

1) A brief report of the criticism on the Punjab Money-lenders' bill and the resolutions of protests passed against it all over the country. Compiled by L. Saligram Bajaj  
X63:(2236):g F5

2) Gulshan Rai: Disabilities of <sup>the</sup> Hindus in the Punjab. V236:48(Y73Q2).V2 F5

A BRIEF  
**REPORT**  
OF THE  
**CRITICISM**  
ON THE  
**PUNJAB MONEY LENDERS'  
REGISTRATION BILL.**  
AND THE  
**RESOLUTIONS OF PROTESTS  
PASSED AGAINST IT,  
ALL OVER THE COUNTRY.**

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COMPILED BY  
**L. SALIG RAM BAJAJ,**  
Honorary General Secretary,  
**PUNJAB MONEY LENDERS' ASSOCIATION,  
LAHORE.**

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**20th APRIL 1925.**

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Arorbans Press,—Lahore.

## **THE PUNJAB MONEY LENDERS' REGISTRATION BILL.**

The Money Lenders' Registration bill, which was moved in the Punjab Legislative Council on 10th November 1924 by Mr. Maqbul Mahmud, Bar-At-Law of Amritsar a member of that House, has created a world of sensation, widespread alarm, deep and indignant resentment and protest throughout the length and breadth of the Punjab in both urban and rural areas in a shape unprecedented in the annals of the British rule in this part of the country.

I have been regularly receiving in my office, the reports of the protest meetings, held all over the country and collecting the criticisms of the prominent educationists, distinguished bankers, merchants, men of business and Zamindars since the bill has been published with a view to writing criticism against its final adoption.

Though the time allotted for the publicity of a measure of such magnitude and importance was very short yet owing to its destructive, mischievous and far-reaching consequences, it flashed like lightning throughout and created a great stir, horror and dismay in every part of the land which is indicated by the brief report published in the following pages of this pamphlet.

During this short interval, I have received signatures of over fifty-four thousand memorialists from the out-stations and Lahore protesting against the adoption of this measure which have been sent to the office of the Punjab Legislative council in various instalments. If there had been more time the number of signatories would have gone up four or five times the present number. A great number of other signatures have been sent to the council direct about which reports have been sent to me.

I have tried to abridge the criticisms and resolutions fearing lest the synopsis might assume unmanageable and voluminous proportion.

These criticisms, which have been offered by men of parts and eminence all over country are worthy of special note and best considerations. The critics, I believe, have been actuated by laudable motives for the good alike of the rulers and the ruled, as they are peace-loving and law-abiding subjects of the benign British Government. They consider that the measure shall produce unprecedented results which shall strain the relations between various communities and effect the attitude of the masses inhabiting the country towards the government.

I also believe that it is a retrograde and suicidal step to introduce such a law in the country. It is against the interests of the government and contrary to the policy of statesmanship to throw a great section of the people into unemployment by forcing upon them an Act which is likely to deprive them of their legitimate work and professions and result in great disadvantage of the people living in the country at large.

I would avail of this opportunity to impress upon the minds of my Mussalman brethren also that the Hindus are always ready to co-operate with them in mutually useful affairs of their lives. I think, they should rather consider it their pleasant task to support and help their sister community in all the undertakings, provided these are not antagonistic to their real interests. I trust we are neighbours and should behave like neighbours and take delight in one another's prosperity, as flourishing and peace-loving neighbours are much better and desirable than miserable and quarrelling ones.

I hope that better council will prevail with our Mussalman brethren in the Council and the official members when this measure comes before the Punjab Legislative council next time and they will all co-operate in unanimously rejecting the bill.

Mir Maqbul Mahmud a young and energetic Barrister of Amritsar, the mover of the bill, is taking keen interest in the up-lift of his community in which we wish him all success. But fully reconsidering the pros and cons of the Money Lenders' Registration bill in face of such a wide-spread agitation and sincere and strong criticism, I believe, he will be magnanimous if he withdraws the measure for the good of the country and its people.

A list of the towns and villages is appended at the end where meetings against the Bill have been held and the resolutions of protests passed. The proceedings from the most prominent stations only have been recorded after the criticisms and those from the remaining ones have been left out to avoid lengthening the pamphlet.

Meetings in some other towns and villages may also have been held in addition to those shown in the list, the reports of which have not been received in this office but it is assumed they may have been sent to the office of the Punjab Legislative Council.

This list clearly indicates that the resentment and indignation against this measure has been universal and widespread there is hardly a town in the Punjab where this Bill has not roused feelings of sensation and alarm.

In the end, I would appeal most earnestly and respectfully to His Excellency Sir William Malcom Hailey K. C. S. I., I. C. S. the wide-awake, conscientious, just and sympathetic Governor of this province, who has brought peace and tranquility in the country by his foresight and statesmanship, to be most graciously pleased to exercise his power of veto in case the Bill is passed by the Council comes up to him for his final assent, in view of such a strong and wholesale opposition of the country against the adoption of a measure of an abominable nature and far reaching destructive consequences.

Lahore :  
20th April 1925. }

**SALIG RAM BAJAJ**

*Honorary General Secretary*

**PUNJAB MONEY LENDERS' ASSOCIATION,**

**LAHORE.**

## APPENDIX I.

### Hindu Supersessions in the Education Department.

#### 1. Provincial Educational Service.

In 1921 seven appointments were made to the P. E. S.; five by direct appointment, and two by promotion from the S. E. S. Out of these five direct appointments, 2 went to Muslims, 1 to a Sikh, 1 to a Christian, and 1 to a Hindu. The only Hindu L. Sadanand, who received a direct appointment during the year, had been working in the Government College, Lahore, from 1919, and it is understood, that the Hon'ble Minister for Education, who wanted to give this post to a Muslim, appointed this Hindu after great pressure was put on him by the then D. P. I. The Christian gentleman, Mr. Barkat Ullah, who obtained appointment during the year, was a II Class M.A., in Philosophy; had taken Honours in Philosophy in the B.A.; and had 6 years teaching experience in the Forman Christian College, Lahore, to his credit. Out of the 2 Muslims who received direct appointments, one Mr. Sher Muhammad had recently retired from the P. E. S., after putting in the department a service of 38 years. He was re-employed, and thus his re-employment prevented his Hindu Assistant, Mr. S. N. Gupta from stepping into his place of Vice-Principalship of the Mayo School of Arts. Out of the 2 posts that went to the S. E. S.; one was given to a Hindu and the other to a Muslim. The Hindu, Pandit Bhagwan Dass, was the seniormost man in the S. E. S.; but the Muslim, Maulvi Ghulam Muhi-ud-Din was 14th on the list as shown below:—

- \*1. Pandit Bhagwan Das, B.A., S.A.V. with Special Certificate in Mathematics.
2. L. Harkishan Dass, M.A., S.A.V.
3. L. Girdhari Lal, F.A., S.A.V.
4. Mir Abdul Wahid, B.A. Untrained.
5. L. Narayan Dass Gupta, B.A., S.A.V.
6. L. Sohan Lall Chib, B.A., S.A.V.
7. L. Sukh Dayal Nijhawan, B.A., S.A.V.
8. Pandit Hem Itaj, B.A., S.A.V. with Special Certificate in Mathematics.
9. L. Sita Ram Agarwal, B.A., B.T., S.A.V.
10. L. Sukh Dayal, B.A., S.A.V. with Special Certificate in Mathematics.
11. S. Abdul Latiff Qureshi, F.A., S.A.V.
12. L. Visanda Ram, B.A., S.A.V.
13. L. Hargovind Lall, F. A., J.A.V. with Diploma in Clerical and Commercial.
- \*14. Maulvi Ghulam Muhi-ud-Din, B.A., B.T., S.A.V.

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\* Marked mean those who have been promoted.

It will be seen from the statement given above, that Pt. Bhagwan Dass, the only Hindu, who was promoted to the P. E. S in 1921, was the seniormost man. His promotion was thus quite in the fitness of things. But the Muslim gentleman, M. Ghulam-Muhi-ud-Din, who was promoted in the same year, occupied 14th position in the Gradation List. This Muslim

gentleman, not only superseded his 10 Hindu seniors, but he also got promotion to the P. E. S. before Pandit Bhagwan Das, and was placed above him in the P. E. S. List. Again on the retirement of a Hindu Principal of Training College, Lyallpur, the next senior man in the Institution, L. Sukh Dayal Nijhawan, 7th in the Gradation List was not made Principal, but this Muslim gentleman, M. Ghulam Muhi-ud-Din, 14th on the list, and just promoted to the P. E. S. was brought over his head, as the new permanent Principal. The record of L Chiranji Lall, the retiring Principal of the Institution, was one of the best in the Department; but he was given no extension, although Mr. Sher Mubammad, as I have just mentioned was re-employed even after his retirement. Is it because the one was a Hindu and the other a Muslim?

