magistrate did not perform his duty properly and satisfactorily. I have no hesitation in saying this and I make bold to submit that he is a gentleman in the real sense. Day in and day out he has been ceaselessly working for ameliorating the hard lot of the poor. If the Government had in the very beginning decided that a certain tehsil would be reserved for refugees from such and such a tehsil in West Punjab, there

would have absolutely been no difficulty in the way of its solving the refugee problem which it is facing these days. At the same time if the Government had enquired as to how much land in each tehsil of this province could be reserved for refugees as a result of the evacuation of the Muslims from this province, the problem of rehabilitation would have become much easier. Government could have also enquired the number of Muslims and non-Muslim peasants tehsil-wise and thus there would have been no rush of refugees in one and the same tehsil, and nobody could get an opportunity to make any complaint or resort to any criticism against the policy of the Government in respect of rehabilitation. So far as my constituency is concerned, I wish to point out that efforts have been made in devising ways and means to save the standing crops and also to make arrangements for having fresh harvests in future in time. It has been said that the standing crops have been spoiled and that no arrangements, whatsoever, have been made to save the standing crops. But I wish to submit that Mr. Roshan Lal, the District Magistrate, has tried his best to devise ways and means of sowing seeds for the next harvest. In his opinion the work of sowing seeds in connection with permanent crops could be done later and that the present need of the hour was to start reaping the temporary harvests. Sir, the time at my disposal is very short. So far as the problem of rehabilitation is concerned, I would request the Government in general and the Minister-in-charge in particular to make tehsil-wise arrangements with a view to affording facilities to refugees. If this is done, they would be able to get at least this much information as to which place had been reserved for them. There would thus be no rush of refugees at one and the same place.

Sardar Shiv Singh (Gurdaspur North, Sikh, Rural) (*Punjabi*) : Sir, the time at my disposal is very short, while I have to say many things. Most of the refugees coming from the West Punjab have lost their all; their children have been killed. The other day I paid a visit to Madhopur where I came across destitute refugees who were in a state of utter helplessness. These people have received no help from the Government so far. It is the inhabitants of that area who have helped the refugees and who are still helping them. How can the poor people of Pathankot tehsil, who make their quilts with rags, and who are themselves almost naked for want of clothes, render any help to the refugees? The honourable Premier has remarked that rupees one crore has been set aside for the rehabilitation of the refugees and this money will soon be made available for them. The Government servants are very clever in the art of spending money. They would spend Rs. 80 lakhs for stationery and on the appointments of new magistrates out of the young lawyers. If the Government wants to appoint magistrates they should be selected out of the refugees. Out of the remaining 20 lakhs, I think hardly seven or eight lakhs would be spent on the refugees. This amount should be spent in such a way that we may also know the different amounts spent on different items such as the food, clothes and seeds for agricultural purposes.

The second thing that I want to say is regarding the Government servants. The allotment of land to the refugees is entrusted to the sub-inspectors of police and naib-tahsildars. Once I happened to come across some peasants who were being beaten by the police. I intervened and requested the sub-inspector to let me know the matter before he resumed his beating. At this, the sub-inspector told me that they were bad characters. But when I insisted to know the reality, the peasants told me that they had been looking after the crops left over by Muslims for the past two months and that day they were being asked to leave that land in favour of two or three other persons and in this way they were being ejected from the land. They further told me that those persons had got a note from the tahsildar and the sub-inspector of police had taken possession of the land. This department I think is considered as changed simply for the reason that it has come under Sardar Swaran Singh.

[S. Shiv Singh]

Thirdly, I want to point out that the administration will not improve unless the officials, work according to the wishes of the ministers. Just as the streams, rivers and fields are filled with the same water when it rains, similarly the same policy should be followed by the ministers at the top and by the lowest Government servants alike. I would like to submit that once the Governor went on a tour towards Qadian side where he held a conference with the Deputy Commissioner and the Superintendent of Police. At a distance of hardly one mile from that place, the Muslims attacked some non-muslims; then they made another attack about five miles away. In order to get some military aid we went to the Governor who asked us to go away. In that communal clash one Hindu was killed and another received injuries. We had along with us one Congressite Hindu named Prem Dass. Nobody paid any heed to him even. The Superintendent of Police who was too busy in welcoming the Governor did not care to despatch military aid. The result was that five or six male members of the family of that man and his wife were killed. Only one child escaped. How he got his food, is a mystery.

The next point that I want to place before you is regarding the Financial Commissioner who is a high official. In our ilaqa there is one Zaffarulla Khan, I do not know what relations he has with the Financial Commissioner. The Financial Commissioner does not allow us to go near him while all the sufaid-poshes, zaildars, lambardars are Muslims on every side. Taking into consideration the feelings of the Sikh population of the villages, if at all any Sikh is appointed to these posts, the person selected is such who is willing to act as a puppet in the hands of the Muslims and who would give false evidence against us by making baseless reports. Such a person has been instrumental in selling our and his own land to Qadianis. I am afraid lest I should exceed the limit of ten minutes.

Lala Bhagwan Dass (East Punjab Commerce & Industry) (*Hindustani*): Sir it has been said that there is nothing new in the budget, that it is dull and dry that our Finance Minister is not worthy of the post, that the salaries of the ministers are very high and that they should live with one "*langoti*". Besides this so many other things have been said.

Mr. Speaker: I would request the honourable member to avoid being personal.

Lala Bhagwan Dass: I am to express how I feel about them. I may inform you, about the budget, as it has been stated by others and by the "*News Chronicle*" and the "*Hindustan Times*". I would like to place before the House, two extracts from these two newspapers so that the House may know what others think about our Government. The first extract is from the "*Indian News Chronicle*." It runs as follows:

"The scheme of expenditure outlined by Dr. Gopi Chand Bhargava shows the urgent needs of the province have not been overlooked. Of special significance is the decision to raise a National Volunteer Corps for which an initial grant of Rs. 35 lakhs has been provided in the budget. Over Rs. two crores have been set apart for nation-building activities. A special allotment of Rs. 4 lakhs, which in the circumstances seems meagre, has been included for providing loans to poor people whose houses have been washed away in the recent floods. Owing to all-round increase in prices and the present high cost of living it is also proposed to give relief to the low-paid Government servants amounting to about Rs. 15 lakhs per month. A sum of Rs. two crores has been set apart for financing the Bhakra and the Nangal hydro-electric projects which are of great importance for the economic development of East Punjab. The public will be gratified to see the emphasis which the Government have placed on the industrial and agricultural progress of the province."

Now I place before the House another extract from "Hindustan Times."

Shrimati Shanno Devi Sehgal : Think about your own home.

Lala Bhagwan Dass : Every prophet is dishonoured in his own country. This extract from the "Hindustan Times" runs as follows :—

"Dr. Gopi Chand Bhargava had very good reason to describe the first budget presented by him to the East Punjab Assembly as a "very rough and sketchy survey of our financial position". The holocaust which overtook the province after partition has so dislocated its social and economic life that it will take the province several years to bring it back to a normal state. With millions of people on the move in either direction and law and order slowly reasserting itself, the new Government is trying frantically to build up some sort of an administrative machinery. It will be a miracle indeed if, under these circumstances, the revenue receipts of the East Punjab Government amount to Rs. 5,28 lakhs, as estimated in the budget. The Premier estimates the expenditure for the seven and half months from August 15 to March 31, 1948, at Rs. 7,50 lakhs, leaving a deficit of Rs. 2,30 lakhs for the period. If the communal disorders and mass migration of population are bound to affect adversely the collection of revenue, they will, at the same time, necessitate an enormous increase in expenditure which will be beyond the resources of any Provincial Government. Consequently, it will be nothing surprising if at the end of the financial year it is discovered that revenue has been over-estimated and expenditure underestimated, with the result that the deficit is far larger than the figure mentioned by the Premier in his speech."

These extracts very well show what others think about the budget of our Government. Why our own hon. members oppose it, is best known only to them.

Sardar Bachan Singh : On a point of order, sir, I want to know if the hon. member is speaking on the general administration of our province.

Mr. Speaker : The hon. member should proceed with his speech.

Lala Bhagwan Dass : What I want to impress upon the House is that the time is come when we should all work together as the true soldiers of our country. We should always endeavour for the betterment of our province and work as a team, lest we should lose this hard won freedom by petty rivalries.

Sardar Tara Singh (Ferozepore South, Sikh, Rural) (*Punjabi*) : Sir, Sardar Udham Singh has already said a good deal concerning the refugees, about whom I have also something to say. In fact I had no idea to speak to-day. But the speeches that are being delivered since day before yesterday are such that I am inclined to say a few words. Some of the members have spoken as if they were criticising the old bureaucracy. Such speeches are detrimental to the unity of this House and the best interest of our province. I want to point out that the lawlessness was already there, when the present Government came into power on the 15th August, and as such our leaders have not been given sufficient time to show their work. Ever since March last, there has been no law and order in our province. To blame the Government for this is not just. The people who are responsible for the administration could not even think of events that have taken place. The fact that about 80 lakhs of people have been uprooted from one part of the country or the other and rendered homeless, has created huge problems unprecedented in history. Moreover our Government has been in power since 15th August. As such we should give time to the Ministers to show their work and we should all work as a team. When in 1937 the Muslim League passed its resolution demanding Pakistan in its session at Lahore, we looked upon it as an idle dream. But I may point out that the Muslim members of the services have actually turned that dream into a reality and have brought about Pakistan. On the other hand, we have begun to blame the members of our services in such a short time of the coming into power of the Government without giving them any trial. I would request the House to give the members of the services a chance to show their work, and

[S. Tara Singh.]

if they do not work, then, according to the changed conditions, they may be dismissed. To-day there is a need for experts in every department. Moreover this Government is a popular Government and as such we should all co-operate with the Government and work in the true sportsmanlike spirit. We should all aim at the welfare of every citizen of our province and not allow ourselves to be carried away by partisan feelings. While in the previous Government it was not possible to get even a Sub-Inspector of Police transferred which I actually tried to do and pursued the case even up to the High Court: under the present Government you can tell your Ministers to do whatever you like. I would request the hon'ble members to co-operate with the officers and refrain from putting obstacles in their way. If they find that certain officers are not behaving properly or discharging their duties honestly, they should make a report about their conduct to the Hon'ble Minister concerned. It would be his bounden duty to see that the delinquent officers are brought to book. Then, Sir, it pains me to see the honourable members of the Ministerial party washing their dirty linen in the public. The speeches made by some hon'ble members clearly indicate their dissatisfaction with the administration. But the language used by them against the hon'ble Premier was such as did not become of a member of this august House. In Western countries where parliamentary system like ours is in vogue, the members hold the Leader of the House in great veneration. I would counsel my honourable friends to adopt this healthy practice. If they have any grievances, they can give expression to them in party meetings but not hurl baseless accusations at the hon'ble Ministers in the House. This spoils the party discipline and lowers the Ministerial Party in the estimation of the public.

Thakur Beli Ram (Kangra East General, Rural) (*Hindustani*): Mr.

4 p. m Speaker, while availing of the opportunity to speak on the general administration, I wish to place the long-standing grievance of my constituents before the House. Well, Sir, the ilaqa I represent, has been under resettlement operations for the last three years. I have time and again appealed to the Government to stop them and complete the same after the right of the zamindars regarding their share in the waste land has been fully safeguarded. It would not be out of place to mention here that in 1860 when the first resettlement of Kulu took place under the supervision of Mr. Lyal, the then Resettlement Officer, the zamindars were assured by him that the waste land in the undemarcated protected forests was their property and the Government considered itself as the trustee of this land. He also held out an assurance that whenever necessity arose, it would be restored to the zamindars. Now my submission is that the plighted word of Mr. Lyal should be honoured and the right of the zamindars in regard to this waste land be recognised by the Government before the completion of the resettlement operations. It is a thousand pities that the people of Kulu have been subjected to injustice in this respect. I would request the hon. Minister in charge to redress the wrong as no useful purpose will be served by continuing the resettlement operations. Then there is another grievance to which I want to draw the pointed attention of the Government. Perhaps you are aware, Sir, that the Kulu Sub-Division comprises one-fifth of the East Punjab and covers an area of 6,607 square miles. The people inhabiting this tract are very backward. No Government has ever cared to take pains to ameliorate the pitiable condition of the people here. Now they are confronted with a grave danger and that is the scarcity of foodgrains. This has been due to drought for the last two or three years, lack of satisfactory means of transport and destruction of crops by inundations caused by untimely torrential rains. I, therefore, request the Government to make arrangements for the supply of foodgrains to this part of the country otherwise the people will die of starvation. In this connection I would like to make a few suggestions to Government for overcoming this difficulty. The first is this. The Government should stop export of foodgrains by the rich people to the states of Bushehr, Uthangri Mandi, Suket,

Kunharson, and Simla Hill States which surround the Kulu Valley. If this is done Kulu will become self-sufficient to a considerable extent, because in reality it is not a deficit area in foodgrains. The second suggestion is that Government should put a ban on the preparation of a country fermented liquor, commonly known as *lugri*. Since this is prepared by distilling rice, the annual consumption of this foodgrain on this account works out to be twelve to sixteen thousand maunds. If this amount of rice were to be utilised for the purpose of feeding the public there would never be any danger of famine or scarcity of foodgrains in this *ilaqa*. I realise that Government will be a loser in its excise revenue but on the other hand it will be earning the goodwill of the people who will be saved from starvation. Last year as a result of my appeals Government was pleased to auction the *lugri* shops for a period of six months only, but now I understand they have decided to extend the licenses for the remaining period of the year also. I would therefore request the Government to cancel the licenses of *lugri* shops and prohibit its distillation. This will go a long way to solve the problem of famine facing the people of Kulu.

I may also invite the attention of the hon. Ministers to the fact that owing to heavy rainfall, crops have been damaged. As regards the means of communication in my *ilaqa*, the less said the better. The story goes that an overseer used to submit lengthy reports to his officers. He was once warned to be brief in his reports. It is said that when flood had wrought great havoc in the *ilaqa* under his supervision, he wrote to his office only one sentence 'the river is where the roads were'. This sentence exactly describes the condition of roads in rainy season in the Kulu sub-division of Kangra district. No sooner does the rainy season set in, then the means of communication and transport begin to become increasingly difficult. It was to some extent owing to the hardships of journey occasioned by transport difficulties that Baba Kharak Singh's son met his end. It is also for this reason that the coolies employed by the government cannot be paid for months together.

It is a matter for pity that though electricity is being generated near my constituency, it is not available to my own district. It is but meet that electricity should be provided to Kangra district for industrial and other purposes. When on the one hand so much water is being utilized for generating electricity, the Department is spending a sum of Rs. 250 only on arrangements for water supply for the whole district, which is not sufficient for arranging water supply even for a single town.

I have several times approached the Minister concerned for the establishment of a civil hospital at Kulu but my requests have gone unheeded. I again repeat my request that the present hospital at Kulu be provincialized with immediate effect.

Sir, you have been to Kulu yourself, and are well aware of the state of affairs there. Kulu is at present a sub-division. About the conduct of the officials, the less said the better. There is no change in their attitude. Corruption is rampant among them. I have been complaining against the tehsildar of Kulu for the last three or four years that he is corrupt. Recently he acted as leader of the *goondas*. Last year when the hon. Minister of Revenue was at Kulu on the occasion of Dussehra festival, I had asked for his immediate removal. But this has not been done so far.

Mr. Prabodh Chandra (Gurdaspur General, Rural) (*Hindustani*): Sir what my hon. friend Lala Bhagwan Dass has said reminds me of a meeting of Muslims held in Badshahi Mosque, Lahore, in connection with the Shahidgunj agitation, where Maulana Zaffar Ali Khan was asked to give the balance sheet in respect of the accounts of funds entrusted to him. Now the total expenditure was as much as Rs. 2,84,000 but the Maulana could produce written account of Rs. 64,000 only. Some persons among the audience began to clamour for complete accounts.

[Mr. Prabodh Chandra.]

Addressing the audience, the Maulana remarked that regular accounts are never maintained in time of war or some other national emergency and one who asks for accounts in such times is verily a traitor to the nation. A large majority of the audience consisted of ignorant people and they accepted Maulana's word with great applause. As those who wanted to see complete account in the incident I have just narrated, were branded as traitors, in the same way special motives have been imputed to those who have criticized the budget. I want to remind Lala Bhagwan Dass that all of us have suffered for the sake of our country and the period of incarceration of each one of us is more than the total period of jail life of Dr. Gopi Chand and of all his faithful followers put together. Besides when we were drudging at the grinding work as "C" class prisoners, they were eating buttered bread. I did not want to say all this but as they again attributed our criticism to unsatisfied personal desires, I could not help giving a reply. We have not been courting imprisonment for ensuring a life of ease and luxury for us in time to come. I would recite a few verses :—

جہاں کہنہ کے مفلوج فلسفہ دانو۔ زمانہ نو کے تقاضے سوال کرتے ہیں کیا ملیں اسی لئے کپڑے کے ڈھیر
 مٹی ہیں کہ دخترانِ دطن تار تار کو ترسیں کیا اسی لئے مالی نے باغ سینچا تھا کہ اسکی اپنی لگا ہیں بہار کو ترسیں۔

More than three million people have so far come from West Punjab. Why did they fall victims to the oppressors? Can they be blamed for the calamity that has overtaken them? They suffered terribly. Why? Because acting on the advice of their leaders they stuck to their guns. I know of a leader who was proclaiming till the 15th August that he carried Lahore in his pocket, meaning thereby that Lahore was sure to be included in the Indian Union. On the other hand he had already taken his valuables and household effects to some safe place in East Punjab.

پچاس لاکھ نکلے سڑے ڈھانچے سسکتے ہونٹوں سے تم سے سوال کرتے ہیں۔ یہ شاہراہیں اس لئے ہی تھیں کیا
 کہ ان پر دیش کی جنتا بلک بلک کر نرے۔

I was pained to see that while some people had arranged for carrying away their old charpoys, there was nobody to help the wounded and bleeding victims to be carried to a place of safety. Only two hundred and sixteen trucks were made available by the Government from the 15th of August up till 30th August for this purpose. Had the Government so desired they could make more extensive arrangements by requesting the Indian Government to share the burden of the huge task of evacuation. The sufferings which the people of West Punjab have undergone are the price they have paid for the sake of independence of the country and now it is as much the duty of India as that of the East Punjab to rehabilitate them. I would request the hon. Prime Minister to see that the wrongs done to these people are redressed by the whole of India.

Sardar Shiv Saran Singh : Sir, the hon. member, Lala Kidar Nath Sehgal, is reading a newspaper.

Mr. Speaker : That is not permissible.

Lala Kidar Nath Sehgal : I am sorry.

Mr. Prabodh Chandra : The hon. Premier has stressed that the Governor is only a constitutional head of the Government and the real powers are vested in the Ministers. But I would like to ask the Premier whether it is not true that six clerks of the Secretariat were suspended by the orders of the Governor.

It is not true that despite the recommendations of the Premier to reinstate them, the Governor sent a message to the Chief Secretary to serve charge-sheets on them?

Minister for Home and Revenue : The administrative services and the Secretariat Staff are under my charge and I can say that all these statements are incorrect.

Mr. Prabodh Chandra : I have got absolute proofs and can show them.

Mr. Speaker : The hon. Minister has pointed out that the statement made by the hon. member are not correct. The hon. Minister's statement must be accepted.

Mr. Prabodh Chandra : As a rule we cannot discuss the Judges of the High Court in the House but I would like to say something about the location of High Court at Simla. Our Leader Mahatma Gandhi has stressed time and again that justice should be within the reach of everybody and I have also read the article "justice from the Olympian Heights" written by Rana Jang Bahadur Singh, editor of the daily "Tribune". All these go to prove that the location of High Court at Simla is not justified in any way. I wonder how the poor can afford to come to Simla to approach the High Court. Moreover, now a days there is very little work for the Judges of the High Court and the courts close at 1 p.m. But in spite of all these things a new English Judge, Mr. Falshaw has been appointed whose age is only forty at present and who would be an unnecessary burden on the Exchequer for sixteen years more. Out of a total number of six Judges of the High Court, four are I.C.S. officers and neither they have any sympathy with the poor litigants nor can they realise their difficulties.

Seth Ganga Saran : On a point of order, Sir, Mr. Falshaw opted for the East Punjab and he is being appointed as the Judge of the East Punjab High Court. He is not a new Judge.

Mr. Speaker : That is not a point of order.

Mr. Prabodh Chandra : For the information of the hon. member I may be allowed to state that he was a temporary Judge.

I will now take up the Education Department. The Central Training College for Girls is being opened at Simla but I wonder how the persons of average means can afford to send their girls to Simla where the prices of necessities of life are much higher than in other cities. The other training college for girls is being opened at Amritsar which is only 17 miles from the boundary. I would urge that the schools and colleges for girls should be away from the frontier. I would also like to cite one or two instances of irregularities that are going on in the Education Department. As I told the House yesterday, Professor J. B. Seth has been a professor of Physics throughout his life. He is now being appointed as incharge of the Central Training College for Girls. The gentleman has lost his eyesight and cannot do any teaching work efficiently. Mr. Chawla who is senior to Mr. Amolak Ram Khanna has been superseded by the latter in the Government College, Ludhiana. In the end I request that the offices of the University should be located at Jullundur or any other place instead of Solon. I hope the Minister concerned will pay heed to these earnest requests.

Sardar Jagjit Singh Mann (Jullundur Division Landholders) (Punjabi) : Sir, yesterday Sardar Swaran Singh accused me that I was also responsible to some extent for the present ruination of the Sikh Community.

Minister for Home and Revenue : I never said these words.

Sardar Jagjit Singh Mann : I am sorry for that. But the whole world knows the persons who were at the helm of the Sikh affairs at the time of the Punjab tragedy.

Minister for Home and Revenue : On a point of order, Sir. I request the hon. member to confine himself to the general administration. Political activities or decisions taken by certain political leaders have got nothing to do with the demand for grant for general administration.

Sardar Jagjit Singh Mann : I have a right to criticise the conduct of the hon. Home Minister.

Mr. Speaker : You can discuss him in his administrative capacity but you cannot bring a personal charge against him in this discussion.

Sardar Jagjit Singh Mann : I have to clear my position.

Mr. Speaker : Did you not make a personal explanation yesterday ?

Sardar Jagjit Singh Mann : He made certain remarks against me.

Minister for Home and Revenue : On a point of order, Sir. The rule relating to making a personal explanation lays down that it can be made only after debate. That debate took place yesterday but to-day we are discussing administration. I do not think the hon. member has a right to make a personal explanation now.

Sardar Jagjit Singh Mann : Discussion on general administration covers everything.

As I have already said, the Government should have a clear cut policy about the refugees. They should be specifically informed whether they will receive any compensation for their lost property or not. What I want is that Government should clear its position about the refugee problem. As Government has set up a convention to clear its position in the House in respect of certain matters during the Budget Sessions, I think this is the most opportune time to clear its position regarding the refugees. It has been said that the share of the agricultural land given to Eastern Punjab is much less. Government should approach the Governments of the adjacent provinces and ask for some agricultural land and thus make good the deficiency. In fact the Central Government should be pressed to come to our rescue at this critical hour. But has the Government, which is already suffering from inferiority complex, any guts to approach the Central Government ? As the East Punjab province has made many sacrifices, I think it is within its right to impress upon the Central Government to come to its rescue. The loss which the Hindus and the Sikhs have suffered in the shape of movable and immovable property in West Punjab should be made good both by our Government and the Central Government. I wish to make this point clear that I have very great respect and regard for Mahatma Gandhi who is a "Mahatma" in the real sense. He wants that refugees whether Muslims or non-Muslims should be asked to go back to their respective provinces. I pray that he may succeed in his mission. In fact nobody wants to be driven away from his home land forcibly. In case he does not succeed in his mission, then all the Muslims living at present in India should be asked to go to Pakistan. I am constrained to remark that Muslims in India are carrying on their business quite smoothly while the non-muslim refugees from West Punjab who have been rendered homeless are passing their days miserably and they have hardly anything to fall back upon. Non-Muslim refugees cannot tolerate this state of affairs. It is but meet and proper on the part of the Government to look into this matter immediately. If the Government does not take any adequate steps in this direction, people will be forced to get their grievances redressed by taking law into their own hands. Government should feel its responsibility towards the aggrieved people. The refugees from West Punjab have left their bank balances undrawn in the West Punjab banks. They are not allowed to transfer their bank accounts. Government

should impress upon West Punjab Government to transfer these accounts. If it will take time then the Government should make these payments and adjust these accounts with the West Punjab Government.

Now I wish to make a few observations about the present ministry. I wish to warn the present ministry that it is not functioning properly. The people of the rural areas are dissatisfied with it. It is the bounden duty of the hon. ministers to remove this dissatisfaction of the people. In fact they must devise ways and means to improve their sad lot with a view to giving them entire satisfaction. I am really constrained to remark that none of the Hon. Ministers have ever cared to tour the districts since the assumption of their new offices. They have not even addressed meetings in any part of the province. It will not be out of place to mention here that Government is shirking to face the masses.

Minister for Home and Revenue : On a point of personal explanation, Sir, the information which the Hon. Member is placing before the House is entirely incorrect. Almost all the Ministers have not only toured the districts, but they have also addressed meetings in every district headquarters and almost in every tehsil headquarters.

Sardar Jagjit Singh Mann : Sir, the Hon. Minister says that they have addressed meetings in every tehsil headquarter. But what I want is that they should go round the masses and convince them. They should not be unmindful of this fact that unless the masses are not with them they will not be successful. I wish to make it clear that our Government is not in the good books of the Central Government even. But I wish it were not a fact.

Minister for Home and Revenue : It is entirely irrelevant as the conduct of the Central Government cannot be discussed here.

Sardar Jagjit Singh Mann : However I wish to point out that all-out efforts should be made to remove the defects in the existing administration.

Minister for Refugees and Rehabilitation : (The hon. Sardar Ishar Singh Majhail) (*Punjabi*) : Sir, I have heard with rapt attention the speeches of some of my hon. friends. They have in the course of their speeches voiced the grievances of the people who are experiencing great hardships both outside and inside the refugee camps. It has also been said that the Ministers do not care to tour the districts and that Government is shirking to face the masses. I think the hon. members holding this view have forgotten that they often blamed the Ministers for making extensive tours with a view to making huge travelling allowances. Now they complain that we do not undertake tours. The hon. members are by making such contradictory statements blowing hot and cold in the same breath. It really ill-behoves those hon. members to make such self-contradictory remarks.

It has also been said that many refugees who are at present in Karnal and other districts have no place to hide themselves in and that they are living on the roadside. I have myself toured the various districts of Ambala division particularly the districts of Karnal, Hissar, Rohtak and Gurgaon. There are no two opinions about this fact that in many districts refugees are in a miserable plight. We are not leaving any stone unturned in affording maximum help with whatever resources we have at our disposal. Hon. members do not appreciate the difficulties which we are faced with. I wish to bring this point home to the hon. members that so far Muslim refugees have not evacuated from Jullundur Division and unless their evacuation is not complete, it will be very difficult rather impossible to rehabilitate lacs of Non-Muslims in this division from West Punjab. There are about 207,500 Muslim refugees in Ambala. The number of Muslim refugees in Karnal district excluding those small pockets, the exact figures of which cannot be estimated, is 82,000. In Hissar there are 172,600 in Gurgaon 187,400 and in Rohtak, 157,000 Muslim refugees. All the agricultural land belonging to Muslims in Ambala division can be made available to our brethren from West Punjab when the evacuation of these Muslims completed.

Sardar Jagjit Singh Mann : May I ask the hon. Minister whether the figures quoted by him are from rural areas or from the refugees camps in the towns ?

Minister for Refugees and Rehabilitation : I am just coming to that. If the hon. member had waited for some time more he would not have felt the necessity of putting this question to me. There are many refugees in the villages of the districts of Karnal, Rohtak and Hissar and also in the camps. In Ambala district there are about 2 lacs of Muslim refugees living in camps covering a distance between ten to fifteen miles. These Muslim refugees have raided many of our villages with the help of Muslim military meant for their escort. We have to rehabilitate these villages which are already occupied by Muslim refugees. We are not unmindful of this fact that in the districts of Ambala and Karnal non-Muslim refugees are living in open areas and are experiencing great inconvenience. There are many obstacles in the way of rehabilitation of these refugees. It will not be out of place to mention here that almost all the patwaris and kanungos who were Muslims, have left for Pakistan and in the absence of these officials our work is suffering to a great extent. We will not be able to start work in this direction unless we have 1,220 patwaris, 186 kanungos and 68 naib-tehsildars. There is already a dearth of men in the Revenue department.

Some non-Muslim refugees from West Punjab had settled on the banks of the rivers Ravi, Beas, and Sutlej. These refugees have again been rendered homeless on account of the recent floods. The clothes that were distributed to these refugees have all become unserviceable and they have to be provided with new clothes. I may inform all my brothers that the Ministry is quite aware of the troubles of the refugees. We welcome criticism. Healthy and constructive criticism is always helpful. But criticism for criticism's sake serves no purpose. One of the hon. members stated that only the members of a particular community were rehabilitated in certain areas. He mentioned the case of Gurdaspur. This is because of the accepted policy of the Government. Colonists from colonies have to go back to their home districts and it is a mere coincidence that they belong to one particular community. The same hon. friend in the same breath advocating the cause of the people of Haryana *Prant* demanded a greater share for them in the services. While I agree that everybody should have an equal share in the Government of the country, it will not be a desirable principle to allocate appointments to various tracts or communities. Efficiency of service and administration and qualifications regardless of community and locality should be the deciding factors in the recruitment to services. Sir, a point was sought to be made against the Ministry by an hon. member regarding the work of Relief and Rehabilitation and in order to stress his arguments he used the word *sikhashahi*. I do not know what he meant by *sikhashahi*. History bears testimony to the even-handed justice meted out to all and sundry without regard to creed or caste during the period when this land of the five rivers was ruled by Maharaja Ranjit Singh. Instances can be quoted to any extent to show that the Sikh Rule that people had had for long centuries in this land of ours was the best. People lived in peace and plenty. There was little crime. If any one lost anything, under orders of the Maharaja the loss was made good by the State. Once General Mihan Singh of Kashmir put a gold necklace round the neck of a dog and let it go astray. For days the dog went round the town but nobody removed the necklace. It is, therefore, a gross misreading and a perversion of history to mention *sikhashahi* in that sense. It was the British invention to defame the Sikh Rulers and lower them in the eyes of the people. We are not sleeping over the troubles and misfortunes of the people like some of our friends. Where were they when there was trouble in cities like Lahore and Amritsar ? Where were they when floods devastated the land ? It was some of those sitting on these benches and if you will excuse a little vanity I was at the head of these persons who went out and rescued people and their property even on boats and at

the risk of their lives. But, Sir, each one speaks as he thinks. As far as food and clothing are concerned, the Ministry has made all plans for their food, clothing and their start in life in industry, trade and other professions. The decisions are that the Government will give free food to those who have no food and similarly free clothes will be given to those in need of them. The things which we have obtained constitutes a big list. I shall give a few out of them, so that you may know how much this Ministry is trying to help the refugees. We have arranged for—

- (1) 72,680 woollen blankets.
- (2) 44,225 cotton blankets.
- (3) 2 lacs quilts (The order has been issued and we hope to get four to five thousand quilts made every day.)
- (4) 88,000 coats of Military men.
- (5) 1,50,000 blankets requisitioned by the Government of India.
- (6) 100,000 *bandian*, which are very common in our country.

Besides all these things, I may inform the House that our Government is securing 3 lacs leather jersies from the Disposals Department of the Government of India. We are trying our best to protect the refugees from the cold of the fast-approaching winter and also to give free food to those who have not got food. By placing all these facts and figures, I mean to tell the hon. members what our Government is doing or has done so far, for the rehabilitation of the refugees. We are doing our duty. As regards the rehabilitation of zamindars on lands, our Government has sanctioned Rs. 32,50,000 to be given to the refugees as *taccavi* for the purchase of seed and Rs. 25 lakhs as *taccavi* for the purchase of bullocks. These two amounts have been placed at the disposal of the Deputy Commissioners of the various districts to be utilized for these purposes. I may further inform the House that most of the wells of the villages where Muslims were living, have been badly damaged resulting in a great set back to irrigation. Our Government has, therefore, sanctioned Rs. 25 lacs to build or repair one thousand wells. The fodder situation in our province is also critical. No crops could be grown in the areas surrounding the Muslim refugees camps or along the roads through which the Muslim convoys passed. Keeping in view these facts, our Government is buying 15 lacs maunds of fodder from other provinces such as the United Provinces of which 10 lacs maunds will be made available to the refugees and 5 lacs maunds will be given to others at cost price. Besides, Rs. one lakh has been sanctioned for the purchase of implements for tillers of land.

Apart from these things, the Government is keeping in view the difficulties in regard to cloth and has sanctioned Rs. 25 lakhs for the plying of 110,000 charkhas for producing more cloth under the Charkha Sangh. For this purpose fifty centres for cotton cloth and 10 for woollen will be shortly started under the control of Charkha Sangh. (*Loud cheers*).

Our Government has also sanctioned Rs. 15 lakhs to restart in the villages such professions, which were formerly occupied by Muslims and are stopped as present. I would like to point out to the House that our Government is not confining its attention to the rehabilitation of the villages, It has also in view the rehabilitation of cities and towns. Rupees 50 lakhs has been sanctioned for being distributed as *taccavi* to petty shopkeepers and for those engaged in cottage industry. To start big factories, it is proposed to form a Finance Corporation with a capital of Rs. 5 crores with the approval of the Dominion Government. Sir, so far as the rehabilitation of the refugees is concerned, I have tried, with the help of these facts and figures, to remove whatever doubts exist in the minds of some of the hon. members. We want to raise palaces over ruins in our province. The Government is also contemplating to form a Rehabilitation Advisory Board consisting mostly of non-officials, while the official members shall be there only to supply necessary facts. The advice of this Board on the distribution of property among the refugees would be accepted by Government in all matters. Half of the members of this Board will be from the West Punjab, while the other half will be from the East Punjab. (*Cheers*).

The Assembly then adjourned till 11 a. m. on Thursday, 6th November 1947.

East Punjab Legislative Assembly Debates

6th NOVEMBER 1947

Vol. I—No. 5

OFFICIAL REPORT



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SIMLA

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1948

EAST PUNJAB LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

1ST SESSION OF THE 1ST EAST PUNJAB LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

Thursday, 6th November 1947

The Assembly met in the Council Chamber, Governor-General's Lodge, Simla, at 11 a. m. of the clock. Mr. Speaker (the hon'ble Sardar Kapoor Singh) in the Chair.

DEMANDS FOR GRANTS

GENERAL ADMINISTRATION

General Policy

Mr. Speaker : The Assembly will now resume discussion on the Demand for Grant for General Administration.

Minister of Labour and Excise (The hon. Shri Prithvi Singh Azad (*Hindustani*)): Sir, I rise to make a few observations in regard to certain points referred to by the hon. members in the course of their speeches. Some of the hon. members have made such criticisms as are instrumental in creating doubts inside this House and outside in the public minds. I wish to reply to these hon. members through you. There are certain hon. members in the House who belong to such a party which is trying to instal some sort of party Government in this province. While hearing with rapt attention the speeches of those hon. members who have vehemently opposed the Government, I was reminded of an Arabic couplet which applies to them. I take this opportunity of congratulating my hon. friends Thakur Beli Ram, Professor Sher Singh and Sardar Udham Singh, Nagoke who have made some constructive suggestions to the Government. They have also in the course of their speeches impressed upon the Government the need for carrying out these suggestions so that Government may be able to render maximum service to the people of the province. But some of my friends have in the course of their speeches laid stress on this point that the present Government is not strong enough to serve the public in the real sense. They have supported their contention by levelling destructive criticisms against the Government. The very ideas that they have expressed are not really conducive to a so-called strong Government. This vehement opposition has reminded me of the Arabic couplet. I do not want to waste the time of the House by quoting the couplet. I shall however quote a Punjabi couplet which is quite synonymous with the Arabic one and which runs as follows :

ہاؤے بھراں بلیاں دے
ناں لواں میں بھراواں دا

The proverb in Punjabi means that when women go for *siapa* they actually weep for their kith and kin although they show that they were weeping in sympathy for others. Such is the case of the hon. members, who have criticised the Government. They have not done so because the Government is at fault but because they wanted to give vent to their feelings of frustration.

Mr. Prabodh Chandar : The hon. member is becoming personal.

Mr. Speaker : The hon. member should proceed with his speech.

Minister for Labour and Excise : Sir, I was under the impression that we have no opposition here in this House. But on hearing the speeches of some of my hon. friends who have levelled destructive criticism against their own Government, I have come to this conclusion that we have in this House men like Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan and others who would leave no stone unturned in levelling destructive criticism against their own Government. But I wish to point out that by levelling such unhealthy criticism, they do not really intend to have better administration in the province but they only want to weaken the Government.

Pandit Shri Ram Sharma : On a point of order, Sir. I want to know whether it is relevant or irrelevant to draw any party into discussion in this House. Yesterday also, I requested you to give your ruling. What I want to know is whether discussion on the same topic is relevant for an hon. Minister and irrelevant for hon. members.

Mr. Speaker : Everything which is irrelevant, is irrelevant, no matter uttered by whom. The hon. Minister up to the moment has only suggested that the criticism levelled against the Government will not be helpful for better administration and it may be harmful.

Pandit Shri Ram Sharma : You were pleased to give your ruling that members belonging to one and the same party should not resort to criticism. I submitted before you yesterday that the members have a right to criticise their own Government. But you had ruled it as irrelevant.

Mr. Speaker : The hon. member should know that the Minister has to reply to the criticisms offered by all the members and, therefore, though to some extent what he says is irrelevant all the same he has to reply and for that reason he requires some latitude. I am here to see what is relevant and what is not. I will allow all that is relevant and not personal. I will not however allow any personality to be drawn into the discussion.

Pandit Shri Ram Sharma : I wish to submit that the hon. Ministers have maintained that the members are not within their rights to level criticisms against their own Government. I submitted that they were within their rights to do so.

Minister for Labour and Excise : I wish to submit that members have every right to make constructive criticism with a view to making the Government serve the people in the real sense. I for one welcome their suggestions but I wish to make it clear that the manner in which they advance criticism tends to weaken the Government. It is clear from the speeches of the hon. members, I am forced to say, that we have an Opposition in this House. In this connection I am reminded of the following verses which aptly apply to these hon. members :

خوب پردہ ہے کہ حکمن سے لگے بیٹھے ہیں
چھپ گئے رہتے بھی نہیں سامنے آتے بھی نہیں۔

The argument that they want to level criticisms with a view to make it more strong, seems to be quite baseless. This is only an excuse with which they want to cover their intentions to weaken the Government.

