

श्री रवि राय (पुरी): माननीय सदस्य ने अचूकता किया कि इसको लाकर सदस्यों को दिखला दिया।

## (II) GRIEVANCES OF RELEASED E.C.Os.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE (Kanpur): I beg to present a petition signed by Ex-Capt. Bachittar Singh and others regarding grievances of released Emergency Commissioned Officers. I may add here that 50 per cent of these officers have not been provided with alternative jobs. They are just rotting on the streets. They were the officers who were responsible for our victory against Pakistan. . .

MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Member can only present the petition now. He cannot make a speech.

13.08 hrs.

## PERSONAL EXPLANATION BY MEMBER

SHRI D. N. PATODIA (Jalore): From the proceedings of the Rajya Sabha of March 30, 1970, I find that Shri Niren Ghosh, an hon. Member of the Rajya Sabha belonging to CPI(M), made allegations against me by stating that Shri B. M. Birla and myself are making a list of MPs and are trying to purchase them. Shri Ghosh further wanted the Vigilance Department of the Home Ministry to enquire into it.

I emphatically repudiate these allegations which are false, derogatory and irresponsible. I now leave it to Shri Ghosh that if he is honourable enough, he would correct himself and apologise for the wrong done to me.

श्री आर्ज करनेम्बीज (बम्बई दक्षिण): अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैंने एक प्रिविलेज मोशन श्री एस० के० पाटिल के खिलाफ दिया था, आप ने उस पर अभी तक कोई विचार नहीं किया है।

अध्यक्ष महोदय: अभी चल रहा है।  
... (अवधान) ...

I do not think that any MP is purchasable.

I really wonder if this position. . .

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE (Kanpur): An MP is not a commodity. .

MR. SPEAKER: They are not commodities. They are not purchaseable. I do not think they can be purchased. . .

श्री आर्ज करनेम्बीज: मैंने भी कहा है कि कई एम पीज बिड़ला की जेब में हैं।

MR. SPEAKER: I can say this on behalf of this House.

श्री मधु लिमये (मुंजर): अभी जो आपने इजाजत दी वह ठीक किया है। आप राज्य सभा के चेयरमैन को लिखियेगा। इनके बयान के बाद इसको चेयरमैन के पास जाना चाहिए। आप उनको लिखिये। चेयरमैन को लिखने का आपको अधिकार है।

MR. SPEAKER: I am going to write. These are remarks made against a Member of this House by a Member of the other House. So, I have got to write. Shri Madhu Limaye is quite right.

We shall now adjourn for lunch and meet again at 14.10 hours and take up the Home Ministry's Demands. The Congress (0) will speak first.

13.09 hrs.

*The Lok Sabha adjourned for Lunch till ten minutes past Fourteen of the Clock.*

*The Lok Sabha reassembled after Lunch at twelve minutes past Fourteen of the Clock.*

[SHRI SHRI CHAND GOYAL in the Chair]

DEMANDS FOR GRANTS 1970-71—contd.

MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS—contd.

SHRI S. K. PATIL (Banaskantha): Mr. Chairman, I am speaking on the Demands for Grants of the Ministry of Home Affairs and want to concentrate on only two points

which, according to me, constitute the greatest dangers not only to the security of India but to the very existence of our democracy. One is the law and order situation, and the other, inter-state disputes, whether they are border, river or any other type.

The Home Ministry is supposed to be responsible for law and order. But it is a very wonderful phenomenon that when it comes to keeping it, it quietly passes it on as the responsibility of the States. It is only prepared to take the responsibility where Union Territories are concerned.

May I remind the hon. the Home Minister that his Ministry has a greater responsibility than sometimes we see in this house? Although technically, law and order may be the responsibility of the States, the Home Ministry of the Government of India has a jurisdiction, albeit indirect. What happens today is that the States go on having their law and order the way they have, create situations, serious situations, where scores of people are murdered, the assailants remain unapprehended, the thing goes on in broad daylight and when matters come to an almost impossible pass there comes in a call to the Home Ministry here to send the Military. The presence of the military, no doubt, sometimes helps to tide over the situation. But I do not understand how long this is going to last.