In 1922, nineteen appointments were made to the P. E. S.; 5 by direct recruitment, and 14 by promotion from the S. E. S. Out of the 5 direct appointments, 3 went to Muslims, 1 to a Sikh and 1 to a Christian, and none to a Hindu. One out of these 3 directly recruited Muslims, Maulvi Hakim Ali, got his appointment at the age of 53, and had before this been in the Lahore Islamia College, of which Institution the Hon'ble the Minister for Education, before his elevation to his present seat of power and patronage, was a Honorary Secretary for a number of years. The other Muslim Mr. Ahmad Hussain, who got direct appointment, was a III Class M.A., in Philosophy. The services of the Christian Mr. Barkat Ullah, who was appointed on probation last year, *i. e.* in January 1921, before the appointment of Ministers, were dispensed with and this Muslim gentleman, Mr. Ahmad Hussain, was appointed in his place. Out of the 14 appointments, in the P. E. S. that went this year to the S. E. S. men, 8 were Hindus, 4 Sikhs and 2 Muslims. I may mention here that I had started my campaign in the press against Mian Fazal-i-Husain's policy of Hindu supersessions towards the end of January 1922, and it continued for almost 6 or 7 months. It is just possible, my agitation in the Press and the subsequent Hindu and Sikh opposition in the Council may have restrained to some extent the Ministry of Education in the pursuit of this new policy, and it may have induced the Education Minister to promote as many as 8 Hindus in the year 1922. But the following extract from the Gradation List will show that even in this year, quite Junior Muslims superseded a number of senior Hindus:—

- \* 1. L. Harkishen Dass, M.A. S. A. V.
- 2. Mir Abdul Wahid, B.A., Untrained.
- \* 3. L. Narayan Dass Gupta, B.A., S.A.V.
- \* 4. L. Sohan Lall Chib, B.A., S.A.V.
- \* 5. L. Sukh Dayal Nijhawan, B.A., S.A.V.
- \* 6. Pt. Hem Raj, B.A., S.A.V., with Special Certificate in Mathematics.
- 7. L. Sita Ram Agarwall, B.A., B.T., S.A.V.
- \* 8. L. Sukh Dayal, B.A., S.A.V., with Special Certificate in Mathematics.

9. M. Abdul Latif Qureshi, B.A., S.A.V.
- \* 10. L. Visanda Ram, B.A., S.A.V., Offg. as District Inspector from 1920.
11. L. Hargovind Lall, F.A., J.A.V., Diploma in Clerical & Commercial.
12. L. Dina Nath Bhabra, B.A., B.T., S.A.V.
- \* 13. M. Abdul Latif Arain, B.A., S.A.V., Offg. as District: Inspector from 1920.
14. L. Inder Bhan, B.A., S.A.V.
15. Mr. Pran Nath, B.A., S.A.V.
16. Pandit Devi Dutt Pant, B. Com.
17. M. Bazl-ur-Rahman, B.A., B. T. on long leave for 2 years.
18. Lala Paras Ram, B.A., B.T., S.A.V.
- \* 19. B. Bhagat Singh, B.A., B.T., S.A.V., sub *pro tem* in P.E.S. from 1920.
20. L. Kali Charan, B.A., S.A.V.
- \* 21. G. Lachman Dass, B.A., L. Agr.
22. Pandit Daulat Ram, M.A., B.T.
23. M. Zia-ud Din, M.A., S.A.V.
24. Mr. M. L. Ghosh. E.E., Diploma in Commerce.
- \* 25. B. Narayan Singh, B.A., S.A.V., Certificate in Shorthand.
- \* 26. M. Muhammad Ishaq, B.A., S.A.V.
- \* 27. Ch. Gyan Singh, F.A., S.A.V., Offg. as District Inspector from 1920.
- \* 28. B. Bhagwan Singh, B.A., S.A.V., Special Certificate in Mathematics.
- \* 29. L. Lachman Dass. B.A., S.A.V. do do do.
30. L. Baghwan Dass. B.A., B.T., S.A.V.
31. S. Fazal Ilahi, B.A., S.A.V.
32. L. Sheoram Dass, B.A., S.A.V.
33. L. Amir Chand. B.A., S.A.V.
34. L. Ram Lall Kanwar, B.A., B.T., S.A.V.
- \* 35. L. Guranditta Mall, B.A., B.T., sub : *pro tem* in P.E.S. from 1919.

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( \* Marked show those who have been promoted. )

From the statement given above, it will be seen that 5 out of the 8 Hindus promoted, from the S. E. S. to the P. E. S., were quite at the top. These 5 Hindus superseded one Muslim B. A. untrained. The other three Hindus no doubt received special promotion. But L. Visanda Ram 10th on the list had been officiating as District Inspector of Schools from 1920. L. Lachman Dass 21st on the list possessed special qualifications in Agriculture, and his services were required as Inspector of Agricultural Education in Punjab Schools. L. Guranditta Mall 35th on the list had been working in the Central Training College as professor in sub *pro tem* P. E. S. from 1919. The 4 Sikhs who were promoted from S. E. S. to the P. E. S. occupied in the Gradation List the positions of 19th, 25th, 27th and 28th, respectively. All of these Sikhs received special promotions, but one of them B. Bhagat Singh 19th on the list had been working sub *pro tem* P. E. S. from 1920, and the other Ch. Gyan Singh 27th on the list had been officiating as District Inspector of Schools from 1920. The special promotion of the other 2 Sikhs was not justified ; but perhaps by promoting them the Hon'ble the Minister of Education hoped to win over the Sikhs towards his side, and thereby weaken Hindu opposition in the Council. The two Muslims who were promoted from S.E.S. to P.E.S. during the year, occupied in the Gradation List, the positions of 13th and 26th res-

pectively. One of them, M. Abdul Latif Arain, 13th on the list had been officiating as District Inspector of Schools from 1920 ; but the special promotion of Maulvi Muhammad Ishaq 26th on the list could not be justified. By these unjustified special promotions it will be seen, three Hindus, Nos. 7, 8 and 12 on the list suffered unmerited supersession. If the men officiating in the P. E. S. had not been confirmed in that service, one more Hindu could have received promotion to the P. E. S. If promotions had taken place strictly in accordance with seniority and qualifications, 12 Hindus, 1 Muslim, and 1 Sikh would have obtained P. E. S. as against 8 Hindus, 4 Sikhs and 2 Muslims, actually promoted in the year.

In 1923, there were 5 appointments made to the P. E. S. ; and all of them were promoted from the S. E. S. Out of these 5, two were Hindus, two Muslims, and one Christian. The following Gradation List as it stood in January 1923, will show the position of the different men promoted :—

1. Mir Abdul Wahid, B.A., Untrained.
- \* 2. L. Sita Ram Agarwall, B.A., B.T., S.A.V.
3. L. Sukh Dayal, B.A., S.A.V., Special Certificate in Mathematics.
4. M. Abdul Latif Qureshi, F.A., S.A.V.
5. L. Hargovind Lall, F.A., J.A.V., Diploma in Clerical and Commercial.
6. L. Dina Nath Bhabra, B.A., B. T., S.A.V.
7. L. Inder Bhan, B.A., B.T., S.A.V.
- \* 8. Mr. Pran Nath, B.A., S.A.V.
9. L. Paras Ram, B.A., B.T., S.A.V.
10. L. Kali Charan, B.A., S.A.V.
11. Pandit Daulat Ram, M. A., B.T.
12. M. Zia-ud-Din, M.A., S.A.V.
13. Mr. M. L. Ghosh, E.E. Diploma in Commerce.
14. L. Bhagwan Dass Vaish, B.A., B.T., S.A.V.
15. S. Fazal Ilahi, B.A., S.A.V.
16. L. Sheoram Dass, B.A., S.A.V.
17. L. Amir Chand, B.A., S.A.V.
18. L. Ram Lall Kanwar, B.A., B.T., S.A.V.
- \* 19. M. Abdul Ali, B.A., S.A.V.
20. L. Madho Dass Toteja, B.A., S.A.V.
21. L. Shanker Dass Bhatia, B.A., S.A.V.
22. L. Ram Chand Sandwani, B.A., S.A.V.
23. B. Dalip Singh, B.A., B.T.
24. Syed Muhammad Yaqub, M.A.
25. B. Hira Singh, B.A., B.T., S.A.V.
26. L. Sant Ram, B.A., S.A.V.
27. Ch. Hukam Chand, B.A., B.T., S.A.V.
28. Malik Muhammad Hussain, M.A., B.T., H.P.
29. B. Bhagat Singh, B. Com.
30. M. Nur Bakhsh, M.A., S.A.V.
31. Mufti Muhammad Hussain, F.A., S.A.V.
32. Pandit Sheo Narayan, B.A., S.A.V.
33. L. Ram Chand, Soneja, B.A., S.A.V.
34. L. Bhagat Ram, B.A., S.A.V.



35. L. Hoshiar Singh, F.A., S.A.V.  
 36. L. Sheo Lall, B.A., B.T., S.A.V.  
 \* 37. L. Sohan Lall, Vaish B.A., B.T., S.A.V., Sub *protem* P.E.S. from 1919.  
 \* 38. Syed Muhammed Mohsin, F.A., S.A.V.

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(\* Marked mean those who have been promoted.)

It would appear from the statement given above, that out of the two Hindus promoted from S. E. S., L. Sita Ram Agarwal was quite at the top of the list. He superseded only a B.A., untrained, possessing inferior qualifications. The other Hindu L. Sohan Lall Vaish, was 37th on the list, but he had been working sub *protem* P. E. S. as a Professor in the Training College from 1919, for almost 4 years. His confirmation in the P. E. S. was long overdue. Out of the two Muslims, promoted from the S. E. S. to P. E. S., one M. Abdul Ali was 19th on the list, and Syed Mohsin Abbasi, 38th on the list. M. Abdul Ali was in 1921, in the grade of 140-190 occupying 10th position in that grade. He was promoted to the grade of 200-250 in May 1922. In July 1922 he occupied 21st position in the grade of 200-250 of S. E. S. In July 1923 he was promoted to P. E. S. and he superseded 11 Hindus, 4 Muslims and 1 Christian. Out of the 11 Hindus, one was M.A., B.T.; 5 B.A. B.T., S.A.V.s, 4 B.A. S.A.V.s and one F.A. J.A.V. with Diploma in Clerical and Commercial Teaching. The Christian who was superseded was a B.A., S.A.V. Mr. Abdul Ali who superseded so many men did not himself possess any higher qualification than B.A. S.A.V. The other Muslim gentleman promoted from S.E.S. to P. E. S. was Syed Mohd. Mohsin Abbasi. He possessed the qualification of only F. A. S. A.V. In 1923 he was in the grade of 140-190, occupying 8th position in that grade. He was promoted to the grade of 200-250 in May 1923, and superseded his 6 Seniors, 5 Hindus and 1 Muslim. After 2 months, he was again promoted, this time to P. E. S. He now superseded 21 Hindus, 8 Muslims, 3 Sikhs, and 1 Christian. Shortly before their promotion to the P. E. S. both of these Muslim gentlemen were given officiating appointments as District Inspectors of Schools.