Pandit Shri Ram Sharma : Sir, I want your ruling on this point whether it is relevant for a Minister to discuss this point in the House or in other words

whether a member belonging to the same party is within his rights to criticise his own Government. If your ruling is in favour of it, then hon. members should be given a chance to prove that they have a right to criticise the Government.

Mr. Speaker : So far he has not said anything which is personal. In any case the hon. member himself said a lot more and the hon. Minister has to reply to the criticism which the hon. member has himself offered.

Minister for Labour and Excise : I thank you for maintaining what I have already said, that is, that every hon. member is within his rights to level criticism provided the criticism is constructive and is meant to strengthen the Government and that destructive criticism should not be resorted to in this House. It has been said that an unnecessarily large number of Ministers have been appointed. Another hon. member went to the extent of saying that the hon. Ministers are not only *faltu* but *paltu* also (*laughter*). It has been said that an unimportant portfolio has been assigned to me. This argument advanced by the hon. members seems to be quite baseless. I have not been given the so-called unimportant portfolio because of being a Harijan Minister. If the hon. members holding this view were to look into the Budget they would find that the portfolio I am holding is quite important and it includes Labour and Excise departments. It will not be out of place to mention here that the income of the Taxation Department is about Rs. 1,81,63,000 for seven months. I am not only in charge of Labour and Excise but I am also in charge of Taxation, where I can serve my brothers well. I have to say something about excise. There is good deal of income from excise. We do not wish to keep it; we are trying to close it by and by. My Government does not like to exist on the income of Excise Department. We would like to end it for good. But due to the critical times through which we are passing, we have to think twice before we take a step. If we cast a glance over the Budget, we find that it is a deficit Budget. But we shall eliminate this department by and by. We have beneficent departments also in view, such as Education Department, where we can serve the province very well. Further we cannot take any step against excise all of a sudden due to the situation of our province, which is surrounded by States. Unless the Rulers of States stop the distillation of wine, we cannot accomplish our end. We want to stop distillation of wine, but we cannot do so all of a sudden. We shall see that it is done in due course of time. My colleagues are devoting their full attention to it. One of the hon. members had asked us to stop illicit distillation of wine. I may inform my brother that my Government is doing its best to stop such illicit distillation. Government servants will do whatever they can. We wish to have the co-operation of the public as well. There is also an objection that there is no recognition of excise officers. My Government had a conference on this matter and they considered the question of providing uniform to the Excise and Taxation officials, but all this requires time. At present all of us are fully engrossed in the refugee and rehabilitation problem and have therefore not been able to devote primary attention to this subject.

Much has been said about the refugees and my colleague Sardar Isar Singh Majhail has tried to explain the whole position but certain points have been left.

I would not call those who have come from West Punjab, as refugees, because refugees are those who have committed something bad and have come. They are living as martyrs; they have sacrificed everything for the freedom of their country, and this Government will serve them in every way. We cannot close our doors to them. An hon. member has pointed out to stop '*lugri*' in Kulu area. *Lugri*, I may inform you, is a sort of wine extracted from rice. We want to stop it also. But my friends must know that the Brahmins of Kulu use

Minister for Labour and Excise]

lugri in their worship of Gods and unless they agree to abandon it, we cannot stop it; whether it is *lugri* or wine, it has to be prohibited. All intoxicants *sulfa* and *ganja*, etc., are all various sorts of diseases and are under consideration of the Government. Whenever a decision is arrived at, we will put it before you.

Regarding Harijans and their betterment, I may inform you briefly that Rs. 8 lacs have been allotted under this item. It will be spent on their education and uplift. A scheme has been planned, by which all young Harijans will be educated within ten years. None among them will be illiterate. Obstacles in the way of Harijans will be removed and they will be able to have free education from the infant class up to degree standard. We have to educate the backward classes and raise them to a uniform standard. It has been frequently pointed out by our friends, both inside and outside the House that the Government is not doing anything for the Harijans. I may inform the House through you that our Government is trying to uplift the Harijans of our province through cultural methods. Even in the Services, the Government is trying its best to give proper representation to the Harijans, and their economic and cultural progress is engaging the careful attention of the Government. Untouchability, I may point out, cannot be removed through legislation; it can rather be removed through the Gandhian way of service with special attention towards their education and culture. It is this latter method that our Government has adopted for the uplift of Harijans. Even Mahatma Gandhi, our *Rashtriya Pita*, is following the same method.

Some of my friends raised certain objections yesterday regarding the rehabilitation of refugees and they have been met to a great extent by my able friend, the honourable Minister of Refugees and Rehabilitation. But he has not been able to reply to all the objections, perhaps due to the shortness of time. For instance, it has been alleged that the refugees, after they cross the Indo-Pakistan border and reach our Province are not informed as to where they should go and settle down, with the result that they have to go about aimlessly at great inconvenience to them from one place to another. I want to inform the House that the Ministry is not to blame for all this. Almost every refugee knows the place and the district where he is scheduled to go. But the standard of living of the people who come from the West Punjab was so high that they are generally not satisfied with the houses of the Muslims who have been evacuated to Pakistan. The result is that they go about from one place to another in search of better houses and better land. I remember that we made some of our refugee brothers settle down in Ferozepore district. After some time they went to Karnal, leaving behind some of their relatives, in search of more lands and better houses. These sufferers themselves go from place to place and the Government is not to blame for that. I would like to make this appeal to the House that, if they are earnest about serving the people of East Punjab, they should keep in view the principle of Mahatma Budha. Three things are required for the progress of a country, namely, organization, unity and wisdom. With these words I thank you, Sir, for giving me this opportunity to remove certain misunderstandings.

Lala Kedar Nath Sehgal (Amritsar, General, Rural) (*Hindustani*) : Sir, in the speeches that have been delivered since day before yesterday, some of the hon. members have been complaining against the Ministry.

Mr. Speaker : I would remind the hon. member that there is no time limit for the Ministers but there is a time limit for other members.

Chaudhri Suraj Mal : Why this distinction ?

Mr. Speaker : This is always the case, because the Ministers have to reply to the criticism by the members.

Lala Kedar Nath Sehgal : I wanted to point out, Sir, that this Assembly would have been considered as lifeless if there had been no criticism. Those occupying the ministerial benches and their supporters should rather exult at the fact that their shortcomings have been pointed out to them. Our honourable Ministers do not know what people think about them. If they have not got the courage to face the public, I think they should better go in disguise to ascertain the feelings of the public on this subject. I admit that we should not indulge in personal attacks, nor should we say anything to offend anybody. But all the same, we have every right to express our opinion on the work of the Government. It has been said by some of the hon. members that the present Government has been only in power for one and a half months or two and as such could not have worked a miracle with the help of Aladin's lamp, according to the words of our hon. Home Minister, to restore law and order in the province. I would like to point out that before the Government came into power, the machinery of the Government such as offices, transport, etc., were in working order. But as soon as the power passed into the hands of the present Government on the 15th August 1947, the whole administration got upset.

As there was complete chaos in the country, the people began to wonder whether August 15 heralded the dawn of liberation of the country or its destruction. In this connection I am reminded of a heart-rending incident. One day in Jullundur, while I was passing through a bazar, an old woman of Lahore caught hold of my coat and said in tears that this was the type of independence cherished by the Congress. She remarked in very moving terms that her children were squatting on the road-side for want of shelter and crying for want of food and clothes. My heart went out in sympathy for her and I did what I could to help her. But the matter does not stop here. The whole humanity that has migrated to the East Punjab is groaning as a result of lack of law and order in the province. I say if the hon. Ministers could not cope with the situation and failed to restore normal life and create a feeling of security in the public, then it behoved them as also their Services to at least express sympathy with the distressed people and offer them a few words of solace. However, what I feel is that if the Hon. Ministers had at the time of holding the reins of government dealt with the situation with firmness and put down lawlessness with an iron hand things would have been different to-day. The people would have been saved much of the hardships which they are still experiencing as a result of the breakdown of Governmental machinery. Well, Sir, I perfectly remember that, during the first World War when the British ruled India, not for a single day the trains stopped. But under an independent Government like ours, the means of communication and transport are conspicuous by their absence. It is now more than two months since the Government came into power but it has not been able to make satisfactory arrangements of rail transport. We are told that the Ministers are helpless in that matter because the railways are under the control of the Central Government. This argument does not appeal to me because I still hold that Provincial Governments can do a lot in this direction. Now what is the position if a person has to undertake a journey even for a short time? He first embraces his people as if he is going to some place of pilgrimage like Hardwar. In olden days people used to do like that because there were no railways and nobody was sure when he would return. So now travelling has become a problem for the people. We find them huddled up not only in the compartments but also overcrowding the roofs of the bogies and very often loss of life takes place in the trains. Is this state of affairs to be called independence? Of course the *goondas* have achieved freedom. They can stop the trains whenever they like and for any amount of time. What I want to drive at is that if the Government had handled the situation firmly and tactfully things would not have come to the present deplorable pass. The natural conclusion one can draw from this sad state of affairs is that the Government is highly inefficient and that is a fact. Had it not been the case, the Government of India would not have placed the hon. Ministers under a court

[L. Kidar Nath Sehgal]

of ward. The appointment of a super-Minister, namely, Mr. Gopalswami Aiyanger, for looking after the refugee work, shows the way the wind blows and supports the charge I have levelled against the Government. Is it not a pity that a Ministry comprising of seven stalwarts cannot efficiently administer a small province of 13 districts? My head hangs down in shame, rather than of every right thinking person who feels the responsibility, to see our Ministers placed under a court of wards.

Mehta Ranbir Singh : On a point of order, Sir. Can this House discuss the appointments made by the Central Government?

Mr. Speaker : The hon. member can make a reference to those appointments; he is not out of order in referring to them.

Lala Kedar Nath Sehgal : My hon. friend is getting restive. It is not his fault. He cannot control his habit of talking too much. (*Laughter*). By making this interruption he has unwittingly supported my point. I was submitting that seeing the inefficiency of this Government, the Indian Government felt the necessity of imposing their Minister over it to direct the work of relief and rehabilitation.

Now, Sir, I come to the Police. The less said about it, the better. It has remained as callous and unsympathetic as it used to be under the bureaucratic regime. As a matter of fact its high-handedness has become proverbial and it maintains its notoriety in this respect. I am reminded of an incident which elucidates the attitude of the police and the position of the public at large. Once a man's house was burgled. He went to the police station to lodge a report. But the moharrir would not do it. He greased the palm of the latter by offering a five rupee note and asked him to put down those articles also which were not taken away by the thieves. The moharrir was astonished and asked the reason. The man told him that whatever he had was stolen and whatever was left was likely to be devoured by the police, if it did not appear in the First Information Report. (*Laughter*). This is exactly what the police is doing in the province. They are fleecing the poor uprooted people. In fact the police *burchhagardi* is undescrivable. I feel and the hon. members also feel that if our Ministers had taken strong measures to quell lawlessness, the province would have been saved of the chaos prevailing in the province. As a matter of fact the police do not care for the hon. Ministers. It will not be out of place to mention here that during my period of long detention of six years in a camp, I found that whenever the Superintendent of Police visited it, the Sub-Inspector in charge would shiver in his shoes during the time of inspection. He would make every effort to show that the camp was in perfect order. But what do we find in our province? The police commits atrocities and indulges in acts of highhandedness without caring for anybody, not even the hon. Ministers. I am aware that there are some honourable exceptions in this department but I am of the opinion that those police officers who still consider themselves masters of the people, should be discharged forthwith and replaced by suitable personnel drawn from the public spirited people. I am pained to see how the people have been scared by the feeling of insecurity. Some are wearing *karas* that is, iron bangles worn by Sikhs. This they do to save their lives lest they should be mistaken for Muslims and killed. Some are wearing sacred thread for this purpose. Is this the law and order which the hon. Ministers claim to have restored? I am sure, Mr. Speaker, even you will not be spared by *goondas* if they were to find you alone and they knew that you have something with you. I would, therefore, request the hon. Ministers to see things for themselves and not go by the reports of the police officers. They should not be pleased or flattered by their *salams*. I would ask them not to act like that Rajput Zamindar who finding somebody stealing sugarcane from his farm, wanted to kill him but when the thief, who was clever enough, *salamed* him, he felt so pleased that his

anger melted in a moment and offered the thief more sugarcane than he had so far stolen. (*Loud laughter*). What I want to emphasise is that the hon. Ministers should not feel flattered at the *salams* of the police officers. They should see how they behave towards the public and how they treat them.

Pandit Durga Chand Kaushish (Ambala Division, Landholders) : Mr. Speaker, the House has heard a good deal on behalf of the Government. I believe, Sir, that their actions are not so unquestionable as my friends whom some honourable members call 'aspirants for Ministership' would make us believe. It has been said that criticism has been levelled against the Government by those who are disgruntled. I want to make it clear to those who are indulging in that sort of propaganda that our real aim is to help the Government by pointing out to them their errors. To err is human and I think it is our duty as the elected representatives of the province to bring home to the Government their shortcomings. It does not mean that we do so because we are office seekers.

Minister for Home and Revenue : Are they prepared to take upon themselves the responsibilities of the Government or not ?

Pandit Durga Chand Kaushish : Yes, they are.

Minister for Home and Revenue : Then they are aspirants. (*Laughter*).

Pandit Durga Chand Kaushish : I am glad that the Home Minister himself has interrupted me because I have got something to say about his department. I will draw his attention to what has happened recently. I wonder what the Home Minister has got to say about it. Only a few days back we read a news that in Karnal four soldiers were shot by the Muslims. I do not know whether they were evacuees or not, but the news did appear in papers. Another incident that I want to point out to the Home Minister although strictly speaking it does not concern our province—but since we are on the frontier we must be cautious about it—is the significant remark of a Muslim Leaguer in the United Provinces Assembly, namely, 'We shall create Pakistan here'. I wonder whether the Home Minister has heard the broadcast speech of Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan and seen what appeared in the papers this morning. Had the honourable Minister taken note of all these things, he would not have got up to interrupt me but would have tightened up his belt to see every inch of our frontier guarded and our motherland defended. Sir, the Karnal incident, the remarks of a Muslim Leaguer, Mr. Liaquat Ali's speech on the radio and Mr. Ghazanfar Ali's propaganda show that we still have quite a lot of fifth columnists in our country. I do not mean to put down every Muslim in our country as a fifth columnist, but certainly by far a large majority of them have voted for Pakistan by playing the role of fifth columnists in our country. I would like to know what our Home Minister has done to safeguard the interests of our motherland against the activities of those fifth columnists. Sir, I see that he is still quiet and he has nothing to say.

Mr. Speaker : He does not want to interrupt you, because this is your maiden speech.

Pandit Durga Chand Kaushish : If the hon. Minister wants to reply I shall resume my seat and give him an opportunity.

Minister for Home and Revenue : May I assure the hon. member that I am noting down all his points and I will certainly take notice of them in my speech.

Pandit Durga Chand Kaushish : We have no desire to push out every Muslim who is present here, but certainly we are not going to take any chance and I say that because the hon. Minister for Refugees and Rehabilitation yesterday said that they are unable to carry out any programme within five miles of any refugee camp. What is the reason ? Sir, he explained it himself and said that frequently attacks come from the Pakistan refugees or from the Pakistan guards

[Pt. Durga Chand Kaushish].

that are guarding them over here. Now, Sir, let me go back to the incident at Karnal. It was also reported that a 303 rifle along with some ammunition was recovered from a Muhammadan resident of Karnal and this Muhammadan confessed before the Police, and the Home Minister can confirm it from his department if he likes, that the rifle and ammunition was given to that Muhammadan by a Major of the Pakistan Army, who had come to evacuate some families. I do not know, Sir, how long this Government is going to put up with that sort of thing. If they acquiesce in that sort of thing what is going to happen? I fear that if tomorrow the Kashmir incident develops into a national emergency or to put it differently, if this undeclared war by Pakistan takes a serious turn, you will see that these people either in the refugee camps, in the pockets here and there, are going to be the espionage corps of Pakistan. Take this warning from me to-day that they are going to blow up your highways, they are going to paralyse your lines of supply and they are going to paralyse your system of communications, and they are going to shoot you and me and all our essential personnel. Where is that security guard of our frontier province and where is that police of the Home Minister which is looking after that essential part of it? To look up to the Defence Department or to the Government of India for all these things, I think, is not a wise policy. Are you going to be refugees in the rest of India later because you do not like to look to your own problems? You want the Defence Department to send down their forces. I suggested to this Government not only weeks before but months before that we should immediately get a Home Guard ready for our frontier. We are witnessing every day raids on this point or that point. We heard that five thousand rifles were obtained from the Government of India for distribution to the people of the border. May I ask the Home Minister whether these five thousand rifles are still there or they have been distributed? How long is our border? To each village or I should say to a group of villages only one rifle can be allotted. I ask the hon. Home Minister through you, Sir, how he has distributed these rifles.

Mr. Speaker : The hon. member will please wind up his speech; he has only one minute more.

Pandit Durga Chand Kaushish : I feel that not only in the interests of the Punjab, but in the interests of this dear motherland of ours, this Government should rise above these petty considerations of trying to negative this gentleman's speech or of that gentleman's speech and they should take up matters in right earnest and see that if at all a national emergency arises, the Punjab will defend this dear motherland of ours inch by inch and by shedding every drop of its blood. I find the Government is not acting.

Mehta Ranbir Singh (Ludhiana and Ferozepore, General, (Rural), (*Hindustani*) : Sir, I intend to point out the drawbacks in the Administration and I want also to put before the House some practicable suggestions to improve the administration. The work of the Government is carried on by two sets of persons. One set comprises the members of the Legislature and the other consists of those persons who are members of the services. The latter comes daily in contact with the public and the administration is judged by the merits and the demerits of this set.

The present services were organised by the British Government and they have come to us as a legacy of the British rule. Nor are they suited to these changed circumstances of the country, nor is the public satisfied with them. While creating these services, the British bureaucrats had only one aim before them and that was the retaining of their hold over the country and exploiting it to the utmost. They were not prompted by any object of serving the country or improving the lot of the poor. To carry out their evil designs, they employed two kinds of people in these services. One kind consisted of those persons who were their henchmen and whose ancestors had rendered meritorious services to the

British Government playing the role of traitors to their own country. The other set comprised of those persons who entered the services through competition and in the words of late Lala Hardyal were only "Intellectual Prostitutes". The ideal before them was not the service of their own country but the consolidation of foreign rule and earning of fat salaries, etc. Things have now changed and the responsibility of overhauling these services lies on the shoulders of the present ministry. I have full confidence in the ability of the Home Minister and am sure that he will do his best to put an end to the corruption prevalent in the services at present. I have no doubt that he will carry out this difficult job irrespective of caste, creed or the family connections of the persons concerned and will employ the criterion of integrity for judging them. Just as a rotten limb is a source of danger to the whole body and should be chopped off unhesitatingly, similarly a corrupt person in the services is a menace to the efficiency of the whole administration and there should be no hesitation in sacking him. On some other occasion I will bring before the House the names of some of the corrupt officials and hope that the hon. members will also perform their duty by bringing such officials to book without having any regard of their relationship to them.

Now I want to say a few words about the House. The opposition benches in the House are lying vacant and it is not due to any fault of ours, but on the other hand, the wrong course adopted by the former occupants of these benches is responsible for this vacuum. It would have been better if they had not adopted that attitude and participated in this session after the achievement of independence.

It is said that the Opposition springs up even where it does not exist already. It is argued that just as vice and virtue exist together, similarly the presence of 'Ayes' and 'Noes' in a Legislature is but natural. Some of my hon. friends have taken upon themselves to play the role of Opposition, I do not know whether they are performing their duty but I would request them to search their hearts for a moment and see as to which party they owe their allegiance. Many members who style themselves as the Opposition party have passed taunting remarks on us saying that the members who support the Ministers belong to the 'loyalist party'. But there is no reason why we should feel shy of being dubbed as such. It has also been said time and again, that the Leader of the House and other Minister have been nominated by the Congress High Command. But I very emphatically refute this charge and declare that the Leader has been in a way elected unanimously and he has at present the support of most of the members of the House.

Pandit Shri Ram Sharma : On a point of order, Sir. I want to know whether the aspirants to Parliamentary Secretaryship are also entitled to clarify the position of the Ministers. (*Laughter*).

Mehta Ranbir Singh : Mr. Speaker, I was telling the House that a few members are persisting in their old hostility to the Leader of the House. They have wasted much time of the House in levelling criticism against the Ministers, but now they should have patience to hear their accusations repudiated.

I want to say something about the speech delivered by my hon. friend belonging to Hissar district. He delivered a long sermon on Gandhism and I was rather surprised to know where from this Gandhite had sprung up all of a sudden. But presently a couplet of Iqbal flashed across my mind and my difficulty was solved.

اقبال بڑا ابلشک سے من کا توں میں کوئی نہیں ہے
گفتار کا غازی بن گیا کردار کا غازی بن نہ سکا۔

I think the same applies to my hon. friend who professes to be a staunch Congressman but does not care to wear even *khadi* on his body.

Chaudhri Sher Singh (Jhajjar, General, Rural) (*Hindustani*): Sir, yesterday when my hon. friend Mr. Prabodh Chander in the course of his speech was referring to the Training College I was reminded of a Russian Professor who says that "those who can teach cannot teach and those who cannot even teach teach how to teach". He said that a person who had no experience of training has been appointed or is going to be appointed as Principal of the Training College. This is not a new thing. The professor of the training college should be like those professors about whom the Russian professor has said, "Those who cannot even teach teach how to teach". I am pleased to hear the hon. Premier who assured the House that special priority has been given to Bhakhra Project and Nangal Scheme and that the districts of Hariana will not be ignored. There is no doubt about it that all out efforts are being made to complete the Bhakra Project and the Nangal Scheme at the earliest possible movement.

12 Noon. Now I wish to make few submissions about the "Peasants Welfare Fund". This fund has been stopped by the Government. But it has given me a great pleasure to hear the hon. premier assuring the House that the monetary assistance which used to be provided for the poor people in rural areas will continue in future. In fact we were surprised and at the same time grieved to learn as to why the "Peasants' Welfare Fund" which was meant for improving the hard lot of the peasants was stopped by the Government. However what I wish to point out is this that the Scholarship fund which used to be given to the sons of poor peasants previously should be created afresh with a view to help the deserving sons of the poor peasants.

Now coming to the General Administration, our province is passing through a crisis at present. The present raid on Kashmir by the Pakistan armies is a clear indication of an undeclared war between the two dominions. It is clear from this that the time will not be far off when war will be actually declared. But presumably these dominions cannot declare war till the 31st March. But the present condition clearly indicates that after 31st March there is every likelihood of war being declared by the dominions. We have about 5 months at our disposal and we must make full preparation during this intervening period. We must behave in this direction like belligerent nations. The hon. Minister for Home and Revenue has in the course of his speech remarked that all out efforts will be made to provide arms to suitable persons of the province. But I wish to point out that he has not made any innovation. Sometime ago I impressed upon him the need to provide arms to the people of this province which is the sword arm of India with a view to strengthen the frontier defence forces. But I am constrained to remark that no adequate step has so far been taken by the hon. Minister in this direction. It is not out of place to mention here and I make bold to submit that the same old policy of delay and drift is being followed by the present Ministry even now. People of my district have approached the Deputy Commissioner in large numbers daily for the sake of licences for Arms and so far no action has been taken by him in this direction. There is no adequate arrangement for making arms and ammunition available to those persons to whom licences have already been given. Arms and ammunition lying in malkhanas at present should have been distributed among the license-holders. But what I hear is that arms and ammunition are not supplied to license-holders by the Deputy Commissioner. I wish to bring this point home to the hon. Minister that men of my *illaqa* are war-like people and some of them are even prepared for active service. Some of them have already received military training while some are at present in active service. I would like to suggest that more attention should be paid to "Refresher course". In this connection 35 lakh of rupees have been provided in the Budget.

for organising the National Volunteer Corps. We have not made any preparations whatsoever for the defence of our province. Grave dangers confront us. We must learn a lesson from the events in Kashmir, which is going to decide the fate of the Dominions, Hindustan and Pakistan. We must fully train our young men who may fight on the frontier for defending the province. So far we have not made any preparation in this direction. I have no hesitation in saying this that if the conditions in Kashmir grow worse our youngmen should offer their services to the State, in driving the raiders away. Our Government must also render all possible help to the State at this critical hour. In these circumstances it is but meet and proper on the part of the Government to recruit as many young men as possible and give them suitable training. Work of the organisation of the volunteer corps should be taken up immediately, and training camps should also be opened. If we want our country to become a strong nation we will have to make adequate arrangements to keep our defence forces fully armed and ready for defending our frontier. What I see these days is this that officers have become very careless. Government is not paying any attention towards this question. It is the bounden duty of the Government to improve the civic life of the people, so that they may live in peace. Government must remove the difficulties of the people.

There is one more point to which I want to draw the attention of the Government and that is that Government instead of arresting the real culprits has arrested so many innocent people without any rhyme or reason. These innocent people most of whom are peasants have left their ploughs in the fields and are rotting in the jails. Government had not the guts to arrest the real culprits but has instead arrested these innocent peasants. If Government continues making such arrests the result will be that the morale of the people will fall low and people will start hating the Government. In fact people have started hating the Government for adopting such tactics. I would like to appeal to the hon. Ministers not to coerce the innocent poor people. Government should issue instructions to all the officers not to coerce the innocent people to whatever caste, creed or race they may belong to. It will not be out of place to mention here that the Inspectors and Sub-Inspectors of Police, while making investigations in the villages arrest these innocent villagers under the Public Safety Ordinance on the plea of not giving correct information.

Sardar Gurbachan Singh (Ferozepore West,) Sikh, Rural) (*Punjabi*): Sir, whatever happened in the East Punjab, was forced upon us, due to the happenings in the West Punjab and what is needed in the Punjab and in the Province is complete identity of purpose in the people and the Government. Rehabilitation of those who have been ruined altogether should be our foremost duty. It is the responsibility of the Government to supply them with the necessities of life; their wounds should be dressed. Although they will have bitter remembrances, yet they are our brothers and it is our duty to help them. As regards rehabilitation we should not neglect our duty. We are glad to hear from the hon. Minister that the Punjab Government as well as the Government of India are doing their best and they are not neglecting their duties. The Minister of Excise said, that refugees are wandering from one place to another for nothing. I may inform the hon. Minister, that when people approach the officers, they are told that there is no land. There is no considered plan so far chalked out. There are instances of certain people going very late and still they got land. We should lose no time in the rehabilitation of the refugees. Then there is a great need for technical and industrial institutions and this requires immediate attention of the Government. Land in the East Punjab is not sufficient for the refugees to settle on. The Government should approach the Indian Dominion Government for help, so that we may help those who have been totally ruined. My constituency is

[S. Gurbachan Singh]

situated in a backward area. The people are quite illiterate. From 1937 to 1947 there has been provincial autonomy, but no justice has been shown to us. The Harijans complain that they are treated as scheduled castes, but we are also treated like scheduled castes. If education is imparted there, crimes will lessen, trade will increase, people will be able to bring their commodities into the markets.

My constituency is situated on the border. I request the Government to distribute arms among the people and to impart training; otherwise arms without the knowledge of their use will be of no use. It is a question of defence and concerns the Indian Dominion Government. If war is declared, as it has been the case in Kashmir, we may not be taken unawares. Therefore, all arrangements should be completed in time. All this is to be done by the Government.

There was no good arrangement for the allotment of agricultural land. In the first instance, it was not allotted and if it was allotted, it took a very long time. I do not think that there was any non-official agency. This thing should be done by the officers in charge with the co-operation of the public; only then we can succeed. I request my hon. friends to co-operate. I draw the attention of the Prime Minister to the fact that the piloting of our boat through these difficult times requires great effort on his part and on the part of his colleagues and I hope and pray that he and his colleagues in the cabinet will be able to discharge this responsibility well.

Mr. Speaker : I have still got a long list of honourable members who wish to participate in the debate. I may inform the House that guillotine is to be applied at 3-30 p.m. So we have got only a hundred minutes more and out of these 100 minutes the Ministers want to take 85 minutes. If the House unanimously agrees, half an hour may be taken from the lunch interval and the time limit for each speech may be reduced to five minutes.

Honourable Members : Yes.

Mr. Speaker : Should we break for lunch at half past one to-day?

Honourable Members : Yes.

Chaudhri Mangoo Ram (Hoshiarpur West, General, Rural) (*Punjabi*): Sir, to begin with I would like to request you that considering the fact that we are scheduled castes, the time allowed for us should not be only five minutes. I want to place before the House and through you before the East Punjab Government certain things regarding my *achhut* brethren. As you know the incoming of the refugees still continues. I agree with other honourable members who have asserted that all possible help should be given to every refugee. But it is regretted that our refugees cannot find shelter anywhere. Those poor people complain that they are as much entitled to get help, as other refugees who have come from the West Punjab. They have not suffered less in any way. In the first place, they are not given any facilities and if at all they succeed in getting some house or land allotted to them by the higher officials, the local officials and other persons do not allow them to occupy it. As a result of this they have to go about from one place to another. Our Government should help these *achhoot* brethren also.

I represent here the people of that district which is the most backward and poor. The recent floods in the rivers have caused havoc in this *ilaga*. Most of the villages of poor Harijans have been washed away in these floods and the crops of the farmers have been ruined. The Government should pay attention towards these people also. If farmers are in distress we cannot remain indifferent. It is, therefore, the duty of our Government to render as much help to these people as possible. The poor Harijans whose houses have been washed away have neither any place under which they can take shelter nor any clothes to put on. They are now like refugees. The Government should

help these flood-stricken people just as it is helping the refugees. The Government has set aside Rs. 40 lakhs for the relief of these people. I would like to submit that this amount is not sufficient. It should be more than that. It has also been pointed out that this money will be given to the sufferers in the form of loans. But I want that this amount should be given as aid and not as loans to be paid back.

The next thing that I would like to place before you is regarding the formation of Volunteer Corps. The scheme in itself is quite good. But if its formation and control are entrusted to the local officers like the Deputy Commissioners and Superintendents of Police and they are made all powerful, these officials will not let us go near them and we will have no voice in the matter. What I want to submit is that this Volunteer Corps should be formed in consultation with the members of the Assembly and they should also have some hand in its control. Otherwise the officials will only have one more opportunity to practise favouritism. These officials think that we are only *Kammins* and can do no harm to them. I would like to point out that these menials have stood with the people of Punjab through thick and thin since times immemorial. If the Government does not help these *achhoots*, I would think that we are under the same old Government from which we have won our liberation.

One thing more, which is very important. The honourable members very well know that the prices are soaring high and even those people who are drawing salaries as high as Rs. 2,000 per month are complaining that they cannot make both ends meet. Under such circumstances you can imagine the condition of those sweepers who are getting only Rs. 14 per month as pay. What a great injustice it is that the man who does the meanest job which no one else is willing to do, should be paid such a small salary. I would like to submit that if our Government is really a Government of the free people, it must pay attention to these sweepers.

Sardar Waryam Singh (Batala, Sikh, Rural) (*Punjabi*): Mr. Speaker, Sir, our country is now free and I believe that the system of our administration should be so regulated that the people may really feel the thrill of freedom. As you are aware, Sir, the major portion of our provincial revenues comes from the pockets of the tiller of the soil but it is a thousand pities that no relief is being afforded to him in the matter of land revenue. The present system of assessment of land revenue was introduced by the British. Since their régime has come to an end, I feel that a radical change should be brought about in it. I am rather of the opinion that the assessment of land revenue should be made on the basis of income tax, so that the poor peasants may get some relief and large agricultural incomes are subjected to taxation. Besides this, the poor peasants are experiencing great hardship for want of proper medical relief and lack of adequate arrangements for the education of their children. In this connection I would like to make a suggestion to Government. I hold the view that all the denominational institutions should be taken over by the Government and provincialised. Then compulsory primary education should be introduced. This is most essential if we want to liquidate illiteracy from the rural people. Government should pay active attention to the pressing need of medical relief to the poor peasantry. They are suffering a lot for want of properly equipped dispensaries which for miles are not available as they are situated at distant places. To meet this difficulty of the *zamindars*, I think Government should establish moving hospitals in the villages. Each moving hospital will cater to the needs of ten villages. Each moving hospital will consist of a lorry well equipped with medicines and surgical instruments. The people of the area to be covered by this moving hospital will be instructed to assemble their patients at a particular place in each village. The doctor would attend to the patients for half an hour and then move with his hospital to the next village and so on till the round is completed within a reasonable time. This system will go a long way to alleviate the distress of the afflicted people.

[S. Waryam Singh]

Then, Sir, I want to draw the attention of the Government to this fact that as my district is situated on the border line, the people have been very much frightened as a result of raids on Kashmir and Jammu by the tribesmen of North-West Frontier Province. They are leaving the district lest they should be attacked by them. I would therefore request the Government to make adequate defence arrangements here to restore public confidence. Besides, there is another difficulty confronting the people of my district and that is this. The Upper Bari Doab Canal passes through our *ilaga* but in winter the water flows down to Pakistan and no water remains available for the irrigation of our lands with the result that the *rabi* crop never matures. Consequently we are worse off in the matter of food grains. Now that the Punjab has been partitioned, I suggest that the water of this canal which irrigates the district of Lahore, should be diverted to irrigate the districts of Amritsar and Gurdaspur. Since the district of Gurdaspur gets water for one crop only, I request the Government to make early arrangements for the provision of irrigation facilities sufficient to produce two crops. This is most essential in the best interests of the people of that district. This object can be achieved if an outlet at village Sathiali is constructed on the Upper Bari Doab Canal. I may mention here that the survey of this outlet has already been completed and there should be no delay in its construction. This is necessary to convert our one crop lands into two crop lands. So I would advise the Government to provide all facilities to the border districts as otherwise the people will migrate to other places. In this connection I would suggest another way by which the *zamindars* of my *ilaga* can be benefited. The electric energy generated by the Mandi Hydro-Electric Project may be supplied to them. They will get tube wells sunk at their own expense and will thus have ample water for the second crop of which they have been deprived at present for lack of sufficient water.

Now I advert to the question of recruitment to the proposed National Volunteer Corps. In view of the invasion of Kashmir, I would advise the Government to pay special attention to the frontier districts like ours. They should recruit the maximum number of persons to the said corps from these districts and station them there for defence purposes. I would rather ask the Government to enhance the strength of the Corps here by bringing more volunteers recruited from other districts. This is absolutely necessary in view of the proximity of the Sialkot district to the borders of our district and this will ever remain a danger, even if the raiders of Kashmir and Jammu have been routed. Any time our district can be attacked from that side. Hence our district should be fully defended. Apart from this, licenses for arms should be freely issued to the people to defend themselves in times of emergency.

Then there is another matter which is closely related to the restoration of public confidence. It is the decision of the Government to locate its capital. I would counsel the Government to establish it near the frontier districts. This will go a long way to create confidence in the public. I may point out that Peshawar was selected by the North-West Frontier Province as capital on this very ground. I hope Government will give a careful consideration to my suggestion in the matter of building its capital.

Chaudhri Jagdish Chander (Karnal North, General, Rural) (*Hindustani*): Mr. Speaker, Sir, while discussing the Budget, one of my hon. friends was pleased to remark that liberal provision has been made for the payment of high salaries to the Governor and his staff, Ministers and the Services, despite the fact that the provincial exchequer is unable to bear the burden of this top-heavy administration. Then he further said that the hon. Ministers were living in palatial buildings and leading luxurious lives and when they were on tour they stayed in dak bungalows with great pomp and show. My friend wanted to prove that the hon. Ministers had no sense of economy. Without undergoing any hardship they could cut down their expenses to a considerable

extent and yet lead a comfortable but economical life. Thus a considerable saving could be effected in the emoluments paid to them and that money could safely be utilised on beneficent departments. Some of my other hon. friends also made speeches in the same strain. I admit that if we go through our past history we find numerous examples where powerful rulers lived lives of austerity, so that every pie that could be saved could be utilised for benefiting their people. The most prominent among them was Raja Bikramaditya of Ujjain. He was so austere in his living that he would draw water from the river himself for his personal use and sleep in one quilt. Yet he was a great king. Then there was the great Chanakya, the Brahmin Prime Minister to King Chandra Gupta. Though a builder of great empire, he passed his life in a hut. But the difficulty is that my hon. friends while raising these objections lose sight of the fact as to who was responsible for setting up this administration and who brought it into existence in its present form. Sir, the administrative system that we have adopted is not an indigenous product. It is an exotic system set up by the Britishers for their own convenience. Under the western civilization, the life of every individual has become complex and expensive. This civilisation requires even an average man to possess an elaborate wardrobe, a number of houses and various kinds of furniture. It makes people spend-thrifts like some of the kings and Nawabs about whom we have read in history. Even if we might cry hoarse every time when the budget is under discussion, we shall not succeed in effecting an appreciable reduction in expenditure so long as it is intended for the administrative system set up by the Britishers. If you want the work of administration to be carried on in a simpler, smoother and more economical manner, you will have to change the whole set up. Let us follow the Asiatic traditions and ideals which kept our ancient Rajas awake at night and made them move in disguise to collect information. If you want to effect economy, you must do away with those ostentatious practices introduced by the British Government not with any other purpose but to impress the minds of subject people with its grandeur and majesty.

Chaudhri Matu Ram (Ludhiana and Ferozepore, General, Rural, [Reserved Seat) (*Hindustani*): Sir, before saying anything, I want to thank you for giving me a chance to speak (*Pandit Shri Ram Sharma*: He wants No. 10) (*Laughter*). I have been listening attentively to the speeches delivered by my friends on the floor of this House during the last three or four days and I feel as if I have been listening to a child repeating his lesson which he cannot master to his satisfaction. I think my friends like that child have not been able to tackle their lesson so far, because they are indulging in so much repetition. Or is it, that they are anxious to have their names broadcast on the radio or front-paged in the newspapers?

Pandit Shri Ram Sharma: Can any member impute ulterior motives to other members of the House?

Chaudhri Matu Ram: I am really surprised. What suggestions had we come to offer and what do I see happening here? Some of my friends are again and again harping on the same tune.

Mr. Speaker: Do not repeat the same thing.

Chaudhri Matu Ram: Sir, I am only expressing my thoughts. My friends point to the deficit in the budget and argue that the Ministers should accept lower salaries. Some time they fulminate against their cars and sometime against the provision for furnished houses for them. May I ask my friends whether they want the Ministers to walk on foot from Simla to Jullundur with a train of *Chaprasis* in the manner of ancient Rajas and spend months on the way? Or, should the Ministers come to the office with a bare loin-cloth? *Rondi Yaran noon, tey nan bhiravan da.*

Mr. Speaker: Do not use such words. This is not dignified language.