We are talking of democracy; we are proud of it; we are talking of plans and progress. But all this is utter nonsense so long as there is no law and order in the country. The situation has reached a pass where any government must be ashamed of the law and order position obtaining in the country today. Wherever you go, in any corner of India, the whole country seems to be in a ferment. There is no law and order; and where there is, it is because they had not had an opportunity of breaking it. Surely this is a contagious disease; it is not going to be confined only to those states where it already exists; it is spreading far and wide. This violence has now become a normal feature of our political life. Nobody cares two hoots about it. If any opportunity to break the law and order is there, there are people prepared to do it. Why is this all happening? Where has the discipline of a nation gone? If democracy means anything, then it rests and it must rest always on discipline. Any

democracy minus discipline is no democracy at all. Therefore, it is high time that Government put forth all their efforts to maintain law and order. I am not talking of sending the military etc. Nor should one escape the responsibility by saying that the States are responsible for it and they are responsible to see that such situations do not arise.

There are any number of instances happening in the States in the name of law and order and the responsibility of the States. It is not the responsibility of the States but the irresponsibility of the States to create situations which are the very negation of law and order and then one takes the escape here.

Then, what is happening in the legislatures? What is the relationship between the Governors and the Central Government, a point to which I shall come a little later? You have seen instances daily in the papers, not only in Bengal—in Bengal, of course, there is a clima—and there have been murders by the scores—but everywhere else too, of murders. Nobody is free from it. Ultimately you see instances like the one that happened at Patna yesterday where Mr. Jyoti Basu's life was attacked. I may not agree with Mr. Jyoti Basu in many of the things that he says or his methods, but surely I have every respect for his life and liberty, and he has every right to expect protection for it from everybody and much more so from the Government of India. This has shown not only to us but I am quite sure, even to Mr. Jyoti Basu and those who believe in violence that violence does not pay. It does not solve any problem at all. If at all, it creates problems and accentuates problems. Therefore, violence has got to be put down under any circumstances, by whatever methods that we have got at our command.

The other day, one of our hon. Members, Shri Kashi Nath Pandey, in the very premises of a public sector concern was attacked—I do not know whether the assailant, have been arrested or not—and attacked in a manner that he escaped death perhaps within an inch. If these things are going to happen, and even the life of Members here is not safe—I do not think that the life of a Member here should be regarded as more precious than the life of an average citizen, but even then—why should the Home Ministry or

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the Government of India take credit and say that they stand here for the home affairs of the country and they supervise them or they are in overall responsibility of law and order.

This has come to this pass, because the whole discipline of public life has disappeared. All political standards have been razed to the ground. There is nothing like public morality anywhere in this country. If it were happening somewhere and Government had not taken any measures against it, then, surely we would have protested. If sometimes Government themselves are responsible for it, I do not understand where we shall go to protest.

Political prostitution, as I call it, in the shape of defection has become a very rewarding virtue in this country. I call it so, because particularly I remember our Home Minister, when there were some defections and they were just the beginning of defections, when he came forward before this House. I was not here, and used a very fine expression, which I liked and for which I compliment him because I have to criticise him presently, and that expression was this. He said 'What shall I do in Haryana? A member went here and there five times; he was Aya Ram and Gaya Ram'. He was so very allergic to these Aya Rams and Gaya Rams that I thought that his allergy would last. But like some of these insects that are immunised against the insecticides, after they are constantly used, both the Home Minister and the Home Ministry and all his people seem to be immunised to these Aya Rams and Gaya Rams, and practically they think that if they exist, 'Why not use them?' This type of political defections, or as I call it political prostitution is going on in a manner which has really brought shame to this country.