1924, in all 9 appointments were made to the P. E. S. Out of these 9, two were direct appointments, and 7 by promotion from the S. E. S. Out of the two direct appointments, one went to a Hindu, L. Kahan Chand, who had been working in the Government College Lahore as a professor from 1921, and the other to Hakim Muhammed Hussain, who a few months before his appointment to the P. E. S. had been employed by the Lahore Islamia College. Out of the 7 promoted from the S. E. S. 5 were Muslims and 2 Hindus. The following extract from the Gradation List will again show how these promotions were made

1. Mir Abdul Wahid, B.A., Untrained.
2. L. Sukhdayal, B.A., S.A.V., Special Certificate in Mathematic.
- \* 3. M. Abdul Latif Qureshi, F.A., S.A.V. do. do.
4. L. Hargovind Lal, F.A., J.A.V., Diploma in Clerical and Commercial.
5. L. Dina Nath Bhabra, B.A., B.T., S.A.V.
- \* 6. L. Inder Bhan, B.A., B.T., S.A.V.

7. L. Paras Ram, B.A., B.T., S.A.V.
8. Pandit Daulat Ram, M.A., B.T.,
- \* 9. K. Zia-ud-Din, M.A., S.A.V.
10. Mr. M. L. Ghosh. E. E. ; Diploma in Commerce.
11. L. Bhagwan Dass Vaish, B.A., B.T., S.A.V.
12. S. Fazal Ilahi, B.A., S.A.V.
13. L. Sheoram Dass, B.A., S.A.V.
- \* 14. L. Amir Chand, B.A., S.A.V.
15. L. Ram Lall Kanwar, B.A., B.T., S.A.V.
16. L. Madho Dass Toteja, B.A., S.A.V.
17. L. Shanker Dass Bhatia, B.A., S.A.V.
18. L. Ram Chand Sandwani, B.A., S.A.V.
19. B. Dalip Singh, B.A., B.T.
20. Syed Muhammed Yaqub, M.A.
21. B. Hira Singh, B.A., S.A.V.
22. L. Sant Ram, B.A. S.A.V.
23. Ch. Hukam Chand, B.A., B.T., S.A.V.
24. Malik Muhammed Hussain, M.A. ; B.T. ; H.P.
25. M. Nur Bukhsh, M.A. ; S.A.V.
26. B. Amar Singh, B.A.
27. L. Mohan Lall, B.A., B.T., S.A.V. Special certificate in Science.
28. L. Hoshier Singh, F.A., S.A.V.
- \* 29. Ch. Ghulam Muhi-ud-Din, B.A., S.A.V.
- \* 30. S. Zahur-ud-Din, B.A., S.A.V.
31. Mufti Ahmad Said Qureshi, F.A., S.A.V.
- \* 32. M. Ghulam Rasul Shauq, B.A. (Hon) M.A.
- \* 33. M. Zafar Iqbal, M.A., B.T., S.A.V.

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(\* Marked show those who have been promoted.)

It would appear from the statement given above, that during this year absolutely no regard was paid either to seniority or to qualifications. Among Hindus, who were promoted, L. Inder Bhan was 6th on the list, and L. Amir Chand 14th. Among Muslims, M. Abdul Latif Qureshi though 3rd on the list was an F. A., M. Zia-ud-Din 9th, Ch : Ghulam Muhi-ud-Din 29th, S. Zuhur-ud-Din 30th, and M. Ghulam Rasul Shauq 32nd, Ch : Ghulam Muhi-ud-Din was in 1923 in the grade of 140-190. He was promoted to the grade of 200-250 in July 1923, when he occupied 40th position in the grade of 140-190. In November 1924 he was promoted to the P. E. S. *i.e.* in 16 months he received two promotions. Sh : Zahur-ud-Din was also in 1923 in the grade of 140-190. He was promoted to the grade of 200-250 on the 17th December 1923. When he occupied 28th or the last position in the grade of 200-250, he was promoted to the P. E. S on the 1st January 1924; *i.e.* in 15 days he received two promotions. M. Ghulam Rasul Shauq joined Government service in March 1922, and was put in the grade of 140-190. In the Gradation list of 1923 he occupied 81st position in that grade. He was promoted to the grade of 200-250 in February 1924, and in the gradation list corrected up to 1st April 1924 he occupied 29th, *i.e.* last position in the grade of 200-250. He was promoted to the P. E. S. in May 1924, *i.e.* within 3 months he received two promotions; and in 2

years' service his salary rose from 140 to 300. Not only Zuhur-ud-Din and Ghulam Rasul Shauq got double promotions, but in the P. E. S. also they became seniors of Messrs Inder Bhan, and Amirchand. The total service put in the department by Zuhur-ud-Din and Zia-ud-Din who got double promotions was at this time 5 and 4 years respectively.

During the first six months of the present year, so far as I am aware, only two permanent appointments to the P. E. S. were made. One was given to a Muslim and one to a Hindu. All of these appointments went to the S.E.S. men. Here again an Extract from the the Gradation list will show the respective positions of the men promoted :-

1. Mir Abdul Wahid, B.A., Untrained.
2. L. Sukh Dayal, B.A., S.A.V., Special Certificate in Mathematic.
3. L. Hargovind Lall, F.A., J.A.V., Diploma in Clerical and Commercial.
4. L. Dina Nath, B.A., B.T., S.A.V.
5. L. Paras Ram, M.A., B.T., S.A.V.
6. Pt. Daulat Ram, M.A., B.T.
7. Mr. M. L. Ghosh, F. E. Diploma in Commerce.
8. L. Bhagwan Dass Vaish, B.A., S.A.V.
9. Sh. Fazal Ilahi, B.A., S.A.V.
10. L. Sheoram Dass, B.A., S.A.V.
- \* 11. L. Ram Lall Kanwar, B.A. B.T., S.A.V.
12. L. Madho Dass Toteja, B.A., S.A.V.
13. L. Shanker Dass Bhatia, B.A., S.A.V.
14. L. Ram Chand Sandwani, B.A., S.A.V.
15. B. Dalip Singh, B.A., B.T.
16. Syed Muhammad Yaqub, B.A.
17. B. Hira Singh, B.A., B.T., S.A.V.
18. L. Sant Ram, B.A., S.A.V.
19. Ch. Hukam Chand, B.A. B.T., S.A.V.
- \* 20. Malik Muhammed Hussain, M.A., B.T. M.O.L., H. A.

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(\* Marked show those who have been promoted.)

It will thus be seen that so far as promotions from S. E.S to P. E. S. are concerned, during the last 4½ years, a uniform and consistent policy of superseding able senior Hindu officers, and of giving rapid promotions to Muslims has been followed. It is also interesting to observe that all those Muslims who have received double and rapid promotions during the last few years, have at the time of their promotions, been in Multan Division. An impression has gone round, that if a Muslim wants to get rapid promotion, he should try to get himself transferred first to the Multan Division, and failing that to the Rawalpindi Division. Is it because, Multan is under Sh. Nur Ilahi, and Rawalpindi has upto now been practically under Mr. Khurshid Ahmed? There is another tendency now observable from some time past. At first officiating chances are given to very junior Muslims, and then shortly after that, they are promoted to the higher grade.

The total number of appointments made to the P. E. S. during the last 4½ years are 42. The distribution of these appointments communitywise is shown in the following table :-

	Direct appointments.					Promotions from S.E. S. to P. E. S.					G. Total.
	Hindu	Sikh	Muslim	Xian	Total	H	S	M	Xian	Total	
1921	1	1	2	1	5	1	*	1	*	2	7
1922	*	1	3	1	5	8	4	2	*	14	19
1923	*	*	*	*	*	2	*	2	1	5	5
1924	1	*	1	*	2	2	*	5	*	7	9
1925	*	*	*	*	*	1	*	1	*	2	3
	2	2	6	2	12	14	4	11	1	30	42

From the table given above, it would appear that what the Muslim Minister of Education is trying to do, is to secure to the Muslims, 50 percent of the appointments by direct recruitment and 40 percent of the appointments by promotion from the S. E. S. to P. E. S. He does not care if this 40 % is secured at the expense of doing great injustice to Senior Hindu Officers in the Service, The picking out of 40 % of Musalmans from subordinate services however junior they may be, and whatever qualifications they may have, is bound to have a very injurious effect on those Hindu officers who, by this operation are superseded. When these Hindu officers joined the service many years ago, they were given to understand, that their prospects in the department depended on their Academic qualifications, and on the good work done by them. All of a sudden the State brings in other extraneous considerations also. Communal representation even in **promotions** to higher grades and higher services in the department, was never present before the minds of teachers when they joined service many years ago. The introduction of communal representation for the purpose of even **promotions**, is a breach of the old convention, and is subversive of all discipline and efficiency in the service. If promotions are to depend on the religion of an individual, all incentive to good work is then taken away. The table I have given above, will also show, that so far as the recruitment to the P. E. S. by way of direct appointments is concerned, all the doors to this service are completely closed to the Hindus. During the last 4½ years out of 12 appointments made by direct recruitment, only 2 have gone to the Hindus, and even those 2 Hindus had already been in the department before the present Ministerial Regime began. So really speaking during the last 4½ years no Hindus were recruited to the P. E. S. by direct recruitment. The only door through which Hindus in these years have been able to enter P. E. S. is by promotion from S. E. S. But here also it would be seen from the above tables, that the Hindus have obtained very little entrance; except in the year 1922, when there was a great agitation in the press, and in the Council, against the new policy of the Hon'ble Minister in Charge. The several statements given above, will show that a large number of capable Senior Hindu officers, have been superseded apparantly for no fault. No doubt the Minister of Education is entitled to say that in filling P. E. S.

appointments from S.E.S. he need not be guided by considerations of seniority and that he can give promotions by selection. But surely selection should also be made on some principles. If in making selections greater weight is attached to religion, rather than to qualifications, there is bound to be great amount of discontent in the Services.