Chaudhri Matu Ram : All right, Sir, I beg to be excused. I was saying that some hon. members instead of being helpful in the Government work prefer to inveigh against the Ministers. If any member rises to speak, they make side-remarks such as that he is a candidate for parliamentary secretaryship.

Minister for Home and Revenue (The hon. Sardar Swaran Singh) : Mr. Speaker, I have to-day decided to speak in English lest our English Reporters should fall out of practice and their method of reporting is absolutely lost to us. (*Laughter*).

Mr. Speaker : You will make it necessary for us to retain them.

Minister for Home and Revenue : Sir, I am extremely grateful to the honourable members who have given anxious thought to the various problems that confront us in our difficulties these days. They have made constructive and very useful criticism on the various aspects of the administration and on behalf of the hon. Premier and my colleagues, I offer them our sincere thanks. In the absence of the Opposition, it was the duty of all of us to take stock of our entire position. So far as the services are concerned, they have naturally been criticised the most. I can well appreciate the background. As we are passing through a period of transition, it is only a matter of very recent history that our entire administrative machinery was a symbol of maintenance of foreign rule. There was always a conflict between the governmental machinery and the masses. As the people had their aspirations for freedom, they naturally came into conflict with the Government who wanted to keep them into bondage and the administrative services were the instruments through whom the Government could achieve their objective. The attitude which my hon. friends have developed and exhibited is quite natural. Sir, to-day we are actually free but there is a certain amount of inertia in everything and in every human being and things do not change overnight. The same inertia is visible in our services, in myself and in all of us. My only hope is that with the lapse of time this inertia will vanish and the gulf that exists to-day between our services and the people will disappear. So far as my colleagues and myself are concerned I assure the House and through the House the public that we will be doing our best to narrow down that gulf. So far as the services are concerned, it is essential that they should be firm, impartial and independent and if they are firm, impartial and independent, I assure them that they will have the support of the Government. I would request hon. members to appreciate that very often the administrative services have to perform very unpleasant duties which are very essential for running the Government efficiently. It falls to the lot of the services to punish those who come in conflict with the law of the land. It is the services who have to administer that law with firmness irrespective of the position of the person—high or low—who contravenes the law. In the discharge of these unpleasant duties, the services are very often condemned but the fact remains that we have to appreciate their firmness, their impartiality and their courage. As for me, I judge the purity of the services from the manner in which they discharge that unpleasant duty which falls to their lot to perform. It is true that sometimes it so happens that innocent persons are held up, but I have still to know any administrative machinery in the whole world where innocent persons have been absolutely left untouched. After all if a person goes to the police station and lodges a report that 'X' has committed a murder, it is the duty of the police officer on duty to take action against 'X' and if afterwards it is found that 'X' is innocent, he will be let off. I do not deny that the police officers have got a licence to take hold of any person. I am fully aware of certain reforms which are needed in the criminal law of this country and the law has to be changed in order to make it fall in line with the laws of other progressive countries. There are certain defects in procedure and there are certain defects in substantive law but all these things require careful consideration and will be given due consideration. At the moment, I assure the services that if they are

impartial and firm in administering the law, they will have all support from the Government. So far as the police is concerned, a good deal of criticism has been levelled against it. It is quite natural because the police came into conflict with almost all of us. We somehow or other are always likely to forget that police is now our own show. If the police do not change with the time and do not bring about a changed attitude and outlook, they will be an anachronism and like all anachronisms will be wiped out. (*Hear, hear*). By far a large majority of them are after all our own brothers—there being very few non-Punjabis in the Police—and if now that we are free we bring about a changed attitude towards all these governmental institutions, there is no reason for us to despair that our own brothers who are in the police will unnecessarily stick to their old ideology. We should not feel despondency because after all they are our own brothers and if as I have already stated, we have changed, there is no reason why they should not fall in line with us. They will, I am sure, try to become real helpers to the oppressed and to those who are in trouble. I am quite hopeful, Sir, that with the narrowing down of the gulf between the people and the services, a spirit of confidence and trust rather than despair will be created, because it is trust that begets trust and it is confidence that inspires confidence. I am glad to state on the floor of the House and through the House to convey it to our people outside that I have come across many instances where the officers of the Police Department have really changed and have rendered help to the public just like the police staff of any civilised country. (*Hear, hear*). We might criticise certain institutions for which Great Britain stands, but the police administration of Great Britain is probably the best in the world. The police constable of that country is a real friend of the man in the street. He is guide to a stranger and is a helper for a man in trouble. I want to see that our police man also comes up to the standard which obtains in Great Britain and other civilised countries of the world. It is the police man who comes in contact with the public in their every day life; it is he, the symbol of authority and symbol of civil administration, that can solve most of the troubles that confront the man in the street. Therefore a higher standard of police is one thing which has to be aimed at in order to inspire confidence among the people. So far as the administration is concerned, I want to make clear what has already been circulated, that we have thrown open the police, both additional and regular, to the Harijans. Now Harijans and those people who were not formerly recruited to the Police can join the police and I can say that actually many Harijan brethren of ours have joined the police in a number of districts and they are discharging their duties in an admirable manner. (*Cheers*).

As is quite natural a good deal of criticism has been levelled against the proposed National Volunteer Corps. I declared the other day and I want to reiterate that it is our desire to start this National Volunteer Corps as the real and true servant of our people and if the Corps does not come up to our standards, I will have no hesitation in scrapping it. I do not want it to be a replica of the old Civic Guards. I want our young men imbued with the spirit of service all over the country to join this Volunteer Corps which is going to be a symbol of real service and protection to the weak. In order to enable the administrative officers to give it a real shape which it is our intention to give it, we have decided that there should be a non-official advisory body which will advise us in the constitution of this National Volunteer Corps. (*Cheers*). After this announcement I am pretty certain that no doubt will be left in the minds of my hon. colleagues about the fact that it is our real intention that the National Volunteer Corps should be manned by really suitable young men who should come forward in a spirit of real service at this moment of trial through which we are passing. I am aware more than my hon. brethren of the dangers that lie ahead of us. My brethren have talked:

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Kashmir and of the aggressive attitude which has been adopted by the rulers of the West Punjab and other members of Pakistan Government. If it had come only from press men or from non-official sources, we would have entirely ignored it but to-day there was a significant remark by the Premier of the North-West Frontier Province Khan Abdul Qayum Khan. He went to the length of saying that there is a state of undeclared war. Do my friends really want to remind us that we are sleeping over this aspect of the matter? I assure them that we are fully alive to all these dangers. (*Cheers*). It will not be proper or advisable to disclose all the plans that we are making in order to meet that contingency. They should have confidence in us that we are ready to face all the situations that may arise. Their troubles and their fears and their difficulties are our troubles and our fears and our difficulties and I assure them that here or at the centre we will leave no stone unturned to see that we are protected (*cheers*), that we are not only protected but if any one attacks India or dares to come to this side, he will receive the rebuff that he deserves. (*Cheers*).

Pandit Shri Ram Sharma : You cannot keep them away by these cheers and clappings.

Minister for Home and Revenue : Pandit Shri Ram has correctly pulled up every one of us that neither by speeches nor by clapping of our hands nor by these boasts can we defend ourselves. We will have to bring strength to our muscles, determination in our hearts and we shall have to gird up our loins in order to keep the enemy away. I assure my hon. friends and through them the entire country and the residents of the East Punjab that we as well as those who hold the responsibility at the centre are fully aware of these difficulties and dangers that face us. Everything will be done to see that both internal and external arrangements are made to meet any attack or confusion. I hope that with this assurance my friends will not press for the details.

I now come to two or three other matters which are also under my charge. So far as the Revenue administration is concerned, certain points have been advanced against the institution of *chaukidara*, upon the realization of *panchotra*. All these matters require careful consideration. It is very difficult to say on the floor of the House that all these things can be scrapped just with a stroke of the pen. It is difficult to do so. These institutions and these land laws, whether it is the Tenancy Act or the Land Revenue Act or the rules made thereunder, have existed for a pretty long time. Undertaking of reforms of certain legislative provisions or long standing rules, hon. members will agree, requires considerable thought and a considerable amount of planning before changes can be made. They will also agree that no void should be left. There should be a methodical replacing of one machinery by another. If we demolish a thing and do not construct anything in its place, we might land ourselves in difficulties. Take the institutions of *zaildars* and *sufedposhes* as they exist to-day. There should be other similar machinery among the people to help the administration whether it is British administration or whether it is a popular administration. As to what form that machinery should take, I must frankly admit that I am not yet quite clear in my mind. I am fully examining this matter and as soon as I and my hon. colleagues of the cabinet are convinced that the time has come to abolish these institutions of *zaildars* and *sufedposhes*, we will not hesitate for a moment to scrap them just as we did not hesitate to scrap the institution of honorary magistrates. It will, however, be a matter of anxious consideration as to whether we can leave a void or whether we should evolve some other machinery on the rural side which might come forward to help the administration. We definitely require helpers and not mere critics. Therefore we definitely do want some sort of either *panchayats* or people's representatives, or if the institution of *zaildars* is essential then we can scrap the old rules, under which certain help to the British administration was the test for anyone to be appointed to the post of *zaildar*. For instance, it is quite conceivable that those who have suffered in the cause of national freedom should be given preference over others for *zaildars*

and *sufedposhes*. (*Cheers*). The whole matter requires to be reconsidered, but of one thing I can assure my hon. friends straight away, that so far as the existing rules relating to the appointment of *zaildars* are concerned they are absolutely out of date and they are going to be amended. (*Cheers*).

So far as irrigation is concerned, that is probably the one silver lining in the heavy clouds that have been cast over the heads of all us. It is in the successful development of the Irrigation Department in the East Punjab that the salvation of this part of the country lies. So far as Irrigation is concerned, three irrigation projects are already being considered by the Government. One is the tube-well system to which some of the hon. members referred. The successful working of the tube-wells depends upon cheap power and whether that cheap power should come from fuel in the form of coal or diesel oil or from hydro-electricity is a matter which is receiving the consideration of our experts and I am sure that within a very short time we will be able to produce a scheme which is likely to work with a reasonable amount of success.

Chaudhri Sher Singh : On a point of information. Are the Government considering the construction of tube-wells in areas where there is no drinking water, as was provided in the last budget ?

Minister for Home and Revenue : I can definitely say that bringing water for drinking purposes will receive precedence over water required for irrigation purposes. I was saying that besides these tube-wells, Government is considering that big project which is now on the lips of every one in India, Bhakra Dam, and also the Nangal Project. I do not want to dwell on this longer but our last meeting with the representatives of the Government of India has been very encouraging. They have asked us to go ahead with the scheme and certain arrangements are going to be made about finance. With the development of Bhakra Dam and with the development of Nangal Project, it is hoped that certain parts of East Punjab, which to-day look as arid tracts are bound to be developed into colonies as good as, if not better than, those which we have left in the Punjab. Besides this, irrigation by bund system is also being considered. More canals may also have to be constructed, probably with headworks near Rupar, but the scheme is under examination. I have taken this time in explaining certain matters relating to these irrigation projects in order to assure hon. members that they have not escaped our attention, although our hands have been full with matters of other and more important character.

Then, Sir, I cannot help remarking that we are passing through very critical times, more critical than ever facing any other country in the world. We are yet just on the first step towards freedom. Freedom after having been snatched from the British hand has to be retained. In the retention of that freedom probably we have to make greater sacrifices, we have to undergo greater difficulties than those through which we had gone in the actual attaining of our freedom. We should gird up our loins to face these difficulties. (*Cheers*).

Thakur Dalip Singh (Kangra South, General, Rural) (*Hindustani*) : Sir, I wish to inform the Ministers and the Prime Minister through you and on behalf of the staff of the Lahore Electric Supply Company, that they have not yet received their salary for the months of July and August. Neither have they got any service, nor has any arrangement so far been contemplated. It is also not known whether they will be employed or not. I have come to know that the Minister in charge gave them a patient hearing and promised to help them. The staff also met the Chief Engineer and informed him of all the difficulties. The Chief Engineer asked why they should not go back to Pakistan. He added that they would receive their salaries for the months of July and August from Pakistan. It was very bad on his part to say such words and I would request that the Minister in charge should call for an explanation from the Officer who

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sprinkled salt on their wounds. I would also like to know whether they will be kept in service or not. I request that they should be given preference in Government services.

The second thing about which I have to say to the Ministers of Development and Revenue is regarding Bakhra Dam. I have not a word to say against this scheme. On the contrary we wish that it should be completed very soon. But in this connection I must give expression to my fear that this scheme on its completion may not lead to the ejection of many poor peasants and cultivators. Government should see that the lands and houses and other necessities are provided to those poor people and that they are not made to suffer for the sake of Hariana Prant people who are also to benefit by the Bhakra Dam Scheme. I think a circular in this connection was issued by the Prime Minister, but no steps have so far been taken. I think carelessness and dishonesty are responsible for it and they are working against the Government. I suggest that meetings in this connection should be held and members of this House should participate in them. The conveyance for these members may be arranged by the Government. Secondly the Publicity Officer of my district has died and no new Publicity Officer has so far been appointed. The appointment may kindly be made with the co-operation of this House.

The next point to which I wish to refer is that Sub-Inspectors of Police took part in looting and arson in our district. They have not been dismissed, most probably due to the fact that there are no officers to replace them.

Chaudhri Rattan Singh Tabib (Ambala and Simla, General, Rural) (*Hindustani*): Sir, to begin with I think it quite necessary to request you that such honourable members who have once had their chance to speak, should not be given another chance, unless others also get the opportunity to address the House. Before I speak on the general administration and Budget, I want to place before the House some important things. I am glad to see that we are to-day assembled here as members of the legislature of an independent province. For this change, I congratulate my friends through you. Much has already been said regarding the Budget. Different members have expressed different opinions about it. An honourable member has said that the budget is insipid because there is nothing extraordinary in it. Another has said that it is only a paper Budget. Some members have said that no provision has been made in the Budget for the beneficent departments, while during the time of the previous Governments provision used to be made for them. As compared to this, as much as Rs. three crores have been set aside for police. I think it is unreasonable to describe this Budget as a mere paper Budget and to say that there is nothing extraordinary in it. I would like to submit that all schemes in the world originate on paper. In view of the present critical situation, it is but necessary that we should give maximum powers to the police. If we were to provide the Police Department with the money which should be ordinarily spent on the beneficent departments, we should not hesitate to do so. In view of any possible danger to our country in the near future which should prove harmful to us, it is necessary that our police should be very powerful.

Sardar Shiv Saran Singh (Kangra and Northern Hoshiarpur, Sikh, Rural) (*Punjabi*): Sir, I had no idea of making any speech to-day, but the urgency of a few things that have come to my knowledge, has forced me to say a few things. The first thing is regarding the rehabilitation of refugees who, I have come to know, are debarred from entering or settling down in the United Provinces and other provinces of India. If it is a fact, it is deplorable and also unreasonable. I would also like to draw your attention to the orders restricting the size of kirpan in Delhi and prohibiting the carrying of kirpans of more than nine inches in length. The Union Government should be prevailed upon to remove these restrictions.

The second thing that I want to put before the House is regarding law and order. It has been alleged by some of the hon. members that there is even now lawlessness prevailing in the province. We should try to find out the real cause of all this trouble. I think, after the evacuation of the Muslims from our province, there are still left here some supporters of Pakistan who want either to bring those Pakistanists back, or to establish Pakistan here. The real cause of the present lawlessness in the East Punjab is unfortunately the presence of such an element which is trying to create disruption between Hindus and Sikhs. This element is extremely dangerous for both the East Punjab and the Indian Dominion and aims at weakening them. It is, therefore, necessary that such people should be told that their efforts are vain because Hindus and Sikhs are one and the same.

As regards the budget I would like to point out that there are very few definite proposals for the rehabilitation of refugees. I wish definite proposals for this purpose had been incorporated in it to be discussed by the House. A provision of Rs. 3 lakhs has been made for the salaries of the Refugees Financial Commissioner and his staff. In this matter I agree with Pandit Shri Ram Sharma that our administration is top heavy. I would like to suggest that the top heavy posts of Commissioners and Superintending Engineers should be abolished and the subordinate staff be given better salaries in order to stop corruption. The work of these big officials can be taken up by others. For instance, the appeals from the Deputy Commissioners should lie to the Financial Commissioner. Useless and at the same time very expensive posts should be abolished. I think our Government has not been able to give full consideration to these things on account of the limited time at their disposal while preparing the present budget. But I hope that these defects will not find place in the next budget.

The Assembly then adjourned for Lunch and re-assembled at 2-30 p.m. of the clock. Mr. Speaker in the Chair.

Sardar Narotam Singh (South-East Punjab, Sikh, Rural) (*Punjabi*): Sir, I wish to submit that we are denied our constitutional right which we possess as Indians and as Punjabis. As Indians we have every right to settle in any part of the Indian Union no matter to whatever calling or profession we may belong to. But I am really surprised when I hear that the United Provinces Government has imposed ban on our entry in that Province. It is stated that the reason for the imposition of this ban is that the entry of refugees from West Punjab might disturb the internal peace of the Province. What I want is that the people should not be denied their constitutional rights on these grounds. Those who disturb the public peace by infringing the constitutional rights should be punished heavily. It ill-behoves the Provincial Governments in general and the United Provinces Government in particular, to impose ban on the entry of refugees from the West Punjab. According to the constitutional rights everybody has a right to worship in whatever way he or she likes. It is already provided in the Constitution of the Union that the Sikh community can wear *kirpans* in fact the rights of the Sikhs have been conceded while framing the Constitution of the Union. But I am constrained to remark that *kirpans* were banned in Delhi. Some of the Provincial Governments have reduced the length of the *kirpans*, but in Bombay we find no difference whatsoever between a *kirpan* and a sword. Imposition of ban on *kirpans* is against the fundamental rights of the Constitution. I would appeal to the hon. Premier to safeguard our rights. With regard to the refugees, Government is not leaving any stone unturned in rendering all possible help to them with whatever resources it has at its disposal. The Central Government has placed one crore of rupees at the

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disposal of our Government for this purpose. I take the opportunity of thanking the Central Government for coming to our rescue at such a critical hour. I think this amount of one crore is not sufficient for rehabilitating 3,500,000 refugees. I would request the Governments to impress upon the Central Government to continue helping us in solving the refugee problem from time to time. In fact it is humanly impossible to rehabilitate refugees without adequate help from the Central Government. We cannot forget how much obliged we are to the Central Government which has made adequate arrangements of aeroplanes, trains and buses for evacuating refugees from West Punjab. Our work in this direction is not finished yet. Our brethren who are still marooned in West Punjab have got to be evacuated. It will not be out of place to mention here that even now we hear that young non-Muslim girls are being kidnaped and that non-Muslims are being massacred. The Muslims in West Punjab have gone a step further. They have decided not to spare any Sikh. We are working according to the policy laid down by the Union. We are peace-loving people and this can very easily be proved by the fact that Muslims are not being attacked and that Muslim convoys are moving freely. In fact my hon. friend Sardar Udham Singh has been appealing to the people not to touch them but allow them to pass freely. We have tried and are trying to create a peaceful atmosphere in the province. If Muslims in Pakistan resort to their old tactics then there will be again confusion. The Congress is very anxious not to have any disturbance in any province. But if they start it in Pakistan then it will be very difficult, nay impossible, to crush the spirit of retaliation which must naturally follow. Communal disturbance started from Noakhali and this had its repercussions in Bihar, which was followed by disturbances in the Punjab. All these disturbances were due to the spirit of retaliation which was prevailing everywhere then. Now that the conditions are coming to normal, Muslims should bear in mind that they should not resort to such actions which are provocative. It is a matter of great regret that our Muslim brethren had to leave for Pakistan and non-Muslims were forced to leave for Hindustan under strained circumstances. But what we have to see is as to who after all is responsible for creating such conditions. So far as non-Muslims are concerned, they are not responsible for creating such conditions. The responsibility lies somewhere else.

During the recent communal disturbances the strength of the Police force became less on account of there being 90 % Muslims in Police Department. But in spite of this fact the non-Muslim Police officers tried their best to maintain law and order. I know of my own district where the Police Officer did not show any hesitation in maintaining law and order. I have already submitted that very bad treatment is being meted out to non-Muslims in West Punjab. Even women and children are not spared. On the other hand, it is crystal clear from the treatment meted out to Muslims in India that the Muslims in West Punjab are the real aggressors. Our Government is taking adequate steps for maintaining peace in the province. In fact the policy of the Union Government is being adopted in maintaining law and order in the province. I quite agree that our Government at present is faced with the refugee problem which is really a very gigantic problem. So far Government has tried its best to render all possible help to refugees with whatever resources it has at its disposal, but at the same time it is not an easy problem to rehabilitate 35 lacs of refugees from West Punjab. The Government has very little amount at its disposal in comparison to the vast number of refugees who are to be provided with certain amenities. In this connection I wish to submit that Government has not made adequate arrangements for providing accommodation to those refugees from West Punjab who were only recently living in plenty and comfort. The officials do not consider the claims of these men, with whom it has become a habit to live decently but give preference to their relatives and to Government servants. If at all any accommodation is available and the concerned officials are approached, they say that

accommodation asked for has already been reserved for certain relatives of the Deputy Commissioner or Superintendent of Police. Even accommodation which is ordinarily given to clerks is denied.

Minister for Development (The hon. Captain Ranjit Singh) (*Hindustani*): Sir, I am very glad to hear the speeches of hon. members and I wish to thank them. I think a man learns by making mistakes. And those mistakes which hon. members have pointed out, will not be repeated if they are really mistakes. I think every difficulty can be solved. There are many instances which have been cited as mistakes on our part. Those were not in fact mistakes and those were styled as such in most cases due to misunderstanding. The hon. Premier and I are glad that after the explanation given by him and my other colleagues, most of the objectors seem to be satisfied. I am not one of those who would not accept their mistake. On hearing of a mistake, I wish to satisfy myself as well as those who point it out to them. Some people have pointed out that they have not been given a chance to serve. We are sorry that we had many obstacles and difficulties in our way and we could not have their help. I believe in the Urdu verse :

وہ کونسا عقدہ ہے جو حل ہو نہیں سکتا
ہمت کرے انسان تو کیا ہو نہیں سکتا

There is nothing which cannot be solved and if a man girds up his loins he can do anything he likes. It was not anticipated that after attaining freedom we would sleep on velvet beds and use golden spoons. Every rose carries a thorn. We have attained freedom under the guidance of Mahatma Gandhi without bloodshed. Of course the division caused a great deal of bloodshed as a result of which we are suffering. Our leaders always stressed on this point that there was no need of their evacuating and leaving houses and hearths and that there would be peace and order after division. Every one thinks according to his own mind. Indian Dominion, other provinces and the followers of Mahatma Gandhi who believed in non-violence, could never think of the happenings in the West Punjab. They thought that the oppression and tyranny would end with the attainment of freedom. But it proved a mistake and misunderstanding. Events have proved that in order to secure agricultural land, Muslims adopted such degraded means in ejecting non-Muslims that one feels ashamed even to mention them. People in Indian Dominion and East Punjab reacted to the influences round about. We have people of different shades of thought. We have here the Congress party, we have the Panthic party. It would be a mistake to say that lawlessness was caused by this Government. It is beyond the power of an ordinary man to see his sister assaulted and molested and still keep calm over it. People, therefore, under such grave provocations lost their self-control for a while. But after a short period the situation was brought under control by the efforts and endeavours of the Premier, his colleagues and Government officials. The Muslims are leaving the East Punjab and shortly there would be peace and order and there would be no quarrels of any sort, as is the case at present. (*An honourable member*). Naturally, now that the storm has passed off and lost its fury) This is wrong. The Muslims who have collected at Karnal are still firing. (*Interruption*).

Mr. Speaker : No interruptions please.

Minister for Development : This was entirely due to the great unrest prevailing in the Punjab when we were called upon to form a Government. I got a telegram at Hissar. I did not know why I had been called. The situation in Hissar district at that time was such that Muslims were leaving small pocket and collecting in big centres. These Muslims had enough arms and ammunition

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to face even a big force. Consequently the non-Muslim residents of the neighbouring villages began to feel apprehensive of these big Muslim centres. Similar was the case in other districts. People were busy in collecting arms. It was under such circumstances that a meeting of our cabinet was called in which decisions were arrived at regarding the work of each one of us. A number of duties were assigned to me also. After these decisions were arrived at, all of us started implementing them. I would like to inform the House that the Ministers have done their duty unmindful of their own comfort and rest. On the 12th we took a solemn pledge that we would not take our meals or go to sleep unless we had completed our plans concerning the refugees and their settlement in different districts. On that day we went to sleep at 2-30 a. m. after finishing the work.

As regards Pandit Shri Ram's interruptions, I would like to submit that it has become a sort of habit with him and we should expect even worse things from him. He says that he had no power in his district. But I may point out that he could have been of much help if he had a mind to co-operate.

Mehta Ranbir Singh : On a point of order, Sir. I want to know whether Minister has also got the privilege to make personal remarks along with his privilege to get more time.

Minister for Development : The whole scheme having been outlined, I and my colleagues started on a tour of all the districts. It fell to my lot to tour the *Haryana Prant* where I found that the Muslims were impatient to be evacuated to Pakistan while the non-Muslims wanted to see them going out of the province. I told the people of these districts that their desires were perfectly justified, but the Government required their co-operation in order to fulfil them. The entire transport system was upset, neither trains nor lorries were running. I told the people that it would be possible for the Government to start foot-convoys of Muslims if the people would co-operate with the Government in giving the Muslim convoys a safe passage. Having got this assurance from them I came back and consulted my colleagues. Finally we decided to start foot-convoys of Muslims to help them across Suleimanki Head Works on which there was no traffic at that time. So these convoys are now on the march and I am glad to inform the House that at the present time no attack on these Muslim convoys is being reported. If the movement of these Muslim convoys continues peacefully as at present, we have no doubt that all the Muslim of the East Punjab will be shortly evacuated and we shall be able to do our own rehabilitation work more efficiently.

Shrimati Shanno Devi Sehgal : Is that the only aim of the Congress ?

Minister for Development : I would like to point out for the information of the honourable member that Congress does not check anybody to defend himself. I would request my honourable colleagues that we should expedite this work of Muslim evacuation in order that the vacated land may be given to our own refugees, and we should all be determined on one point namely not to rest until our refugees are comfortably rehabilitated.

Mr. Speaker : The honourable Leader of the House.

Premier (The hon. Dr. Gopi Chand Bhargava) (*Hindustani*) : Sir,

Pandit Shri Ram Sharma : The whole discussion is taking place on my cut motion. May I know whether I have a right of reply ? I want your ruling on this point.

Mr. Speaker : You have a right of reply if we have time and the debate is finished before 3.30 p. m. when guillotine will be applied.

Premier : I want to take part in the debate. I am not making a final reply. The question of right of reply will arise after I have spoken.

Pandit Shri Ram Sharma : Mr. Speaker, I want your ruling on the point whether I have a right of reply or not.

Mr. Speaker : I have told you that you have a right of reply when the whole debate is finished. The hon. Premier wants to take part in the debate. If there is time left, you can exercise your right of reply. I have called the honourable Leader of the House who should proceed with his speech.

Premier : Sir, before replying to the speeches made on the cut motion under consideration and the objections raised therein, I would like to make a statement in the House. It is alleged that Chaudhri Mohammad Hassan, ex-leader of the Muslim League Assembly Party of the East Punjab Legislative Assembly, has issued a statement to the Press that the members of his party wanted to participate in the deliberations of this Assembly during the budget session but since no safe passage or other necessary facilities were provided to them by the East Punjab Government, they could not do so. This is the news that has appeared in the papers and I want to lay the true facts before the House in regard to this matter.

I received a telegram from Chaudhri Mohammad Hassan to the effect that the members of the Muslim League Assembly Party had decided to take part in the forthcoming budget session of the East Punjab Legislative Assembly, provided the East Punjab Government assured their safety. I gave him a reply and also telephoned to the Deputy High Commissioner for India at Lahore to convey this message to him, that whenever Chaudhri Sahib and other Muslim members wanted to come, they should inform the Deputy Commissioner of the frontier district and he would arrange for their protection and safe passage. After this a letter from Sheikh Sadiq Hassan, the Leader of the Muslim League Assembly Party, was received by me. I sent him the same reply. But in the meanwhile the tragic happenings of Jassar took place in which about 2,000 refugees were murdered in cold blood by Muslim fanatics. I wrote them again that although the people of the East Punjab were very much agitated over this incident, yet every possible arrangement for their protection had been made by the Government. Then I had to go to Delhi. When I returned on the 29th October, I was handed over a telegram from Chaudhri Sahib to the effect that conveyance along with escort should be sent to him at Lahore in the Pipals quarters. Obviously the notice was very short and could not be complied with. Besides, I could not provide him escort at Lahore. I could do so only at the frontier of my country. (*Applause*). Now the House will judge that I am not to be blamed if Chaudhri Sahib could not join the Assembly here. I had assured him and other Muslim members the same facilities of conveyance as have been afforded to the hon. members here.

Then, sir, it has been repeated time and again by some of my hon. friends that they have played the part of Opposition in this House. It affords me great pleasure to see them act as Opposition members. I know I am one of them and they are my colleagues. I have already congratulated them on their attempt to do so, but I see no point in its repetition.

Now I would like to deal with the objections that have been raised in connection with the services. Let me first give a little history of these services to enable the hon. members to assess the real position. We have two categories of services, gazetted and non-gazetted. As regards Imperial Services, they have been amalgamated into Indian Administrative Service under the Dominion Government. But so far as the provincial services are concerned, they are governed by certain rules and regulations and if any officer of this cadre is removed from service without any reason being assigned, then he is entitled to a compensatory pension. That is why we have to think twice before kicking out any officer from

[Premier]

service. Well, Sir, at the time of the partitioning of the Punjab, all the officers of the provincial cadre were asked to state their option, whether they wanted to remain in the West Punjab or serve in the East Punjab. As a result of this it became incumbent upon us, after these officers had opted to serve in the East Punjab, to retain them and if we wanted to get rid of any of them, we must pay him the compensatory pension. But when the non-gazetted officers were asked to give their option, though police was precluded from this offer, it was made clear to them that Government will make every endeavour to absorb them : provided there were enough jobs for them. But in the absence of any post, Government was not bound to retain their services. The reason why this was done is that their number is no less than 3,000 and we have no jobs enough to provide them with. It is obvious that we cannot bear the burden of salaries of those for whom we have no work to offer. We cannot afford to pay for no work. That is why we could not hold out any guarantee to them that they would be absorbed.

Then there is a category of lent officers in the gazetted cadre. These are officers whose services were lent to the West Punjab Government with the express promise to take them back when their services were no longer required. But suddenly a cataclysmic change took place and the lent officers could not stay there. They were forced to come over to the East Punjab. We are trying our level best to absorb the gazetted officers. Many of them have been put on rehabilitation work. As regards those officers who are still surplus, we are trying to provide them with jobs under the Central Government or other provincial Governments. We have already addressed the Governments of our sister provinces on the subject and I am glad to tell you that several gazetted officers have been posted in different provinces. We have written to the Central Government about the surplus staff in this province. It was at first not expected that all the Hindu and Sikh personnel serving in West Punjab would have to be accommodated. The Government is trying its best to absorb all of them. When the partition of the Punjab was decided upon, a committee was appointed to allot the personnel for East and West Punjab and fix the proportion on the basis of which the division was to be made after the partition. We intended to effect re-organization of the services. This work had not yet been taken in hand, when disturbances broke out in East Punjab. The committee constituted for this purpose is functioning and its report is expected to be available by the 15th December. This committee has also to consider the question of revision of grades of pay of the services *vis-a-vis* the grades fixed by the Government of India. Now that the maximum pay of the Indian Administrative Service has been fixed at Rs. 2,000 per mensem, nobody in any of the provincial services will be allowed a higher salary than this. Of course we shall have to make an exception in the case of those who are contract officers, until the contract expires. It will not be out of place to mention that the I.C.S., I.P.S. and other services hitherto called Imperial Services, have now been merged in a single cadre known as the Indian Administrative Service.

As regards the budget, I beg to point out that it is based on the assets and liabilities that came to the share of this province as a result of partition. It was a well-nigh impossible task to obtain the necessary data from the various departments, to compile and print by the 15th September. Yet we were able to submit the schedule to the Governor by that date. No one should be under the wrong impression that money cannot be spent on any other proposals or schemes cannot be undertaken except those that have been incorporated in the budget. I may assure the House that if during the course of this year it is considered necessary to undertake a scheme which is not included in the budget, provision will be made for meeting the extra expenditure. This is not a regular Budget Session. This session has been called to discuss the Partition Budget.

The budget relating to the Governor's salary and expenses of his establishment has also come in for criticism. I may compare the relevant items in the budget of the previous year with the proposals in the present budget :—

	1947-48	Present Budget
	Rs.	Rs.
Governor's Salary ...	1,00,000	66,000
Secretariat Staff ...	63,400	50,000
Staff and Household of the Governor	1,38,000	66,100
Furniture and Equipment ...	23,500	11,200
Sumptuary Allowance of the Governor ...	12,000	7,850
Expenditure from Contract Allowance ...	23,400	17,760
Tour Expenses ...	69,190	32,108

(*Shrimati Shanno Devi Sehgal* : May we know the total ?) I have not got it.

It will thus be observed that we have to some extent curtailed the expenditure on the establishment of the Governor. If even now it is regarded as 'excessive', I may also say that it is in keeping with the prevailing economic conditions. If, however, we find it necessary to curtail it further and the circumstances warrant it, we shall not hesitate to do so.

Another matter which has come in for criticism is the distribution of portfolios among the Ministers. It has been pointed out that some of the Ministers have not been entrusted with complete portfolios. In this connection I beg to say that as the responsibility for carrying on the Government of the province devolved upon me, it was for me to judge as to who would be able to co-operate with me. I selected the persons on whom I could rely, of course not without first consulting and getting the approval of those I considered necessary. It would have been impossible to carry on the work of Government smoothly with fifth columnists in the Cabinet. As the gigantic task of Rehabilitation of refugees awaited the new Government, I purposely allotted light work to my colleagues so that they might be able to tour the province frequently and help in the early completion of the task of rehabilitation. Moreover it does not matter if a Minister has a light portfolio, since our responsibility for carrying on the Government of this province is joint, and when I find that proper time has come, I shall hand over more work to him provided he is willing to undertake it. For the present I do not want to burden them so that they may frequently remain on tour.

Some hon. members have demurred to the provision of Parliamentary Secretaries. I may remind them that while in the Budget for 1947-48, there was provision for 18 Parliamentary Secretaries, in the present Budget I have made provision for nine. I can assure the House that these posts will not be utilized for the purpose of strengthening the party. I intend to give powers and responsibilities to the Parliamentary Secretaries and only such persons will be appointed to these posts who can be of real help to the Government.

As regards the services, my colleague Sardar Swaran Singh has already replied to the criticism levelled against them. Like the Governor, the Ministers and the members of this House have also taken the pledge of loyalty and we hope they will honour it in letter and in spirit. Those who violate it will be suitably dealt with. Mention has also been made of the prevalence of corruption among them. I may inform the House that an Anti-Corruption Committee has been set up. If a complaint is received against any official, this committee will investigate the matter and if he is found guilty of bribery, he will be tried in

[Premier]

Court of law. If, however, the committee is not able to substantiate the charge though it has grounds for suspicion against him, the matter will be referred to the department concerned and departmental action will, if necessary, be taken against him. On the other hand one who makes a false complaint against an official will also be punished.

It has been suggested that the help of non-officials should also be sought in the work of rehabilitation. I may inform the House that instructions have already been issued to the Deputy Commissioners to tour their districts and visit every village and make efforts with the co-operation of non-officials to restore law and order. Despite the fact that Thakur Dalip Singh could not get a publicity van, he along with Pandit Bhagat Ram toured the ilaqa. I would like my other friends in the House to emulate them and go from village to village and help in the establishment of law and order.

A committee of eight members will be appointed for the allotment of shops and houses in every district. This will include five local M. L. As. nominated by the cabinet and three other members nominated by the Deputy Commissioner of the district. This committee of eight members so constituted will work in co-operation with the Deputy Commissioner and decide about the allotment of shops and houses to various persons and the allotment order thus issued will bear the signature of at least one member of the committee. Directions are being given to each Deputy Commissioner to work in complete co-operation with this committee and if he does not act according to these directions, action will be taken against him. I assure the House that the conditions have improved much and after some time they will have no cause of complaint against the Government.

Another objection was raised to the employment of English Reporters in the Assembly Office. In this connection, I may inform the House that at the time of partition, four English and three Urdu reporters opted for the East Punjab and we were bound to accept their services. We wanted vernacular reporters very badly but I am sorry to say that we could not get fully qualified men even though we advertised for the posts. It has been decided that Hindi and Punjabi Reporters will be employed for the Assembly Office in future and speeches in Hindi and Punjabi (Gurmukhi) will be recorded by them.

An objection was raised against the provision for new expenditure in the Civil Secretariat and Supply Department. I may state for the information of the House that the setting up of a temporary department comes under the head 'New Expenditure' and the whole of this expenditure which is misunderstood by some of my hon. friends as recurring is really non-recurring.

It has also been said that the strength of the Intelligence Department is not sufficient, but I think my hon. friend has confused this department with the Special Inquiry Agency which is a separate department. I assure my friend that we will increase the strength of the Intelligence Department if the present staff proves insufficient because we are fully aware that the administration cannot function properly unless it receives full information from all parts of the province. I may also inform the House that we have not yet dispensed with the services of the *Zaidars* and *Safaidposhes* because we want to be sure whether they can help the Government by furnishing local information.

A reference has been made to Reforms also. At first I did not understand what my hon. friends meant by reforms but later in the course of discussion I came to know that they advocated the abolition of separate electorate. I may say for the information of my friends that the Constituent Assembly has already abolished the system of separate electorates and agreed upon joint electorates though there might be a reservation of seats for some particular interests. I am unable to understand why some of the hon. members who are most vociferous in their condemnation of communalism, are themselves raising communal issues by saying that the Sikhs should not be allowed to go to a particular

district. (*Hear, hear*). I want to emphasise that the Hindus and the Sikhs have equal rights over the Punjab and each community can settle in any part of the province it likes.

Pandit Shri Ram Sharma : Mr. Speaker, you told me that I have a right of reply and now only five minutes are left and, therefore, I should be given that time to speak.

Mr. Speaker : Yes, you have a right of reply provided there is time for that.