The other day, there was a talk and we read about it in the papers, that when the Rajya Sabha elections took place, there were some defections as they were called and that was why some people got in and some people did not get it. I am surprised that the people should call these things defections, those people who began by defeating the Congress nominee for Presidentship, their own nominee for the Presidentship, the people who began

by saying 'inner voice'. I thought that the inner voice had disappeared with Mahatma Gandhi. But it has come and along with conscience. Now, those people who taught the people how to do that and get away with it and celebrate it, are now coming forward and saying that there have been some defections and they must take measures about it. I do not understand it. It looks to be the case of a prostitute extolling the virtues of chastity. Therefore, this is not something that Government should do. They should hang down their heads in shame, because this is not proper. If this continues, then not only is there risk to Government—I am not taking credit or delight in saying this, because I am accusing the Government and only a few months back I was with them—but it has its repercussions on our national life, which are of a dangerous type, and, therefore, I am saying it.

There was a committee appointed to go into the question of defections. I am told, and I was only reading about it, when I was not a Member of this House, that the Home Ministry was doing something to put a final stop to these defections. Now, there is no stop to these defections. Only legislation had to be brought to legalise it, so that nobody says that these are defects or black-market; it is a market which is as white as it can be. Therefore, my submission is: that the people who were really responsible for it should be the last to say anything against it. Now, I must not take more time on these things, because my second point is an important point and I want to come to it very quickly.

In Bengal today, we have no Government. We have only President's rule there. I am quite sure that the things that are happening there are symptomatic of events to come, and unless there is freedom there for everybody to go about and vote as he or she likes, there should be no elections; there ought not to be any undue haste about it. I am not saying this because I do not believe in democracy, because it is not democracy if people are compelled to vote in a particular manner or they are not allowed the free movement to which they are entitled. If this is the position, then surely democracy

is not safe there. This point has to be attended to.

The Naxalites are not a phenomenon of Bengal alone. There is hardly any State where you do not find Naxalites today. If you cannot apprehend them, and if you glorify them, as you seem to be glorifying, I do not know what will happen. There was a member of a legislature who resigned from the legislature, and he said 'If there is no violence, what is the meaning of being in a legislature?' If you glamourise this kind of activity and go on saying that the Naxalites are doing it, you must be very careful about it.

I shall mention just one small point before I move to my second point, and that is regarding the relations between the Governors and the Chief Minister and the Central Government. There has been a lot of talk about it.

The other day, there was a question and a point was raised by somebody that this is a question that must not be summarily dismissed as if it does not count for anything at all. We made the Constitution when we did not expect that after 20 years of the passing of the Constitution, we shall be facing a situation of this type, and, therefore, those relations—it is not that they have got to be revised, but—must be correctly understood so that one may know where our responsibility begins or starts.

It is no use merely saying that under all circumstances, the Governor is bound to accept the view of the Chief Minister. That cannot happen always. Very often, people may go to the court, and they have started going now, and I am sure they will go to court. Therefore, this situation has got to be correctly understood. I do not say that you should go outside the Constitution for this, but within the Constitution itself, so far as it lies within your power, you have got to see that those relations are maintained at the highest standard, and the Chief Minister, and sometimes a mad Chief Minister ought not to be allowed to do the thing that he wants to do in order to preserve his existence in the legislature.

That brings me to my second point and that is the most important, and that is re-

garding inter-State disputes and boundary disputes. Now, every now and then, you come across these boundary disputes. There have been agitations everywhere. There have been parties in several States. There are some people existing on these border disputes. The Government come and say that they are going to solve these disputes. I tell you, and through you the Home Minister, that in his lifetime and my lifetime and possibly our children's lifetime these border disputes are not going to be solved. We have not solved a single border dispute. If you can solve them through negotiations, it is a different matter, I am not against it, but where differences arise, as I shall point out by quatin examples, you have not resolved a single dispute. Ordinary disputes you can solve because you have the Zonal Councils and other methods through which you can do it, but not the border disputes.