## 2 Subordinate Educational Service.

1. In the 200-250 grade of S.E.S. in 1921, three appointments were made. All these three appointments were made by promotion from the 2nd grade, 140-190, and strictly in the order of seniority. In 1922, 15 appointments were made to the grade of 200-250. Out of these 15, five were filled by direct recruitment, and ten by promotion from the grade of 140-190. Appointments by promotion this year were also made by seniority. But out of the 5 directly recruited appointments, 2 went to Muslims, 2 to Sikhs, and 1 to a Hindu. But on the abolition of the Government Institute of Commerce, the appointment of this Hindu was brought under reduction. In 1923, five appointments were made to the grade of 200-250. All of these appointments were made by promotion from the grade of 140-190. Out of these 5 appointments, 2 went to Muslims, 2 to Hindus, and 1 to a Sikh. In making these promotions no regard was paid to seniority or qualifications. The positions and academic qualifications of the men promoted, in the Gradation List is shown in the following statement.

- 5. L. Hoshiar Singh, F.A., S.A.V.
- 7. Bhai Amar Singh, B.A.
- 20. L. Mohan Lall Bhalla, B.A., B.T., S.A.V. Specialist in Science.
- 25. S. Zuhur-ud-Din, B.A., S.A.V.
- 41. Ch: Ghulam Muhi-ud-Din, B.A., S.A.V.

The last two *i. e.* 25th and 41st, both Muslims, have since been, as already shown above, promoted to the P.E.S. (See page 24 above) In 1924, ten appointments were made to the grade of 200-250. Out of these ten, 2 were made by direct recruitment; and 8 by promotion from the grade of 140-190. During this year, seniority and qualifications were disregarded even to a much greater extent, than was done in the previous year. The positions and qualifications of the promoted men in the Gradation List, is shown in the following statement:—

- 8. L. Ram Chand Soneja B.A., S.A.V.
- 24. Mufti Ahmed Said Qureshi, F.A., S.A.V.
- 41. M. Ghulam Hussain Bhatti, F.A., S.A.V.
- 61. Mr. Qurban Ihsan Ullah, B.A., B.T.
- 62. M. Mohammed Nawaz Khan, F.A., S.A.V.
- 72. M. Ghulam Rasul Shaugh, B.A., (Hon), M.A.
- 86. Pandit Vasu Dev, S.A.V. With British qualifications in Drawing.
- 89. M. Zafar Iqbal, M.A., B.T., S.A.V.

It would thus appear that out of the 2 Hindus promoted, one was 3rd on the list, and the other 86th. But the case of Pandit Vasu Dev the 86th is quite exceptionable. In 1920 he was in the grade of 110-135 of the Oriental Section. In that year he took 3 years leave, went to England, and specialised himself in Drawing. He returned to India in 1923. He now possessed exceptional qualifications in his subject; and deserved exceptional treatment, but the only thing he got was that in December 1923, he was taken in the grade of 140-190 of the Anglo Oriental Section. When he returned from England he was in his Oriental Section No 2 in the grade of 110-135. If he had not gone to England, and not obtained special qualifications, even then he would have in the natural course got the grade of 140-190 of Oriental Section, in a few months time. So the grant to him of the grade of 140-190 in the Anglo-Oriental Section, did not mean much monetary advantage to him. Out of the remaining 6, five went to Muslims, and 1 to a Christian. Mufti Ahmed Said was not only 24th in the Gradation List, but was also an F. A., M. Ghulam Rasul Shauq, who was promoted next after him, was, 72nd, and had been taken in Government Service, only less than 2 years back. M. Zafar Iqbal the man next promoted was 89th. He joined service in the grade of 140-190, on 23rd February 1924, and he was promoted to the grade of 200-250, on 1st March 1924, *i e*, within one week of his joining service. M. Ghulam Hussain Bhatti, was not only 41st on the Gradation List but was also an F. A. in Educational qualifications. M. Mohammad Nawaz Khan was 62nd on the Gradation List, and also an F. A. This gentleman was promoted to the grade of 140-190 in June 1922, and to the grade of 200-250, in November 1924; *i e*, he got 2 promotions within 30 months. Out of the 2 direct appointments, made during the year, 1 went to a Hindu, and the other to a Muslim. The Hindu L. Chaman Lall Kapur, is a double M. A. He stood first in Economics, and first in History. He has since been promoted to the P. E. S.

2. *The Grade of 140-190.*—In this grade of the S. E. S. in all 15 appointments, were made in 1921. Out of these fifteen, 7 were by promotion from the grade of 110-135, and 8 by direct recruitment. The seven promotions were made in the order of seniority. The other 8 were taken from the provincialised Board Schools. In 1922, thirteen appointments were made by promotions from the grade of 110-135: 9 of which were in the order of seniority. The 2 appointments that went to outsiders require a little notice. M. Aggar Khan, who was Head Master Islamia School, Lahore, was taken as Head Master of Pakpatan District Board School, which was shortly afterwards provincialised. Then again, M. Ghulam Rasul Shauq, who after being removed from Government College, Lahore, some years back, had been taken by K. B. Sir Mehdi Shah, as Head Master in his Gojra, M. B. School, was taken as Head Master Jampur District Board School, which was just about this time provincialised. The Hindu Head Master of Jampur School, D. Raushan Lall, was compelled to work as 2nd Master, or to leave service. Again when Kahror District

Board School was provincialised, L. Asu Ram, its Headmaster, was compelled to work as 2nd Master, and a Muslim gentleman was brought in from outside as Headmaster. In 1923, again, 13 appointments were made to the grade of 140-190. Out of these thirteen appointments, 2 were filled by direct recruitment. Both of these 2 appointments went to the Muslims. One of them possesses only Oriental Titles Diplomas. B. Bhagat Singh B. Com : who was in the grade of 200-250 was on the abolition of the Government Institute of Commerce, required to accept the lower grade of 140-190. The other appointments to the grade of 140-190 were made by promotions from the grade of 110-135. In making these promotions no regard was paid to either seniority or qualifications. The following statement will show the respective positions and qualifications of the men promoted :—

1. L. Budh Ram. B.A., S.A.V.
6. L. Bishan Das. B.A., B.T., S.A.V.
9. M. Mahmud Hassan, B.A., B.T., S.A.V.
15. L. Vishnu Das. B.A., (Hon.), B.T., S.A.V.
24. B. Barkat Singh. B.A., S.A.V.
25. M. Muhammed Munir. B.A., B.T., S.A.V.
36. B. Bikram Singh. B.A., B.T.
50. M. Ahmed Hassan. M.A., B.T.
53. M. Sardar Alam. M.A.

It would thus appear that the 1st, the 6th, and the 15th, were Hindus, and the 9th, the 25th, the 50th, and the 53rd were Muslims, and the 24th and the 36th were Sikhs. There was one Hindu, Pandit Vasu Dev, who was promoted, from 2nd grade Oriental Section to 2nd grade Anglo-Oriental Section. But he had, as has been mentioned above, gone to England and obtained special qualifications in Drawing. So out of the ten promoted, 4 were Hindus, 4 Muslims, and 2 Sikhs. In 1924 fourteen appointments were made to the grade of 140-190. Out of these, fourteen 8 were filled by direct recruitment, and 6 by promotion from the grade of 110-135. Out of the 8 appointments filled by direct recruitment. 2 were given to Hindus, 3 to Sikhs, and 3 to Muslims. The respective positions and qualifications of the 6 men promoted, from the grade of 110-135 to the grade of 140-190 is shown in the following statement :—

4. H. Abdul Karim, B.A.
11. M. Atta Ullah Khan. B.A.
83. Ch: Pran Nath. M.A.
65. L. Daulat Ram Bery. B.A.
103. Ch: Umar-ud-Din. B.A., B.T.
143. Bh: Gurcharan Singh Ramdas-M.A., B.T.

It would thus appear that in this year absolutely no regard was paid to either seniority or qualifications. Out of the 6 men promoted from the grade of 110-135, 3 were Muslims, 2 Hindus, and 1 Sikh. It appears that in order to secure 50 per cent promotions for the Muslims, every other consideration was thrown to the winds. If seniority had been

kept in view, then 5 Hindus and one Muslim would have been promoted, as against 2 Hindus, 1 Sikh, and 3 Muslims actually promoted.