Pandit Shri Ram Sharma : The whole discussion is taking place on my cut motion. May I know whether I have a right of reply ? I want your ruling on this point.

Mr. Speaker : You have a right of reply if we have time and the debate is finished before 3-30 p.m. But at 3-30 p. m. I will have to apply guillotine.

Premier : I want to take part in the debate. I am not making a final reply. The question of right of reply will arise after I have spoken.

Pandit Shri Ram Sharma : Mr. Speaker, I want your ruling on the point whether I have a right of reply or not.

Mr. Speaker : I have told you that you have a right of reply when the whole debate is finished. The hon. Premier wants to take part in the debate. If there is time left, you can exercise your right of reply.

Pandit Shri Ram Sharma : On a point of order, Sir. I want your ruling on the point whether I have a right of reply.

Mr. Speaker : Under the Rules you have a right of reply. But you can exercise this right when the debate comes to an end. If the debate finishes before 3-30, you will have the right of reply ; otherwise not.

Pandit Shri Ram Sharma : I am the mover of the cut motion and I reminded you when there was half an hour left. Now only five minutes are left and I should be given this time to exercise my right of reply.

Premier : Mr. Speaker, I seek your protection.

Mr. Speaker : I cannot compel the hon. Premier to finish his speech. You will have a right of reply if the hon. Premier finishes earlier ; otherwise not.

Pandit Shri Ram Sharma : It is provided in the Rules of Procedure of the House that the mover of a cut motion has a right of reply.

Mr. Speaker : Your proper course was to move the closure motion.

Pandit Shri Ram Sharma : If the closure had not been accepted ?

Mr. Speaker : Then the debate would have proceeded and you would not have been able to exercise your right of reply.

Premier : I rise on a point of order, Sir. He has no right to interrupt me like this.

Hon. Members : Order, order.

Pandit Shri Ram Sharma : This rowdyism will not cow me down. I will obey the ruling of the Chair.

Mr. Speaker : I have already given my ruling. Please resume your seat.

Premier : I fully agree with one or two things that have been said about the rehabilitation of refugees. I have already made a protest to Premier Pant and Pandit Nehru, Premier of India, against the ban which has been imposed on the Punjabi refugees going beyond Ambala towards Delhi and United Provinces.

[Premier]

Loud cheers). I have also intimated to Premier Pant and Pandit Nehru that we have an urban population of about seven lakhs of Hindus and Sikhs who have come from the West Punjab, to be accommodated not in camps but in towns all over India. I have invited Pandit Pant for a conference on this subject and it appears from his attitude that he will accede to our request.

An objection was raised against the location of the High Court at Simla and I want to explain our position in this matter also. The decision of locating the High Court was made by the hon. Chief Justice. Though I and my colleagues held a different view and were in favour of the location of the High Court elsewhere, yet we had in this matter to accept the decision of the hon. Chief Justice who desired that the High Court should be located at Simla because the only Law Library in the East Punjab is here. I am sorry that inconvenience is being caused to the High Court staff and the lawyers. But efforts are being made by the Government to provide as much residential accommodation to them as is possible. Though I have to say many things more, yet I finish my speech as the time is up.

Mr. Speaker : Question is—

That the demand be reduced by Rs. 100.

The motion was lost.

Mr. Speaker : Question is—

That a sum not exceeding Rs. 67,98,000 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the period 15th August 1947 to 31st March 1948, in respect of General Administration.

The motion was carried.

The following demands were then put from the Chair and adopted :—

That a sum not exceeding Rs. 26,10,300 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the period 15th August 1947 to 31st March 1948 in respect of Land Revenue.

That a sum not exceeding Rs. 6,96,100 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the period 15th August 1947 to 31st March 1948 in respect of Provincial Excise.

That a sum not exceeding Rs. 77,130 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the period 15th August 1947 to 31st March 1948, in respect of Stamps.

That a sum not exceeding Rs. 19,41,800 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the period 15th August 1947 to 31st March 1948, in respect of Forests.

That a sum not exceeding Rs. 41,600 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the period 15th August 1947 to 31st March 1948, in respect of Registration.

That a sum not exceeding Rs. 5,44,400 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the period 15th August 1947 to 31st March 1948, in respect of charges on account of Motor Vehicles' Acts and Other Taxes and Duties.

That a sum not exceeding Rs. 47,13,400 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the period 15th August 1947 to 31st March 1948, in respect of Irrigation (Works).

That a sum not exceeding Rs. 51,94,800 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the period 15th August 1947 to 31st March 1948, in respect of Charges on Irrigation Establishment.

That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,49,14,200 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the period 15th August 1947 to 31st March 1948, in respect of Irrigation (Capital).

That a sum not exceeding Rs. 14,09,200 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the period 15th August 1947 to 31st March 1948, in respect of Administration of Justice.

That a sum not exceeding Rs. 17,89,300 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges will come in course of payment for the period 15th August 1947 to 31st March 1948, in respect of Jails and Convict Settlements.

That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,56,64,400 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the period 15th August 1947 to 31st March 1948, in respect of Police.

That a sum not exceeding Bs. 2,03,200 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the period 15th August 1947 to 31st March 1948, in respect of Scientific and Miscellaneous Departments.

That a sum not exceeding Rs. 86,45,800 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the period 15th August 1947 to 31st March 1948, in respect of Education.

That a sum not exceeding Rs. 26,23,200 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the period 15th August 1947 to 31st March 1948 in respect of Medical.

That a sum not exceeding Rs. 19,42,600 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the period 15th August 1947 to 31st March 1948 in respect of Public Health.

That a sum not exceeding Rs. 24,18,200 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the period 15th August 1947 to 31st March 1948 in respect of Agriculture.

That a sum not exceeding Rs. 17,76,000 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the period 15th August 1947 to 31st March 1948 in respect of Veterinary.

That a sum not exceeding Rs. 13,13,510 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the period 15th August 1947 to 31st March 1948 in respect of Co-operation.

That a sum not exceeding Rs. 15,60,400 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the period 15th August 1947 to 31st March 1948 in respect of Industries.

That a sum not exceeding Rs. 25,00,000 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the period 15th August 1947 to 31st March 1948 in respect of Industrial Capital Expenditure.

That a sum not exceeding Rs. 69,17,830 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the period 15th August 1947 to 31st March 1948 in respect of Civil Works.

That a sum not exceeding Rs. 9,70,280 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the period 15th August 1947 to 31st March 1948 in respect of charges on Public Works Department, Buildings and Roads Establishments.

That a sum not exceeding Rs. 8,52,890 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the period 15th August 1947 to 31st March 1948 in respect of Electricity Schemes—Working Expenses.

That a sum not exceeding Rs. 15,56,700 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the period 15th August 1947 to 31st March 1948 in respect of charges on Electricity Establishment and Miscellaneous Expenditure.

That a sum not exceeding Rs. 62,24,750 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the period 15th August 1947 to 31st March 1948 in respect of Civil Works (Capital).

That a sum not exceeding Rs. 69,23,900 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the period 15th August 1947 to 31st March 1948 in respect of Electricity Schemes (Capital).

That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,50,000 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the period 15th August 1947 to 31st March 1948 in respect of Famine.

That a sum not exceeding Rs. 50,000 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the period 15th August 1947 to 31st March 1948 in respect of Commuted Value of Pensions (Capital).

That a sum not exceeding Rs. 7,88,200 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the period 15th August 1947 to 31st March 1948 in respect of Stationery and Printing.

That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,15,95,000 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the period 15th August 1947 to 31st March 1948, in respect of Miscellaneous.

That a sum not exceeding Rs. 61,45,000 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the period 15th August 1947 to 31st March 1948, in respect of Extraordinary Charges and Expenditure on Post-War Reconstruction and Development Schemes.

That a sum not exceeding Rs. 3,95,000 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the period 15th August 1947 to 31st March 1948, in respect of Other Provincial Works (Capital).

That a sum not exceeding Rs. 20,49,800 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the period 15th August 1947 to 31st March 1948, in respect of Capital Outlay on Provincial Schemes of State Trading.

That a sum not exceeding Rs. 4,25,400 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the period 15th August 1947 to 31st March 1948, in respect of Advances not bearing Interest.

That a sum not exceeding Rs. 89,12,800 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come in course of payment for the period 15th August 1947 to 31st March 1948, in respect of Loans and Advances bearing Interest.

The Assembly then adjourned till 11 a. m. on Friday, 7th November 1947.

East Punjab Legislative Assembly Debates

7th NOVEMBER 1947

Vol. 1—No. 6

OFFICIAL REPORT



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SIMLA

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1948

EAST PUNJAB LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

1st Session of the 1st East Punjab Legislative Assembly

Friday, 7th November 1947

The Assembly met in the Council Chamber, Governor-General's Lodge, Simla, at 11 a. m. of the clock. Mr. Speaker (The hon. Sardar Kapoor Singh) in the Chair.

EDUCATIONAL POLICY

Premier (The Hon. Dr. Gopi Chand Bhargava) : Sir, I beg to make the following statement:—

(i) Government is fully conscious of the enormous problems which have arisen in connection with the continuation of the education of students at all stages owing to the wholesale migration of population from West Punjab. They propose to extend them all possible facilities so that no one's education should be interrupted or result in the loss of a year. The problem is to be viewed from two different angles: first the absorption of surplus scholars in our existing institutions or in such institutions as may eventually be started in East Punjab, secondly, the provision of facilities for the education of such children who have lost their parents and guardians or who have been rendered destitute as a result of the changed conditions. With regard to the first, instructions have been issued to all Heads of educational institutions under Government control that they should be prepared to admit students to twice their normal capacity. Wherever necessary for instructional purposes a double shift system will be organised. This will apply to both schools and colleges for boys and girls. Similar advice is being rendered to privately run educational institutions through our various agencies, and I have no doubt that they would respond to the urgency of the situation.

(ii) A certain number of Muslim educational institutions have been abandoned in East Punjab. Some of these are for the present urgently required for providing roofed accommodation for the refugees during the coming winter. It is the intention of Government, however, eventually to use these buildings for housing new schools and colleges. Many schools and colleges which were being conducted in West Punjab have been dislocated and for the present will find it impossible to make a new beginning in East Punjab. Government is willing to help all such deserving institutions to start afresh but it is hoped that these institutions will be organized on a national and not on sectarian basis. For this purpose the claims of various managements will be examined and when found deserving Government will help to find them suitable buildings as well as be prepared to give financial aid to such extent as finances permit.

(iii) In order to meet the demand of a very large number of refugees from West Punjab who found their way to Delhi it has been decided in consultation with the Ministry of Education of the Government of India to open two Camp Schools up to the high school standard which will be under the control of and will be financed wholly by the Delhi administration. The schools will follow the curricula prescribed by the Punjab Education Department and the Punjab University as the existing courses in Delhi do not correspond with these. Likewise a Camp College will be conducted in New Delhi under the auspices of the East Punjab University to provide for the educational needs of college students following the Punjab University courses of study. This college will be staffed by the available staff from the University teaching departments and the remaining vacancies will be filled by selection from teachers

[Premier]

in affiliated colleges in West Punjab who have been thrown out of employment. The Delhi Administration has very kindly promised to make a suitable building available for the purpose. The College will be a co-educational institution and will provide instruction only in Art subjects as it is not possible to make arrangements for the teaching of science.

2. With regard to more advanced University teaching at the Honours School or Post-graduate level arrangements are being made to locate these either in existing institutions in East Punjab or in the University of Delhi wherever the best facilities are available. Some information in this regard has already been published and complete information will be released very shortly when the arrangements have reached a stage of finality.

3. Similarly the question of technical and professional education has engaged the serious attention of Government and arrangements are being made in consultation with the Government of India to continue such professional and technical training either in institutions in East Punjab or where such institutions do not exist within our own territories in corresponding institutions in other parts of the Indian Dominion.

4. So far the arrangements I have discussed relate to the population which has moved into settled habitation where educational facilities already exist. Our Government, however, will have to face a new problem with regard to the educational needs of the vast number of refugees who may be collected together in refugee camps such as the one at Kurekshetra for an indefinite period or those who are to be settled in rural areas. It is proposed to explore this problem in conjunction with the Directorate of Rehabilitation, and I have no doubt that the Director of Public Instruction will shortly put up definite proposals to me.

5. I have dealt so far with the problem of absorption of students whose education has been interrupted. I turn now to the question of the relief to be provided for destitute scholars.

(i) It is proposed firstly to continue all Government scholarships held by scholars who were previously receiving their education in schools and colleges in West Punjab on their re-joining any recognised institution in East Punjab. This is easy in so far as the Government scholarships are concerned. There were, however, a large number of special scholarships awarded by local bodies, or for the children of military personnel and for special classes such as those given under the Peasants Welfare Scheme, or Further Education Scheme for ex-services personnel. These special scholarships present many difficulties but ways and means will be found by which facilities provided under them will be continued as far as possible.

(ii) The real serious problem, however, is that of making provision for the continuation of education of children who have become orphans or whose parents or guardians have lost all their possessions and are without means of subsistence. Hon. Members will, no doubt, wish that every effort should be made that these children should be able to continue their studies at least up to the next stage. The exact extent of the problem and its financial implications cannot be calculated at this stage but there is reason to believe that they will be of gigantic proportions. Such educational relief cannot be undertaken by the Provincial Government in the state of its present finances, but I am glad to be able to state that this question is already engaging the attention of the Ministries of Education and Rehabilitation in the Government of India. I earnestly hope that in conjunction with the Central Government a satisfactory scheme will be worked out in the near future.

6. I will touch very briefly on the question of admission into schools and colleges of immigrant scholars from West Punjab into our own institutions. It

is proposed to dispense with all formalities such as school leaving and migration certificates. Scholars will be admitted into schools and colleges on their guardians signing an affidavit attested by any reliable authority. Details have already been published in the Press.

7. With regard to the many problems which have arisen in connection with University examinations the Syndicate of the East Punjab University has been grappling with them in a sympathetic manner. It has been decided to hold independent examinations for all those candidates who had not taken either in full or in part any of the examinations already held by the Punjab University. The exact dates as to when these examinations can be held cannot be given just now as there are enormous difficulties to be faced and overcome, but an announcement will be made as soon as possible. Exemption from the Matriculation and Intermediate examinations has been given to such students who wish to join the 1st or 3rd year classes, respectively. They will be admitted after passing a test to be conducted by the Principals and proceed to the next qualifying examination. As this is not possible with regard to admission in the Medical and the Engineering Colleges the University propose to give first priority to the F. Sc. examination so as to declare the results of this before the end of January thus preventing the loss of a year for this category of students. In view of the wide scale disturbances during the time that the Intermediate examination was held by the Punjab University it has been decided to permit even failed candidates to appear in the new Intermediate Examination which will be held by the East Punjab University. Many other concessions have been made by the Syndicate for the student community in view of the abnormal conditions which have prevailed in the province for the past few months. At the same time the University hopes to maintain such standards that its examinations will not bring any discredit to its name.

8. Finally, I wish to refer briefly to what is being done in order to find employment for the large body of teachers who have come as refugees from local body and privately managed schools and colleges from West Punjab. Unfortunately, there is no scope for them in direct Government service as there are no available vacancies owing to the large number of permanent Government servants who opted for East Punjab. Directions have been given to our Inspectors of Schools to prepare detailed lists with names and addresses, qualifications and grades of pay of all refugee teachers. All recruitment to the local body schools in existing vacancies and in new posts will be made from the corresponding class of refugee teachers. In this manner it is hoped to absorb a good many of the local body teachers. The position with regard to the teachers from privately managed institutions, however, presents greater difficulties. Advice is being given to the managements of such institutions to follow a policy similar to that of Government. These teachers, I fear, will have to face great difficulties till new institutions can be started. It is hoped, however, that a good few of them may be absorbed in relief work and other social services connected with the refugee and re-settlement departments."

ENTRY OF POLICE INTO SHRI DURBAR SAHIB, AMRITSAR

Minister for Home and Revenue (The hon. Sardar Swaran Singh) : Sir, with your permission I want to make a statement with regard to a matter which is causing considerable excitement among the Sikh circles at Amritsar and here. I refer to a tactless act of a certain over-enthusiastic police official at Amritsar. Sir, the practice is well-recognized that places of worship and religious places belonging to whatever community will always be shown great consideration and regard by all Governments. Somehow or other, it so happened that a subordinate police official received information which it has not been possible to verify whether it was authentic and he went to a place which can be said to be within the compound of the Golden Temple at Amritsar. That

[Minister for Home and Revenue] was an act which could not have been attempted at any time even during the regime of Sir Sikander or during the British Government's regime. I know of many occasions when effort was made or the proposition was considered that places of worship like Shri Durbar Sahib or other places of worship were sought to be searched. But on all occasions that suggestion was repelled. On this occasion the senior police officers of the district and the District Magistrate were not specifically informed and the subordinate police official went and effected *durbandi* of a place known as *bara dari* which is situated near the offices of the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee. According to the well-known precedent which has been followed so far police in uniform had never been within the precincts of Durbar Sahib. As soon as this fact was known to the senior Police Officers, and the District Magistrate, they rushed to the spot and the thing came to an end there. This has caused considerable excitement amongst all sections of Hindus and Sikhs at Amritsar. I have received frantic messages on telephone as well as by telegram against this act and I made enquiries from local officers and I feel convinced that the whole thing happened in a most tactless manner and Government is considering as to what other action should be taken in the matter. I want to make it clear on the floor of this House that this was something which was not brought to the notice of any of the officers and as soon as they learnt of it they tried to rectify the thing and amends have been made. In order to make the position of the Government clear I want to assure through you all sections of our people in the East Punjab that the places of worship and places which are held in veneration by members of various communities will not be treated in any manner which might be derogatory and which might excite feelings of members of any community. I hope that after this assurance a feeling will be created among all that this particular incident in its peculiar circumstances happened under conditions over which the senior officers had no control and full investigation will be made and any one who might be found to have acted in a tactless manner will be treated in a manner which the situation might require. (*Cheers.*)

PRIVILEGE MOTIONS

Re RIGHT OF REPLY

Pandit Shri Ram Sharma (Southern Towns, General, Urban) (*Hindustani*): Sir, I want to move a privilege motion. It is provided in the Rules of procedure of this House that a member who moves a motion has the right of reply. I may quote the exact wording of rule 72 (2) of the Rules of Procedure for the information of the House.

A member who has moved a motion may speak again by way of reply..... provided that nothing in this paragraph shall be deemed to give any right of reply on an amendment except in the case of amendments proposed to Bills and in the case of motion relating to supplies.

So the rules are quite explicit on the subject. The mover of an amendment to Bill or of a cut motion has definitely the right of reply. Members of the House can justly look to the Speaker for safeguarding their rights and privileges, so far as the rules permit him. It is far from my intention to criticise the ruling given by the Speaker yesterday. I would also like to submit to the hon. Premier who is the leader of the party of which I have the honour of being a member, that it becomes him as well as the Government to see that there is no diminution in the rights and privileges of the members of this august House. If the hon. Premier had been willing to give me a little time yesterday the Speaker would not have been put to trouble. What I want to urge is that every member, whether he belongs to the Government party or the Opposition, should be allowed to enjoy his due rights and privileges. The debate on the budget is now over, but budgets, annual and supplementry, will come before the House every year. My object in moving this motion is that the members should not in future be denied the right of reply and such other rights and privileges.

Minister for Home and Revenue (The hon. Sardar Swaran Singh) : According to the argument which the hon. member is developing, he seeks to question the particular attitude which was adopted by the Leader of the House yesterday. He has not been able to make out a case as to whether any privilege has been violated. He only says that the Leader of the House has by adopting a particular course of action deprived the hon. member of his right of reply.

Mr. Speaker : I quite follow the honourable member's point. He is trying to explain the circumstances under which he could not exercise his right of reply. I would explain to the hon. member the circumstances under which it happened. The hon. member knows it full well that yesterday guillotine had to be applied at 3.30 p.m. There were many members who were anxious to speak and it was very difficult for me to say 'no' to all of them. The Premier himself wanted to take 45 minutes but he was obliged to resume his seat for want of time. It was, therefore, not possible for me to give time to the hon. member to exercise his right of reply. But it was open to the honourable member to move a closure motion earlier and if the House decided to adopt it, he could have given his reply. I may inform the honourable member that when, guillotine has to be applied, it is for the party leaders and the party whips to decide among themselves and to accommodate one another because the debate on the last budget day cannot be taken on to the next day as is the case with resolutions or Bills. As I have already stated, guillotine had to be applied, and so the hon. member could not exercise his right of reply for want of time. Although the word used in the Rule is 'may' and not 'shall', still I concede that the hon. member who moved the motion had a right of reply which he could not exercise under the circumstances that I have explained.

Pandit Shri Ram Sharma : That right of reply should be guaranteed to the member moving a motion.

Mr. Speaker : There can be no guarantee ; the rules are perfectly clear.

Pandit Shri Ram Sharma : It is for you to enforce the rules.

Mr. Speaker : It was for the party leaders and the party whips to decide amongst themselves and if they had come to some sort of understanding, I would have abided by that understanding. In the absence of any understanding, I can only follow the rules.

Pandit Shri Ram Sharma : I have no complaint against the Rules.

Mr. Speaker : I request the hon. member to resume his seat. I have explained the position fully and there the matter ends.

RE UNPARLIAMENTARY LANGUAGE

Sardar Bachan Singh : I want to move a privilege motion. Yesterday, the hon. Premier while making his speech accused certain hon. members of this House as fifth columnists.

Minister for Home and Revenue : On a point of order, Sir. When a privilege motion is to be moved, the hon. member moving it has to state the motion before making a speech in support of his motion. The hon. member is giving arguments and has not stated his motion.

Mr. Speaker : What is the hon. member's motion ?

Sardar Bachan Singh : My motion is that the Premier yesterday accused some honourable members of this House as fifth columnists.

Mr. Speaker : This is not a privilege motion. This is simply to say that the hon. Premier used unparliamentary language. The matter should have been brought to my notice there and then.

b

Pandit Shri Ram Sharma : On a point of order, Sir. This matter could not be brought to your notice because guillotine had to be applied.

Mr. Speaker : This is no point of order. Points of order should not be misused.

Pandit Shri Ram Sharma : I am not misusing any point of order.

EAST PUNJAB ARMED BANDS (ARREST AND DETENTION) BILL

Mr. Speaker : Order, order. The House will now resume consideration, clause by clause, of the East Punjab Armed Bands (Arrest and Detention) Bill.

Clause 2

Pandit Bhagat Ram Sharma (Kangra West, General, Rural) : The other day* when this clause was under discussion, I was submitting that in sub-clause (b) lines 3-4, the words " or wear, or wears, uniform " should be deleted. I beg to point out, Sir, that in this Bill the word ' uniform ' is nowhere defined. The question naturally arises as to how when this Bill is enacted into law and is enforced, the law courts will interpret this word. The result will be that every law court will interpret it in a different way. The word uniform may cover any group of persons wearing Gandhi Caps or turbans of a particular colour which gives uniformity to the dress worn by certain people. If these words are retained in this definition of ' Armed band ' certain innocent acts of certain innocent groups of people are bound to come within the mischief of the penal section of this Bill. Therefore, I suggest and I request the hon. members to support me in my amendment, ' that in sub-clause (b), lines 3-4, the words " or wear, or wears, uniform " be deleted '.

Mr. Speaker : Clause under consideration, amendment moved—

That in sub-clause (b), lines 3-4, the words " or wear, or wears, uniform " be omitted.

The motion was carried.

Pandit Bhagat Ram Sharma : Sir, I beg to move :—

That in line 2 of the proviso to sub-clause (b) the words " or wears, uniform " be omitted.

In this connection I do not intend to make any speech as this is only a consequential amendment. The words " or wear, or wears, uniform " have been omitted from the main clause and it is necessary to omit the words " or wears uniform " from the proviso to sub-clause (b) of clause 2.

Mr. Speaker : Clause under consideration, amendment moved—

That in line 2 of the proviso to sub-clause (b) the words " or wears, uniform " be omitted.

Minister for Home and Revenue : In view of the decision of the House amending sub-clause (b) of clause 2 I agree that it is only a consequential amendment, and therefore, I accept it.

Mr. Speaker : Question is—

That in line 2 of the proviso to sub-clause (b) the words " or wears, uniform " be omitted.

The motion was carried.

Pandit Shri Ram Sharma (Southern Towns, General, Urban) (*Hindustani*) : Sir, I move :

That at the end of sub-clause (b) the following be added—

" with the intention of committing a serious crime."

*Vide page 60 *supra*

I wish to make a few observations in support of my amendment. In this Bill "Armed Band" has been defined as an assembly or group of five or more persons all or any of whom carry arms or wear or wears uniforms. It is crystal clear from this that if in a small gathering one person is carrying arms or wearing some sort of uniform then he will come under this definition. Further it is given in the Bill now before the House that—

Whoever is a member of an armed band shall on conviction for such offence by a competent criminal court be punished with imprisonment of either description which may extend to three years or with fine or with both.

It means that whoever is a member of the "Armed Band", will be punished with imprisonment and fine or both. What I wish to submit is this that if in a gathering of five persons one person will by chance be in possession of some arms or be in uniform such person will be liable to punishment under the definition of "Armed Band", and the rest of the four persons in that gathering without any arms or without any uniforms shall also be liable to punishment. It is crystal clear that extensive powers have been given to Head Constables and Sub-Inspectors of Police, and no limit whatsoever has been fixed. I am afraid there is every likelihood of the powers being misused by these police officers. It will not be out of place to mention here that if a Head Constable likes, he can arrest even the hon. Premier and the hon. Speaker at his sweet will.

In this Bill it is laid down that the officer effecting the arrest shall with all convenient speed take or send the arrested person to the officer-in-charge of the nearest Concentration Camp. But I wish to submit that after effecting the arrest the intention of the arrested person must be proved with the help of any witness or prosecution. If this is not done, I am sure, any police officer not below the rank of a Head Constable can arrest anybody whosoever he be, at his own sweet will. Under the circumstances there must be some provision in this Bill to check his powers. As I have already stated, I quite agree that "Armed Bands" must be punished. But I wish to submit that the meaning of the words "Armed Bands" has been defined very extensively. I wish to bring this point home to the hon. Minister in charge of the Bill and urge that some promise must be made to the effect that police officers would have to prove the intention of the persons whom they arrest under this clause.

Mr. Speaker : Clause under consideration, amendment moved—

That at the end of sub-clause (b) the following be added :—

"With the intention of committing a serious crime."

Minister for Home and Revenue (The hon. Sardar Swaran Singh) : Sir, I am afraid the amendment which has been moved by my friend is not acceptable to the Government. The object of this legislation is to bring within the mischief of criminal law any act which is committed under the existing definition of 'Armed band' provided in clause (b) of clause 2 of this Bill. Sir, this House knows that the Government has already accepted an amendment with regard to the definition of 'Arms' in Sub-clause (a). Now only unlicensed arms come within the mischief of this Bill.

Now, I place it for the consideration of the House that if we accept this amendment then it will become impossible to prove in a court of law that any set of persons had the intention of committing a serious crime. The phrase 'serious crime' is very loose in itself and it gives so much discretion to the person who is to take action on the spot that it will become an almost impossible task. As to what really these words mean is not known; it is something which is very difficult to judge. The intention of this legislation is that if a number of persons get together and arm themselves with unlicensed arms, it should be open to the Police to take action. If it is further made incumbent on the Police that for taking any action it should prove that their intention was

[Minister for Home and Revenue].

to commit a serious crime, then I must submit that it will be an almost impossible task. Intention should be presumed from the very circumstance that a number of persons have come together and have armed themselves. The number of such persons has been fixed at 5 or more and if they carry weapons which are unlicensed, then their intention should be presumed. Further this Bill will come into force in such areas which the Government may by notification decide upon. In the circumstances explained I am unable to accept this amendment.

Mr. Speaker : If Pandit Shri Ram Sharma wants to exercise his right of reply, he may do so.

Pandit Shri Ram Sharma : I beg leave to withdraw my amendment.

The amendment was by leave withdrawn.

Sardar Narotam Singh (South-East Punjab, Sikh, Rural) : I want the hon. Minister to tell us as to what he means by this, because this is likely to be misunderstood. In clause 2 part (a) it is written,—

Arms has the meaning given to it in the Indian Arms Act, 1878, and includes any weapon, or thing capable of being used as weapon, which if used for offence is likely to cause grievous hurt or death ;

This part capable—of being used as weapon—is likely to cause some mischief. I wish the hon. Minister to tell us as to what he means by weapons.

Minister for Home and Revenue : I do not think that the fear that has been expressed by the hon. member really exists. The word 'Arms' has a well defined meaning and I do not see any point in what my friend says. The Government have already accepted an amendment and only unlicensed arms are contemplated under this clause. Therefore, the fear that has been expressed by my friend is not genuine and the word 'Arms' as defined by the Arms Act of 1878 is something analogous to this which occurs here.

Sardar Narotam Singh : If it is redundant, why not omit it.

Mr. Speaker : Question is :—

That clause 2, as amended, stand part of the Bill.
The motion was carried.

Clause 3

Pandit Bhagat Ram Sharma (Kangra West, General, Rural) : I beg to move :—

That in sub-clause (1), lines 2-3, for the words 'Head Constable' the words 'Station House Officer' be substituted.

Sir, if you read this clause you will find that any Magistrate or any Police Officer not below the rank of a Head Constable may arrest without warrant any member of an 'Armed Band' and if resistance is offered may fire upon or otherwise use force even to the causing of death, in order to effect such arrest. My purpose in moving this amendment is that a Head Constable may not be armed with these powers. After all the power to arrest a person without a warrant and to use force to the extent of causing death is a very wide power. My amendment seeks to give this power to a Station House Officer who is definitely more responsible than a Head Constable. The purpose is that the rights and the Civil liberties of the people will be more secure in the hands of a higher officer than in the hands of a Head Constable. This is the underlying idea of my amendment and with these few words I commend it to the House.

Mr. Speaker : Clause under consideration, amendment moved—

That in sub-clause (1), lines 2-3, for the words 'Head Constable' the word 'Station House Officer' be substituted.

Pandit Shri Ram Sharma (Southern Towns, General, Urban) (*Hindustani*): Sir, I rise to support the motion. I would like to go to the extent of suggesting that even the Sub-Inspectors should not be vested with these powers as their behaviour as well is far from commendable. But in any case the Head Constable should not be armed with such powers, particularly in these disturbed times. And as the hon. member has said it should not be very difficult for the Sub-Inspectors to discharge the duties that are proposed to be entrusted to Head Constables.

Minister for Home and Revenue (The hon. Sardar Swaran Singh): I am inclined to agree with the mover of the amendment and do not see any objection in giving these powers to a higher officer than a Head Constable. This amendment is acceptable to me.

Mr. Speaker: Question is:

That in sub-clause (i), lines 2-3, for the words 'Head Constable' the words 'Station House Officer' be substituted.

The motion was carried.

Mr. Speaker: Question is:

That clause 3 as amended stand part of the Bill.

The motion was carried.

Clause 4.

Pandit Shri Ram Sharma (Southern Towns, General, Urban): I beg to move —

That at the end of sub-clause (1) the following be added:

“ or to jail if the concentration camp has not been established”.

Mr. Speaker: Clause under consideration, amendment moved:—

That at the end of sub-clause (1) the following be added:

“ or to jail if the concentration camp has not been established.”

Minister for Home and Revenue (The hon. Sardar Swaran Singh): Sir, I am afraid the amendment which is proposed by my hon. friend is absolutely redundant. So far as the provisions relating to the concentration camps are concerned, they are all of an enabling character. Ordinarily under the law as it stands to-day, persons who have been arrested can be confined either in a judicial lock-up or in the police lock-up. By the provisions that have been moved by me, powers have been given to start concentration camps. Even jails can be described as concentration camps under this provision which is only an enabling provision. Therefore, I assure my hon. friend that the amendment which he has moved is absolutely redundant. In fact we have already issued instructions that the ordinary lock-ups in the *thanas* might be treated as concentration camps within the meaning of this ordinance which it is proposed to convert into an Act of the Legislature. Therefore, in view of the explanation and the correct view I hope my hon. friend will realise that the object which he seeks to accomplish by moving his amendment is already covered by the provisions as they stand.

Pandit Shri Ram Sharma: Sir, I think the honourable Minister has not given his careful thought to the submissions that I made while moving my amendment. It is possible that there may be something in the minds of his expert subordinates who have drafted this Bill, but from the wording of the clause as it stands, which says that “ the officer effecting the arrest shall with all convenient speed take or send the arrested person to the officer-in-charge of the nearest concentration camp ”, it seems to me that the existence of

[Pt. Shri Ram Sharma.]

concentration camps must take precedence to the arrests to be made under the provisions of this Bill. I ask, what will the officer do in case there is no concentration camp near by? Will he take the arrested person to his own house? What I want to point out is that provision should be made in the Bill to the effect that if there is no concentration camp near by, the officer should take the arrested person to the nearest jail.

Minister for Home and Revenue : I fear my hon. friend did not hear my observations with the attention which he generally pays to all the speeches delivered by members of this House. I have already stated that there is nothing to bar the Government from declaring a jail as a concentration camp and I have said that we have declared these as concentration camps within the meaning of this section and the amendment that he has moved is absolutely redundant.

Pandit Shri Ram Sharma : In view of the remarks made by the hon. Minister I beg leave to withdraw my amendment.

The amendment was, by leave, withdrawn.

Mr. Speaker : Question is—

That clause 4 stand part of the Bill.

The motion was carried.

clauses 5 to 12

Mr. Speaker : Question is—

That clauses 5 to 12 stand part of the Bill.

The motion was carried.

CLAUSE 1

Sub-clause (1)

Mr. Speaker : Question is—

That sub-clause (1) of clause 1 stand part of the Bill,

The motion was carried.

Title

Mr. Speaker : Question is—

That the title be the title of the Bill.

The motion was carried.

Minister for Home and Revenue : (The Hon. Sardar Swaran Singh) : I move—

That the East Punjab Armed Bands (Arrest and Detention) Bill as amended be passed.

Mr. Speaker : Motion moved—

That the East Punjab Armed Bands (Arrest and Detention) Bill as amended be passed.

Sardar Shiv Saran Singh (Kangra and Northern Hoshiarpur, Sikh, Rural) : I have to make a few observations regarding this Bill. I am very glad that the hon. Minister has accepted the amendments which were moved to the various clauses of this Bill. The Bill as amended takes away much of the severity which was in the draft Bill. I think it is a repressive Bill and I would request the hon. Home Minister to see that it is enforced only in those districts where such an emergency arises, because it is giving very wide powers to the police officials and the tendency might be to misuse some of the provisions. With these remarks I congratulate the Home Minister on accepting the amendment and I endorse that the Bill be passed.

Minister for Home and Revenue (The hon. Sardar Swaran Singh) : I may be permitted to say that the amendments that have been accepted have not been accepted in order to make the Bill soft but in order to ensure that we may deal firmly with those who come within the mischief of this Bill. All penal laws are made to punish people and any person who contravenes the provisions of this or any other punitive law will be dealt with as firmly as he deserves and it will be out of place for me to extend any assurance that this Bill will be treated in a manner different from any other penal law. All penal provisions of the laws of land are generally unpleasant but they are meant to punish those people who come within their mischief and this House may rest assured that anybody who comes into conflict with the penal provisions of any law, howsoever high he may be, will be dealt with firmly.

Mr. Speaker : Question is—

That the East Punjab Armed Bands (Arrest and Detention) Bill as amended be passed.

The motion was carried.

THE EAST PUNJAB EXTENSION OF LIMITATION BILL

Minister for Home and Revenue (The hon. Sardar Swaran Singh) : I introduce the East Punjab Extension of Limitation Bill.

Minister for Home and Revenue : I move :

That the East Punjab Extension of Limitation Bill be taken into consideration at once.

This is a small Bill. The intention is that those persons who have not been able to file their appeals or applications within time owing to recent disturbances and owing to transport difficulties should be able to do so as the limitation has been extended under this Bill. The circumstances under which the High Court opened at Simla after a long vacation made it very difficult for the litigant public to file their appeals and this Bill enables them to do so and the appeals so filed will now be considered to be within time which under the law as it stands would have been time barred.

Mr. Speaker : Motion moved :

That the East Punjab Extension of Limitation Bill be taken into consideration at once.

The motion was carried.

Mr. Speaker : The House will now proceed to consider the Bill clause by clause.

CLAUSE 1

Sub-clause (2)

Question is—

That sub-clause (2) stand part of the Bill.

The motion was carried.

CLAUSE 2

Sardar Shiv Saran Singh (Kangra and Northern Hoshiarpur, Sikh Rural) : I move—

That in line 6, between the words "East Punjab" and the words "the period", the following words be inserted, namely :

"where the limitation expires on the 15th day of November, 1947, or has expired before the said day."

My object in moving this amendment is that this period may be excluded so that the litigants may have greater facilities in filing their appeals and applications.

Minister for Home and Revenue (The hon. Sardar Swaran Singh) : I accept the amendment.

The motion was carried.

Mr. Speaker : Question is—

That Clause 2, as amended stand part of the Bill.

The motion was carried.

CLAUSE (1)

Sub-clause (1)

Mr. Speaker : Question is—

That sub-clause 1 of clause 1 stand part of the Bill.

The motion as carried.

Title

Mr. Speaker : Question is—

That the title be the title of the Bill.

The motion was carried.

Minister for Home and Revenue (The hon. Sardar Swaran Singh) : I move—

That the East Punjab Extension of Limitation Bill, as amended, be passed.

The motion was carried.

THE EAST PUNJAB NATIONAL VOLUNTEER CORPS BILL

Minister for Home and Revenue (The hon. Sardar Swaran Singh) : I introduce the East Punjab National Volunteer Corps Bill.

Minister for Home and Revenue : I move—

That the East Punjab National Volunteer Corps Bill be taken into consideration at once.

I move this motion without making any speech because I have already said what I wanted to in regard to the desirability and necessity of creating the National Volunteer Corps which this Bill seeks to legalise.

The motion was carried.

Mr. Speaker : The House will now proceed to consider the Bill clause by clause.

CLAUSE 1

Sub-clauses (2) and (3)

Mr. Speaker : Question is—

That sub-clauses (2) and (3) of clause 1 stand part of the Bill.

The motion was carried

Minister for Home and Revenue (The hon. Sardar Swaran Singh) : Sir, I am afraid that there is a certain intention which is clearly expressed by certain hon. members of this House and I very well appreciate their interest to effect amendments in the Bill. But I am afraid that the amendments notices of which have been sent, have not been properly examined and they do not fit in with the language of the sections as they stand.