At first there was the States Reorganisation Commission and they made some recommendations and we created linguistic States. We may say that at that time we had no experience, but I was opposed to the very appointment of the Commission and the creation of linguistic States. I stalled it for three or four years in this House. There were debates going on, and ultimately we were overwhelmed and you had the Commission. Had you accepted *in toto* their recommendations; good, bad or indifferent, it would have been different, but you took so much precaution to appoint the proper type of people in the Commission only to de-commission their recommendations once they are made. If you had accepted their recommendations in full, at least the impression would have been created that once this Government appoints a Commission it is bound to accept its recommendations and not change them. Had you done that, most of the troubles, 95 per cent of the troubles, that you are facing today would not be there, but you did not. The first reaction of the then Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was to accept it, but somebody else said something, and then he said, "Nevertheless there are other things", and so on and so forth. Ultimately you diluted them in more than one respect, and all the points which you thought you had finished are again coming up one by one. You have not

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stopped them anywhere, and you are not going to stop them.

You had the Shah Commission. We were saying in those days that the Punjabi Suba should be created because all other linguistic States were created, and the Sikh community should not be deprived of the responsibility which they wanted to take. But any wise Government would have done something else. Being warned by the experience of the States Reorganisation Commission, we should have known that these questions, particularly of Bhakra and Chandigarh, would arise. Had you told the parties that you had taken a policy decision that until there was agreement on these points you would not go to Parliament to legislate, I tell you that within 24 hours a decision would have been arrived at, but we were in such a hurry. And then we, ilseurly appointed a Commission, and that Commission again consisted of three Members, so that there might be a possibility of two Members being on one side and one Member on the other as in the case of the States Reorganisation Commission, and then their recommendations you do not accept.

Now you are taking credit for having resolved the Chandigarh issue. It is an absolute lie if anybody says that. You have done nothing about Chandigarh. The Chandigarh issue just remains the same, perhaps it is worse than it was before, because you said that Chandigarh should go to Punjab but Fazilka should go Haryana, but those who accepted Chandigarh say that they are not going to part with an inch of land so far as Fazilka is concerned.

Here is the ex-Chief Minister of Punjab, Sardar Gurnam Singh, who says today that something was done at that time, that a suggestion had been made to the Government on behalf of Sant Fateh Singh's party that part of Fazilka should go to Haryana. I do not think that Sardar Gurnam Singh has added to his political honesty by making a declaration of that type. Why did he hide this atom bomb all this time only to release it when he was kicked out of power? This is not the way things are done, and it has not added to the political stature or integrity of Sardar Gurnam Singh. I thought he was a better man than that. This will give

an inkling that that question has never been solved because Haryana will be fully justified in not leaving Chandigarh so long as they did not get Fazilka and Punjab says it would never part with Fazilka. In that case what have you solved? Have you solved the issue of Chandigarh?

Then there are border disputes everywhere, for instance, Belgaum. In haste you appointed a commission. My friend knows very well that I was opposed to the appointment of such a commission. Once you appoint a commission friendly negotiations stop; you cannot do anything at all. If there was a possibility of doing something by the process of negotiations and developing friendly relations among neighbouring States, it should have been welcomed. But no, you appointed a commission. You did one good thing—you did not appoint three commissioners; there was only one and I should take a little credit for that. Then when he made some recommendations they find they are not acceptable. I have nothing to say about that 'But the whole process is wrong. You are not proceeding in the right manner. You say: we shall appoint more commissions. The Prime Minister promises the other day that there will be another commission in order to consider the boundaries, so that they can sit for another 2-3 years and come up with something which may not be acceptable to them. The same process will start. There ought to be some method by which these things should be stopped and that cannot be done by appointment of commissions. That cannot also be done by appointing arbitrators. It was a good suggestion made by Mr. Vajpayee. But for everything we have to get a separate arbitrator; a lot of time goes into that; somebody acceptable to one party should be acceptable to another party and he should be like an umpire in whom both sides have confidence. To set such a machinery each time takes a lot of time and in the meanwhile so much time and energy is wasted and violence also breeds. Today the atmosphere is ripe for violence. One has simply to start something and violence ensues. I had been making a suggestion and I shall repeat it, not because I have patented that but because there is no other way out of the difficulty. The Government must amend our Constitution. It is a slight amendment which should be universally