3. *The Grade of 110-135.* In this grade of the S.E.S. 27 appointments were made in the year 1921. Out of these 27 appointments, 5 were by direct recruitment, 11 by promotions from the lower grade of 80-100; and 11 by taking into Government service of teachers in the provincialised schools. Out of the 5 appointments filled by direct recruitment, 2 were given to Muslims, 2 to Hindus, and 1 to a Sikh. One of the Hindus, given this direct appointment, had been serving in the department from November 1919; and the other Hindu who was given a direct appointment, L. Kishore Lall, possessed a special qualification in Agriculture, and his services were required for an agricultural centre. The positions and qualifications of the 11 men promoted from the grade of 80-100 are shown in the following statement :—

1. M. Nabi Bakhsh. B.A., B.T.
2. Pandit Hardayal Pushkarna. B.A., B.T., S.A.V.
7. L. Diwan Chand, F.A., S.A.V. (Clerical & Commercial)
13. L. Ram Charan Das. B.A., S.A.V.
48. L. Yag Dutt, B.A., B.T.
50. Syed Asghar Ali, B.A., B.T.
52. M. Muhammed Sadiq. B.A., S.A.V.
54. M. Muhammed Nazir, B.A. B.T.
55. Bh. Bhagat Ram Singh, B.A., B.T., S.A.V.
58. Mian Aziz Bakhsh. B.A., B.T.
61. L. Kanshi Ram, B.A., B.T.

It would thus appear, that out of these 11 men promoted, 5 were Hindus, 5 Muslims, and 1 Sikh. It would also be seen, that the positions in the Gradation List of the Muslims was generally much lower than that of the promoted Hindus. If promotions had been made in the order of Seniority, then 7 Hindus, 3 Muslims, and 1 Sikh would have been promoted, as against 5 Hindus, 5 Muslims, and 1 Sikh, actually promoted.

In 1922, in all 23 appointments were made to the grade of 110-135. Out of these 23 appointments, 10 were filled by direct recruitment, and 13 by promotions from the lower grade of 80-100. Out of the 10 appointments, filled by direct recruitment, 5 went to Muslims, 4 to Sikhs, and only 1 to a Hindu. This Hindu possessed a special qualification in Agriculture and his services were required for an Agricultural Centre. The positions of the 13 men promoted from the lower grade are shown in the following statement :—

26. L. Tara Chand Jain. B.A., S.A.V.
49. M. Misbah-ud-Din. B.A.
51. L. Daulat Ram Nayar. B.A., S.A.V.
52. Pandit Dwarka Nath. B.A.
53. L. Dalpat Rai, B.A., B.T., S.A.V.
57. Mian Sher Singh. F.A., S.A.V.
59. M. Maqbul Ahmed Qureshi. B.A., B.T.
64. M. Muhammed Aslam. B.A., B.T.



- 79. Ch: Qudrat Ullah. B.A.
- 82. Mufti Abdul Majid. F.A., S.A.V.
- 101. Bh: Harbans Singh. F.A., S.A.V.
- 102. Pt. Jawala Sahai, M.A., B.T.,
- 108. L. Lekh Raj, M.A., B.T.

It would appear that out of the 13 promoted, 7 were Hindus, 5 Muslims, and 1 Sikh. Had the promotions been made in the order of seniority 9 Hindus, 3 Muslims and 1 Sikh would have been promoted.

In 1923, in all 11 appointments were made to the grade of 110-135. Out of these 11 appointments, 2 were filled by direct recruitment, and 9 by promotions from the lower grade. Both the direct appointments went to the Muslims. The positions and qualifications of the 9 men promoted from the lower grade are shown in the following statement.

- 1. L. Rang Lall E.E., J.A.V.,
- 2. Sh. Fazal Ilahi F.A., S.A.V.
- 6. L. Madho Das, F.A., S.A.V.
- 13. M. Niaz Muhammed. E.E. J.A.V.,
- 84. L. Jhandu Lall, B.A.
- 54. Mehta Harbans Rai, B.A., B.T., S.A.V.
- 55. L. Hari Chand Taneja B. So., B.T.
- 79. Bh. Harnam Singh. B.A., B.T., S.A.V.
- 98. Ghulam Muhammed Khan, B.A., S.A.V.

It will thus be seen that out of these 9 appointments made by promotions, 5 went to Hindus, 3 to Muslims and 1 to a Sikh. If promotions were made in the order of seniority, 6 Hindus would have got promotions. Bhai Harnam Singh who was promoted, had joined Government Service in the grade of 80-100 in April 1921; and Ghulam Muhammed Khan had joined the same grade in May 1921.

In 1924, again 11 appointments were made to the grade of 110-135. Out of these 11 appointments, 6 were filled by direct recruitment, and 5 by promotions from the lower grade. Out of the 6 direct appointments 4 went to Hindus, and 2 to Muslims. Out of the 5 men promoted from the lower grade. 2 were Hindus, 2 Muslims, and 1 Sikh.

- 20. Pandit Labh Chand Pal. F.A., S.A.V.
- 25. M. Faqir Ahmed. F.A. S.A.V
- 38. Pandit Jagat Ram. F.A., S.A.V.
- 52. Sh: Muhammed Ismail, B.A., S.A.V.
- 73. Bh: Chanchal Singh, B.A., S.A.V.

In making these promotions probably there were no communal considerations, but still it must be said, that qualifications were not taken into consideration.

In 1925 upto the end of May last it appears 18 appointments were made. Out of these 8, four were filled by direct recruitment and 14 by promotions from the lower grade. All the 4 appointments filled by

direct recruitment went to Muslims, and out of the 14 men promoted from the lower grade, 8 went to Muslims, 3 to Hindus and 3 to Sikhs. If promotions had been made by order of seniority, 12 appointments out of 14 would have gone to the Hindus

4. *Grade of 80-100.* In this grade of the S. E. S. 43 appointments were made in 1921. Out of these 43 men, 27 were taken by direct recruitment, and 16 were taken into Government Service, from the provincialised Board Schools. Out of the 27 taken by direct recruitment 13 were Hindus, 4 Sikhs and 10 Muslims. Out of the 16 teachers taken into Government Service, from provincialised Schools, 19 were Hindus, 1 Sikh, and 6 Muslims. In 1922, in all 38 appointments were made out of whom 21 were Hindus, 15 Muslims, and 2 Sikhs. In 1923, some 12 appointments were made, out of whom 5 were Hindus, 3 Sikhs, 3 Muslims, and 1 Christian. In 1924, 10 appointments were made, out of whom 3 were Hindus, 4 Muslims, 2 Sikhs, and 1 Christian. In the present year, upto the end of May last, 8 appointments were made, out of whom 3 were Hindus, and 5 Muslims.

The total number of appointments made to the S.E.S. Anglo-Vernacular Section, during the last 4½ years are 289. The distribution of these appointments, communitywise is shown in the following table.

Grade	Direct recruitment.						Promotions.					
	H.	M.	S.	X	Total	%	H.	M.	S.	X.	Total	%
200-250	3	3	1	0	7	43	13	10	2	1	26	38½
140-190	8	9	4	0	21	43	12	16	5	1	34	47
110-135	13	16	4	0	33	48	22	26	9	0	57	44
80-100	54	43	12	2	111	39	..	...	...	...	...	...
All grades	78	71	21	2	172	41%	47	52	16	2	117	44

From the table given above, it would appear that what the Hon'ble the Minister of Education is trying to do is to secure to the Muslims, 41% of the appointments in Direct Recruitment, and 44% of the appointments, by promotions from the lower grades. In obtaining this result he has thrown all considerations of seniority and qualifications to the winds. From the table given above, it would also be observed, that the higher the grade is the smaller becomes the number of Hindus appointed by direct recruitment. We have seen that in the P.E.S. the door of direct recruitment for the Hindus is practically all closed. The object of the Minister of Education evidently is to shut out Hindus almost completely from the higher grades of the Educational Service; and in the lower grades too, he has very much restricted the employment of the Hindus. Under the present scheme of promotions devised by the Hon'ble the Minister of Education, the Hindus in the different grades, have no certainty of promotions. They may remain in the same grade for all their lives, and junior men may one after another

get promotions over their heads. Under such circumstances, there is bound to be grave discontent in the Services. Against this arbitrary system of promotions, where seniority and qualifications are not taken into consideration at all, some individual Musalmans also suffer, although their community as a whole, has immensely benefitted. The only thing that can prevent arbitrary promotions, and stop the existing heart-burning among Non-Muslim servants of the Crown is the introduction of Time Scale in the Subordinate Service. That is the reason why the teachers in the S.E.S. have now from some time past been demanding Time Scale for themselves; and there is no wonder Muslims have also joined them, for arbitrary promotions sometimes injure them as well. In some quarters the demand of the S. E. S. have been termed as extravagant. But if we compare the amount of increase received by other services, to what was received at the time of the last revision, by the S. E. S. will find, that their present demands are reasonable. The increase on pay and allowances, received by the different services on the last revision of Salaries were as shown in the following statement:-

1. Subordinate Agricultural Service (Vaccinators etc .	42.7%
2. Subordinate Agricultural Service (Agricultural Assistants)	34.6%
3. Irrigation Departments (Overseers)	33.7%
4. Buildings and Roads (Sub-Overseers)	33.7%
5. Sub-Assistant Surgeons	49.5%
6. Jail Department (Executive-Establishment)	36.9%
7. Subordinate Educational Service	18.7%

It would thus be seen that the S. E. S. obtained the least amount of increase at the time of the last revision of salaries. If in this matter, the Punjab Government had followed what has been done by the neighbouring province of U. P., I. believe the service in the Punjab might have become satisfied. I think it is not unreasonable to expect, that a trained graduate should in the Subordinate Service get a start of Rs 100/-. The service would have been satisfied if they had a Time Scale, rising from Rs 100/- to 250/- in a period of say 21 years, with a Selection Grade of say 250-300/- to be completed in another 5 years. I should propose that for B. A., B. Ts; a Time Scale of Rs. 100/- to Rs. 300/- may be fixed in the following manner :-

- 100-5-130 to be completed in 6 years.
- 130-7-200 to be completed in 10 years.
- 200-10-250 to be completed in 5 years.