Sardar Jagjit Singh Mann : On a point of order Sir. May I request the hon. Minister to speak in *Punjabi* so that all members may understand him ?

Minister for Home and Revenue : This is not a point of order. My friend is a parliamentarian of long-standing ; he should know what a point of order is.

Sir, I was submitting that I very well appreciate the interest of the hon. members in moving the amendments which are sought to be moved and the Government is prepared to modify the Bill in the light of those amendments. But the amendments are not happily worded and they do not fit in grammatically with the construction of the sections as they stand. Therefore, I suggest that the consideration of this Bill may be adjourned either till tomorrow or at least till after the lunch interval so that the amendments which my friends want to move may be examined.

Mr. Speaker : So far as Bills are concerned it becomes extremely difficult, if notices of amendments are not given well in time, to examine them carefully, because by adding a word here and omitting a word there, we might be changing the whole meaning of the Bill. I would expect from the members that they would consult the Minister in charge before giving notices so as to satisfy themselves that the amendments are in order. It would in fact save the time of the House.

Is it the pleasure of the House that the consideration of the Bill be postponed till after lunch ?

The House agreed.

Minister for Home and Revenue : Sir, before I move the next Bill I want to inform hon. members that if they have any more amendments in their mind, we are prepared to give them legal advice. Our Legal Remembrancer is here.

THE EAST PUNJAB MOVEABLE PROPERTY (REQUISITIONING)
BILL.

Minister for Home and Revenue (The hon. Sardar Swaran Singh) : Sir, I beg to introduce the East Punjab Moveable Property (Requisitioning) Bill.

Minister for Home and Revenue : Sir, I move—

That the East Punjab Moveable Property (Requisitioning) Bill be taken into consideration at once.

[Minister for Home and Revenue].

Sir, as set out in the Statement of Objects and Reasons there is already an Ordinance which enables certain authorities to requisition moveable property for certain purposes. The intention of this Bill is to give statutory recognition to that ordinance. It is essential that for the maintenance of supplies and a number of other important purposes this power should be with the Government. Experience has shown that on certain occasions moveable property has to be requisitioned in order to make it available for certain uses. I am sure this Bill will meet with the approval of this honourable House.

Mr. Speaker : Motion moved :

That the East Punjab Moveable Property (Requisitioning) Bill be taken into consideration at once.

The motion was carried.

Mr. Speaker : The House will now proceed to consider the Bill clause by clause.

CLAUSE I

Sub-clauses (2) and (3)

Mr. Speaker : Question is—

That sub-clauses (2) and (3) of clause 1 stand part of the Bill.

The motion was carried.

Clauses 2 to 11

Mr. Speaker : Question is—

That Clauses 2 to 11 stand part of the Bill.

The motion was carried

CLAUSE I

Sub-Clause (1)

Mr. Speaker : Question is—

That sub-clause (1) of clause 1 stand part of the Bill.

The motion was carried.

Title

Mr. Speaker : Question is :

That the title be the title of the Bill.

The motion was carried.

Minister for Home and Revenue (The hon. Sardar Swaran Singh)
I move—

That the East Punjab Moveable Property (Requisitioning) Bill be passed.

The motion was carried.

Sardar Jagjit Singh Mann : On a point of information, Sir. May I ask the hon. Minister whether the surplus things of the Ministers can also be requisitioned under the provisions of this Bill ?

Minister for Home and Revenue (*Punjabi*) : I want to inform the hon. member that the surplus things of the Ministers can also be requisitioned for they are governed by the same law. The hon. member should get rid of this false complex that people assume an extraordinary status after becoming Ministers.

Sardar Jagjit Singh Mann : Time will show whether your surplus things are requisitioned or not.

THE EAST PUNJAB LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY SPEAKER'S AND DEPUTY
SPEAKER'S SALARIES (AMENDMENT) BILL

Minister for Home and Revenue (The hon. Sardar Swaran Singh) : Sir, I introduce the East Punjab Legislative Assembly Speaker's and Deputy Speaker's Salaries (Amendment) Bill.

Minister for Home and Revenue : Sir, I move—

That the East Punjab Legislative Assembly Speaker's and Deputy Speaker's Salaries (Amendment) Bill be taken into consideration at once.

Sir, I do not want to make any speech except to say that in view of the other Bill relating to the salaries of the Ministers having been accepted by the House, by this Bill it is sought to reduce the salary of the Speaker from rupees three thousand per month to rupees fifteen hundred per month. The intention is to bring it at par with the salaries of the Ministers. The salary of the Deputy Speaker as it stands to-day is not excessive, and therefore the original salary stands. I hope the House will accept this Bill without any dissenting voice.

Mr. Speaker : Motion moved—

That the East Punjab Legislative Assembly Speaker's and Deputy Speaker's Salaries (Amendment) Bill be taken into consideration at once.

Mehta Ranbir Singh : (Ludhiana and Ferozepore, General, Rural) : (*Hindustani*) : Sir, keeping in view Rule 88 of the Rules of Procedure I would like to discuss the principle involved in the Bill now before the House. It is given in the Statement of Objects and Reasons of the Bill that it has been decided to reduce the salary of the Speaker from Rs. 36,000 to Rs. 18,000 a year. The mover of the Bill has already stated that it is intended to give the same salary to the Speaker as is given to the Ministers. Besides the Salary of Rs. 18,000 a year some more provision has been made and that is that a conveyance allowance at the rate of Rs. 3,600 a year and a free furnished House at Simla shall be provided for him. I want to point out that by rushing through this measure we will be ignoring the principle involved in the Bill. Mr. Speaker, I know that by raising discussion you will be embarrassed as this Bill concerns you, but I am helpless in this direction.

Mr. Speaker : Whatever the honourable member may say on the subject will be heard by me with interest. I shall not feel embarrassed. Please proceed.

Mehta Ranbir Singh : I am simply helpless because it is my bounden duty to oppose the principle involved in this Bill in the interests of the voters whom I am representing in this House. However, I wish to bring this point home to the House that, as I have already stated when the ministers Salary Bill was under the consideration of the House, I am not opposed to more salaries being given to ministers in view of the greater amount of work that they put in the discharge of their duties. But so far as the Speaker is concerned, I cannot do without saying that in comparison with the work of the Ministers, the Speaker has to do very little work and his present salary is not commensurate with the work that he has to perform. It is really a bad taste and an unsound principle to bring in the question of the dignity of the Chair in discussing the salary of the Speaker. In fact the salary should be determined by the amount of work that the incumbent of the post puts in. Capacity and the amount of work should be the guiding principles in determining the salary of the incumbent.

Pandit Shri Ram Sharma : Is not the hon. member guilty of contempt of the Chair when he says that the Ministers are more capable than the Speaker ?

Mr. Speaker : I wish to give the hon. member full latitude to say whatever he likes to say on the subject.

Pandit Shri Ram Sharma : We cannot brook the lowering of the dignity of this august House and your dignity.

Mr. Speaker : In this case I leave it to the sense of the hon. member of this House to keep the dignity of this House.

Mehta Ranbir Singh : Sir, I bow to the Chair. I have as much respect for the Chair as my hon. friends have. It is not the salary of the Speaker that I am opposing, but in reality the principle involved in it. While determining the salary of the incumbent, two factors, namely, the amount of work and the capacity to perform the work, are to be kept in view. It is on this basis that salaries are fixed. I do not thereby question the capability of the hon. Speaker. As I have already stated I am not opposed to the salary of the Speaker, but I am opposed to the principle involved in it. As members of this august House we owe a duty towards the tax-payers also. I would request the mover of this Bill not to be under the impression that any reduction in the salary will in any way affect the dignity of the Chair. Sir, may I know if you feel any difference in the performance of your duty now as Speaker and your previous duty as Deputy Speaker of this House? I only find this difference that your responsibilities have increased. I do feel that you must get something in lieu of your increased responsibilities. But the proposed salary is too much. I am not unmindful of the fact and it will not be out of place to mention here that you were practising as a lawyer.

Premier : I would request the hon. member not to enter into personalities. It would lend to the dignity of the House to respect the personality of the Speaker.

Chaudhri Suraj Mal : And he is the Secretary of the party.

Mr. Speaker : I must tell the hon. member that it is not to 'Kapoor Singh' but to the 'Speaker' that he is giving this salary.

Mehta Ranbir Singh : I wish to clear the misunderstanding by saying that I am not making any personal charges in this House.

Mr. Speaker : No body is under any misunderstanding or misapprehension.

Mehta Ranbir Singh : I have no intention of making any personal charges against you or anybody else. What I mean to discuss here in this House is the principle involved in the proposed salary of the Speaker. Rules 68 and 69 say.....

Mr. Speaker : You are not to interpret the rules. That is for me to do.

Mehta Ranbir Singh : My intention in quoting the rules is to clear the misunderstanding.

Minister for Home and Revenue : The Bill which is under discussion relates to the fixation of the salaries of the Speaker and the Deputy Speaker. The incumbent of the post and his personality are absolutely irrelevant. We cannot change the law every time a new person occupies the Chair. Therefore I strongly point out to my hon. friend that what he is saying is absolutely irrelevant. Qualifications or disqualifications of a particular incumbent or a particular person who happens to occupy that place are in no way relevant.

Mr. Speaker : I know the rules. A motion of no-confidence against the Speaker can only be brought in the House on a substantive motion, but I have given a good deal of latitude to the hon. member for one reason or another and I know that he is not at all relevant and has not been relevant up to this time.

Mr. Prabodh Chandra : He cannot be relevant.

Mr. Speaker : If the hon. member wants to move a motion of no-confidence against the Speaker he can do so.

Minister for Home and Revenue : On a point of order. I know that it may be embarrassing for the incumbent of the Chair to over-rule objections that may be levelled against him, but we as members of this honourable house have also got privileges and if, therefore, any thing is said about the person of the Speaker which is derogatory to the dignity of the House, it is as much our privilege as members of this House as it is the privilege of the hon. Speaker to stop such matters. (*Cheers*). Therefore I want to voice this feeling that it is extremely below the dignity of the House to bring in the qualifications or disqualifications of the occupant of the Chair.

Mr. Speaker : I have already said that I have left this to the sense of responsibility and dignity of the hon. members of the House.

Mehta Ranbir Singh : What can I do if any hon. member has no sense ? I have already said that I have respect for you, no less than any one else. But whatever I have said and whatever I am going to say is in accordance with rule 88. The House will agree with me that when we have to appoint any one we have to take his qualifications into consideration and fix his salary accordingly. Sir, unluckily, other members are not with me, perhaps they think that they have more respect for you than I have.

Mr. Speaker : The hon. member is irrelevant.

Mehta Ranbir Singh : My friends to-day call me irrelevant but what have they been doing ? I say that the principle should be that as you have to work much due to the office you hold, therefore, you should be paid accordingly and not that because a Minister has been given this salary, therefore, the Speaker should also be given the same salary.

Premier : (The hon. Dr. Gopi Chand Bhargava) (*Hindustani*) : I hope I will be excused if I have to say that the discussion that has been carried on so far on the Bill under consideration is the result of misunderstanding of a very healthy rule and principle that no personal reference should be made particularly with regard to the person occupying the Chair. I will go still further and say that it is below our dignity and the dignity of the House and the Chair to say anything against the personality of the Speaker. I wonder why the members should wax so eloquent in the matter of the salary of the Speaker when it has already been fully discussed in the Party meeting. The House perhaps knows that the Speaker has to do a lot of work in the chamber and outside it and now after the partition of the Province he will have to solve a number of intricate and knotty problems. The House should also know that the Speaker will have to do more work in the next session of the Assembly when a large number of questions and resolutions will begin to pour in. I am aware that I was a little hard on the members to have moved the motion that the question hour be dispensed with. By the passing of that motion a valuable right of the members has been curtailed. As I explained then, this could not be helped for want of time and for other pressing considerations. But that is only a temporary phase and I know that in the next session the hon. members will fully avail themselves of the right and thus give much more work to the hon. Speaker. I therefore appeal to the House to pass this Bill without further delay.

Shrimati Shanno Devi Sehgal (South-Eastern Towns General Urban) : (*Hindustani*) : Sir, in view of the discussion that has already taken place on the Ministers' Salaries Bill, I do not think much is left to be said regarding the Bill under consideration. All the same I have stood up to make a few remarks. The Chair, as you all know symbolises the dignity of the House, and as such, I would like to make a proposal which aims at enhancing this dignity. During the past few days of the present session, I think you have been following the right course while discharging your duties. You have always kept in view the rights and privileges of the members and as such have allowed us to express our ideas freely. Although we have not been able to get the Ministers salaries reduced, yet I would request you to rise to the occasion and declare that you are voluntarily prepared to accept a reduction in your salary.

Minister for Home and Revenue : On a point of order, Sir. I want to point out that the Bill under consideration concerns the salary of the Speaker and it so happens that the present Speaker is a Congressman. So while considering the present Bill, we should think of the office as such and not of the person who just happens to hold it. Moreover I am the mover of the Bill and as such the hon. Speaker should not be put to any unnecessary embarrassment by any direct question being put to him.

Mehta Ranbir Singh : On a point of order, Sir. At this stage we can only discuss the principle of the Bill and not its details.

Shrimati Shanno Devi Sehgal : I appreciate the views expressed by the hon. Minister. But I would like to point out that I do not mean to embarrass you in any way. The appeal which I have made is addressed to you as the Speaker and not as Sardar Kapoor Singh.

Mr. Speaker : I would request the hon. lady member not to refer to it when I am in the Chair. She can bring this matter in the party meeting.

Thakur Pancham Chand : The Speaker does not belong to any party.

Shrimati Shanno Devi Sehgal : I want to see our province happy and prosperous. If you, Sir, accept a lower salary, you will be setting an ideal before others and it shall be a matter of rejoicing for the public. Taking into consideration the work that you do, your salary, as a matter of fact, should be equal to that of the Premier. But now that the Ministers have refused to agree to any reduction in their salaries, I would request you to come forward and declare that you are prepared to work on this much salary.

Lala Kedar Nath Sehgal (Amritsar, General, Rural) (*Hindustani*) : Sir, I find that the more a member talks irrelevantly and criticises the hon. Speaker, the more time he is given. (*Laughter*). So in future we shall also follow the same device to get more time. At present I have stood up to support Sardar Swaran Singh's Bill.

Mehta Ranbir Singh : On a point of order, Sir. The hon. member cannot oppose the Bill at this stage. I will refer you to Rule 88.

Mr. Speaker : Lala Kedar Nath Sehgal has hardly begun his speech. Allow him to proceed.

Lala Kedar Nath Sehgal : I think it has become a sort of habit with Mehta Ranbir Singh to interrupt in everything whether good or bad. I admit that the salaries are high, but after the Ministers' Salaries Bill has been passed it does not look reasonable to raise any objections regarding the Speaker's Salary. I would like to point out that the work of the Speaker, that is to conduct the meetings and to control the House, is as important as the work of the Ministers. Looking from this aspect, it is quite reasonable that the salary of the Speaker should be equal to that of the Premier.

Sardar Shiv Singh : (Gurdaspur North, Sikh, Rural) (*Punjabi*) : Sir, I have stood up to submit that the views expressed by Mehta Ranbir Singh are at present uncalled for. The best thing of course is that all the Ministers as well as you, Sir, should draw Rs. 500 as monthly salary and the salary of the honourable members should also be reduced by Rs. 100. But in view of the short life of the present Assembly, it is not advisable to effect these changes. New elections, I think, would be held in March or April next, and at that time people will not return the member whom they would not like. I would submit that the salaries should be fixed according to the previous scale. I would therefore humbly request Mehta Ranbir Singh to withdraw his motion.

Mr. Prabodh Chandra (Gurdaspur, General, Rural) (*Hindustani*) : Sir one of my hon. friend who represents the people of Ludhiana and Ferozepore districts has remarked that the welfare of the people of our province lies in the fact that the Speaker's salary be reduced. I am constrained to say that here is a case of the devil giving sermons. My honourable friend perhaps does not know that the office of the Speaker in all the legislatures of the world is looked upon as most honourable in respect of honour as well as pay. As such Mehta Ranbir Singh has violated that tradition by bringing up the present motion and has thereby impaired the dignity of the House. His irrelevant speeches also amount to the same thing. But such things have become a habit with Mehta Ranbir Singh. I would request the House that the Speaker's Salary Bill be passed.

The Assembly then adjourned for lunch and reassembled at 2-30 p.m. of the clock. Mr. Deputy Speaker (Thakur Fancham Chand in the Chair).

Mr. Deputy Speaker : Question is—

That the East Punjab Legislative Assembly Speaker's and Deputy Speaker's Salaries (Amendment) Bill be taken into consideration at once.

The motion was carried.

Mr. Deputy Speaker : The Bill will now be considered clause by clause.

Clause 2

Pandit Shri Ram Sharma (Southern Towns, General, Urban) (*Hindustani*) : I move :—

That line 9 and the following lines be substituted by the following words :—

“Twelve thousand rupees a year and a conveyance allowance at the rate of eighteen hundred rupees a year and there shall in addition be provided by Government a free house at Simla.”

(At this stage Mr. Speaker resumed the Chair.)

Sir, it is my unpleasant duty to put forward an amendment to the Speaker's and Deputy Speaker's Salaries Bill. The object of this amendment is to reduce the salary of the Speaker as proposed in the Bill to rupees twelve thousand a year and the conveyance allowance from 3,600 to 1,800 rupees per annum. So far as the need for providing a house to the hon. Speaker is concerned, I feel it must be provided but I have done away with the word 'furnished' as it is very ambiguous, vague and indefinite in its meaning.

[Pt. Shri Ram Sharma]

Mr. Speaker, I would like to make it clear beyond doubt at the very outset that it is far from my mind to cast any reflection on your personality by moving this amendment. In fact not to talk of the amendment, even the Bill has nothing to do with it. This salary is being fixed for an office in which this august House can instal any hon. member. It is sheer coincidence that this Bill has been put forward by Government when you are occupying the Speaker's chair. I, therefore, hold the view that any discussion on the Bill or the amendment has no connection, near or far fetched, with your personality. It is the question of principle that is involved in moving this amendment. I may also point out that my remarks are equally applicable to the Ministers' Salaries Bill, because those salaries were fixed for offices of the Ministers and not for any particular person. Since I moved an amendment to that Bill, it does not behove me to keep mum at this time when the same principle is involved in this Bill as well. If I refrain from moving an amendment to this Bill then I would be charged of partiality to the hon. Speaker.

Minister for Home and Revenue : Rest assured, no body will accuse you of that.

Pandit Shri Ram Sharma : I know the hon. Minister will not do that because he has got the Bill concerning himself passed and now he wants to drag the hon. Speaker on the same thorny ground in which he is stuck up. Mr. Speaker, I again assure you that I would have been the last person to move this amendment if it had any effect on your ability, prestige or dignity. But it is my firm belief that the dignity of an office is not enhanced by our fixing a higher salary for it. I am rather constrained to say that the Ministry has unwittingly shown scant respect to the high office of the Speaker as the proposed salary is less than the salary of a Cabinet Minister, I mean the hon. Premier.

Now, Sir, there is no gainsaying the fact that ours is a deficit Budget. Apart from this, being a congressman, I have always demanded vigorously the scaling down of high salaries paid to the Services in the province. We can, therefore, ill-afford to pay such a fat salary to the Speaker as has been proposed in the Bill. Hence my opposition to it is natural. Then I know it full well that the views held by the hon. members while occupying opposition benches, undergo a radical change when they come into power. This is true of the hon. members gracing the treasury benches. When they formed the Opposition in good old days, they talked things full of meaning and people like myself remind them of their old professions. By making this remark, I am also referring to the late Sir Chhotu Ram. When he was the Leader of the Opposition in pre-autonomy days, he talked of lofty ideals but when he became a Minister of the Unionist Government, he and his colleagues found it very difficult to translate their ideals into action. So what I am driving at is that the hon. members when they come into power, should not deviate from the views which they held while occupying the Opposition benches. But to-day, we find this very thing happening on the floor of this House. In the legislatures of other countries, there is generally little discussion on the Speaker's Salaries Bill. But I can cite a precedent from the previous Legislative Assembly of the Punjab. When the Bill fixing the salary of the Speaker of that Assembly, Sir Shabab-ud-Din, was under consideration, I moved an amendment to reduce his salary by Rs. 500. The present Premier had then moved for reduction in the salaries of the Ministers. In moving the present amendment, I am actuated by the desire to maintain consistency in my past and present attitude. It is a matter of principle that if we were opposed to certain things when we were in the Opposition, we should continue to be against them even when our party has come into power. If as a member of the Congress party, I had then opposed the Speaker's Salaries Bill, should I not be

consistent with my past position and oppose this Bill on the same grounds? Sir, I had to move this motion on a matter of principle; otherwise you can never expect of me to say a word that might detract from the dignity of your august office. Our Ministers may forget the principle for which our party once stood. I cannot. Whether it is the question of fixing the salary of a Minister or the Speaker, true to my principles and the principles of my party, I must raise my voice for effecting reduction in them. The hard circumstances in which our country is placed, the principles on which the Congress has been taking its stand, the obvious deficit in the budget and the need for creating a feeling of self-sacrifice and true service among the services—all demand that the Speaker should accept less salary than that proposed in the Bill under discussion. It is a pity that if we give expression to what we genuinely feel, abuses should be hurled upon us and ulterior motives imputed to us. But I know that you will neither call us names nor try to intimidate us (*Sardar Swaran Singh*: We never abused you or in any way intimidated you.) That is why I hesitate to oppose the Bill. If some people think that we are fifth-columnists let them flatter themselves. But I must say that it does not behove a Prime Minister to use abusive epithets for the members of his own party, nor is the use of such language in keeping with the dignity of this House. If, Sir, I were to expect a similar reaction from you also, I would never hesitate even then for a moment to move the amendment, I know, you will not call names even if I moved a motion for reduction in your salary. The call of duty urges me to remain consistent in my words and actions and I dare not go against my conscience. My action in moving this amendment, I know, will not be liable to one-sided comment of the newspapers, or to coloured versions of press reporters, and no one will be moved to ascribe it to my desire for ministership or to any other personal motives. Well if I did move for reduction in the salary of Ministers or in the number of Parliamentary Secretaries there would have been an uproar and the House would be converted into a babel of tongues. Sir, I would request you to consider this matter impersonally. What work are the ministers, who are great only in name, doing as compared with the heavy responsibility you shoulder.

Mr. Speaker : I request the hon. member not to be personal. I quite understand and realise his feelings as regards the Ministers and I know that in one way or another he will try to bring them in. Comparisons are always odious. He can discuss the question of Speaker's salary but should not bring in the Ministers.

Pandit Shri Ram Sharma : No, Sir. I cannot think of comparing them with you. There is no comparison between a mountain and a mole hill, between your august office and a ministership? (*Laughter*).

Mr. Speaker : You are still persisting in it.

Pandit Shri Ram Sharma : Sir, though the thought of such comparison has never occurred to me, it is my unpleasant duty to move this motion. The financial condition and exigencies of the situation in the province demand it, though I am not oblivious of the high dignity attached to your office. While moving a similar motion in the case of Ministers' salaries, I had to face abusive epithets. But I must obey the call of duty even against my will. In my opinion the Speaker's office should be independent of his emoluments because the two are not necessarily dependent on each other. If the Ministers' Salaries Bill has been passed and a mistake has been committed this does not mean that we should miss an opportunity to retrieve it, even though partially.

Mehta Ranbir Singh : On a point of order, Sir. Can an hon. member call a Bill that has been passed by this house *Galat*?

Mr. Speaker : I know that was a reflection on the House as a whole.

Pandit Shri Ram Sharma : If it was so, I withdraw it. But I had used the word in an abstract and general way. What I mean to say is that if any thing has been done by mistake, it should be amended, if possible. If the dignity of Speaker's office were dependent on its emoluments, I would never move this motion. I can cite precedents in its support. The Speakers of the West Bengal Legislative Assembly and the Madras Assembly are drawing Rs. 750 and Rs. 1,000 per mensem, respectively, as their salaries. The Speakers of Legislatures of other countries do not have bigger salaries. Even the President of U. S. A. does not draw a fat salary. The circumstances confronting our country and our province, the principle of which the Congress has been an exponent so long and the need of setting a good example of sacrifice for the services, all demand that the salaries should be reduced.

Sir, you also used to advance the same arguments at the time you were a member of the Opposition. Under the present circumstances it is still necessary that there should be a reduction in the salaries. A proposal was put before the House to the effect that the ability and work of a man should be the sole criteria for fixing his salary. I think this is a ridiculous proposal for we cannot fix any standard for ability and work and even a Judge cannot give a final ruling in this matter. Moreover, if we accept this principle we will be faced with the difficult problem of increasing or decreasing the salary of the Speaker whenever there is a change of the incumbent of this office and it will be impossible to reach any decision. I quite agree that you hold a high office and deserve a high salary and also you have a heavy burden of responsibility upon your shoulders which our Ministers will not be able to discharge even after seven successive births.

Mr. Speaker : No personal reference please.

Pandit Shri Ram Sharma : I am not making any personal reference to any Minister but what I stress is that you have not only to keep the members in order but also the Ministers. If we begin to judge the person by the standard of their work, then our ministers..... Yes, I have received your warning and do not intend to complete my sentence. The hon. Home Minister has just said that the Speaker has nothing to do with the introduction of this Bill and I quite agree with him that it is not appropriate to put any direct questions to the Speaker about this Bill. As the Bill has been introduced by the hon Home Minister, I have to say a few words to him. I am a member of the Government party and I think I am within my rights to draw the attention of the Cabinet towards this matter. Some of my hon. friends advise me not to oppose the Bills introduced by the Ministers and suggest that if I have to say something regarding these Bills I can do so privately. But I would ask my friends that if we accept their counsel, what is the use of calling this session and inviting the public and the press representatives to watch and report its proceedings? We want to impress upon the public that we used to criticise the Government when we were in Opposition and still we have the courage to point out the shortcomings of our own Ministers. The hon. members might be knowing that from the British Parliament down to the smallest state Assemblies or Praja Mandals, the members have a right to criticise the Ministers of their parties and I think I have not violated the rules and regulations of my party in criticising the policy of our Ministry. I feel I have a right to tell the public that the Ministers have succeeded in getting the approval of the House to the salaries of their own choice but as far as the salary of the Speaker is concerned, a better example should be set.

Sardar Gurbachan Singh : Mr. Speaker, he is repeating the arguments already advanced.

Mr. Speaker : He has and I would request him to avoid repetition.

Pandit Shri Ram Sharma : Yes, Sir, I have to stress only one thing and I am putting it in different forms. I contend that the Ministers should pay heed to our suggestion and accept a reduction in their salaries. I hold that the Speaker's salary should be reduced so that a noble example may be set to show that our ablest men can work on minimum salaries.

Mr. Speaker : Clause under consideration, amendment moved—

That line 9 and the following lines be substituted by the following words:—

“ Twelve thousand rupees a year and a conveyance allowance at the rate of eighteen hundred rupees a year and there shall in addition be provided by Government a free house at Simla.”

Sardar Bachan Singh (Ludhiana Central, Sikh, Rural) (*Punjabi*) : Sir, I rise to support the amendment moved by my hon. friend. The reason why I feel I must support it is clear from the fact that the times have now changed and if I may say so the change is taking place very fast. I quite agree with the remarks of the hon. members that we are *inertia* stricken and we should shake off this lethargy and move with the times. I go still further and say that the change in times is a formidable force and anyone who refuses to feel it gets crushed under its invincible weight. When the whole administration was in the hands of British Government Ministers used to draw Rs. 5,000 per month as their salary. After sometime when the Unionist party came to power it succeeded in fixing the salaries of the Ministers at Rs. 3,000 per month. The public got dissatisfied with the decision, as they had no food to eat, no clothes to wear and no place to hide themselves in. The times have again changed. We are passing through a crisis. People feel this uneven distribution of amenities of life. Under these circumstances people are justified in complaining against the attitude of the Government which instead of improving the hard lot of ill-fed, ill-clad and uncared for people, has already fixed the salaries of the Ministers at abnormally high rates. Socialism is coming to the lime light day by day. In fact the whole world is moving ahead towards Socialism. It is but natural that there is no room for those capitalists who have multiplied their wealth at the expense of the poor. Now the wealth has got to be distributed equally. India is a free country now. Power has been transferred by the British Government to the people of India or in other words the Congress. People should not get a chance to complain that when Congress came into power it adopted the same policy as was adopted by its predecessor. Now the Government whether it is Provincial or Central is a common man's Government. It is a representative body of the man in the street. I as a member of this House who happen to be a real representative of the man in street am here to voice his grievances. To-day this common man in this province complains against the policy adopted by those hon. members adorning the Treasury benches who are imbued with power and have forgotten all the promises they had made sometime ago.

Sardar Shiv Saran Singh : On a point of order, Sir. The hon. member has said that he is a real representative of the people. I beg to submit that every honourable member here is a real representative of the people.

Mr. Speaker : This is no point of order.

Sardar Bachan Singh : If I am not rude, may I ask the honourable member if we are not here to represent the people who have sent us here? Perhaps the honourable member has no knowledge about it. If he has not understood me how am I to blame? I wish to submit that so far as your proposed salary along with the conveyance allowance and a free furnished house is concerned, the honourable Ministers who have already succeeded in

[S. Bachan Singh]

fixing fat salaries for themselves want to fix your salary too in this House. Since the proposed salary of the Speaker concerns you, I wish to bring this point home to you that you have always been a leading figure in the Congress struggle for freedom. But the honourable Minister for Home and Revenue has stated that you have no concern with it. Does the honourable Minister mean that it is the business of the mover to introduce the Bill even though it concerns the Speaker and of the majority of the House to rush through it? I was reminding you about the meritorious services that you have rendered in the country's struggle for freedom. You have many sacrifices to your credit. You can very well pull on with your bare necessities. Since the honourable Ministers have already succeeded in fixing their salaries and other allowances and a free furnished house for themselves, they want you also to get the same. I am confident that you will also maintain a high standard of public service just like Mr. Patel who maintained a very high standard of public service during his Presidentship. Our province is in great distress. Those honourable members sitting on Treasury Benches who have been elected as members of this House on Congress ticket have to prove that they are not occupying those seats for drawing huge salaries, for living in comfort in furnished houses but simply because they have to serve the public in the real sense. In fact public service should be their watch word. This is not all. People should appreciate the services rendered by them for their welfare. Times are changing fast. We should realise this fact that those who were living in plenty only yesterday, have now been rendered homeless and have nothing to fall back upon. We should also change with the times which are changing fast. I would like to appeal to the honourable Ministers and the honourable members in the very name of the Congress which attained its goal after 28 years of sacrifice not because we were rich, not because we were living in furnished houses, not because we were moving about in motor cars but because we risked our lives even in the struggle for our country's freedom. What I feel these days is this that the spirit of sacrifice is no more to be found in us and that we are going off the way. We should revive the old spirit of self-sacrifice and sense of duty. In fact we should inculcate the same spirit of self-sacrifice and sense of duty which Nelson and his men shown. Nelson uttered these words on his death bed in the Victory ship: "England expects every man to do his duty." We are passing through crisis. Our refugees are in a miserable plight. Some of them are passing their days on the road-side and others in the streets. In fact they have no place to hide themselves in, no food to eat and no clothes to wear. The honourable Ministers should have fixed their salaries keeping in view the hard lot of the refugees. Now that they have succeeded in fixing their salaries, they have completely forgotten these poor refugees. After all what will be the outcome of their attitude towards them? What steps are they taking to improve the hard lot of those poor people whom they represent? It will not be out of place to mention here that we have been elected as members of this House by these poor people. We must serve them well. So far we have not done anything substantial for them. I wish to submit that the present Bill does not concern your person. We are here to give our opinion or to put it in other words the opinion of the man in the street whom we represent in the House. Our country in general and our province in particular is not so prosperous as to fix fat salaries for our Ministers. So long as the hard lot of the poor is not improved and adequate arrangements are not under consideration for providing certain amenities for those ill-fed, ill-clad and uncared for refugees, it really ill-behoves the honourable Ministers to fix the salaries at very high rates. In fact the present position does not permit of any enhanced salaries. In a country like ours where people in large numbers are starving, it is no credit to say that the salary of the Ministers has been reduced

from Rs. 3,000 to Rs. 1,500 per mensem and when one finds on minute scrutiny that it is not a fact that the salary has actually been reduced, one is further shocked. The fact of the matter is that there has really been no reduction. In the pre-partition province the Ministers used to draw a salary of Rs. 3,000 without any allowances and as the income-tax rates were then higher a sum of Rs. 700 used to be deducted from the salary. The Ministers then drew Rs. 2,300 net as their salary. Now the Ministers will get Rs. 1,500 and an allowance of Rs. 300 per mensem. And if you add to it the value of a furnished house which does not come to less than Rs. 500 a month, you will be forced to the conclusion that there is no difference between the salaries of the Ministers of the united Punjab and the salaries that have been fixed for our Ministers of a much smaller province.

Mr. Speaker : The honourable member has not perhaps seen the Speaker's house.

Pandit Shri Ram Sharma : You were also at a Minister's bungalow yesterday, which was fully furnished.

Sardar Bachan Singh : Such bungalows as the Ministers have got cannot be had for Rs. 500 per mensem and over and above this, Rs. 300 per mensem has also been allowed as conveyance allowance. The previous Speaker's salary was of course Rs. 3,000 per mensem but no conveyance allowance was allowed. Sir, it is clearly provided in the Bill that whereas the Speaker's Salary was previously Rs. 36,000 per annum, it would now be Rs. 18,000 per annum, in addition to Rs. 300 per mensem as conveyance allowance and a free furnished house. There is no mention of the fact at any rate in the statement of objects and reasons before us that the Speaker even in pre-partition Punjab had been provided with a conveyance allowance and a free furnished house and I, therefore, take it that the Speaker had no such concessions before. Under the circumstances I am constrained to remark that according to well-known Punjabi proverb the Government has taken back by the right hand what it gave by the left hand. I am here reminded of the story of a clever businessman. That gentleman managed to take one person as his partner in a concern on the condition that the latter will do the part of a labourer and that he will invest the money that he had. The other condition was that the person who was to work will get a fourth part of the profits as his share and that the other three parts will go to that clever man. After some time, certain persons persuaded the labourer to ask for as many parts of the profit as his partner was getting. When the labourer actually insisted on having the same as his share, the clever man at once agreed and said, "Well you will get three parts and I will have thirteen parts of the shares of the profits". Similar is the case here. The salary has been reduced but that reduction has been made good by payment of an allowance and by providing a free furnished house.

We cannot keep on criticising the Speaker when he is in the Chair and I have to say that it is a case of putting dust in one's eyes. The principle that we should have before us is "work according to one's capacity and pay according to one's need". If your needs are such then you should be given even Rs. 2,000 instead of Rs. 1,500 and a furnished house should also be allowed. But your colleagues and we are doing without Rs. 1,500 and a furnished house. I will request that we should move according to the times. If we shall not do so, we may be wiped out like British Imperialists and Unionists. I fear the Congress may not have to meet the same fate. During election days, it was said that when India will be free every one will get daily meals, clothes and a house to live in. But what the man in the street is getting is well known to everyone. The people in general will now naturally like to know why the Ministers should be allowed such fat salaries and commodious houses and conveyance allowances, when

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most of them are starving and have no roof to take shelter under. They will naturally want to know the crimes that they have committed to deserve such shabby treatment and how our ministers and the speaker deserve all these amenities and luxuries of life. We warn that danger lurks here and if we do not try to meet it we may be overtaken.

Pandit Mohan Lal (Una, General, Rural) (*Hindustani*): Sir, I need not say that big salaries are not and should not be the criteria to judge standard of service. While providing for such big salaries as provided in this Bill we must keep the naked, starved and half-starved people in view. Unfortunately or fortunately I am a representative of a backward constituency and always move among those hungry and naked people and when I picture before my eyes their helplessness I cannot help saying that the salary proposed in this Bill is very large. Therefore, I have stood up to protest against it. The true standard is that we should have such salaries fixed according to the capability of those whom we have to serve. The daily income *per capita* in our country is only seven pice. Such poor people cannot even dare to approach the big personages drawing Rs. 1,500 or Rs. 2,000 as their monthly salaries. I admit that the prices are very high. But whatever the conditions, Mahatma Gandhi has put forward the right sort of ideal, the ideal of simple living and high thinking. The fact is that our wants have increased out of all proportion; to our salaries howsoever high they may be. The panacea of our ills is to dispense with all unnecessary luxuries and to lead a simple life. We can do without costly dresses palatial buildings, sofa sets, cigarettes and so many other things. We should always keep in mind the poor people whom we represent here. They cannot afford to employ servants at high wages. It is very selfish on our part to fill our purses at the cost of these poor people. But I must say that ours is a cry in wilderness. Whatever amendment is brought up, is rejected. (*Laughter*). As a matter of fact, our constitution is such that the less said about it the better. I am in a very awkward position and it is my ill-luck that I have been involved in such an atmosphere.

Sardar Sajjan Singh (Patti Sikh, Rural) (*Punjabi*): Sir, there is a famous saying that whosoever wishes to become a master, must first be ready to serve. Ever since the Congress came into existence, its aim has been to serve the people and we have been telling them that the Congress Government, when it comes into power, will rightly and truly serve the people. But it is regretted that these promises have not been fulfilled. I make bold even to say that the criticism which we levelled against the Unionist Ministry in the past, also applies to us today. I would therefore like to request the Home Minister, through you, that the salaries of all of us may be reduced by 33 per cent. The monthly salary of a member should be Rs. 100 and that of a Minister Rs. 500 only.

Sardar Jagjit Singh Mann: Bring in a Bill to this effect.

Sardar Sajjan Singh: The Bill of course will be brought in due course. Mahatma Gandhi once pointed out that even to maintain independence, you must have high moral character. We are, therefore, morally bound by the pledges that we have so far been giving to the people. We should draw the least salary and in this way should create an example for others. With these words I request the House to accept the proposed reduction in the Speaker's salary.

Seth Sudarshan: Sir, I move:

That the question be now put.

Mr. Speaker: I am aware that members are repeating the same arguments and there is nothing new in their speeches. But as the motion before

the House is such that concerns me, I do not wish to be misunderstood, Therefore, I would like those members who want to speak in favour of Pandit Shri Ram's motion to have their say.