acceptable as it will lead to a permanent solution of this problem. There are inter-state disputes between one State and another, or between some states and other states or between some states and the Government. It may relate to border, or river water or anything. They cannot be settled by a process of negotiations, etc. I am not referring to small disputes which can be settled by zonal councils, etc. I am referring to other disputes. Now such disputes should on the motion of any State or the Centre should be referred to the Supreme Court, which would constitute a panel of 10 or 11 judges. Why? Because if three judges are to be appointed, they must have no relation with that particular State. Take for instance, the dispute over Belgaum. There should not be a judge from Mysore or Maharashtra which decides on that. I am merely illustrating that point. They should be designated, they have got the knowledge; they study law and do justice; there is a conviction among our people that the Supreme Court is fair and just; it is known. It is because of that it enjoys that position; any decision of the Supreme Court is final; there is no appeal over it. Therefore, if you do like that, surely all such major differences could go before them. Political solutions to these problems are very dangerous. If with the best of intentions the Prime Minister does something to one State the other State would say: we do not toe the line of the Prime Minister and therefore she shows some kind of favouritism. Therefore it will not be fair for any Prime Minister or any Minister for that matter to take the responsibility on himself. After all it is known that he comes from a particular State and therefore his impartiality can always be a matter of doubt. The Home Minister or the Prime Minister or the entire Cabinet should do their utmost to see that disputes are resolved by persuasion, negotiation, etc. If that could not be done, methods must be created by which settlement could be reached. If that is done you will find that in six months time you will have no problem and whatever problem is there, it will go to the court and it will take a decision. Otherwise, if a political decision is taken, and if it is not accepted by the people, there is again violence. There is violence everywhere. There was violence in the city of Bombay, where several people died and property worth crores of rupees was looted. There was no violence the other

day because the Government themselves took part in it and therefore they avoided violence! I compliment them and congratulate them, because had they not done it, several heads might have broken and property worth crores would have been looted.

Therefore, my earnest plea is this. This is not a partisan view. It is not something coming from the Opposition. I would have made the same suggestion if I were with the Government. And I did make it more than once while I was there. This is the method by which it can be settled; this is the practical method by which the things could be settled. If we do that, at least these two big things, as I said, could be settled: keeping the law and order in its proper place and also, so far as the inter-State disputes are concerned, it will remove all possibilities of doubt leading to violence and dislocation.

While we are talking of the integration of the States, what is happening? Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel was the man who created this integration. Now we are excelling in disintegration of the State. Therefore, the process by which we brought the integration is negated today. If all these things are to be settled in their proper perspective, the suggestions that I have made are more practical and should be accepted.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Several hon. Members have given notice of cut motion. I would therefore request that those Members present in the House and who are desirous of moving their cut motions may move the same subject to their being otherwise admissible.

I have to make it clear that the time allotted for the party in power is three hours and five minutes, and I have got a list of about 12 Members. I would request each one of them to confine their speeches to about 10 to 12 minutes.

SHRI DEVEN SEN (Asansol): I beg to move: -

"That the demand under the head Ministry of Home Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Implementation of the Khosla Committee recommendations. (10)].

SHRI P. G. SEN (Purnea): I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head Ministry of Home Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Failure to implement uniform pay scales in Government offices in the Secretariat—attached and subordinate offices. (11)]

"That the demand under the head Ministry of Home Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Failure to introduce a minimum number of categories of posts in the Government offices instead of existing large number of multifarious posts. (12)].

"That the demand under the head Ministry of Home Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Failure to narrow down the gap in the pay scales between highest and the lowest paid staff of the Government offices. (13)].

"That the demand under the head Ministry of Home Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Failure to stop the huge wastage by running a pulp factory or a pulp-ming machine out of the weeded out office papers (including postal and railways) that are being burnt away with extra cost and labour. (14)]

"That the demand under the head Administration of Justice be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Failure to post the High Court Judges outside their own States. (15)]

SHRI DEVEN SEN: I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head Police be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Victimisation of Delhi Police personnel for participation in demonstration in 1967 (16)].