There might be put an efficiency bar at the stages of 130 ; 200 ; and 250. Above 250 there might be a Selection Grade of 250 rising to 300. The trained matriculates, Intermediates, and B.A. ; S.A Vs., might be recruited in the service of Rs 55 rising to 100. These people should also have a Time Scale of 55-3-100 ; to be completed in 15 years. If men in lower Time Scale Services gain higher academic qualifications, and become B.Ts, they should have preferential claims for recruitment to the Time

Scale Service of Rs. 100 to Rs. 300. As regards Oriental and Classical Teachers, they should be placed in a Time Scale Service of their own to be completed also in 26 years. The Vernacular, Drawing and Gymnastic and other classes of teachers, may be placed also in a Time Scale Service of 35-3-70 ; to be completed in 15 years. If the men in this lower Time Scale Service of the Vernacular teachers, improve their Academic qualifications, and get Honours in Classical and Vernacular languages, they should have preferential claims for recruitment to Oriental and Classical Section of Time Scale Service. If salaries are revised on the lines mentioned above, and the subordinate services are placed in a Time Scale Scheme, I am sure, the services will become contented, since in that case there will be no possibility of arbitrary promotions being made.

Lahore, dated 10th August 1925

GULSHAN RAI.

## Appendix II.

### Hindu Supersessions in the Medical and Public Health Depts.

#### 1. Medical Officers.

When in August 1914, the great World-War began, a large number of Medical Officers in the Punjab Medical Service, went on Military duty, and temporary men were engaged in their places to carry on the work of Civil Hospitals in their absence. In addition to this, several men were through Civil Authorities recruited for Military duty; and these latter were also put in the temporary cadre. To all those who offered themselves for Military duty, the Government in May 1917, promised that in case of vacancies occurring in the permanent cadre, their claims for permanent employment, will receive preferential consideration. Large number of Medical men offered their services for Military duty. In this way the temporary cadre expanded very much; and by the end of 1920, there were in this cadre 134 men. Out of these 134 men, 92 were Hindus, 27 Sikhs 14 Muslims, and 1 Christian. Some of these 134 men had joined service in 1911. When men began to return from Military duty, and they became posted to their Civil Charges, the men in the temporary cadre began to become surplus. It was decided to commence dispensing with the Services of these men from the Juniormost ranks. But when this operation actually began, the services of *all* Juniormost men were not dispensed with. The Hon'ble the Minister of Education, thought it proper to retain the services of all Muslim Medical men, however Junior most they might be. He issued instructions, that the services of only the Hindus, and some of the Sikhs were to be dispensed with. What he began to do was, that he retained in Government Service, all the Muslims, and some of the Sikhs, and if after providing for all the Muslims and some of the Sikhs, there remained any vacancy unfilled, he gave it to the Hindus. The following table in which I have put recruits, of each year from 1911-1920 separately, and shown how many of them in each such group were retained or turned out communitywise, will make the matters clear :—

Year.	Recruited.					Retained.					Turned out.				
	H	M	S.	X	Total.	H.	M.	S.	X	Total	H.	M.	S.	X.	Total
1920	17	8	5	0	25	0	3	2	0	5	17	0	3	0	20
1919	14	7	5	0	20	0	1	3	0	4	14	0	2	0	16
1918	14	1	2	0	17	2	1	2	0	5	12	0	0	0	12
1917	7	1	7	0	15	3	1	6	0	10	4	0	1	0	5
1916	11	1	1	0	13	7	1	1	0	9	4	0	0	0	4
1915	18	3	1	1	23	17	3	1	1	22	1	0	0	0	1
1914	7	3	2	0	12	7	2	2	0	11	0	1	0	0	1
1913	2	0	3	0	5	2	0	3	0	5	0	0	0	0	0
1912	1	1	1	0	3	1	1	1	0	3	0	0	0	0	0
1911	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0		0	0
	92	14	27	1	134	40	13	21	1	75	52	1	6	0	59

It would thus appear, that in the year 1920, twenty-five men were recruited for the temporary cadre. Out of these 25 men, 17 were Hindus, and they were all turned out. Two out of five Sikhs were retained, and all the 3 Muslim recruits of the year were retained. In 1919, twenty men were recruited for the service. Out of these 20 men, 14 were Hindus 5 Sikhs and 1 Muslim. All the 14 Hindus were turned out; 4 out of the 5 Sikhs were retained, and the services of the only Muslim recruit of the year were also retained. In the 1918, 17 men were recruited for the service. Out of these 17 men, 14 were Hindus, 2 Sikhs and 1 Muslim. The services of both the Sikhs and of the Muslim were retained, and 12 out of 14 Hindus were turned out. Out of these 14 Hindus recruited in 1918, 8 had done Military service. Seven out of these eight was turned out. In 1917, fifteen men were recruited for the service. Out of these 15 men, 7 were Hindus, 7 Sikhs, and 1 Muslim. The services of the Muslim and of 6 out of seven Sikhs were retained. The services of 3 Hindus out of 7 were also retained. During this year out of the 7 Hindus, 6 had done Military Service. In 1916, thirteen men were recruited for the Service, out of whom 11 were Hindus, 1 Sikh 1 Muslim. The Services of the Sikh and the Muslim were retained, but 4 out of 11 Hindus were turned out. Out of the 11 Hindus recruited in 1916 nine had done Military Service. In 1915, twenty-three appointments were made for the temporary cadre. Out of these 23 men 18 were Hindus, 1 Sikh, 3 Muslims and one Christian. Out of these 23, men, the services of 22 were retained, and the one man who was turned out was a Hindu Dogra Rajput, with Military Service to his credit. In 1914, twelve appointments were made out of whom 7 were Hindus, 2 Sikhs, and 3 Muslims. The services of all, but one Muslim, Abdul Hamid, who of his own accord left service, in order to get further Education in England, were retained. It would thus become clear, that in order to retain the services of Muslims, the rule of dispensing with the services of juniormost men was departed from; and the pledges given by Government of India, to give preferential treatment to Military men was not kept in the case of Hindus. Some of the Muslims taken in Government Service, were so indiffernt students of Medical Science, that whilst studying in the Medical College, they had almost taken double the period necessary to go through the entire course of studies. So far as admission to Medical College and Medical School is concerned, while almost all Muslim applications even of 3rd Division are admitted, Hindu and Sikh Students passing the F.Sc. Examination in 1st Division are turned away.

## 2. Public Health Officers.

Again when Special Medical Staff engaged for Plague Duty was discharged in order to organise a new Public Health Department, there were in that special staff 21 Officers, out of whom 12 were Hindus, 8 Sikhs and 1 Muslim. The services of 16 out of these 21 were dispensed with. All the Hindus were turned out, and the services of 1 Muslim, and 4 out of 8 Sikhs were retained. In 1921, the only Medical man recruited for Government service was a Muslim.

From the facts stated above, it seems the Hon'ble the Minister of Education has during all these years possessed perfect freedom to push forward his communal policy to the extreme.

Lahore dated 10th August 1925.

GULSHAN RAI.

## Appendix III.

### Communal Representation in the Municipal Committees.

Communal Representation in Representative Bodies was first recognised in 1909, in connection with the Minto-Morley Constitutional Reforms. It no doubt existed in some Municipalities of the Punjab, before this date, but the Decentralisation Commission in 1909 reported "that Municipal Councils should ordinarily contain, a substantial elected majority, nominees being only in sufficient proportion to provide for due representation of minorities and official experience. The Montagu-Chelmsford Report also regarded. "Any system of Communal Representation as a very serious hinderance to the development of the Self Governing principle". In 1918, the Government of India, in their Resolution on Local Self-Government, say "As regards the special representation of Minorities, where this is necessary, the Government of India would prefer that this should be effected by re-staining the practice of Nomination rather than by introducing some system of Communal Representation or Proportional Representation".

From the quotations I have given above, it would be abundantly clear, that even the Bureaucratic Government, was not willing to carry the poison, of Communal Representation, into the Local Self-Governing bodies. But the Hon'ble Minister in charge of Local Self-Government, backed as he is by Musalman Majority in the Council, has thrown all these weighty arguments to the winds, and has in full force, set out on a path of extending it to as many Local bodies as possible. This system of Separate Communal Representation has brought about a permanent cleavage between the communities. But even Separate Communal Representation, with all its faults and mischievous consequences, could be introduced in a less offensive manner, and in a juster way. Representation of Communities can be fixed on several considerations. It can be based on pure population figures, where there is manhood franchise; or on the population of tax-paying communities, where taxes are directly paid only by certain professions, and occupations. In the beginning of 1921 there were 101 Municipal Committees in the Punjab. In Seventy-nine out of these Municipalities, members were partly elected. In 38 out of such 79 Municipalities there existed at that time separate Communal Representation. The Ministry of Education introduced elected element in 19 more Municipalities, thus increasing their number from 79 to 98. At the same time he introduced Separate Communal Representation in 11 more Municipalities, thus increasing the number of such Municipalities from 38 to 49. In the remaining 49 Municipalities orders were issued to reconstitute the ward areas in such a way as to provide required number of seats for different communities; or in other words Communal Representation with Joint Electorates was introduced in these 49 Municipalities. Thus the Hon'ble Minister in charge of Local Self-Government very soon after his assumption of office, introduced Communal Representation in all Municipalities, with Separate Electorates in 49 and Joint Electorates in the other 49. Let me examine Mian Fazal-i-Hussain's scheme of Commissionership Areas.