Sardar Narotam Singh (South-East Punjab, Sikh, Rural) (*Punjabi*): Sir, it has been remarked that the hon. Speaker wanted his salary to be fixed at a certain figure. I assert that this is not a fact. He never put forward any demand like this. As a matter of fact, it is the Ministry that has drafted the Bill and brought it in the House for enactment into law. I need not reiterate the considerations, already well known to my hon. friends, which impelled the Government to move the Speaker's Salary Bill. Then my hon. friend Pandit Shri Ram Sharma has admitted that a capable person is required to hold the office of Speaker because his responsibility in conducting the business of the Assembly smoothly, efficiently and impartially is immense. His dignity is in no way inferior to that of the hon. Ministers. My point is that when we expect a very high standard of service from the Speaker, we should not grudge him the salary as proposed in the Bill. I may point out that the proposed salary does not admit of any further reduction. The amending Bill already seeks to reduce it from 36 to 18 thousand rupees a year. I, therefore, oppose the amendment and strongly support the Bill.

Meh ta Ranbir Singh (Ludhiana and Ferozepore, General, Rural) (*Hindustani*): Sir, before lunch time I spoke on the principle underlying the Speaker's Salary Bill but now I wish to make a few observations on the amendment put forward by my hon. friend Pandit Shri Ram Sharma and also express my support to the original Bill. (*Hear, hear*). I may point out at the very outset to the hon. members who are feeling curious at my attitude that there is no inconsistency or contradiction involved in my views. I am not like those of my hon. friends who have made it a point to oppose a certain thing because it has come from a certain person.

Pandit Durga Chand Kaushish: Has the hon. member any right to make a second speech on the same Bill?

Mr. Speaker: My hon. friend may know that he was then speaking on the motion for consideration of the Bill and now he is speaking on the amendment.

Mehta Ranbir Singh: Sir, before lunch time my hon. friend, the mover of the amendment, brought in the question of the personality of the Speaker, but half an hour later he said things in contradictory terms. His memory is rather short. In this connection I am reminded of an anecdote which amply elucidates his attitude. A simple-minded Muslim sought the advice of Mullah or a Muslim divine in regard to a certain matter. The Mullah was first non-plussed but soon an idea struck him. He asked him how the Hindus did that thing. The questioner said that they did so in a particular manner. Soon came the rep from the Mullah, 'Oh, then we must go the opposite way'. This is how resolved the difficulty of that simple-minded Muslim.

Pandit Durga Chand Kaushish: Sir, how much time of the House is he allowed to waste in an absolutely irrelevant talk?

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. The hon. member is not right in saying that another hon. member, while speaking on a motion before the House, has wasted the time of the House.

Mehta Ranbir Singh: Sir, my hon. friend is unnecessarily getting restive. I was submitting that it was a habit with certain hon. members to oppose a matter because it had come from a certain quarter. Now if I oppose the amendment under consideration, I do not contradict what I had spoken on the principle underlying the Bill. I would, therefore, counsel my hon. friend to withdraw it. With these words I oppose the amendment and support the Bill.

Seth Sudarshan : I beg to move :

That the question be now put.

Mr. Speaker : Not yet. So far as this Bill is concerned, I am not going to allow a closure motion just yet.

Chaudhri Suraj Mal (Hansi, General, Rural) (*Hindustani*): Sir, the discussion on the Bill pertaining to your salary and allowances reminds me of those times—perhaps ten years back—when on hearing similar arguments from the Opposition, the thought used to cross our minds that perhaps the Treasury Benches were in the wrong. I am glad to-day that after all the Ministerial party used to act wisely even then. I feel that such emoluments are essential for these posts. The Unionist Party knew as to what was adequate salary for a particular post and it took its decision in this matter wisely. I am glad that the Congress Party is also in practice feeling the necessity of following in the foot-steps of the Unionist Party and I hope that in all the spheres of administration, our party will follow the good precedents set up by the Unionist Party.

Sardar Shiv Saran Singh (Kangra and Northern Hoshiarpur, Sikh, Rural) (*Punabi*): Sir, I had really no desire to speak on the motion but some observations and remarks made on the floor of the House to-day have compelled me to open my lips. It is a pity that some hon. members should have made reflections on other members that the latter are not representatives of the masses.

Mr. Speaker : Please speak to the motion.

Sardar Shiv Saran Singh : What I meant to say was that their arguments are based on poor logic and fallacious promises. I have not heard a single well-reasoned speech from the supporters of the motion. They had first moved for reduction in the salaries of the Ministers, but then they withdrew their amendments and agreed to the passage of the Ordinance which was in the form of a Bill before the House. Now they have moved for reduction in the salary of the Speaker. If they have elected to play the part of Opposition, why do they not try to get this Bill rejected outright and bring forth another Bill instead of moving an amendment? I know that those who claim to oppose this Bill in the larger interests of the province or the country, are actuated by no other motive but to play to the gallery, to see their names in the newspapers and by employing obstructionist tactics, to win cheap popularity. They have not been able to advance even a single sound argument in favour of the amendment. So I think they would do well to withdraw it.

Pandit Shri Ram Sharma : I beg leave to withdraw my motion.

Mr. Speaker : Is it the pleasure of the House that the motion be withdrawn?

Some Honourable Members : No.

Mr. Speaker : Question is—

That line 9 and the following lines be substituted by the following words —

“Twelve thousand rupees a year and a conveyance allowance at the rate of eighteen hundred rupees a year and there shall in addition be provided by Government a free house at Simla.”

The motion was lost.

Mr. Speaker : Question is :—

That clause 2 stand part of the Bill.

The motion was carried.

CLAUSE 1

Mr. Speaker : Question is—

That clause 1 stand part of the Bill.

The motion was carried.

Title

Mr. Speaker : Question is—

That the title be the title of the Bill.

The motion was carried.

Minister for Home and Revenue (The hon. Sardar Swaran Singh):
move—

That the East Punjab Legislative Assembly Speaker's and Deputy Speaker's Salaries (Amendment) Bill be passe .

The motion was carried

THE EAST PUNJAB NATIONAL VOLUNTEER CORPS BILL

Minister for Home and Revenue (The hon. Sardar Swaran Singh) : Sir, we were discussing the National Volunteer Corps Bill, when I craved your indulgence to postpone the consideration of the Bill to enable the Government to put the amendments in proper form. The Bill may now be taken up.

Mr. Speaker : The House will now resume consideration of the National Volunteer Corps Bill.

CLAUSE 2

Sardar Shiv Saran Singh (Kangra and Northern Hoshiarpur, Sikh, Rural) (*Punjabi*) : Sir, I move—

That in clause 2, lines 2 and 3, for the words "District Magistrate in the area within his jurisdiction may constitute for that area", the following words be substituted :—

" Provincial Government may for any area constitute "

Sir, the object of this amendment is obvious. It is in tune with the views expressed by the hon. Minister on this subject the other day. He was pleased to remark that that the National Volunteer Corps will constitute a body altogether different from the Civic Guards. This will be a force entirely national in outlook and character and actuated by motives of service to the people of the province despite its allegiance to the Indian Dominion. But it so happens, as is the case in this Bill, that when a measure of this nature is brought forward by the Government invariably all the powers of recruitment, etc., are vested in the district magistrates. Clause 2 of the Bill also fully empowers the district magistrate to constitute a National Volunteer Corps. The amendment that I have moved seeks to vest such powers in the Provincial Government or any person authorised on its behalf. The hon. Home Minister supported this view during one of his speeches on the formation and necessity of such corps. I therefore suggest that these powers should remain in the armoury of the Provincial Government which may further appoint a non-official Advisory Board or a Control Board under whom the provincial and district commanders will work. The Board will consist of trustworthy publicspirited workers who will always keep before them the ideal of public service and see that the provisions of the proposed measure are carried out in letter and in spirit. In other words this will not be an official-ridden body and the District Magistrate or the Superintendent of Police will not be able to utilise the services of the volunteers for their private affairs. The volunteers, as I have already stated, will be imbued with the highest virtue of service and lofty ideal of sacrifice for this land of ours. In this connection I would like to

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make another submission and it is this. Certain rules are to be framed under this clause for the regulation of duties assigned to the volunteers. I am of the opinion that it will be advisable if non-official element is co-opted at the time of drafting such rules. This is essential because it is the non-official public men who really feel the pulse of the people and interpret their feelings on any matter affecting them. They will be instrumental in the recruitment of the right type of young men to the corps. Here I would sound a note of warning to the Government to see that the non-official element is not drawn from the retired officials. Since their vision is blurred as a result of their being a product of the old imperialism, they cannot serve any useful purpose. I would impress upon the Government not to nominate such out of date and outmoded persons but afford an opportunity to public spirited men to serve on the rule-drafting committee. I hope the hon. Minister will see his way to accept the amendment.

Mr. Speaker : Clause under consideration, amendment moved —

That in clause lines 2 and 3, for the words "District Magistrate in the area within his jurisdiction may constitute for that area", the following words be substituted :

"Provincial Government may for any area constitute".

The motion was carried.

Mr. Speaker : Question is—

That clause as amended stand part of the Bill.

The motion was carried.

CLAUSE 3

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

I move—

1. That in lines 1-2, for the words "The District Magistrate" the words "The Provincial Government" be substituted.
2. That in lines 4-6 for the words "as he is authorised by the Provincial Government to appoint", the following words be substituted, namely :
"as the Provincial Government may see fit to appoint".

Mr. Speaker : Clause under consideration, amendment moved—

1. That in lines 1-2, for the words "The District Magistrate" the words "The Provincial Government" be substituted.
2. That in lines 4-6, for the words "as he is authorised by the Provincial Government to appoint" the following words be substituted, namely :
"as the Provincial Government may see fit to appoint"

Mr. Prabodh Chandra (Gurdaspur, General, Rural) : I may point out that if these amendments are adopted they would involve repetition of the words 'Provincial Government' and would make the construction of the sentences rather bad. I would request the hon. Minister in charge to modify the language.

Minister for Home and Revenue : If the honourable member reads these amendments along with the original Bill, he will find that the language is not bad, as he calls it. There is no avoidable repetition.

Mr. Speaker : Question is —

1. That in lines 1-2, for the words "The District Magistrate" the words "The Provincial Government" be substituted.
2. That in lines 4-6, for the words "as he is authorised by the Provincial Government to appoint", the following words be substituted, namely :
"as the Provincial Government may see fit to appoint."

The motion was carried.

Mr. Speaker : Question is —

That Clause 3 as amended stand part of the Bill.

The motion was carried.

CLAUSE 4.

Sardar Shiv Saran Singh (Kangra and Northern Hoshiarpur, Sikh, Rural) :
I move —

That in lines 1 2, for the words "The District Magistrate in his district" the words "The Provincial Government in any area" be substituted.

The motion was carried.

Mr. Speaker : Question is—

That Clause 4 as amended stand part of the Bill.

The motion was carried

CLAUSE 5

Sardar Shiv Saran Singh (Kangra and Northern Hoshiarpur, Sikh, Rural) :
I move —

That in sub-clause (2), line 6, for the words "the District Magistrate" the words "the Provincial Government" be substituted.

The motion was carried.

Mr. Speaker Question is :

That Clause 5, as amended, stand part of the Bill.

The motion was carried

CLAUSES 6 AND 7

Mr. Speaker : Question is —

That Clause 6 and 7 stand part of the Bill.

The motion was carried

NEW CLAUSE

Sardar Shiv Saran Singh : I beg leave to move —

That after Clause 7, the following new clause to be numbered as 8 be added and that the subsequent clauses be re-numbered as clauses 9 and 10 :

"The Provincial Government may by notification and subject to any conditions which may be specified delegate its functions, under Delegation of powers of Sections 2, 3 or 4 to any person or body of persons."

The leave was granted

Sardar Shiv Saran Singh (*Hindustani*) I move :

That after clause 7 the following new clause to be numbered as 8 be added and that the subsequent clauses be re-numbered as clauses 9 and 10 :—

"The Provincial Government may by notification and subject to any conditions which may be specified delegate its functions under sections 2, 3 or 4 to any person or body of persons."

Sir, The purpose of this amendment is to get a new clause inserted in the Bill to the effect that the powers given to the District Magistrates be transferred to the Provincial Government and the latter be entitled under clauses 2, 3 and 4 to delegate these powers to any person or non-official body who in their opinion can run the corps successfully.

Mr. Speaker : Motion moved :

That after clause 7 the following new clause to be numbered as 8 be added and that the subsequent clauses be re-numbered as clauses 9 and 10 :—

"The Provincial Government may by notification and subject to any conditions which may be specified delegate its functions under sections 2, 3 or 4 to any person or body of persons."

Master Gurbanta Singh (Jullundur General, Rural, Reserved Seat) (*Hindustani*): Sir, I want to express my views on the motion moved by Sardar Sahib. District Magistrates were vested with more powers in the first instance. If the District Magistrates and the Superintendents of Police were to retain those powers, they would have made recruitment from amongst the persons who were admirers of the old regime. This Volunteer Corps has to help us in our public life. It has to afford us protection and keep the enemy away. It is responsible to all of us. Political men should be selected for it. First of all the henchmen of the British were selected for similar bodies. Now such politically minded men should be selected as have taken interest in social work. But I am constrained to say that all the young men enlisted are members of the Sewak Sangh. I have seen at Jullundur that there lies in several houses looted property worth Rs. 40 thousand in each case. Under the provisions of this Bill, the District Magistrate is authorised to enlist any young man. But in my opinion it will be harmful to the public, because there are so many organisations whose members took active part in looting. This House perhaps is not aware that to enlist such persons who took active part in loot and arson during the last disturbances, will be dangerous for the public. I request the hon. Minister concerned not to enlist these persons who do not deserve even to enter the field of public life. It will be much better if political leaders and M. L. As. take upon themselves the task of recruiting suitable young men for the corps. If a particular man is entrusted with the job, he will enlist according to his own free will. I suggest that a committee should be formed in each district consisting of such members as really represent the masses. The committee should consist of 3 or 4 members and should select suitable candidates for the National Volunteer Corps.

Mr. Speaker : Question is —

That after clause 7 the following new clause to be numbered as 8 be added and the subsequent clauses be re-numbered as clauses 9 and 10 :—

“The Provincial Government may by notification and subject to any conditions which may be specified delegate its functions under sections 2, 3 or 4 to any person or body of persons.”

Delegation of powers

The motion was carried

Mr. Speaker : Question is :

That the new clause stand part of the Bill.

The motion was carried.

CLAUSE 8

Sardar Shiv Saran Singh (Kangra and Northern Hoshiarpur, Sikh, Rural) :
move —

That sub-clause (a) of the existing clause 8 be omitted and that sub-clauses (b), (c), (d) and (e) be re-numbered as (a), (b), (c) and (d).

The motion was carried

Mr. Speaker : Question is :

“That existing clause 8 as amended stand part of the Bill

The motion was carried.

CLAUSE 9

Mr. Speaker : Question is —

That existing clause 9 stand part of the Bill.

The motion was carried.

CLAUSE I

SUB-CLAUSE (1)

Sardar Shiv Saran Singh (Kangra and Nothern Hoshiarpur, Sikh, Rural) (Punjabi): I move :—

That in line 2 after the word "Corps" the words "or Qaumi Dal" be added.

Sir, I feel that people of different shades of opinion will come forward to join the National Volunteer Corps. I think 'Qaumi Dal' will be a more appropriate title and request the hon. Minister to accept my amendment.

Mr. Speaker : Clause under consideration, amendment moved—

That in line 2 after the word "Corps" the words "or Qaumi Dal" be added

Minister for Home and Reveune (The hon. Sardar Swaran Singh) : Sir, I am afraid that the language which will result if this amendment is passed will be rather anomalous. I do not know what the real intention of the hon. member is but if his intention is to substitute the English words "National Volunteer Corps" by their Urdu translation "Qaumi Dal" then I do not see any possible objection, but this amendment will not result in any useful purpose. I assure him that we can describe it as Qaumi Volunteer Dal in the translation of this Bill.

But may I crave the indulgence of the Hon'ble Speaker to permit hon. members of this House to give their reactions about the name, because I have no fancy for any name ? Any name which sounds well will be acceptable to me.

Chaudhri Sher Singh : Sir, if translated into Hindi the name will mean Rashtria Swayam Sewak Sangh and an organization of this name already exists in India.

Sardar Shiv Saran Singh : I suggest that the words "National Volunteer Corps" be omitted and "Qaumi Sewa Dal" be substituted.

Sardar Gurbanta Singh (Punjabi) : I suggest that the English words should be altogether ignored. Call it 'Qaumi Dal' or 'Sewak Dal.' I do not object to any Hindustani or Punjabi words. Britishers have already left this country and no English words should be used now.

Shrimati Shanno Devi Sehgal (Hindustani): I wish to suggest that the title should be Qaumi Sewa Dal instead of Sewak Dal because at some stage lady volunteers may also come forward to join it.

Mr Speaker : It is not for me to suggest any name as all this drafting is done in English. The House can give it any name when this Bill is being translated into Hindi or Punjabi.

Minister for Home and Revenue : With your permission, Sir, I want to explain that by accepting this amendment with regard to the title, I am not certain as to whether further complications in the body of the Bill will arise or not, but anyhow leaving that point, if I extend an assurance to the hon. mover that in its translation and in correspondence it can be described as Qaumi Volunteer Dal, then I think he will not press his amendment.

Sardar Shiv Saran Singh : In view of the assurance given by the hon. Minister I withdraw my amendment.

The amendment was by leave withdrawn.

Mr. Speaker : Question is :—

That sub clause (1) of Clause 1 stand part of the Bill.

The motion was carried.

The motion was carried.

Title

Mr. Speaker : Question is :

That the title be the title of the Bill.

The motion was carried

Minister for Home and Revenue (The hon. Sardar Swaran Singh) : Sir, I move :—

That the East Punjab National Volunteer Corps Bill, as amended, be passed.

The motion was carried

THE EAST PUNJAB UNIVERSITY BILL.

Premier (The hon. Dr. Gopi Chand Bhargava) : I beg to introduce the East Punjab University Bill.

Premier (*Hindustani*) : I beg to move—

That the East Punjab University Bill be taken into consideration at once.

There was no University in this province after the 15th of August 1947. Therefore, East Punjab University Ordinance had to be promulgated. If it had been promulgated, there was only one way for us and that was that we should get our institutions affiliated to other universities. There were certain difficulties in it and secondly there was difference in courses and curricula as well. We did not like that whatever our students had studied in our schools and colleges should be of no avail to them. This was the reason why the East Punjab University Ordinance was promulgated. If we do not pass this Bill the Ordinance will expire in six weeks' time. This is the reason why the Bill is put before you now, as the House will not meet in the next six weeks' time. It should therefore be passed now.

Mr. Speaker : Motion moved :—

That the East Punjab University Bill be taken into consideration at once.

Pandit Durga Chand Kaushish (Ambala Division Landholders) : Sir, I move—

That the East Punjab University Bill be referred to a select committee.

My reasons for moving this motion are that this Bill being one of the first Bills introduced in the legislature of this country after freedom has been declared, we should have adopted some different lines in the drafting of the Bill, rather than following the lines that were adopted in the 19th century or earlier, by Englishmen in order to turn out clerks from our universities, to bring out stooges from them to carry out their business and their propaganda. Sir, when I look at this Bill I find that it is hardly better than old wine in new bottles.

Minister for Labour and Excise : Old wine is better.

Pandit Durga Chand Kaushish : Evidently my hon. friend knows his wine.

Minister for Home and Revenue : You should know your bottle. (*Laughter*).

Pandit Durga Chand Kaushish : I am just a customer. If I were to go on pointing out each and every aspect that must not be considered by this legislature, not a single line in this Bill can be passed. Therefore, I think that it will be wise for the Government to refer this Bill

to a select committee, because it has too many flaws to be enumerated on the floor of the House. It will be wiser to bring this Bill in a form that is really worthy of an independent country. Now, Sir, one argument that is being advanced on the floor of the House is that we have too little time. How much time has elapsed after the partition and how long does it take to frame a Bill? Seventeen other universities exist in this country at this moment. If somebody had taken the trouble of picking up these 17 Acts and if he had only done the job of cutting and pasting, probably he would have had a million times better Bill than what has been placed before this House. Now, my first point and the foremost objection regarding this Bill is the representation on the Senate and the Syndicate. It was the policy of the Englishman to have on such important bodies only "yes" men who would say 'yes' to everything. I do not know with what view our Government, Government of an independent country, is adopting almost the same procedure. We find that a majority of these Fellows are to be nominated by the Governor himself or by the faculties and the same is the case about the Syndicate. I do not know where it is going to carry us. If anything is to come up that does not suit the taste of a few persons in the Education Department, if anything comes up that does not suit the taste of older generation,—I say the older generation because this Bill is the product of the older generation, this does not imbibe the doctrines that the younger generation is following these days,—in that case you will have all your proposals fizzled out in the Senate or in the Syndicate or any other body that is set up by the Chancellor. The Chancellor is a sort of Hitler for this purpose. Whatever he says must be followed, otherwise everything goes.

Minister for Labour and Excise : The professor (*Prof. Sher Singh*) is there.

Pandit Durga Chand Kaushish : He is missing his calling. He is a professor miscalled. I have already said that this is the first Bill of its kind to be passed by the legislature of a province after freedom has been attained but it is a Bill which does not make any provision for the representation of the Legislature even on the Senate. What would you call that Bill? I remember when the debates were going on on the Delhi University Amendment Act, 1942, even then those old bureaucrats agreed to give four seats to the Council of State and six to the Central Assembly. But here our own Government, our independent Government, has made no provision for that. I have given notice of an amendment on the subject. I want that on the Senate and the Syndicate there should be representatives of this honourable House or the Leader of the House should be courageous enough to say that this House consists of *nincompoops* and they do not deserve to be on any educational body.

Coming next to the appointment of the Vice-Chancellor, he is the person who carries on the most important duties of the University. He has got to be appointed out of the Fellows nominated by the Chancellor himself. Can you imagine who that person would be? That person will be none other than one who is a 'yes' man. In the recent University Acts, provision has been made that a paid Vice-Chancellor should be appointed to plan for the University, to think of the various problems, to collect information, but here, I believe, the fact, as the Leader of the House described, that he has been carrying out *kanjusi*, has obliged him to abolish the post of a paid Vice-Chancellor. *Kanjusi* drive may be all right in certain places, but let me tell him that economy in matters educational is the falsest of all the false economies.

Coming next to the old institution of the Punjab University for which the Punjab was famous all over the country, the private matriculation, that institution was there because of so many considerations. Some of our Mian Sahibs, Malik Sahibs and Hayats wanted their boys to get some sort of a certificate to be eligible to get jobs. The University in those days was over-ridden by Muhammadans and they were guided by these considerations. But now I do

[Pandit Durga Chand Kaushish]

not find any justification for the continuance of this thing. Sir, I am opposed to this not just for this reason but for other reasons also. When a boy comes to a University without having had an opportunity of mixing and rubbing shoulders with other students and exchanging ideas, he gets a certain type of mentality and does not get the right training of mind obtained only in a school or in the sports ground in company with his fellow students. What happens is that he suffers from an inferiority complex and various other kinds of complexes which you might find in some of the gentlemen here. What happens when you allow private matriculation? Students come and join some sort of commercial schools, and you find there is a large number of them in the Punjab, this school and that school. They prepare students purely with the idea of passing the examination and they tell them to study this paper or that paper and prepare this question or that question because they were set in the previous University examinations and obtain a pass. We do not want that type of schools. Such students prove absolutely unfit citizens. When they come up for the University education more than 50 per cent of them drop out in the Intermediate. I am not saying this on my own. This has been stated in the Sargeant Report. That is what has been happening in the Punjab and apart from that I strongly feel that if you want good citizens who would be useful in life to themselves and to the country, this institution must be abolished and we must be very strict about it.

Then sir, in this Bill we find that they have provided for the registration of graduates. In clause 14, sub-clause 4, the Bill provides that all graduates of the Punjab University who may be residents of the East Punjab shall be entitled to have their names entered on the register of graduates of the University. Of course that holds good till the 30th September 1948. (*Interruption*). May I, Sir, seek the protection of the Chair? Very loud conversation is being carried on by the Chief Whip of the party who is occupying some one else's seat.

Mr. Speaker : No interruptions please. Allow the hon. member to proceed.

Pandit Durga Chand Kaushish : The first curious thing about this clause is that it debars all such people who have graduated from the Punjab University but are residing outside the East Punjab from exercising the privilege of having themselves entered as registered graduates of the University and then taking some interest in the elections or day to day management of the University. As a matter of fact, I am going to move an amendment to the effect that we should extend that courtesy not only to all those graduates who are living outside the East Punjab but to some of those sister Universities who are helping us and our students in these extraordinary and abnormal days. Since I have been in Delhi for a pretty long time after the division of our province, I have seen our unfortunate students going from pillar to post, from this man to that man, from this professor to that professor. Luckily for some of them, the Ministry of Education intervened and some of the students were admitted to professional and technical institutions. Some of the Universities that are coming to our rescue are Delhi, Agra, Benares, Allahabad and Lucknow. It should be customary for all cultured people, all educated people, people who say that they have had some sort of University education to extend a certain amount of courtesy to those with whom they come in contact. We are seeking the help from those Universities in getting our students absorbed in their technical and professional institutions but surprisingly enough, our Government does not even have the courtesy to ask the graduates from those Universities to become registered graduates of our University. Probably our Government fear that if that courtesy was extended, the whole thing would become unwieldy and unmanageable. They are sadly mistaken. We might have at the most one man from each university wanting that privilege. It is just a grace which cultured people must not miss. They will consider that Punjabis are after all not devoid of tender feelings; the impression that others have about us Punjabis is well known to us. I will still

appeal to the Education Minister to extend that courtesy to other Universities. If I am asked whether the same courtesy has been extended by any other University, my reply would be in the affirmative. Only five or six weeks back, it appeared in the newspapers that the Saigaon University had extended that courtesy to other universities. The Delhi University Act was passed in 1922 and they gave the option to graduates of the Punjab University to become their registered graduates in the first year. The same courtesy was extended by the Benares University to the Lucknow University graduates.

Mr. Speaker : The hon. member is discussing the Bill in its details.

Pandit Durga Chand Kaushish : I must strengthen my arguments for referring this Bill to a select committee.

Coming to the next point, I would refer the House to clause 40 wherein it has been provided that the rules and regulations under the Punjab University Act of 1882 will hold good under the proposed Act also. May I ask the Government why? Do they feel that the same old bureaucratic Government is ruling the country still? Why could they not select their regulations from the recent Acts of other Universities? Mr. B. G. Kher introduced the Poona University Bill on the 30th of October last. He pointed out in his speech that his Bill was based on the University Acts of Delhi and Lucknow. On the other hand here I find our Government bringing forward a Bill only ten days after Mr. Kher's Bill, sticking to the 1882 Act. What type of graduates can we expect from such a University? Steel-frame, you might call them I would not like to be personal but they might turn out to be like most of those people who have proved traitors to the country and who have no honesty either in their public or private life. No doubt in this very province of ours we had leaders like Lala Lajpat Rai and patriots like Sardar Bhagat Singh but they were just exceptions to prove the rule. To-day what do we find? The Punjab has no leadership; the Punjab has no guiding spirit; the Punjab has no guiding soul and if somebody were to ask me the reason, I would reply that it is so because the Punjab has no University. Most of us here, Sir, are the product of the Punjab University. The honourable the Leader of the House pointed out only the other day that there was some sort of bickering and rivalry within the Party itself and that was the reason why he had left certain people out of the Government as he feared that they might prove to be fifth columnists. I hung my head in shame when I heard that. Why is this so? To my mind the reason is the faulty education that we received from our University. The education that we received under the Act of 1882 suited the purpose of the Englishman very well. The Englishman wanted us to get diplomas and degrees somehow or other, by passing our examinations part by part, subject by subject so as to enable him to carry on his administration. The Englishman succeeded and the Punjab of the old helped him in his designs so much so that the Punjab became notorious in becoming the instrument of the British bureaucracy. May I ask our hon. Premier whether he wants the same thing to happen to our country even after we have thrown off the British yoke? My submission, therefore, is that we must change with the times and not stick on to old things. Instead of moving for the rejection of this Bill, I have put in a very mild amendment so that the Government might give us, the representatives of the people, a chance to look into the provisions of this Bill and to so revise it that the future generations might not say that we did not rise to the occasion and acted against the interests of the country. We do not want posterity to judge us in that perspective.

Now Sir, I am going to tread on rather a dangerous and slippery ground when I refer you to a few examples. These examples are not directed against any individual members of this House but by referring to those examples I only mean to show the type of people that are milled out of our University. From the happening of today after 1 o'clock, the type of culture and education that we

[Pandit Durga Chand Kaushish]

receive from our University has shown itself. The gentleman who interrupted me a short while ago asked me if I had read the Bill. I may tell him that I just glanced through it because reading, strictly speaking, means that one has digested the thing from beginning to end. Well, Sir, that gentleman possesses a Master degree; that is what our education is. You know, Sir, what happens; he quietly sneaks out of the Grand Hotel and the management has to trace him here in the Assembly building for presenting its bill.

Chaudhri Sher Singh : On a point of personal explanation, Sir. I could never expect a member, sermonizing on the floor of this House about the University education (*Interruption*).

Mr. Speaker : Order, order.

Pandit Shri Ram Sharma : On a point of Order, Sir. This is no personal explanation; he can make a speech later on.

Mr. Speaker : It is for me to see whether he is making a speech or a personal explanation. The hon. Member must stick to explanation and not make a speech.

Chaudhri Sher Singh : The member who was speaking just now has uttered a lie.

Mr. Speaker : The word "lie" is unparliamentary and the hon. member must withdraw it first. If he wants to say anything by way of personal explanation he should proceed, but if he wants to make a speech in reply he should wait for his turn to speak.

Chaudhri Sher Singh : I withdraw the word "*Shoot*" and would say that the statement made by the member is incorrect.

Pandit Durga Chand Kaushish : Mr. Speaker, my statement is supported by the hon. member on my right. You can bring it on record of the Assembly that I did not mention any gentleman's name, I did not mention the constituency, I did not mention any identification; it was a question of *Chor ki dhari main Kutab ka Lat*.

Mr. Speaker : The Hon. member must withdraw these words.

Pandit Durga Chand Kaushish : I withdraw. Anyway, Sir, what I meant to say was that the statement made by the gentleman on my right supported what have I said. Now, Sir, this is the product of our present University. Now I get down to the next instance. I told you, Sir, that I will give two instances. In the first instance I did not mention any name but still the gentleman concerned came out quite voluntarily and offered himself. May be that is his good sense or good education or may be that is his folly or childishness.

Minister for Home and Revenue : On a point of order, Sir. I must point out that the hon. member has been speaking in that strain for a considerable time in spite of warnings from the Chair, and I request that he may be asked not to be personal and to continue his speech on the Bill.

Chaudhri Sher Singh :—On a point of Order, Sir. The hon. member has again used the words "folly" and "childishness" for me.

Pandit Durga Chand Khushish : Sir, I withdraw them and say that it was his wisdom. (*Interruption*).

Mr. Speaker : No interruption please. The hon. member should proceed but he should not be personal.

Pandit Durga Chand Kaushish : Well, Sir, I believe that the hon. Minister was under a certain misapprehension when he raised his point of

order and said that I was getting personal, before I started on the second instance. I have already explained to the House that I am treading on a somewhat slippery ground. I am giving a few examples from life, incidents that happen every day, showing the specimen of people that come out from the University that was established under the English regime. I will not pursue that point any further. I promised another example. A member who was speaking a few minutes back is a double graduate of this University.

Minister for Home and Revenue : It is my painful duty to rise again on a point of Order. To discuss merits and demerits of a graduate specially of one who happens to be a member of this hon. House is certainly not desirable and therefore I repeat that the rules should be strictly enforced.

Pandit Durga Chand Kaushish : I explained it twice here that I was not discussing any personalities. Well, Sir, that person may have been myself, yourself or the hon. Minister himself. Sir, I was just telling you the specimen of production of the University. The Home Minister is misunderstanding me very much if he thinks I mean any one person. It is the question of guilty conscience.

Minister for Home and Revenue : I must point out that the word "guilty" is unparliamentary and he must withdraw it.

Pandit Durga Chand Kaushish : I withdraw. Now, Sir, the other instance I was trying to point out to you was to show as to why our system of education should be changed. That instance again reflects a mentality, a type of mentality, that is created after years of rubbing in a University. Sir, I refer to the member who was speaking just a few minutes back. When an hon. member from this House pointed out that I asked him as to which constituency he belonged.....

Minister for Home and Revenue : Has it anything to do with the Bill ?

Pandit Durga Chand Kaushish : Very much, Sir.

The Assembly then adjourned till 11 a.m. on Saturday, 8th November 1947.

considered in the light of the fact that the Government of Punjab has been entrusted with the responsibility of maintaining law and order in the State. It is the duty of the Government to ensure that the public interest is not sacrificed to the interests of any particular group or individual. The Government has taken various steps to improve the administration of justice and to ensure that the rights of the citizens are protected. It is hoped that these steps will lead to a more efficient and just system of law and order in the State.

The Government of Punjab has also taken steps to improve the education system in the State. It has increased the expenditure on education and has introduced various reforms to improve the quality of education. It is hoped that these steps will lead to a more advanced and modern education system in the State.

The Government of Punjab has also taken steps to improve the economic conditions of the State. It has introduced various reforms to improve the agricultural sector and to promote industrial development. It is hoped that these steps will lead to a more prosperous and developed State.

The Government of Punjab has also taken steps to improve the social conditions of the State. It has introduced various reforms to improve the health and welfare of the people. It is hoped that these steps will lead to a more healthy and happy State.

CHIEF MINISTER

1957

East Punjab Legislative Assembly Debates

8th NOVEMBER 1947

Vol. I—No. 7

OFFICIAL REPORT



पंजाब विधान सभा
Punjab Vidhan Sabha

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SIMLA

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1948

EAST PUNJAB LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

1st Session of the 1st East Punjab Legislative Assembly

Saturday, 8th November 1947

The Assembly met in the Council Chamber, Governor-General's Lodge, Simla, at 11 a. m. of the clock. Mr. Speaker (The hon. Sardar Kapoor Singh) in the Chair.

SCHEDULE OF EXPENDITURE (15TH AUGUST 1947 TO 31ST MARCH 1948)

Premier (The hon. Dr. Gopi Chand Bhargava): Sir, as required by section 80 (2) of the Government of India Act, 1935, I lay on the table the Schedule of Expenditure for the year 1947-48 (15th August 1947 to 31st March 1948) authenticated by His Excellency the Governor.

As required by subsection (1) of section 80 of the Government of India Act, 1935, I hereby authenticate the following schedule in respect of the financial year 1947-48 (15th August 1947 to 31st March 1948) which specifies—

(a) the grants made by the East Punjab Legislative Assembly, and

(b) the sums required to meet the expenditure charged on the revenues of the Province.

SCHEDULE OF EXPENDITURE

Grant No.	Major Heads of Account	AMOUNT		
		Voted	Non-voted	Total
		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1	7—Land Revenue ...	26,10,300	1,300	26,11,600
2	8—Provincial Excise ...	6,96,100	...	6,96,100
3	9—Stamps ...	77,130	...	77,130
4	10—Forests ...	19,41,800	1,700	19,43,500
5	11—Registration ...	41,600	...	41,600
6	{ 12—Charges on account of Motor Vehicles Acts. } 13—Other Taxes and Duties.	5,44,400	...	5,44,400

Grant No.	Major Heads of Account	AMOUNT		
		Voted	Non-voted	Total
		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
	XVII—Irrigation—Working Expenses.			
7	17—Interest on Irrigation Works for which Capital Accounts are kept.	47,13,400	43,88,100	91,01,500
	18—Other Irrigation Expenditure financed from Ordinary Revenues.			
8	Irrigation—Establishment Charges.	51,94,800	...	51,94,800
	19—Construction of Irrigation Works financed from Ordinary Revenues.			
9	68—Construction of Irrigation Works (Capital Expenditure).	1,49,14,200	...	1,49,14,200
	22—Interest on Debt and Other Obligations.			
...	23—Appropriation for Reduction or Avoidance of Debt.	...	—65,60,570	—65,60,570
10	25—General Administration.	67,98,000	3,30,500	71,28,500
11	27—Administration of Justice.	14,09,200	6,27,800	20,37,000
12	28—Jails and Convict Settlements.	17,89,300	...	17,89,300
13	29—Police ...	1,56,64,400	...	1,56,64,400

Grant No.	Major Heads of Account	AMOUNT		
		Voted	Non-Voted	Total
		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
14	36—Scientific Departments.			
	47—Miscellaneous Departments.	2,03,200	100	2,03,300
	62—Miscellaneous Adjustments between the Central and Provincial Governments.			
15	37—Education ...	86,45,800	8,700	86,54,500
16	38—Medical ...	26,23,200	11,000	26,34,200
17	39—Public Health ...	19,42,600	...	19,42,600
18	40—Agriculture ...	24,18,200	...	24,18,200
19	41—Veterinary ...	17,76,000	1,400	17,77,400
20	42—Co-operation ...	13,13,510	...	13,13,510
21	43—Industries ...	15,60,400	300	15,60,700
22	43-A—Capital Outlay on Industrial Development.	25,00,000	...	25,00,000
	72—Capital Outlay on Industrial Development.			
23	50—Civil Works ...	69,17,830	76,100	69,93,930
24	Buildings and Roads Establishment Charges.	9,70,280	...	9,70,280

Grant No.	Major Heads of Account	AMOUNT		
		Voted	Non-Voted	Total
		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
25	52—Interest on Capital Outlay on Electricity Schemes.	8,52,890	26,14,970	34,67,860
	XLI—Electricity Schemes—Working Expenses.			
26	Charges on Electricity Establishment and Miscellaneous Expenditure.	15,56,700	...	15,56,700
27	50 A—Capital Outlay on Civil Works met out of Extraordinary Receipts.	62,24,750	...	62,24,750
	81—Capital Account of Civil Works outside the Revenue Account.			
28	53—Capital Outlay on Electricity Schemes met out of Revenue.	69,23,900	...	69,23,900
	81-A—Capital Outlay on Electricity Schemes (outside the Revenue Account).			
29	54—Famine ...	1,50,000	...	1,50,000
...	55—Superannuation Allowances and Pensions.	—1,61,670	5,000	—1,56,670
30	55-A—Commutation for Pensions financed from Ordinary Revenues.	50,000	...	50,000
	83—Payments of Computed Value of Pensions (Capital Expenditure).			

Grant No.