SHRI CHENGALRAYA NAIDU (Chittoor): I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head Ministry of Home Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Continuous border violations between the States and their settlement. (21)].

"That the demand under the head Ministry of Home Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to check the activities of Naxalites which create difficulty in maintaining the law and order in the country. (22)]

"That the demand under the head Ministry of Home Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Slow progress of C. B. I. and delaying the enquiries of officials of the Government of India on whom cases are pending with them. (23)]

"That the demand under the head Ministry of Home Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to check the increasing activities of Pakistani spies operating in India. (24)]

"That the demand under the Head Ministry of Home Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Inefficient working of the Central Intelligence Force (25)].

"That the demand under the head Ministry of Home Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to check the high growth of corruption in the Administration. (26)].

"That the demand under the head Ministry of Home Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need for appointment of a new States Reorganisation Commission. (27)]

"That the demand under the head Ministry of Home Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to grant full Statehood to Himachal Pradesh (28)].

"That the demand under the head Ministry of Home Affairs be reduced by Rs 100 "

[Situation arising out of the Chinese help to certain people in India for manufacturing bombs and creating confusion in the country (29)]

"That the demand under the head Ministry of Home Affairs be reduced by Rs 100."

[Increasing communal disturbances in the country (30)]

"That the demand under the head Ministry of Home Affairs be reduced by Rs 100."

[Need to create a Central Force for the protection of Public Undertakings in the country (31)]

"That the demand under the head Ministry of Home Affairs be reduced by Rs 100."

[Flow of foreign money for using anti-Indian elements in India (32)]

SHRI SRADHAKAR SUPAKAR (Sam-  
balpur): I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head Ministry of Home Affairs be reduced by Rs 100."

[Need to check increasing menace of Naxalite activity (33)]

"That the demand under the head Ministry of Home Affairs be reduced by Rs 100."

[Working of the Administrative Reforms Commission (34)]

"That the demand under the head Ministry of Home Affairs be reduced by Rs 100."

[Need to solve the inter-State boundary disputes (35)]

"That the demand under the head Ministry of Home Affairs be reduced by Rs 100."

[Deteriorating law and order situation in many parts of the country and the use of Central Reserve Police (36)]

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Alipore):  
I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head Ministry of Home Affairs be reduced by Rs 100."

[Unchecked growth of tendencies making for national disintegration (37)]

"That the demand under the head Ministry of Home Affairs be reduced by Rs 100."

[Need for a principled solution of inter-State boundary disputes (38)]

"That the demand under the head Ministry of Home Affairs be reduced by Rs 100."

[Failure to prevent communal disturbances (39)]

"That the demand under the head Ministry of Home Affairs be reduced by Rs 100."

[Failure of the National Integration Council (40)]

"That the demand under the head Ministry of Home Affairs be reduced by Rs 100."

[Continued attacks on lives, property and rights of minorities (41)]

"That the demand under the head Ministry of Home Affairs be reduced by Rs 100."



[Shri Indrajit Gupta]

[Reported move to give heavy concessions to ex-rulers at peoples' expense (42)]

"That the demand under the head Ministry of Home Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to withdraw court cases pending against Central Government employees in connection with strike of 19th September, 1968. (43)]

"That the demand under the head Ministry of Home Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Failure to check corruption in the administrative services. (44)]

"That the demand under the head Ministry of Home Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Failure to ban organisations preaching communalism and anti-secular ideas. (45)]

"That the demand under the head Ministry of Home Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to give Urdu its rightful place under article 347 of the Constitution. (46)]

"That the demand under the head Ministry of Home Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Misuse of CRP and Border Security Force in various parts of the country. (47)]

"That the demand under the head Ministry of Home Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Victimization of Delhi police personnel in connection with 1967 demonstration. (48)]

"That the demand under the head Ministry of Home Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Wasteful expenditure by Miri - ters. (49)]

SHRI SRADHAKAR SUPAKAR: I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head Police be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to keep strict watch on the use of foreign funds to influence politics in India. (59)]

"That the demand under the head Territorial and Political Pensions be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Desirability of continuing the pensionary commitments of the British Government. (60)]

SHRI J. MOHAMED IMAM (Chitradurga): I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head Ministry of Home Affairs be reduced by Re. 1."