Under the Re-constitution Scheme of Mian Fazal-i-Hussain, there are 28 Municipalities, in the Amballa Division. Out of these 28 Municipalities, 1 Municipality Kasumpti is administered by the Deputy Commissioner alone. Fourteen are given Separate Communal Representation, and the remaining 13 possess Communal Representation with Joint Electorates; where ward areas are redistributed to provide required number of seats for different communities. The following statement regarding those Municipalities where Separate Communal Representation has been introduced will show the respective strengths of the different Communities therein :—

Municipality	Population of Muslims.		Elected Muslim		Elected			Nominated.	Total	Nominated plus Muslim proportion
	H.	M	S.	H.	M	S.				
1. Bhiwani ...	10 percent		17 per cent		10	2	0	4	16	37½ percent
2. Sirsa ...	38½ do.		39 do.		6	3	0	2	11	45 do.
3. Rohtak ...	42 do.		45 do.		6	5	0	3	14	56 do.
4. Bahadargarh ...	42 do.		42 do.		4	3	0	1	8	50 do.
5. Riwari ...	44 do.		40 do.		6	4	0	2	12	50 do.
6. Palwal ...	35 do.		33 do.		4	2	0	2	8	50 do.
7. Ferozepur Jhirka	58 do.		42 do.		4	3	0	2	9	55 do.
8. Karnal ...	40 do.		14 do.		5	4	0	3	12	53 do.
9. Faridabad ...	33 do.		33 do.		4	2	0	2	8	50 do.
10. Kaithal ...	47 do.		14 do.		5	4	0	2	11	54 do.
11. Shahabad ...	61½ do.		62½ do.		8	5	0	2	10	70 do.
12. Thanesar ...	30 do.		33 do.		4	2	0	2	8	50 do.
13. Amballa ...	59½ do.		56 do.		6	8	0	2	16	62½ do.
14. Jagadhari ...	29 do.		13 do.		4	2	0	2	8	50 do.

It will be observed that excessive representation on population basis has been granted to Muslims in the Municipalities of Bhiwani, Rohtak, Karnal, Sahabad, Thanesar, and Jagadhari. By the original proposal of October 1922, 25 per cent representation in Bhiwani and 50 per cent representation in Riwari had had been granted to Muslims, but subsequently it was reduced to 17 per cent and 40 per cent respectively. If we add nominated members to the Muslims, then they are in absolute majority in 6 Municipal Committees, and are 50 per cent in other 6 Municipalities. The elected Non-Muslims are in absolute Majority only in the two Municipalities of Bhiwani and Sirsa. If we take Municipalities in which Communal Representation with Joint Electorates is kept, we will find the respective positions of the different communities by means of the following table :—



Municipality.	Population of Muslims.		Elected Muslims.		Elected			Nominated.	Total	Nominated plus Muslim. proportion.	
					H.	M.	S.				
1. Hissar ...	40	percent	40	percent	6	4	0	2	12	50	percent.
2. Hansi ...	47	do.	50	do.	8	3	0	2	8	62½	do.
3. Jhajjar ...	46	do.	50	do.	4	4	0	2	10	60	do.
4. Beri ...	9½	do.	17	do.	5	1	0	1	7	28	do.
5. Gohana ...	65	do.	67	do.	2	4	0	2	8	75	do.
6. Sonipat ...	50	do.	50	do.	3	3	0	2	8	62½	do.
7. Kodal ...	24	do.	30	do.	7	3	0	2	12	42	do.
8. Ballabgarh ...	25½	do.	33	do.	4	2	2	0	8	50	do.
9. Panipat ...	72	do.	75	do.	3	9	0	2	14	77	do.
10. Rupsr ...	55	do.	50	do.	3	3	0	2	8	62½	do.
11. Sadhaura ...	56	do.	56	do.	3	4	0	1	8	62½	do.
12. Buriya ...	59	do.	50	do.	3	3	0	2	8	62½	do.
13. Simla ...	21	do.	50	do.	1	1	0	8	10	90	do.

It will be observed here that excessive representation has been given to Muslims in the Municipalities of Hansi, Jhajjar, Beri, Gohana Kodal, Ballabgarh, Panipat, and Simla. If the Muslims combine with the nominated members, then they are in an absolute majority in 9 out of these 13 Municipalities. They have got 50% in two other Municipalities. The Non-Muslims have an absolute majority only in two Municipalities. So even where electorates are kept joint, the ward areas are ordered to be reconstructed in such a fashion that the Muslims are to get a certain fixed number of seats in each Municipality; and with the nominated members they obtain majority in all, but the very minor Municipalities of Beri and Kodal. So under both these schemes of electorates, Joint as well as Separate, the Muslims if combined with nominated members, obtain predominance in 23 out of 27 Municipalities of Amballa Division. The experience of our premier Municipality of Lahore, shows that the Muslims can well depend upon the nominated members, who believe they owe their seats to the Minister in charge of Local-Self-Government. And yet Amballa Division is supposed to be a Hindu Division.

In the Central Districts of the Jullundur and Lahore Divisions there are 37 Municipalities. Under the reconstitution Scheme of Mian Fazal-i-Hussain all the Municipalities in the Central Districts possess an elective element. Under his scheme, out of these 37 Municipalities, 20 are given Separate Communal Representation, and 17 possesses Communal Representation with joint electorates of redistributed ward areas. The elected proportion of different communities in the Municipalities with Separate Electorates, is shown in the table given below :—

Municipality.	Muslim population.	Elected Muslims.	Elected			Nominated.	Total.	Nominated plus Muslim proportion.
			H.	M.	S.			
1. Hoshiarpur ...	48 p. c.	45 p. c.	6	5	0	3	14	56 p. c.
* 2. Banga ...	28 "	25 "	4	2	2	1	9	83 "
3. Nakodar ...	58 "	50 "	3	3	0	1	7	56 "
4. Ludhiana ...	61 "	56 "	8	12	1	2	23	61 "
5. Jagraon ...	58 "	50 "	4	4	0	4	12	67 "
6. Raikot ...	62 "	56 "	3	4	0	2	9	67 "
7. Ferozepur ...	51 "	50 "	7	8	1	4	20	60 "
* 8. Fazilka ...	29 "	28 "	5	2	0	1	8	87½ "
9. Zira ...	59 "	60 "	2	3	0	1	6	67 "
* 10. Moga ...	28 "	22 "	4	2	3	3	12	42 "
11. Abohar ...	23½ "	33 "	4	2	0	3	9	55 "
12. Lahore ...	55 "	53 "	*13	17	2	9	41	68½ "
13. Kasur ...	72 "	69 "	4	9	0	3	16	75 "
14. Amritsar. ...	44½ "	43½ "	9	10	4	7	30	57 "
15. Muktsar ...	26½ "	33 "	4	2	0	2	8	50 "
16. Derababananak ...	40 "	33 "	4	2	0	2	8	50 "
17. Gujranwala ...	54½ "	54 "	8	9	0	4	21	61½ "
18. Wazirabad ...	69½ "	67 "	4	8	0	3	15	73 "
19. Eminabad ...	75 "	70 "	2	5	0	1	8	75 "
20. Sharakpur ...	83½ "	85 "	1	5	0	2	8	87½ "

\* Include 2 Christians.

It will be observed that Muslims have a clear majority in 9 Municipalities: *viz*; Ludhiana, Raikot, Zira, Lahore, Kasur, Gujranwala, Wazirabad, Eminabad, and Sharakpur; if we take only elected members into consideration. But if nominated members also combine with Muslims, then they are in a majority in 15 out of these 20 Municipalities, and 50 per cent in other two.

The elected Non-Muslims are in Majority only in the 3 Municipalities of Banga, Fazilka, and Moga. So much as regards Municipalities where Separate Communal Representation is introduced. Let us now examine the new constitutions of those Municipalities, where Communal Representation has been provided by means of Joint Electorates, with a redistribution of ward areas. There are 17 such Municipalities and the proportion allotted to different communities in these local bodies is shown in the table given below:—

Municipalities.	Muslim population.	Elected Muslims.	Elected			Nominated.	Total.	Nominated plus Muslim proportion.
			H.	M.	S.			
1. Dharamsala ..	17 p. c.	17 p. c.	5	1	0	6	12	58 p. c.
2. Urmur Tanda ...	61 "	67 "	2	4	0	2	8	75 "
3. Jullunder ...	64 "	68 "	8	14	0	3	25	68 "
4. Kartarpur ...	39 "	42 "	3	3	1	1	8	50 "
5. Phillaur ...	56 "	56 "	3	4	0	1	8	62½ "
6. Nur Mahal ...	47½ "	50 "	3	3	0	2	8	62½ "
7. Rahon ...	56 "	56 "	3	4	0	1	8	62½ "
8. Chunian ...	59½ "	55 "	4	5	0	3	12	67 "
9. Khem Karan ...	65 "	60 "	1	3	1	1	6	67 "
10. Dalhousie ...	28 "	33 "	2	1	0	7	10	80 "
11. Gurdaspur ...	50½ "	50 "	4	4	0	2	10	60 "
12. Dinanagar ...	49 "	50 "	3	3	0	2	8	62½ "
13. Pathankot ...	56 "	56 "	3	4	0	2	9	67 "
14. Batala ...	65 "	67 "	4	8	0	4	16	75 "
15. Sialkote ...	71 "	70 "	5	14	1	3	23	74 "
16. Pasrur ...	72 "	67 "	2	4	0	2	8	75 "
17. Narowal ...	58 "	56 "	2	4	1	2	9	67 "

It will be observed that out of elected members the Muslims have a majority in 11 Municipalities out of 17, and they have 50% in other three. But if the nominated members combine with the Muslims, they hold a clear majority everywhere. So under both these schemes of Separate Electorates as well as Joint Elecorates, elected Hindus have got a majority in only 3 out of 37 Municipalities of the Central Districts.