31

32

33

34

35

36

37

38

39

40

41

42

Grant No.	Major Heads of Account	AMOUNT		
		Voted	Non-voted	Total
		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
31	56—Stationery and Printing.	7,88,200	...	7,88,200
32	57—Miscellaneous ...	1,15,95,000	300	1,15,95,300
33	63—Extraordinary Charges	61,45,000	16,200	61,61,200
	63-B—Expenditure on Post-War Development Schemes.			
34	82—Capital Account of Other Provincial Works Outside the Revenue Account.	3,95,000	...	3,95,000
35	85-A—Capital Outlay on Provincial Schemes of State Trading.	20,49,800	...	20,49,800
36	Advances not bearing interest—			
	Advances Repayable..	4,25,400	...	4,25,400
37	Loans and Advances bearing interest—			
	Loans to Municipalities, Advances to Cultivators, etc.	89,12,800	...	89,12,800
	Loans to Government Servants.			
	GRAND TOTAL ...	13,31,73,420	15,22,900	13,46,96,320

SIMLA :

The 7th November 1947.

C. M. TRIVEDI

Governor of East Punjab

Premier (The hon. Dr. Gopi Chand Bhargava) : The University Bill was under discussion when the House rose yesterday. I propose that the consideration of that Bill be deferred till after the disposal of the other business before the House, and the House may proceed to the next item.

Mr. Speaker : Is it the pleasure of the House that the consideration of the University Bill be deferred till after the disposal of the other business ?

The House agreed.

LOCAL AUTHORITIES (RESTRICTIONS) OF FUNCTIONS BILL.

Premier : (The hon. Dr. Gopi Chand Bhargava) : I introduce the East Punjab Local Authorities (Restriction of Functions) Bill.

Premier : I move :

That the East Punjab Local Authorities (Restriction of Functions) Bill be taken into consideration at once.

The motion was carried.

Mr. Speaker : The House will now proceed to consider the Bill clause by clause.

CLAUSE 1

Sub-clauses (2) and (3)

Mr. Speaker : Question is—

That sub-clauses (2) and (3) of clause 1 stand part of the Bill.

The motion was carried.

CLAUSES 2 TO 9

Mr. Speaker : Question is—

That clauses 2 to 9 stand part of the Bill.

The motion was carried.

CLAUSE 1

Sub-clause (1)

Mr. Speaker : Question is—

That sub-clause (1) of clause 1 stand part of the Bill.

The motion was carried.

Premier (The hon. Dr. Gopi Chand Bhargava) : I move—

That the East Punjab Local Authorities (Restriction of Functions) Bill be passed.

The motion was carried.

EPIDEMIC DISEASES (EAST PUNJAB AMENDMENT) BILL

Premier (The hon. Dr. Gopi Chand Bhargava) : I introduce the Epidemic Diseases (East Punjab Amendment) Bill.

Premier : I beg to move—

That the Epidemic Diseases (East Punjab Amendment) Bill be taken into consideration at once.

The motion was carried.

Mr. Speaker : The House will now proceed to consider the Bill clause by clause.

CLAUSE 1.

Sub-clause (2)

Mr. Speaker : Question is—

That sub-clause (2) of clause 1 stand part of the Bill.

The motion was carried.

CLAUSES 2 TO 4

Mr. Speaker : Question is—

That clauses 2 to 4 stand part of the Bill.

The motion was carried.

CLAUSE 1

Sub-clause (1)

Mr. Speaker : Question is—

That sub-clause (1) of clause 1 stand part of the Bill.

The motion was carried.

TITLE

Mr. Speaker : Question is—

That the Title be the Title of the Bill.

The motion was carried.

Premier (The hon. Dr. Gopi Chand Bhargava) : I beg to move —

That the Epidemic Diseases (East Punjab Amendment) Bill be passed.

The motion was carried.

EVACUEES (ADMINISTRATION OF PROPERTY) BILL.

Premier (The hon. Dr. Gopi Chand Bhargava) : I introduce the East Punjab Evacuees (Administration of Property) Bill.

Premier : I beg to move —

That the East Punjab Evacuees (Administration of Property) Bill be taken into consideration at once.

The motion was carried.

Mr. Speaker : The House will now proceed to consider the Bill clause by clause.

CLAUSE 1

Sub-clauses (2) and (3)

Mr. Speaker : Question is —

That sub-clauses (2) and (3) of clause 1 stand part of the Bill.

The motion was carried.

CLAUSES 2 TO 16

Mr. Speaker : Question is —

That clauses 2 to 16 stand part of the Bill.

The motion was carried.

CLAUSE 17

Pandit Bhagat Ram Sharma (Kangra West, General, Rural) : I beg to move—

That in line 1, before the word 'no', the words 'except as provided in this Act be inserted.

Premier : I accept the amendment.

The motion was carried.

Mr. Speaker : Question is—

That clause 17, as amended, stand part of the Bill.

The motion was carried.

CLAUSES 18 TO 23

Mr. Speaker : Question is—

That clauses 18 to 23 stand part of the Bill.

The motion was carried.

CLAUSE 1

Sub-clause (1)

Mr. Speaker : Question is—

That sub-clause (1) of clause 1 stand part of the Bill.

The motion was carried.

Title

Mr. Speaker : Question is—

That the Title be the Title of the Bill.

The motion was carried.

Premier (The hon. Dr. Gopi Chand Bhargava) : I move—

That the East Punjab Evacuees (Administration of Property) Bill, as amended, be passed.

The motion was carried.

PUNJAB MUNICIPAL (EAST PUNJAB AMENDMENT) BILL

Premier (The hon. Dr. Gopi Chand Bhargava) : I introduce the Punjab Municipal (East Punjab Amendment) Bill.

Premier : I beg to move—

That the Punjab Municipal (East Punjab Amendment) Bill be taken into consideration at once.

This and the two succeeding Bills are to embody the new oath of allegiance prescribed under the Indian Constitution as passed by the Constituent Assembly.

Mr. Speaker : Question is—

That the Punjab Municipal (East Punjab Amendment) Bill be taken into consideration at once.

The motion was carried.

Mr. Speaker : The House will now proceed to consider the Bill clause by clause.

CLAUSE 2

Mr. Speaker : Question is—

That clause 2 stand part of the Bill.

The motion was carried.

CLAUSE 1

Mr. Speaker : Question is—

That clause 1 stand part of the Bill.

The motion was carried.

Title

Mr. Speaker : Question is—

That the Title be the Title of the Bill.

The motion was carried.

Premier (The hon. Dr. Gopi Chand Bhargava) : I move—

That the Punjab Municipal (East Punjab Amendment) Bill be passed.

The motion was carried.

PUNJAB DISTRICT BOARDS (EAST PUNJAB AMENDMENT) BILL.

Premier (The hon. Dr. Gopi Chand Bhargava) : I introduce the Punjab District Boards (East Punjab Amendment) Bill.

Premier : I beg to move—

That the Punjab District Boards (East Punjab Amendment) Bill be taken into consideration at once.

The motion was carried.

Mr. Speaker : The House will now proceed to consider the Bill clause by clause.

CLAUSE 2

Mr. Speaker : Question is—

That clause 2 stand part of the Bill.

The motion was carried.

CLAUSE 1

Mr. Speaker : Question is—

That clause 1 stand part of the Bill.

The motion was carried.

Title

Mr. Speaker : Question is—

That the Title be the Title of the Bill.

The motion was carried.

Premier (The hon. Dr. Gopi Chand Bhargava) : I beg to move—

That the Punjab District Boards (East Punjab Amendment) Bill be passed.

The motion was carried.

PUNJAB SMALL TOWNS (EAST PUNJAB AMENDMENT) BILL

Premier (The hon. Dr. Gopi Chand Bhargava) : I introduce the Punjab Small Towns (East Punjab Amendment) Bill.

Premier : I move—

That the Punjab Small Towns (East Punjab Amendment) Bill be taken into consideration at once.

The motion was carried.

Mr. Speaker : The House will now proceed to consider the Bill clause by clause.

CLAUSE 2

Mr. Speaker : Question is—

That clause 2 stand part of the Bill.

The motion was carried.

CLAUSE 1

Mr. Speaker : Question is—

That clause 1 stand part of the Bill.

The motion was carried.

Title

Mr. Speaker : Question is—

That the Title be the Title of the Bill.

The motion was carried.

Premier (The hon. Dr. Gopi Chand Bhargava) : I move—

That the Punjab Small Towns (East Punjab Amendment) Bill be passed.

The motion was carried.

ENTRY OF OUTSIDERS INTO THE CHAMBER

Shrimati Shanno Devi Sehgal : On a point of order, Sir, Can an outsider enter this House when the Assembly is sitting ?

Mr. Speaker : Was anybody in the House ?

Shrimati Shanno Devi Sehgal : The Personal Assistant to the hon. Premier Dr. Gopi Chand Bhargava was moving about in the House.

Mr. Speaker : No outsider can enter the House during the sitting of the Assembly.

UNIVERSITY BILL

Mr. Speaker : The House will now resume discussion on the University Bill.

Pandit Durga Chand Kaushish (Ambala Division Landholders) : When the House rose yesterday in the afternoon, I was stating the results of the old type of education, I mean the education that was imparted to our countymen under the rule of a foreign power. That education was just intended to create a set of people who could serve the purpose of the ruling power. For that purpose they only tried to create

a certain type of citizens. That is however a long story and I like to cut it as short as possible. The net result of that type of education is the instruction imparted in the Universities—Education that we got generation after generation. I say generation after generation because the thing has been there for about two centuries. The quality of the graduates and undergraduates who came out of these universities is well known to the people inside this House and outside. To-day we are complaining of red tape in the day to day administration of our Province. We are also complaining of corruption in spite of the fact that a National Government has been ushered in. May I know the reason why? Perhaps the Education Minister would be able to answer. He is not even attentive to what is being said in the House. I know he has nothing to say about it, for he does not even care to take note of what is being said. This is the result of the education that has been imparted to us. I should not say so, but our fathers, our grandfathers and our great grand fathers have suffered from it and we have lost what is known as national consciousness, because we have got that virus in our blood through this so-called University Education imparted to us by our alien masters. I have pointed out just the services and the corruption in the services. People may be calling me uncharitable. Yesterday I pointed out a few things which concern every citizen of every free country and I had hardly given one example when there was a storm in the whole House. I do not know why there should have been such a thing. I just wanted to point out to you and through you to everyone outside that these are our drawbacks. We lack a certain amount of civic sense, a certain amount of national feeling and a certain amount of enthusiasm for our country and why so? Because from the very beginning we are taught to have the best that we can get out of our talents no matter which way they are employed. It pains me to observe that our talented young men in the Universities have in the British regime been employed in the wrong direction. The British taught them how to be selfish and I am sorry to remark that that mentality continues even to this day in spite of our being a free nation now.

I will just make a passing reference to the press reports. The press is supposed to be the harbinger of truth, the herald of truth and it has rightly been described as the fourth Estate. It naturally wields a great influence the world over. We expect and rightly so that the press in this free country of ours should maintain its freedom and should not be guided by those who may be in power and should not look to them for small favours.

Mr. Speaker : How does it concern the Bill now before the House?

Pandit Durga Chand Kaushish : Sir, I was going to explain that my remarks yesterday did not refer to any individual member.

Mr. Speaker : Those remarks are not relevant so far as the motion is concerned. Your motion is that the Bill be referred to a select committee.

Pandit Durga Chand Kaushish : I was submitting that the reports in the press are coloured because they have to cater to the taste of and humour those who are in power.

Mr. Speaker : Again the same thing.

Pandit Durga Chand Kaushish : Coming to the Bill, I submit that the reason for our services being so slow and lethargic and our press so biased is that we received our education under the Indian Universities Act of 1904 and the Punjab University Act, 1882. That education could not and did not make us good citizens but made us loyal subjects and upholders of the party or the group of individuals that may be in power.

Mr. Speaker : That is repetition.

Pandit Durga Chand Kaushish : It seems to me that this Bill is a product of haste—haste on the part of the Honourable the Leader of the House haste on the part of the Government as a whole who want us to pass this Bill today. I am sorry to remark that this is not a Bill which should be presented before the Assembly of a free nation. It is a product of haste and carelessness.

Mr. Speaker : Repetition again. The hon. member has repeated some of his arguments half a dozen times.

Pandit Durga Chand Kaushish : I am very thankful to you for your indulgence, in allowing me to continue my speech. It is quite possible that I might have repeated some of my arguments. I was going to show how this Bill has been drafted in haste. This fact is quite clear from the amendments that have been tabled. In this connection I would refer the House to the amendments that have been tabled by the Government to Clause 12 of the Bill. It appears that the person who drafted the Bill did not even care to see whether the schedule mentioned in that clause existed or not. The clause as it appears on the printed Bill runs as follows—

- (1) The persons for the time being performing the duties of the offices and representing the states mentioned in the list contained in Schedule II to this Act, or added to the said list under Sub-section (2), shall be the ex-officio Fellows of the University.

And the amendments which the Government have p force brought before the House is—

- (1) The persons for the time being performing the duties of the offices mentioned in the list contained in Schedule II to this Act and the persons representing the States to be notified by Government in this behalf, or added to the said list under section (2) shall be the ex-officio Fellows of the University.

So that the persons representing the states are not actually contained in the schedule, but they are to be notified. I have quoted the clause and the amendment just to show the carelessness with which the Bill has been drafted.

Minister for Home and Revenue : On a point of order. The motion now before us is that the Bill be referred to a select committee. Is the hon. member in order in referring to the clauses of the Bill in detail? Should he not confine himself to the discussion of the principle of the Bill?

Mr. Speaker : That is the case when the motion is that the Bill be taken into consideration. But as it is, the motion is that the Bill be referred to a select committee and the hon. member can within certain limitations refer to the various clauses of the Bill.

Minister for Home and Revenue : With due deference to the views expressed by you, Sir, I crave your indulgence and draw your attention to Rule 88 of our Rules of Procedure wherein it is laid down—

On the day on which any of the motions referred to in rule 86 is made.....the principle of the Bill and its general provisions may be discussed but the details of the Bill must not be discussed further than is necessary to explain its principles.

And “any of the motions referred to in Rule 86” include the motion for reference of a Bill to a select committee. My submission, therefore, is that the hon. member is not in order in discussing the details of the Bill because the defects of the clauses or the schedules can be rectified when the Bill is considered clause by clause.

Mr. Speaker : I know that when the motion is that the Bill to be taken into consideration at once, only the general principles of the Bill are to be discussed. But when any member moves that the Bill be referred to a Select Committee, then he has to say what are the reasons, why he is moving that the Bill be referred to a Select Committee. He has to point out defects and omissions in the Bill on account of which the Bill might be referred to a Select Committee for improvement or for rectifying those omissions. I know Rule 88 says that when the first motion is moved that the Bill be taken into consideration at once then at that stage only the general principle of the Bill could be considered and nothing else. But when a member has moved that the Bill be referred to a Select Committee then this is my view that he has some discretion to point out the defects in the Bill.

Mehta Ranbir Singh : Without challenging the Ruling of the Chair, I would respectfully say that the motion moved is under Rule 86 and draw the attention of the Chair to that Rule. Under Rule 86 (b) the motion is that 'it be referred to a Select Committee'. Then there is Rule 88 and under that Rule it is clearly stated that when, any of the motions referred to in Rule 86 is made or on any subsequent day to which the discussion thereof is postponed, the principle of the Bill and its general provisions may be discussed but the details of the Bill must not be discussed further than is necessary to explain its principles. Therefore, my submission is that the mover of this motion cannot discuss the details of the Bill at this stage.

Mr. Speaker : I know that. He cannot take the Bill clause by clause because he has moved that the Bill be referred to a select committee but this much I do say that although he should not have discussed a proposed amendment, yet he can to some extent refer to the general provisions of the Bill. He is not to take the Bill clause by clause and point out its defects because that is the duty of the select committee. If he has to point out the defects then in that case he can discuss the provisions as a whole but not take the Bill clause by clause. I will ask the hon. member not go into a detailed discussion but confine himself only to the general provisions.

Minister for Home and Revenue : May I, Sir, with your permission point out that under rule 88 he can discuss the principle of the Bill and its general provisions, but the details of the Bill may not be discussed further than is necessary to explain its principles? It is only for limited object that he can refer to the details of the Bill. They are relevant in so far as they relate to the general principles. Therefore, I would request the hon. mover of the motion to confine himself to the discussion of the details of the Bill only in so far as it is necessary to explain or illustrate its principle and no further.

Mr. Speaker : Well, I have asked the hon. member not to go into the details of the Bill.

Pandit Durga Chand Kaushish : I am sorry, Sir, for my mistake. It is human to err but divine to forgive. Sir, the Bill is a product of haste and when there is haste what do we get? The saying goes hurry makes curry, and we do not want curry to be brought in the form of legislation before the legislature of a free country of a free nation.

Mr. Speaker : After every two or three sentences you repeat the words 'free country' and 'free nation'. Please do not repeat so often; by repetition the words lose their charm.

Pandit Durga Chand Kaushish : Very well, Sir. I was saying that this Bill has been drawn in a very great haste and the Government came to know afterwards that there was something provided in the Bill which did not exist in the schedule.

Mr. Speaker : The hon. member will please wind up now.

Pandit Durga Chand Kaushish : Is there any time limit, Sir ?

Mr. Speaker : Although there is no time limit, yet all the same you should wind up now. You have taken a sufficiently long time and exhausted all possible arguments in support of your motion.

Pandit Durga Chand Kaushish : Well Sir, I was suggesting that the present Bill is the result of haste. Now Sir, a few interruptions came during the course of my speech and I am proud to say that the Chair protected me. I am thankful to you for that.

Mr. Speaker : Please proceed with your speech and do not thank me.

Pandit Durga Chand Kaushish : Well, Sir, I will wind up by saying that there have been too many slips and unpardonable mistakes. When you want to create a nation, educate people and create values, values that are called human values, then you do not go so slipshod and bring out such a legislation.

Now coming to the next point. It becomes absolutely necessary for me to point out how the Punjab University was run and how unconsciously, I would say unconsciously, because I will not be so uncharitable as to say that they have done it intentionally. Unconsciously they fell into the trap that was created perhaps a century ago. Sir, the pivot of a University is the Syndicate, or the executive council as it is known in some other universities, which guides the day to day policy, policy which has its effect not for one year or a couple of years but for generations, for that makes us citizens worthy of a free country. Sir, under the old British procedure the rule almost everywhere was that the representatives on the syndicate and the executive council should be such as could carry out with the utmost honesty the mandate of the ruling power. Unconsciously I would say, Sir, our Government too has adopted the same thing. When they talk in this Bill of establishing a syndicate, it is provided that apart from the ex-officio Vice-Chancellor and the Director of Public Instruction the rest of the members who may not be less than 7 and more than 12 would be a majority of professors. Now, Sir, what that clause has provided I would explain to you and through you to the House. What would it actually mean ? It is quite clear. When you have certain men of services, either in the service of the Government or in the service of the colleges, on whom these professors depend for their salaries, they will be at the mercy of the management and will go by their direction and they will not be able to hold independent views. If a university professor or the Director of Public Instruction or the Vice-Chancellor did not agree, what would they do ? They would create some sort of trouble and say 'you are no good.' The same thing is true about the professors of colleges. Professors may like to be a little independent, professors who come from the affiliated colleges, but these colleges or their principals or their governing bodies, may not for so many consideration like to go into open opposition with the Government. In that case the professors would through their principals or governing bodies, get directions that they have got to vote on such and such a matter in such and such a way, whether they like or not, whether it is in the interests of the country or not, and the poor fellows will have to submit, because what is the lot of a poor professor in this country ? An average professor as is generally known gets in this country about a hundred and odd chips and what is he expected to support ? A wife and a half a dozen kids. That man has to obey the mandate of his principal and governing body and has to vote on the measure according to their directions, however damaging

that measure may be to the national interests or to the educational interests of the country. I would not pursue that point any further because I think that this has been a slip on the part of the Government and it would be much better if they remedy this slip before passing this Bill into an Act. The idea of the Englishman in establishing these universities was to have.....

Mr. Speaker : May I point out to the hon. member that yesterday he advanced the very same arguments?

Pandit Durga Chand Kaushish : My misfortune is that I have to quote the same illustrations in advancing different points. I shall, however, be very careful to avoid repetition. But I shall be grateful to the Chair if it lets me know whether it is permissible or not to quote an instance at one place and repeat it in some other connection?

Mr. Speaker : Repetition of an argument is not allowed.

Pandit Durga Chand Kaushish : I was saying that this was planned by the old bureaucrats, because they wanted to capture the brains of the leaders and the masses, not exactly the leaders but people who might become leaders later on. Of course I am proud to say that many of our countrymen have resisted that plan and that is why we had our great leaders right from Mahatma down to our own leader of the House, who have been able to throw off the yoke of slavery, but there were many others who succumbed to the temptation offered by the rulers. What happened was that a majority of our very best brains, you will find, either sitting somewhere in the civil services or Governorships. I would refrain from making any other remarks about them because they are still our countrymen. We hope that they will change their ways. But that is beside the point.

Mr. Speaker : Do not say anything beside the point. Please speak to the point ; otherwise it will affect the merit of your speech.

Pandit Durga Chand Kaushish : Coming to this particular point of the syndicate and the Senate, I would have called our Government a really vigilant Government who look to the national interests, if they had brought out any bold reforms in the Bill to the effect that both in the senate and in the syndicate there will be a majority of those people who are neither in the pay of the University nor in the pay of the colleges. We have had educationists of international repute and probably they will go down in the history of the world as the biggest educationists, like Rabindra Nath Tagore, Mahatma Gandhi and then one whom you might call a professor by profession, I mean Professor Radha Krishna and so many others. They have pleaded and perhaps pleaded in vain hundreds and thousands of times for the revision of that system of education but what would posterity call us if we adopt the same old system once again? I would prefer not to go into greater details, because that might embarrass the Government of which I am myself a member and I would proceed to the grave slips that have been made by the Government. One of them is in regard to the provision of compulsory military training. I can anticipate what arguments can be advanced in this connection. They will say that the syndicate or the Senate can make that provision. Yes, they can make that provision. That power was always there vested in the two bodies for so many years, but I ask why was this provision not made in this Bill when we know that the undivided Punjab was the sword arm of India? We should be able to say that even divided Punjab would be the sword arm of India and we shall defend this dear motherland of ours and

[Pandit Durga Chand Kaushish]

anybody who passes through our universities will go out not only as an intellectually fit young man but also as a soldier who will be able to defend our motherland. But I find that that provision has not been made. I feel very much depressed when I see that such a provision has not been made.

Mr. Speaker : I think it has become necessary for me to read rule 77 to the hon. member regarding irrelevance or repetition. It reads—

The Speaker, after having called the attention of the Assembly to the conduct of a member who persists in irrelevance or in tedious repetition either of his own arguments or of the arguments used by other members in debate, may direct him to discontinue his speech.

Pandit Shri Ram Sharma : Is it irrelevance or repetition to draw the attention of the Government towards compulsory military training in the university ?

Mr. Speaker : The hon. member was out when Pandit Durga Chand was speaking. I had pointed out to the hon. member a number of times that he was repeating his arguments. If the hon. member reads his speech he will find that he has repeated the same arguments twenty or thirty times (*An hon. member : Ghoti lagaya hua hai*) (*laughter*). For this reason I would ask the hon. member to be careful. (*Interruption by Seth Sudarshan*). That is a reflection on the member.

Pandit Durga Chand Kaushish : I am grateful to the hon. Speaker for protecting me against the reflection made by the hon. member. He has sent me this note asking me to speak with some force like a young man and not like an old man (*Laughter in the galleries*).

Mr. Speaker : Order, Order. Visitors are reminded that they are not to laugh loudly or to make any noise or remarks. They must maintain silence during the debate.

Pandit Durga Chand Kaushish : Our young men and old have been the victims of the same old system of education against which I have been shouting myself hoarse and I do not know if that will be to any purpose. I will now come to another matter and that is extra-mural activities. I know it from personal knowledge that so many activities of the university students were suppressed. I speak from personal knowledge because I got elected to this Assembly when I was myself a University student. In certain universities they did not make any provision for these activities and that was due to political reasons. It has been clearly provided in the Delhi University Act that the University shall have power to make grants from the funds of the University.

Mr. Speaker : That is a matter of detail. (*The hon. member was still on his legs when the hon. Speaker rose*). Order, order. The hon. member must resume his seat when I am speaking. The best thing would be to say at this stage that such and such a University has provided such and such a thing.

Pandit Durga Chand Kaushish : It was in support of the motion that the Bill be referred to a select committee that I was mentioning these things, but since you object I would not quote these things but I would give the substance in brief. The activities were suppressed because they gave the students a chance to come together, a chance to exchange their views and a chance to talk about the future of their country and the future of their Government and if I may venture to say the future of the whole of the humanity. Our Government has fallen into the trap so cleverly laid down under the Act of 1882. I appeal to the Government in the interest of the country and in the interest of the humanity.....

12 noon.

Mr. Speaker : This interest of the country and the interest of humanity has been repeated by the hon. member half a dozen times. The hon. member is not making a speech on any resolution, he is speaking on a Bill. I would request him to be relevant.

Sardar Shiv Saran Singh : The House has noticed that the hon. member is persisting in irrelevance. I would draw the attention of the House to Rule 77 of our Rules of Procedure by which the Speaker has the power to direct any member to discontinue his speech.

Mr. Speaker : I am well aware of that Rule. When I find that the hon. member persists in his repetition or irrelevance, I will use my discretion.

Pandit Durga Chand Kaushish : I am extremely sorry, Sir. I shall try to confine my speech to the motion. I would like to point out, Sir, the gallant part played by the student community during the recent disturbances, during the recent carnage and blood bath in the Punjab. That was perhaps the greatest part ever played by a youth movement. May I ask the Government, are they going to reward the youth of this province for that gallant part by bringing this kind of legislation on the Statute Book? Is this the compensation that you are going to give them for what they have done for their country?

Mr. Speaker : And for humanity ! (*Laughter*).

Pandit Durga Chand Kaushish : I am more careful now not to repeat (*Laughter*). As the saying goes it is the youth not only of age but of ideas.....

Mr. Speaker : What has that saying to do with the select committee motion? I have to remind the hon. member once again to be relevant.

Pandit Durga Chand Kaushish : I always stand corrected, Sir. I was just saying that if this were to be the reward for the great battle that our youth fought, it would have been better for them not to have taken any part in the recent happenings. If this is the memorial in the shape of this Bill that they are going to get, I am constrained to say that this is a very poor recompense from a national Government to their student community. I would appeal to the Government in the name of the youth of the country, in the name of the youth of this province, not to pass this Bill into law.

Mr. Speaker : How many times is the honourable member going to appeal to the Government?

Pandit Durga Chand Kaushish : I would request the Government to give our young men a chance, to give the progressive elements in our province a chance, to have their say in the matter and bring forth a Bill which would be worthy of our national Government and worthy of the brave province of ours. (*Cheers*).

Mr. Speaker : Motion under consideration, amendment moved—

That the East Punjab University Bill be referred to a select committee.

Sardar Jagjit Singh Mann (Jullundur Division Landholders) : Sir, I rise to support the motion moved by my honourable friend. I have been listening to his arguments since yesterday.

Mr. Speaker : I hope you will not advance those very arguments. (*Laughter*.)

Sardar Jagjit Singh Mann : His arguments were very sound and cogent. Sir, the Bill before the House is a very important one and requires our most serious consideration. There are very many defects in it. I understand that it has

[S. Jagjit Singh Mann]

been copied from the old Act and I am sure that honourable members will agree with me that there is a vast difference between the time when the old Act was passed and the present time. I do not think that a delay of a few months in the passing of a Bill of this nature would mean very much. When I was having sleepless nights and restless days in the plains seeing my brothers and sisters and mothers in such a miserable condition and cursing the present Ministry for not taking adequate steps in giving relief to them, I used to wonder what the Ministry was busy about. Now I realise that they were perhaps busy in preparing this and the other Bills and they could ill-afford to give time to those sufferers.

Mr. Speaker : The honourable member is not relevant. That has got nothing to do with the University Bill.

Sardar Jagjit Singh Mann : It was only a passing remark.

Mr. Speaker : No passing remarks here. You are legislators now. You should be direct and to the point and try your best to improve the Bill not by appealing to the sentiments of the people but by bringing forward amendments.

Sardar Jagjit Singh Mann : I only wanted to point out and say that the entire time of the Ministry should have been devoted towards the refugee problem. I very strongly support this amendment. If this Bill were to be passed during the next budget session heavens would not have fallen down.

Pandit Bhagat Ram Sharma (Kangra West, General, Rural) (Hindustani) : Sir, I had no intention to say anything but the speeches delivered by my hon. friends that this Bill should not be passed now, make it necessary for me to say a few words. No country can prosper without a University. Under clause 88 of the Government of India Act this Ordinance will lapse after six weeks and the constitution of the University will also end. Our children and students have had to face many difficulties during the last six months. They could neither study nor appear in their tests due to disturbances. Many students have lost one precious year. Many among them do not know when the examinations will be held. If they address the University, there is no response. As the University has inadequate staff, the announcements have to be made on Radio as these are important news. Those parents, who wish to educate their children, are very impatient and the delay of one month or two months is a very long time for them. I hope my friends will reconsider their attitude and pass the Bill. I am sorry to note that they are trying to waste time.

Pandit Shri Ram Sharma : On a point of order. Sir, the words " they are trying to waste time " are unparliamentary.

Mr. Speaker : Yes, they are unparliamentary.

Pandit Bhagat Ram Sharma : I withdraw them. We must keep the interest of our children as well as of our province in view. Moreover we all knew that the University Bill was put before the House along with other Bills. There was plenty of time for them to study it and offer suggestions for its improvement. But they did not avail themselves of the time at their disposal. What was the obstacle in their way? None of them tried to improve this Bill. It was so perfect that there was no need of amendment.

Sardar Bachan Singh (Ludhiana, Central, Sikh, Rural) (Punjabi) : Sir, this University Bill before the House, which my learned friend, Pandit Durga Chand Kaushish, has moved should be referred to a select committee, is a very important Bill. If it were an ordinary Bill like the Cattle Diseases Bill or the Epidemic Diseases Bill, then we must have said, " Ayes have it ". This Bill deeply reflects on the future generations and if we simply say ' Aye ' to the motion that this Bill be passed, people will think that such an important Bill, on which our

future generations depend, has been passed in great haste. We are going to start a University in the East Punjab. It is not an ordinary affair that we should take it lightly. Even if a small building is to be constructed it takes months to do so. In the first place a plan is prepared. An engineer is then appointed to scrutinise that plan and an officer over their head approves of it. Then tenders are invited from the contractors and the best contractor is entrusted with the work. In short it takes months to complete that building. And to build up an edifice upon which a big institution like the University is to stand, is not a joke as some of us seem to think. In order to raise an ordinary building we have to make plans and then scrutinise them, and then decisions have to be arrived at in the meetings, while in the present case, the building that we are going to construct is so important that the entire life of the coming generations will be connected with it. It would, therefore, be quite ridiculous, if we should so hastily give our approval to such an important measure. Even our press to-day is blaming the services for corruption and inability. I would like to point out that the root cause of all these ills is the lack of certain essential qualities in the graduates of the old universities.

Mr. Speaker : It is a reflection upon all of us, in fact the whole of Punjab.

Minister for Labour and Excise : He is not a graduate himself.

Sardar Bachan Singh : The majority of the University graduates, if not all of them, do lack certain essential qualities though they may have other qualities. It is argued that the early establishment of the University is necessary for holding the examinations of the students. If the holding of the examinations is the sole aim of the University, you may pass this Bill. But I would like to point out that the Universities of to-day are not only examining bodies but they have also got a profound influence on every walk of life. It is the universities which produce good engineers, lawyers, doctors and good administrators. Fortunately or unfortunately our connections with the old University have been severed and we are now going to create a new University. To accomplish such a huge task in a single day, would be a mistake. Our object in referring this Bill to a select committee is to make the proposed university as perfect a model as possible and it should be something of which not only East Punjab but the whole of India may well be proud. It is, therefore, necessary that before passing this Bill, a thorough study of the constitutions of other Universities like Allahabad, Bombay, London, Cambridge and Oxford should be made, so that all their good points may be incorporated and defects avoided, while framing the constitution of our own University. By making a few amendments here and there the Bill can be improved to a certain extent but even then it will lack the qualities which it should possess. The conditions under which the old Punjab University was created in the 19th Century were quite different from those that prevail to-day. At that time, there were no radios, electricity or motor-cars ; as a matter of fact the entire life has undergone a great change since then. Even in the East Punjab itself, the conditions are not the same ; the border of India which was till recently beyond Peshawar and Jamraud is at present twenty miles this side of Lahore. It is, therefore, necessary that our children should receive their education in accordance with the changed circumstances. We do not want that our universities should produce only clerks or such youngmen who should hanker after petty jobs after finishing their university education. What we require of our universities at the present time is to produce engineers who should be able to construct new canals, roads and dams, good doctors, good administrators and such young men who

[S. Bachan Singh]

should be useful for the building up of our country. Such great men can be produced only by a proper kind of machinery and not by any rough-shod device. I am in favour of even publishing this Bill to invite public opinion on it. But if that is not possible, it should at least be referred to a select committee. If we are not prepared even to do that, I dare say that the Bill will not serve its purpose. It is argued that the time limit of the University Ordinance will expire after some time and then we might have to face new difficulties. But I would like to point out that a new ordinance to the same effect can be promulgated and we shall welcome it. We shall also be in a position to make it clear to the people of East Punjab that we are trying to mould our future life in a new pattern and to create the best possible University. If such a thing is not done, the coming generations will have reason to complain that their legislators acted in haste and carelessness when they passed the new University Bill, without giving any careful consideration to it. Our purpose in bringing forward this motion is not to place any hindrance in the way of the Government, nor is it intended to use dilatory tactics. We rather wish to be helpful to the Government. I, therefore, humbly request the House that the Bill should be referred to a select committee and should not be passed in haste.

Sardar Shiv Singh (Gurdaspur, North, Sikh Rural) (*Punjabi*): Sir, I have risen to emphasize the necessity of passing the University Bill just now. If the motion for referring it to a Select Committee, moved by my friend Panditji, is adopted, the measure will be immensely delayed as the Select Committee will take a long time in collecting necessary information about the British Universities and the result would be that the time of students will be further wasted. Already their studies have suffered much and they have been practically idle since March last. I therefore urge that the Bill should be passed without unnecessary delay. Besides, I want to put forth a demand on behalf of my district. Ever since a canal was dug in the Gurdaspur district, not an inch of the area of this district has been irrigated from its water, though this area should have been given plenty of water for irrigation purposes.

Mr. Speaker : The hon. member is irrelevant. The point raised by him has no relevancy with the motion now before the House.

Sardar Shiv Singh : I am going to show the pertinency of what I have just said. (*Loud laughter*). What I was going to say is this. District Gurdaspur is situated on the border of the Indian Dominion. The Government should establish schools and colleges in the villages of this district and take steps to introduce compulsory primary education. I again urge that this Bill should be passed forthwith. I close my speech by saying that Government should make arrangements for the spread of literacy in my district.

Pandit Bhagat Ram Sharma : Sir, I beg to move—

That the question be now put.

Mr. Speaker : The question is—

That the question be now put.

The motion was carried.

Mr. Speaker : The question is—

That the East Punjab University Bill be referred to a Select Committee.

The motion was lost.

Premier (The hon. Dr. Gopi Chand Bhargava) (*Hindustani*): Sir, I would like to make it clear at the very outset why the consideration of this Bill is necessary. It has been advocated that it should be postponed and the ordinance regarding the University extended by the Governor. I may tell the House that this is not possible, and it would be improper on my part to advise the Governor to promulgate an ordinance. So the position is this. If a legislature is in session, it should either replace an ordinance by an Act or not. If the second alternative is adopted then the ordinance automatically expires after six weeks of the adjournment of the legislature. But when the Bill has been introduced in this House, it is up to the House to accept or throw it out. Under the circumstances I do not consider it feasible to advise the Governor to issue an ordinance, before taking the decision of the Assembly.

Now I come to the objections which have been raised against this Bill. Before dealing with them I confess that I cannot talk in the language in which the mover of the Select Committee motion indulged. I am a man of old civilisation and culture (*applause*) but I love it and take pride in it. (*Renewed applause*). Now, Sir, a serious objection has been raised that the Bill makes no satisfactory provision for the training of students. I do not agree with this view. I would invite the attention of hon. members to clause 5 of the Bill. It reads as under :—

The University shall be incorporated for the purposes, among others, of making provision for imparting education in Arts, Letters, Science and the learned professions and of furthering advancement of learning, the prosecuting of original research, with power to appoint University Professors, Readers and Lecturers, to hold and manage educational endowments, to erect, equip and maintain University colleges, libraries, laboratories and museums, to make regulations relating to the residence and conduct of students and to do all such acts as tend to promote study and research.

They will see that it is quite comprehensive and that the object of the University, namely to impart both education and training to the students, is fully achieved. Then it has been remarked that the Bill has been drafted by corrupt officers who have no idea of what University education is. I fail to see how the question of corruption in relation to the drafting of this Bill arises. I may tell my hon. friends that in the drafting of this Bill the hand of that eminent educationist and expert in the University Education, who served the University of the Punjab with his life blood, has worked. Alas, he is no more amongst us. I am referring to the late lamented Prof. Madan Gopal Singh. His students are now professors in mufassil colleges. It is a pity that we have been deprived of his services by the cruel hand of death. When the partition of the Punjab was decided upon, he made endeavours to get the University also partitioned and the case is still before the Arbitration Council. Then, Sir, educationists of eminence and immense ability joined heads to evolve a scheme for the establishment of a University in the East Punjab and the result of their deliberations is the present Bill. It pains me when I feel that we can no more utilise the services of Prof. M. G. Singh, who would certainly have proved an asset in this connection. He fell a victim to the communal frenzy like lakhs of our brethren in the West Punjab.

Another objection has been raised that there is no provision in the Bill for giving representation to the graduates of other Universities who take keen interest in the education of this province. It has been said that they should have been given this privilege as a matter of courtesy. In this connection, I beg to point out that the proposed University is not intended to be an all-India University. If, however, territories outside East Punjab were to fall under its jurisdiction, it would have been but proper to extend this privilege to the graduates of any other University, residing in those territories. Most of the

[Premier]

other provinces have two or more Universities but none of them is on an all-India basis. Since the jurisdiction of this University is intended to be limited to the province of East Punjab, the question of giving representation to the graduates of other Universities does not arise. The teaching staff of the colleges situated in Punjab States which get themselves affiliated to the proposed University and the graduates residing in these States, will have the right of representation in the Senate.

Now I come to the question of democratization of the Senate. In the Senate of the Punjab University, out of the total number of eighty-five members, fifteen were elected, sixty nominated, and ten *ex-officio* members. But in the present Bill, there is provision for seventy-two members in the Senate, out of whom thirty-six are elected, twenty-four nominated and twelve *ex-officio* members. My hon. friend Pandit Durga Chand has given notice of an amendment that this Assembly should also have the right of electing some members of the Senate. Though the Government will not be able to accept this amendment in its entirety, we agree that besides the thirty-six elected members as provided in the Bill, four members of the Senate should be elected by this House. This will further reduce the number of nominated members to twenty. The Director of Public Instruction and the representatives of States will be among the *ex-officio* members. Thus out of the seventy-two members of the Senate, forty will be elected.

I do not attach weight to the argument that if an educated person is employed as a Lecturer or Professor in a non-Government institution, he or she will exercise his or her vote at the bidding of the Principal or of the Managing Committee of the Institution and for that reason he or she should be disenfranchised. A University is not a political body and its constituents are not expected to exercise their votes under the influence of their employers in a way that is likely to be prejudicial to the interests of education. Moreover, if it is feared that the members of the Managing Committee of an institution would so influence the discretion of their employees as to compel them to exercise their votes in a manner prejudicial to the interests of education, should not they, by the same logic, be debarred from this right? The registered graduates have been given this right, because they are expected to be interested in the progress of education. If any of them is employed in a college or some other institution to earn his livelihood, there is no reason why he should be denied the right of vote. To disenfranchise them on the presumption that they would not exercise this right independently, is to cast doubt on the integrity of their character. No progressive and educated man would think of doing this.

Not only in the Senate but in the Syndicate as well, the elected element has been enhanced. The elected members of the Syndicate shall be elected by the Senate from amongst its own members. It is true that the Chancellor will have the power of appointing the Vice-Chancellor, but it should not be forgotten that the latter will be selected from among the members of the Senate and shall be a representative of the Chancellor and shall work for him. It has been suggested that the Vice-Chancellor should be a paid official. Well, if the University decides to pay him, there is nothing in the provisions of this Bill debarring it from doing so. The University can, after taking such decision, approach the Government for funds for this purpose.

Another objection has been raised against the provision enabling students to appear as private candidates in the Matriculation Examination. I may remind the hon. member that there was a time when the Punjab Government was

considering the question of establishing a Board or some sort of sub-university for conducting the Matriculation and S. L. C. Examinations with a view to relieve the heavy pressure of work on the Punjab University and to enable it to devote more attention to the scientific education. It is just possible that after more consideration, we might also make a similar decision. In any case the clause in question contains only an enabling provision. I may assure the House that there is not a single provision in the Bill which might be called 'retrogressive'. The Bill, if passed, will enable the University to make provision for imparting the highest education in the best possible manner.

Another objection raised against the Bill is that the old regulations have been copied in *foto*. I beg to point out that it was not an easy task to make new regulations in such a short time. There is provision in the Bill for giving the University powers to make rules and regulations and so long as new regulations are not made, what is the harm in keeping the old ones in force? The University will, however, make such new regulations as it considers necessary as early as possible.

I do not say that the hon. members who have tabled amendment have not studied the provisions of this Bill. But I must say that in view of their knowledge of the fact that the Government was anxious to see through the passage of this Bill in this session, I am inclined to regard their action as dilatory tactics. I do not want to impugn their motives or make any derogatory remarks, as my sense of decency cannot allow me to do so. The use of dilatory tactics to delay the passage of a Bill by the Opposition is no doubt a common parliamentary practice. But the object of employing such tactics is only justifiable if it is intended to ensure a full consideration of the Bill with a view to remove defects and loopholes, and not merely oppose for the sake of opposition. Since we have no other alternative but to see through the passage of this Bill without further delay, I hope the hon. members who have opposed it on one ground or the other, would support us in this matter.

Mr. Speaker : Question is—

That the East Punjab University Bill be taken into consideration at once.

The motion was carried.

Mr. Speaker : Now the House will consider the Bill clause by clause.

CLAUSE 1.

SUB-CLAUSE 2

Mr. Speaker : Question is—

That sub-clause (2) of clause 1 stand part of the Bill.

The motion was carried

CLAUSE 2

Pandit Bhagat Ram Sharma (Kangra West, General, Rural) : I move—

That in item (c) lines 2-3, the words "under section 31 of this Act" be deleted.

I do not want to make any speech on this motion. Provision *re*. rule making power of the Senate has been made under section 31 of this Act; hence these words are unnecessary and should be deleted.

Premier : I accept the amendment.

Mr. Speaker : Question is—

That in item (c) lines 2-3, the words "under section 31 of this Act" be deleted.

The motion was carried.

Mr. Speaker : Question is—

That clause 2, as amended, stand part of the Bill.

The motion was carried.

CLAUSE 3

Pandit Bhagat Ram Sharma : I move—

That in sub-clause (a), line 5, the word "from" be deleted.

The motion was carried.

Mr. Speaker : Question is—

That clause 3, as amended, stand part of the Bill.

The motion was carried.

CLAUSES 4 AND 5

Mr. Speaker : Question is—

That clauses 4 and 5 stand part of the Bill.

The motion was carried.

CLAUSE 6

Sardar Shiv Saran Singh (Kangra and Northern Hoshiarpur, Sikh, Rural) :
I move—

That in line 3 between the words "Class" and "and" the words "who owes allegiance to the Dominion of India" be inserted.

My object in moving this amendment is that in the East Punjab University only those students should be admitted who owe implicit allegiance to the dominion of India—the idea being to exclude those people who intend to perform the part of fifth columnists from joining the University.

Mr. Speaker : Clause under consideration, amendment moved—

That in line 3 between the words "Class," and "and" the words "who owes allegiance to the Dominion of India" be inserted.

Mr. Prabodh Chandra (Gurdaspur, General, Rural) (*Hindustani*) : Sir, I am surprised that my learned friend has moved an amendment which will provoke the laughter of the civilised world. I think in moving this motion, he is haunted by the unhappy memories of the days of communal disturbances. There is no provision in the rules and regulations of any foreign University banning admission to a person on the ground that he owes allegiance to some other country. Students from all over the world can get education at Oxford, Cambridge and American Universities and I think that if this amendment is accepted, the civilised world will ridicule us. I would request my friend not to be carried away by these momentary emotions of sorrow and anger and get anything passed which will be a matter of shame for us. It is not a matter of pride for my friend to have shown such narrow-mindedness. The doors of the University should be open to all students of the world because its aim is to give education to any student who desires it. I do not want to make a long speech but I would request my friend to withdraw his motion and in case he does not do so, I would request the Leader of the House to reject it.

Premier (The hon. Dr. Gopi Chand Bhargava) (*Hindustani*) : Sir, I think Sardar Shiv Saran Singh has moved this motion under some sort of misunderstanding. He should have known that the Universities are educational centres and

their doors cannot be closed to any foreign student. If at any time our University gains such a reputation as to attract foreign students who owe allegiance to some other country, I think there should be no hesitation in admitting them. We send our students to foreign Universities and it is not fair for us to deny the same rights to others. There are two kinds of countries, friendly and enemy. If any student comes from an enemy country, he is denied the rights and privileges enjoyed by the students of a friendly country and if he is found to be engaged in activities which are harmful to the country, the Government can take action against him according to the law of the land. This is the duty of the State and not of the University because the latter is a non-official institution. I think I can no taccept this amendment and I therefore request Sardar Sahib to withdraw it.

Sardar Shiv Saran Singh: In view of the remarks made by the hon. Premier, I beg leave to withdraw my amendment.

The amendment was by leave withdrawn.

Mr. Speaker: Question is—

That clause 6 stand part of the B ll.

The motion was carried.

CLAUSE 7

Mr. Speaker: Question is—

That Clause 7 stand part of the Bill.

The motion was carried.

The Assembly then adjourned for lunch and re-assembled at 2-30 p.m. of the clock. Mr. Deputy Speaker (Thakur Pancham Chand) in the Chair.

CLAUSE 8

Pandit Bhagat Ram Sharma (Kangra West, General, Rural): I beg to move—

That lines 7 to 9 be deleted.

The list of ordinary Fellows mentioned in this clause is not exhaustive. There are certain other classes of Fellows which are being included in the body of the Bill. There are still other amendments by which it is proposed that some other Fellows should be added. I feel that the list as given in this clause is not exhaustive and, therefore, move that lines 7 to 9 be deleted from this clause.

(At this stage Mr. Speaker occupied the Chair)

Mr. Speaker: Clause under consideration, amendment moved—

hat lines 7 to 9 be deleted.

The motion was carried.

Mr. Speaker: Question is—

That clause 8, as amended, stand part of the ill.

The motion was carried.

CLAUSE 9

Mr. Speaker: Question is—

hat clause 9 stand part of the Bill.

The motion was carried.

Clause 10

Pandit Bhagat Ram Sharma (Kangra West, General, Rural): I beg to move—

That in sub-clause (2), line 1, between the words "shall" and "hold" the words "except for the first Vice-Chancellor appointed under this Act" be inserted.

I have given notice of 3 amendments to this clause. According to sub-clause (4) of clause 20 the first members of the Syndicate as mentioned in the III Schedule of this Bill, will hold office till 31st December 1948. The purpose of this amendment is this. For the sake of uniformity it is considered desirable that the office of the Vice-Chancellor should also be extended till 31st December 1948. He is eligible to seek election when his term of appointment terminates. This is being proposed by a new sub-clause which is being added to this section.

Mr. Speaker : Clause under consideration, amendment moved—

"That in sub-clause (2), line 1, between the words "shall" and "hold" the words "except for the first Vice-Chancellor appointed under this Act," be inserted.

Premier : I accept the amendment.

The motion was carried.

Pandit Bhagat Ram Sharma : I move—

"That in sub-clause (2), lines 3-4 the words, "and on the expiration of his term of office may be reappointed", be deleted.

Sir, in view of my remarks in connection with the previous amendment I do not want to say anything more.

The motion was carried.

Pandit Bhagat Ram Sharma : Sir, I beg to move—

That after sub-clause (2), the following sub-clause be added :—

"(3) on the expiration of of his term of office the Vice-Chancellor may be reappointed"

The motion was carried.

Mr. Speaker : Question is :

That clause 10, as amended, stand part of the Bill.

The motion was carried

CLAUSE 11

Sardar Narotam Singh (South-East Punjab, Sikh, Rural) : I beg to move :

That for sub-clause (4) the following be substituted

(4) The first members of the Body Corporate shall be :—

- (a) Four Representatives of the East Punjab Legislative Assembly ;
- (b) Persons mentioned in schedule I to this Act. They shall except for the Chancellor hold office till the 31st of October, 1949. The Chancellor may during this period add to the number given in schedule I so as not to exceed 72."

My object in moving this amendment is that the members of this Assembly should also have a representation in that body.

Mr. Speaker : Clause under consideration, amendment moved—

That for sub-clause (4) the following be substituted :—

(4) The first members of the Body Corporate shall be :—

- (a) Four Representatives of the East Punjab Legislative Assembly ;
- (b) Persons mentioned in schedule I to this Act. They shall except for the Chancellor hold office till the 31st of October, 1949. The Chancellor may during this period add to the number given in schedule I so as not to exceed 72.

Premier (The hon. Dr. Gopi Chand Bhargava) (*Hindustani*) : Sir, I have no objection in accepting the amendment provided sub-clause (a) is withdrawn. To make myself clear I may say that the Bill will be passed to-day, but it will not be possible for us to meet for a long time to elect 4 members for the Senate. The Senate will not be able to function properly if the amendment proposed is accepted at this stage and we are not able to elect the members. I accept the principle of the amendment moved and I am prepared to give this assurance to the hon. member that I shall ask the Vice-Chancellor to have four members of the Senate from the Legislative Assembly.

Sardar Narotam Singh : In view of the assurance given by the hon. Premier I withdraw part (a) of my amendment.

Amendment, Part (a), was by leave withdrawn.

Minister for Home and Revenue (The hon. Sardar Swaran Singh) : I want to move a formal amendment :—

That the word 'Schedules' be substituted for the word 'Schedule' and the words "and II" be added after the figure "I," in the proposed amendment.

Sardar Narotam Singh : I have no objection to the suggestion of my friend.

Mr. Speaker : Question is :—

That for sub-clause (4) the following be substituted :—

" (4) The first members of the Body Corporate shall be persons mentioned in Schedules I and II to this Act. They shall except for the Chancellor hold office till the 31st of October, 1949. The Chancellor may during this period add to the number given in schedule I so as not to exceed 72."

The motion was carried.

Mr. Speaker : Question is—

That clause 11, as amended, stand part of the Bill.

The motion was carried.

CLAUSE 12

Pandit Bhagat Ram Sharma (Kangra West, General, Rural) : I beg to move :—

That for sub-clause (1), the following be substituted :—

" (1) The persons for the time being performing the duties of the offices mentioned in the list contained in Schedule II to this Act and the person representing the States to be notified by Government in this behalf or added to the said list under sub-section (2) shall be the ex-officio Fellows of the University. "

My purpose in making this amendment is purely grammatical. The clause as printed in the Bill does not carry the sense which it is desired to carry. Hence the amendment.

Premier : I accept the amendment.

The motion was carried.

Mr. Speaker : Question is—

That clause 12, as amended, stand part of the Bill.

The motion was carried.

CLAUSE 13.

Pandit Bhagat Ram Sharma (Kangra West, General, Rural) : Sir, I move :—

That in sub-clause (1), line 6, for the word "to" the word "shall" be substituted.

That in sub-clause (1), line 9, for the word "to" the word "shall" be substituted.

The motion was carried.

Pandit Durga Chand Kaushish (Ambala Division, Landholders) : Sir, I move :

That at the end of item (d) of sub-clause (1) a fresh item be added as follows :—

"(e) six shall be elected by the members of the East Punjab Legislative Assembly from amongst themselves."

I am glad to know that the hon. Prime Minister has agreed to accept this amendment, but I would like to say a few words all the same. The Education Minister said a little while ago when I was asking for more democratic representation on the various bodies connected with the University, that I was aiming at disenfranchising the teachers in the University. I did not aim at that at all and that is a misrepresentation of what I said. All that I said was that only such people as are independent of the control of the University, as are not paid professors either in the University itself or in the affiliated colleges, should be elected to these bodies. The main idea was that if any measure came before any of the bodies connected with the University and if that measure did not suit the Government or any governing body but is in the interests of the public and in the interests of the education of the Province, then these persons should be able to act freely and vote freely.

Mr. Speaker : Clause under consideration, amendment moved :—

That at the end of item (d) of sub-clause (1), a fresh item be added as follows :—

"(e) six shall be elected by the members of the East Punjab Legislative Assembly from amongst themselves".

Premier : I agree to the principle of the amendment moved by my hon. friend, but I would request him to make the number of members so elected 4 instead of 6.

Pandit Durga Chand Kaushish : I accept the suggestion of the Education Minister.

Mr. Speaker : Question is—

That at the end of item (d) of sub-clause (1), a fresh item be added as follows :—

"(e) Four shall be elected by the members of the East Punjab Legislative Assembly from amongst themselves."

The motion was carried.

Pandit Bhagat Ram Sharma (Kangra West, General, Rural) : Sir, I beg to move :—

That in the proviso to sub-clause (4), line 3, the word "can" be omitted. It is only correcting a small grammatical error.

The motion was carried.

Mr. Speaker : Question is—

That clause 13, as amended, stand part of the Bill.

The motion was carried.

CLAUSE 14

Pandit Bhagat Ram Sharma (Kangra West, General, Rural) : I beg to move —

That in sub-clause (2), line 11, for the words 'from the commencement of this Act or of' the words 'on application made within' be substituted."

This amendment enables persons to be registered as graduates on applications made by them within a certain time.

The motion was carried.

Pandit Bhagat Ram Sharma : I move—

That in proviso to sub-clause (2), line 2, for the words "either of the said periods", the words "the said period" be substituted.

The motion was carried.

Pandit Durga Chand Kaushish (Ambala Division Landholders) : I beg to move—

That in sub-clause (4), lines 1-2, for the words "the Punjab University who may be resident in East Punjab" the words "University of Punjab, Delhi, Agra, Banaras, Allahabad and Lucknow who may be resident in India" be substituted.

Sir, I move this amendment with two definite ideas. In the first place, as the clause stands in the Bill it provides for only the students of the old Punjab University who are residents in the East Punjab. It is only they who are eligible for registration in the register of graduates in the University. But I think it is very unfair to those graduates of the Punjab University who are living in other parts of the country if they are debarred by this clause as it stands from taking part in the affairs of their own university. The next very important point is this. I believe everybody in this House knows that the sister universities of Delhi, Agra, Banaras, Allahabad and Lucknow are absorbing our students for technical and professional training. I have already pointed out this thing in a different context that this courtesy has been extended to our students by these universities. I do not see any harm if our Government extends that courtesy to these universities which are helping us at this moment such a lot. The Honourable Minister for Education said that by this amendment I wanted the graduates from the other universities to interfere in our affairs for all time. This is not my intention. My suggestion is that this concession should be given to those graduates for the first year only. There are instances of several universities where this is done. There are in fact very few cases of graduates from other universities getting themselves registered in a university other than their own and in case a certain person wants to get himself registered it is because he wants to take interest in the affairs of that university and not with any idea of interfering in its affairs in any way. Moreover, Sir, the Punjab holds a unique position these days and the eyes of the whole country are on us and if this courtesy is extended to other universities it will be greatly appreciated and we will in fact receive valuable help from those universities. With these few words, I commend my motion for the acceptance of the House.

Mr. Speaker : Clause under consideration, amendment moved—

That in sub-clause (4), lines 1-2 for the words "the Punjab University who may be resident in East Punjab" the words "University of Punjab, Delhi, Agra, Banaras, Allahabad and Lucknow who may be resident in India" be substituted.

Premier (The hon. Dr. Gopi Chand Bhargava) (*Hindustani*): Sir, the amendment moved by my hon. friend can be divided into two parts. The first part lays down that the graduates of the Punjab University, residing in the East Punjab or outside this province or in any part of India, should be entitled to become registered graduates of the proposed University. The second part provides that the graduates of other universities enumerated by him, should be given the right to get their names entered on the register of graduates of the University. After a careful consideration of the first part, I feel that it is not happily worded. If his object is that every graduate who considers himself as a national of the East Punjab, no matter where he is residing, should be entitled to become a registered graduate of the East Punjab University, then I am inclined to accept it after it has been redrafted. As regards the second part, my views are already well known to the hon. members. However, with your permission, Sir, I would like to make a few observations in this connection. Several Universities like Madras, Calcutta, Lucknow, Agra, etc., have agreed to admit our students in various classes. But the Banaras University has not admitted any of our students to the pharmacy class, while the Universities of Bombay, Calcutta and Madras have granted admission to our students studying in the King Edward Medical College and Balak Ram Medical College. As regards our students prosecuting their studies in the engineering at Moghalpura, they will be admitted into the Roorkee Engineering College in the United Provinces. They will make use of the laboratories and workshops of that college. But the professors imparting knowledge to them will be ours. Also the examination which they will take, will be conducted by our University. So far as students of Dentistry are concerned, the Dental College at Lahore was the only institution of its kind in the whole of India. No institution of that standard exists in India. But colleges at Calcutta have consented to admit these students provided they are prepared to sit for diploma examinations. Now, Sir, if once we allow the graduates of all these Universities to come on our register for the first year, then nobody can stop them from becoming registered graduates for life by paying the necessary subscription. If we cancel their registration after the first year, then it will be the height of discourtesy on our part. (*Pandit Durga Chand Kaushish* : They can continue.) This means that whosoever comes on the register of the graduates of the East Punjab University can become life member and acquire the right of vote to elect representatives. I, therefore, think that no discourtesy will be involved to other Universities if we do not allow their graduates to become registered graduates of our University. If we err here, we will be erring in good company. For this reason I am unable to accept the amendment.

Sardar Narotam Singh (South-East Punjab, Sikh, Rural) : I have heard the arguments advanced by my friend Pandit Durga Chand Kaushish and the reply given to him by the hon. Premier. Personally I am opposed to the idea of allowing graduates from other universities to get themselves registered in our University. There are enough people in our own province from whom we can get help and guidance. Where is the necessity of getting help from other provinces? With these few remarks, I oppose the amendment.

Pandit Durga Chand Kaushish : I want to make just one point clear. The hon. Premier said that I wanted graduates from other universities to be registered for one year only and then be sent away. That is not my intention.

My idea is that registration may be permitted for the first year only and those who get themselves registered in that year can continue. There is no question of their removal when once they are registered. I hope that the hon. Minister for Education will now see his way to accept my amendment.

Mr. Speaker : Question is—

That in sub-clause (4), lines 1-2 for the words "the Punjab University who may be resident in East Punjab", the words "University of Punjab, Delhi, Agra, Banaras, Allahabad and Lucknow who may be resident in India" be substituted.

The motion was lost.

Pandit Bhagat Ram Sharma (Kangra West, General, Rural) : I beg to move—

That in sub-clause (4), line 2, between the words "Punjab" and "shall" the words "or in such States as have acceded to the Indian Dominion and who have colleges affiliated to the East Punjab University" be inserted.

This amendment is proposed to enable graduates of all those colleges which are affiliated to the East Punjab University and situated in States that have acceded to the Indian Dominion, to get themselves registered in the University.

Mr. Speaker : Clause under consideration, amendment moved—

That in sub-clause (4), line 2, between the words "Punjab" and "shall" the words "or in such States as have acceded to the Indian Dominion and who have colleges affiliated to the East Punjab University" be inserted.

Premier : I want that the words "who may be resident in East Punjab" be deleted. The idea is that all the graduates of the Punjab University, if they so desire, can get themselves registered. They may be residing anywhere.

Mr. Speaker : Let the amendment that has already been moved be disposed of. The hon. Premier can bring forward his amendment after that. Question is—

That in sub-clause (4), line 2, between the words "Punjab" and "shall" the words "or in such States as have acceded to the Indian Dominion and who have colleges affiliated to the East Punjab University" be inserted.

The motion was lost.

Pandit Bhagat Ram Sharma (Kangra West, General, Rural) : I move—

That in sub-clause (4), line 2, the words "who may be resident in East Punjab" be deleted.

Mr. Speaker : Clause under consideration, amendment moved—

That in sub-clause (4), line 2, the words "who may be resident in East Punjab" be deleted.

Pandit Durga Chand Kaushish : On a point of order. When the House has rejected the amendment that I moved and which was on similar lines, how can this amendment be considered and incorporated in the Bill?

Premier : I beg to point out that the amendment of my honourable friend was entirely different. He wanted the graduates from the Universities of Delhi, Agra, Allahabad, etc., to be registered in our University. Moreover, he wanted only those graduates who are resident in India to be registered and I want that all the graduates of the Punjab University irrespective of their places of residence should be given that right. The two motions are entirely different.

Mr. Speaker : Question is—

That in sub-clause (4), line 2, the words "who may be resident in East Punjab" be deleted.

The motion was carried.

Pandit Bhagat Ram Sharma (Kangra West, General, Rural) : I beg to move—

That in sub-clause (4), line 2, between the words "shall" and "be" the words "on application made on or before the 30th September 1948" be inserted.

Premier : I accept the amendment.

The motion was carried.

Pandit Bhagat Ram Sharma (Kangra West, General, Rural) : I beg to move :—

That lines 7 to 10 of sub clause (4) be deleted.

This is only a consequential amendment to the amendment which the House has already accepted.

The motion was carried.

Sardar Narotam Singh (South-East Punjab, Sikh, Rural) : I beg to move :—

That after sub clause (6) the following proviso be added :—

" Provided that no fresh registration fee will be charged from the registered graduates of the Punjab University resident in the East Punjab and that such of those persons who had paid their subscriptions for life shall also be exempt from the annual fee."

Mr. Speaker : Clause under consideration, amendment moved—

That after sub-clause (6) the following proviso be added :—

" Provided that no fresh registration fee will be charged from the registered graduates of the Punjab University resident in the East Punjab and that such of those persons who had paid their subscriptions for life shall also be exempt from the annual fee."

Premier (The hon. Dr. Gopi Chand Bhargava) (*Hindustani*) : Sir, I am very sorry I cannot accept this amendment. When a new University is set up, it is necessary that new registers should be started and new accounts opened. All such things will be done according to the rules and regulations made by the Syndicate and Senate of the new University. If the assets of the Punjab University are divided and the East Punjab University succeeds in obtaining a portion of the funds on account of the registration fees and the subscriptions paid by the non-Muslim graduates, the question of exempting them from the payment of these fees will be considered. Anyway it is not for me to anticipate the decision that the authorities of the new University might take in this regard. I think the registration fee and the life subscription amounted to Rs. 20 under the rules of the Punjab University. The new University might decide to reduce it to Rs. 18 or Rs. 12 or it may not altogether charge anything from those graduates who were registered with the Punjab University. This is all what I can say at the moment.

Sardar Narotam Singh : In view of the assurance given by the hon. Premier that it will be decided later on whether to charge the registration fee or not, I wish to withdraw my amendment.

The amendment was by leave withdrawn.

Mr. Speaker : Question is—

That clause 14, as amended, stand part of the Bill.

The motion was carried.

CLAUSE 15

Pandit Bhagat Ram Sharma (Kangra West, General, Rural) : I beg to move—

That in line 1, for the words "Election by the Faculties" the words "other elections of ordinary fellows" be substituted.

It is only a formal amendment and does not need any speech.

Premier : I accept it.

The motion was carried.

Mr. Speaker : Question is—

That clause 15, as amended, stand part of the Bill.

The motion was carried.

CLAUSE 16

Mr. Speaker : Question is—

That clause 16 stand part of the Bill.

The motion was carried.

CLAUSE 17

Pandit Bhagat Ram Sharma (Kangra West, General, Rural) : I beg to move—

That in line 1, between the figures "17" and "(i)" the words "Resignation or removal of Ordinary Fellows" be added as a heading to the clause.

Premier : I accept it.

The motion was carried.

Mr. Speaker : Question is—

That clause 17, as amended, stand part of the Bill.

The motion was carried.

CLAUSES 18 AND 19

Mr. Speaker : Question is—

That clauses 18 and 19 stand part of the Bill.

The motion was carried.

CLAUSE 20

Pandit Bhagat Ram Sharma (Kangra West, General, Rural) : Sir, I beg to move—

That in sub-clause (2), line 4, for the word "Professors" the word "teachers" be substituted.

Premier : I accept it.

The motion was carried.

Pandit Bhagat Ram Sharma : I beg to move—

That at the end of sub-clause (2) the following words be added :

"or colleges and teaching departments maintained by the University."

This is an omission in the clause as it stands, which mentions only the colleges affiliated to the University. The amendment that I move supplies the omission in the original clause.

Premier : I accept the amendment.

The motion was carried.

Pandit Bhagat Ram Sharma : I beg to move :—

That in sub-clause (4), line 1, between the word "The" and the word "persons," the words "Vice-Chancellor and the" be inserted.

Premier : I accept it.

The motion was carried.

Mr. Speaker : Question is—

That clause 20, as amended, stand part of the Bill.

The motion was carried.

CLAUSES 21 to 23

Mr. Speaker : Question is—

That clauses 21 to 23 stand part of the Bill.

The motion was carried.

CLAUSE 24

Pandit Bhagat Ram Sharma (Kangra West, General, Rural) : beg to move—

That in line 10, for the word "thirds" the word "two-thirds" be substituted.

This amendment I have moved only to correct a clerical mistake and it does not require any speech.

Premier : I accept it.

The motion was carried.

Mr. Speaker : Question is—

That clause 24, as amended, stand part of the Bill.

The motion was carried.

CLAUSE 25

Pandit Durga Chand Kaushish (Ambala Division, Landholders) : Sir, I beg to move—

That in line 7 the words "matriculation and those for" be deleted.

Sir, I have moved this amendment with a view to impress upon the Education Minister that the institution of private Matriculates should be abolished as early as possible. There was some justification for it in the pre-partitioned Punjab University, because at that time considerations other than from educational prevailed and in certain cases they were very strong. Sir, since the University was to a very great measure communally ridden and at that time some of the schools which were run directly by Hindu institutions were not given recognition by the University. The only course they had before them was to prepare those students and send them up as private candidates. The previous University did not like to spend much giving recognition to many schools but the circumstances are very much different now and I do not think that our University will be so stringent in giving recognition to new schools. A student who appears as a private candidate, after

getting through the examination either goes into an office or enters a college where he finds himself absolutely unfit to move in a corporate life. What used to happen to students was that they took diplomas and became clerks and that was the end of their education. They were unfit as citizens. It is necessary in the national interest that a person who wants to go up to University training or for any job must pass through the school stage. With these words I move my amendment.

Mr. Speaker : Clause under consideration, amendment moved—

That in line 7 the words "matriculation and those for" be deleted.

Premier : Sir, I am sorry I cannot accept this amendment.

Mr. Speaker : Question is—

That in line 7 the words "matriculation and those for" be deleted.

The motion was lost.

Mr. Speaker : Question is—

That clause 25 stand part of the Bill.

The motion was carried.

CLAUSE 26

Pandit Bhagat Ram Sharma (Kangra West, General, Rural) : Sir, I beg to move—

That in line 1, the figure "(i)" be deleted.

That sub-clause (2) be deleted.

Sir, section 39 which follows contains provisions which enable any college to affiliate itself with the East Punjab University and it is not probable that any contingency contemplated by sub-clause 2 will arise in the near future. Hence the amendment.

Mr. Speaker : Clause under consideration, amendment moved—

That in line 1, the figure "(1)" be deleted.

That sub-clause (2) be deleted.

The motion was carried.

Mr. Speaker : Question is—

That clause 26, as amended, stand part of the Bill.

The motion was carried.

CLAUSES 27 AND 28

Mr. Speaker : Question is—

That clauses 27 and 28 stand part of the Bill.

The motion was carried.

CLAUSE 29

Pandit Bhagat Ram Sharma (Kangra West, General, Rural) : I beg to move—

That in sub-clause (2), line 3, the word "competent" be deleted.

That in sub-clause (3), line 5, for the words and figures "Section 27 sub-section (1)" the words and figures "subsection (1) of Section 27" be substituted.

The motion was carried.

Mr. Speaker ; Question is—

That clause 29, as amended, stand part of the Bill.

The motion was carried.

CLAUSE 30

Pandit Bhagat Ram Sharma (Kangra West, General, Rural) : I beg to move—

That in sub-clause (2), line 6, between the words "submitted" and "on" the words "within a specified period" be inserted.

The motion was carried.

Mr. Speaker : Question is—

That clause 30, as amended, stand part of the Bill.

The motion was carried.

CLAUSE 31

Pandit Bhagat Ram Sharma (Kangra West, General, Rural) : I beg to move—

That in item (b) of sub-clause (2), lines 1-2, the words 'the constitution, reconstitution or abolition of Faculties' be deleted."

The motion was carried.

Pandit Bhagat Ram Sharma : I beg to move—

That in item (a) of sub-clause (2), line 3, between the words 'University' and 'such' the word 'of' be inserted."

The motion was carried.

Mr. Speaker : Question is :

That clause 31, as amended, stand part of the Bill.

The motion was carried.

CLAUSE 32.

Pandit Bhagat Ram Sharma (Kangra West, General, Rural) : I move—

That in lines 9-10 the words 'for the time being in force under this Act' be deleted.

The motion was carried.

Mr. Speaker : Question is :

That clause 32, as amended, stand part of the Bill.

The motion was carried.

CLAUSE 33

Pandit Bhagat Ram Sharma (Kangra West, General, Rural) : I move—

That in sub-clause (1), lines 4-5, the words "for the time being in force under the same" be deleted.

The motion was carried.

Mr. Speaker : Question is :

That clause 33, as amended, stand part of the Bill.

Sardar Sajjan Singh (Patti, Sikh, Rural) (*Punjabi*) : Sir, I rise to oppose the clause as a whole. To me there appears to be no justification for vesting the University Authorities with the powers asked for in this clause. When

once a graduate has been registered in the Register of Registered Graduates, there is no occasion to remove his name from that Register unless the authorities have sufficient evidence to show that that person had misbehaved in a manner justifying his removal from that Register and this I believe is the only reasonable view that can be taken about this matter. I must say once again that the powers asked for in the clause under consideration are not at all necessary and I, therefore, oppose the clause.

Mr. Speaker : Question is—

That clause 33, as amended, stand part of the Bill.

The motion was carried.

CLAUSES 34 TO 36.

Mr. Speaker : Question is—

That clauses 34 to 36 stand part of the Bill.

The motion was carried.

CLAUSE 37

Pandit Bhagat Ram Sharma (Kangra West, General, Rural) : I move—

That “in line 4 between the words ‘remove’ and ‘any’ the words ‘the name of’ be inserted”

Sir, this amendment only supplies an omission.

The motion was carried.

Mr. Speaker : Question is :—

That clause 37, as amended, stand part of the Bill.

The motion was carried.

CLAUSES 38 TO 41.

Mr. Speaker : Question is—

That clauses 38 to 41 stand part of the Bill.

The motion was carried.

CLAUSE 42.

Mr. Speaker : Question is—

That clause 42 stand part of the Bill.

Pandit Bhagat Ram Sharma : Sir, clause 3 (a) already provides for this. This clause is, therefore, redundant.

The motion was lost.

SCHEDULE I

Sardar Narotam Singh (South-East Punjab, Sikh, Rural) : I move—

That for Schedule I the following be substituted :—

“ Fellows nominated under clause 11, sub-clause (4)—

1. Dr. Gopi Chand Bhargava, Premier and Minister-in-charge of Education, East Punjab.
2. Sardar Swaran Singh, Minister of Revenue and Home Affairs, East Punjab.
3. The Honourable Mr. Justice Teja Singh, Judge, High Court, East Punjab.
4. Dr. Bakhshi Sir Tek Chand, retired Judge, High Court, Lahore.

5. Mr. Ram Chandra, C.I.E., I.C.S., Financial Commissioner, East Punjab Government.
6. Col. B. S. Nat, I.M.S., Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals, East Punjab Government.
7. Rai Bahadur Brij Mohan Lal, Chief Engineer, Public Works Department, Buildings and Roads, East Punjab Government.
8. Sardar Bahadur Bhai Jodh Singh, Principal, Khalsa College, Amritsar.
9. Lala Mehr Chand, President, D.A.V. College Managing Committee.
10. Miss V. G. Bhan, Deputy Directress, Public Instruction, East Punjab Government.
11. Sardar Bahadur Sardar Ujjal Singh, M.L.A., Simla.
12. Sardar Bahadur Sardar Abnasha Singh, Barrister-at-Law, Secretary, East Punjab Legislative Assembly.
13. Sardar Harnam Singh, Advocate, Simla.
14. Kanwar Sir Dalip Singh, retired Judge, High Court, Lahore.
15. Principal Narinjan Singh
16. Bawa Harkishan Singh, Principal, Khalsa College, Gujranwala.
17. Sardar Harbhajan Singh, Principal, Khalsa College, Mahalpur.
18. Sardar Kapoor Singh, Speaker, East Punjab Legislative Assembly.
19. Sir Jai Lal, retired Judge, High Court, Lahore.
20. Dewan Anand Kumar.
21. Dr. Gokul Chand Narang.
22. Mr. D. N. Bhalla, Principal, Dyal Singh College, Lahore.
23. Mrs. Brij Lal Nehru.
24. Mr. S. B. Capoor, Legal Remembrancer, East Punjab Government.
25. Mr. J. L. Sarin, Industries Department, East Punjab Government.
26. Mr. C. L. Anand, Principal, Law College, Lahore.
27. The Honourable Mr. Justice Mehr Chand Mahajan, Judge, High Court, East Punjab.
28. Dr. Harnam Singh, retired Inspector of Schools.
29. Rai Bahadur Durga Das.
30. Sardar Bahadur Sardar Lal Singh, Director of Agriculture, East Punjab

The motion was carried.

Mr. Speaker : Question is —

That Schedule (1) as amended stand part of the Bill.

The motion was carried.

SCHEDULES II AND III

Mr. Speaker : Question is—

That Schedules II and III stand part of the Bill.

The motion was carried.

SCHEDULE IV

Pandit Bhagat Ram Sharma (Kangra West, General, Rural) : I beg to move—

That after item 33, the following figures and words be added :—

- “ 34. D. C. Jain Collegs, Ferozepore.
- 35. Khalsa College, Mahilpur.
- 36. Ramgarhia College, Phagwara.
- 37. Vaish College, Rohtak.
- 38. State College, Nabha.”

Mr. Speaker : Schedule under consideration, amendment moved—

That after item 33, the following figures and words be added :—

- “ 34. D. C. Jain College, Ferozepore.
- 35. Khalsa College, Mahilpur.
- 36. Ramgarhia College, Phagwara
- 37. Vaish College, Rohtak.
- 38. \State College, Nabha.”

Premier (The hon. Dr. Gopi Chand Bhargava) (*Hindustani*) : The House will be interested to know in this connection that there were certain colleges which were recognised by the Punjab University but they have not yet begun functioning. Therefore, they will also be affiliated and added to the list of affiliated colleges, when they begin to function. Besides correspondence is going on with the Kashmir State Government and the following colleges will also be added to this schedule when the matter is finally decided :—

1. S.P. College, Srinagar.
2. Prince of Wales College, Jammu.
3. D. A.-V. College, Srinagar.
4. Amarsingh College, Srinagar.
5. Sir Karansingh College, Mirpur.

Mr. Speaker : Question is—

That after item 33, the following figures and words be added :—

- “ 34. D. C, Jain College, Ferozepore.
- 35. Khalsa College, Mahilpur.
- 36. Ramgarhia College, Phagwara.
- 37. Vaish College, Rohtak.
- 38. State College, Nabha.”

The motion was carried.

Mr. Speaker : Question is—

That Schedule IV, as amended, stand part of the Bill

The motion was carried.

CLAUSE 1

*Sub-clause (1)***Mr. Speaker :** Question—

That sub-clause (1) of clause 1 stand part of the Bill.

The motion was carried.

TITLE

Mr. Speaker : Question is—

That the Title be the Title of the Bill.

*The motion was carried.***Premier (The hon. Dr. Gopi Chand Bhargava) :** I move—

That the East Punjab University Bill, as amended, be passed.

The motion was carried.

PROROGATION.

Mr. Speaker : I have to inform the House that His Excellency the Governor has passed an order proroguing the Assembly. The Assembly stand prorogued accordingly.

OATH

*The following members who could not take oath in the Chamber on 1st November 1947 took oath later before the Speaker in his room :—**Sardar Udham Singh (Amritsar Central, Sikh, Rural).**Sardar Baitan Singh (Ferozepore North, Sikh, Rural).**Sardar Jagjit Singh Mann (Jullundur Division, Landholders).**Chaudhri Jagdish Chander (Karnal North, General, Rural).*



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