In the North and Western Punjab consisting of Rawalpindi and Multan Divisions, there are 34 Municipalities in which members are partly elected. Under the new constitution scheme out of these 34 Municipalities 15 are given Separate Communal Representation and 19 possess Communal Represetation with Joint Electorates with redistributed ward areas. The proportion allotted to differet communities in Municipalities with Separate Electorates is shown in the table given below :—

Municipality,	Population of Muslims,	Elected Muslims,	Elected			Nomi- nated	Total	Nominated plus Muslim proportion
			H.	M	S.			
1. Sahiwal ...	55 percent.	60 per cent	2	3	0	2	7	70 percent
2. Sargodha ...	39 do.	38½ do.	6	5	2	4	17	54 do.
3. Pinddadankhan ...	69 do.	68 do.	5	9	0	3	17	72 do.
4. Bhakkar ...	47 do.	50 do.	4	4	0	2	10	60 do.
5. Montgomery ...	45½ do.	42 do.	7	5	0	3	15	53 do.
6. Kamalia ...	47 do.	42 do.	4	3	0	2	9	55 do.
7. Jhang Maghiana	49 do.	50 do.	6	6	0	4	16	62½ do.
8. Multan ...	70 do.	50 do.	10	10	0	4	24	58 do.
9. Shujabad ...	32 do.	33 do.	4	2	0	2	8	50 do.
10. Muzaffargarh ...	40 do.	42 do.	4	3	0	2	9	55 do.
11. Khengarh ...	40 do.	42 do.	4	3	0	2	9	55 do.
12. Alipur ...	42½ do.	42 do.	4	3	0	2	9	55 do.
13. Leiah ...	56 do.	50 do.	4	4	0	2	10	60 do.
14. Kahrora ...	44½ do.	42 do.	4	3	0	1	8	50 do.
15. Dera Ghazi Khan	58 do.	50 do.	7	7	0	4	18	61 do.

It will be observed that the Muslims if combined with nominated members have a majority in 13 out of 15 Municipalities and 50 per cent in the remaining two. Let us now take the new constitution of those Municipalities where Communal Representation has been provided by means of Joint Electorates with a redistribution of ward areas. There are 19 such Municipalities in Northern and Western Districts of Rawalpindi and Multan Divisions. The proportion allotted to different communities in these local bodies is shown in the table given below:—

Municipalities.	Muslim Population.	Elected Muslims.	Elected			Nominated.	Total.	Nominated plus Muslim portion.
			H.	M.	S.			
1. Gujrat ...	74 p. c.	75 p. c.	8	9	0	3	15	80 p. c.
2. Jallalpur Jattan ...	76 "	75 "	2	6	0	2	10	80 "
3. Dinga ...	54 "	50 "	2	8	1	2	8	62½ "
4. Kunjah ...	72 "	67 "	2	4	0	2	8	75 "
5. Bhera ...	69 "	67 "	4	8	0	3	15	73 "
6. Miani ...	55 "	56 "	3	4	0	2	9	67 "
7. Khushab ...	81 "	75 "	2	6	0	2	10	80 "
8. Jhelum ...	63 "	58 "	4	7	1	3	15	67 "
9. Rawalpindi ...	51 "	50 "	8	8	0	4	20	60 "
10. Murree ...	53½ "	67 "	1	2	0	12	15	93 "
11. Hasro ...	64 "	67 "	2	4	0	2	8	75 "
12. Mianwali ...	54 "	50 "	4	1	0	2	10	60 "
13. Lyallpur ...	39 "	42 "	7	5	0	3	15	53 "
14. Gojra ...	88 "	40 "	3	2	0	2	7	56 "
15. Chiniot ...	71 "	67 "	3	6	0	3	12	75 "
16. Jampur ...	60 "	60 "	4	6	0	2	12	67 "
17. Dajal ...	58 "	60 "	4	6	0	2	12	67 "
18. Rajanpur ...	64 "	67 "	2	4	0	2	8	75 "
19. Mithankote ...	65 "	67 "	2	4	0	2	8	75 "

It will be observed that out of the elected members the Muslims have a majority in 14 out of these 19 Municipalities, and they have 50 per cent in the other 3. But if the nominated members combine with the Muslims then they have Majority everywhere. So in the entire Province the elected Non-Muslims have got a Majority only in the 7 Municipal Towns of Bhiwani, Sirsa, Beri, Hodal, Banga, Fazilka, and Moga; while the Muslims have got an elected majority in the 13 Municipalities of Panipat, Ludhiana, Jullundur, Kasur, Sharakpur, Eminabad, Wazirabad, Sialkote, Gujrat, Jallalpur, Jattan, Bhera, Khushab, and Pind-Dadan Khan. The Non-Muslims have an elected 50 per cent of the total number of members in 12 Municipalities and the Muslims in 17 Municipalities. So without the aid of nominated members, the Non-Muslims can be said to have predominance in at least 7 Municipalities but at the utmost in 19. The Muslims on the other hand have predominance in 13 Municipalities for certain, and even without the aid of nominated members in 30. But as I have already said the Muslims with the aid of the nominated members have predominance in 91 out of 98 Municipalities. The original proposals of the Hon'ble the Minister of Education were much worse. The original proposals were issued to the Deputy Commissioners, Commissioners, and the local bodies concerned in October 1922. The people who were

vitaly interested in these proposals were not at all taken into confidence. I, as Secretary of the Punjab Hindu Sabha, applied shortly after the issue of these proposals to Mr. Latifi, Secretary Transferred Departments, for a supply of a copy of these proposals to me. It was not after I had made frequent visits to the Secretariat office, and sent more frequent reminders to both Mr. Latifi and Mian Fazal-i-Hussain that I got a copy of these proposals late in November 1922. But even then in spite of repeated requests I was not supplied with voting strength figures of different communities in Municipal towns. I have strong reasons to believe that these voting strength figures, on which the Hon'ble Minister of Education has to some extent based his new constitutions, are in some cases false and in other cases entirely incorrect and unreliable. These voting strength figures were not published till after the Hon'ble the Minister had sanctioned his new reconstitution scheme. There was vehement agitation in the Press, and in the Council, when these new proposals came to be known to the public. As I have already said the original proposals were much worse for the Non-Muslims. But perhaps as a result of the agitation against these proposals, the constitutions of some 29 Municipalities were revised, and in most of them Hindus or Sikh or other Non-Muslims were given slightly larger representation. The constitutions of the following Municipalities were revised:— (1) Bhiwani, (2) Rewari, (3) Ferozepur Jhirka, (4) Kaithal (5) Thanesar, (6) Banga, (7) Jagraon, (8) Raikot, (9) Ferozepur (10) Lahore, (11) Moga, (12) Kasur, (13) Gurdaspur, (14) Sialkote, (15) Pasrur (16) Gujranwalla, (17) Sharakpur, (18) Sargodha, (19) Jhelum, (20) Pinddadan Khan (21) Rawalpindi, (22) Kamalia, (23) Multan, (24) Muzaffargarh, (25) Khan-garh, (26) Alipur, (27) Leiah, (28) Shujabad and (29) Dera Ghazi Khan. In some of these Municipalities more seats were given to Hindus or Sikhs, in some Municipalities Muslim seats were reduced; and in still some others number of nominated members was increased in order to reduce the proportion of elected Muslims. But in spite of all these revisions, the net result is what I have exhibited in the different tables given above. Had the Hon'ble the Minister of Education cared to order the proportion of a regular and, proper Municipal electoral rolls before preparing his new scheme, then even on the basis adopted by him the Non-Muslims would have got much greater representation than what they have actually obtained. But as I have elsewhere already stated, population is no basis for representation in Municipalities, till the bulk of Municipal taxation is paid direct by the Commercial and Trading Classes living therein. The Hindus and the other Non-Muslims hold, that those who directly pay the taxes must have control over expenditure in the Municipalities. This the Hon'ble Minister incharge of Local Self-Government has refused to grant in Municipalities. And what is the result. The Muslims representing these classes which have very little direct connection with the payment of taxes, are, wherever they are in control of the Municipal machinery, reckless in Municipal expenditure. They are paying no regard to the interests of the tax-payer; and in all such places Municipal administration has become most inefficient. The Muslims in the towns of the Punjab mainly represent labour. I would not object to the mere representation of labour interests in our Municipal bodies, just as I would want other interests, like Commerce, Trade, Industries Education etc. to be represented therein. Surely to give at this stage, to labour, control over Municipal bodies, is I venture to submit highly dangerous. Labour in India is yet extremely ignorant, almost entirely illiterate,

and without any sense of its responsibility. To entrust the destinies of towns and cities, which are strongholds of Trade, Commerce Industry and Education, to labour, is I believe *at this stage* highly prejudicial to the best interests of the country. And yet guided by an intensely communal feeling our Muslim Minister in charge of Local Self-Government, has started on a path which leads to a certain ruin of all these vital interests. The commercial, trading, and educated classes, mainly Hindus are extremely agitated over the new constitution scheme of Municipalities. Alienation of Land Act Co-operative Credit Societies Act, the Panchayat Act, and the Constitution of District Boards, all these have made Non-Agriculturist Hindus in Rural Areas strangers in their own hearths and homes; the new Constitutions of the Municipalities, are likely to ruin them in towns and cities also.

Lahore dated 10th August 1925.

GULSHAN RAI.