[Failure to ban the Left Communist Party which is openly indulging in sabotage activities. (61)]

"That the demand under the head Ministry of Home Affairs be reduced by Re. 1."

[Efforts made by the Central Government to create instability in every State. (62)]

"That the demand under the head Ministry of Home Affairs be reduced by Re. 1."

[Failure of the Central Government to implement the report of the Mahajan Commission. (63)]

"That the demand under the head Ministry of Home Affairs be reduced by Re. 1."

[Failure to maintain stability and security throughout the country. (64)]

SHRI M. MEGHACHANDRA (Inner Manipur): I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head Ministry of Home Affairs be reduced by Re. 1."

[Failure to end President's rule in Manipur and arrange for mid-term elections. (65)]

"That the demand under the head Ministry of Home Affairs be reduced by Re. 1."

[Failure to upgrade political status of Manipur by granting statehood to Manipur. (66)]

SHRI SHIVA CHANDRA JHA (Madhubani): I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head Ministry of Home Affairs be reduced by Re. 1."

[Failure to give immediate recognition to the Maithili language by including it in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution of India. (67)]

SHRI SRINIBAS MISRA (Cuttack): I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head Ministry of Home Affairs be reduced by Re. 1."

[Policy regarding employment of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. (68)]

"That the demand under the head Ministry of Home Affairs be reduced by Re. 1."

[Policy regarding identification of surplus staff. (69)].

"That the demand under the head Ministry of Home Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Failure to devise measures to check defections amongst legislators. (70)].

"That the demand under the head Ministry of Home Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Failure to prevent political murders. (71)]

"That the demand under the head Ministry of Home Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Failure to punish people who sanctify murders as class struggle. (72)]

"That the demand under the head Ministry of Home Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Desirability of evolving a permanent machinery to solve inter-state disputes. (73)]

"That the demand under the head Ministry of Home Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to regulate recruitment and conditions of service of public servants by legislation. (74)]

"That the demand under the head Administration of Justice be reduced to Re. 1."

[Accumulation of undisposed cases in courts. (75)].

"That the demand under the head Police be reduced to Re. 1."

[Deployment of Industrial Security Force to displace watch and ward and Fire Brigade. (76)].

"That the demand under the head Police be reduced to Re. 1."

[Failure to take timely measures to prevent communal disturbances (77)]

"That the demand under the head Administration of Justice be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to make judicial services attractive (83)].

[Shri Srinibas Misra]

"That the demand under the head Administration of Justice be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Desirability of transferring High Court Judges (84)].

"That the demand under the head Administration of Justice be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Desirability of exempting applications for enforcing fundamental rights from court fee (85)].

"That the demand under the head Police be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Ineffective intelligence service (86)].

"That the demand under the head Police be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to strengthen the border check posts (87)].

"That the demand under the head Police be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Undesirability of replacing the fire brigade unit of the H.S.L., Rourkela by Industrial Security Force (88)].

"That the demand under the head Privy purses and allowances of Indian Rulers be reduced to Re. 1."

[Failure to abolish allowances paid to ex-rulers relations (89)].

"That the demand under the head Territorial and Political Pensions be reduced to Re. 1."

[Failure to abolish territorial and political pensions (90)].

"That the demand under the head Delhi be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Scarcity and pollution of drinking water in Delhi (91)].

"That the demand under the head Delhi be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Poor performance by the Higher Secondary Schools in Delhi (92)]

"That the demand under the head Delhi be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Frequent interference by the Delhi Administration in the Affairs of cooperative societies (93)]

"That the demand under the head Delhi be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Undesirable interference by the Delhi Administration in the internal management of hospitals (94)]

"That the demand under the head Other Revenue Expenditure of the Ministry of Home Affairs be reduced to Re 1."

[Administration of Indian Citizenship Act (95)]

"That the demand under the head Other Revenue Expenditure of the Ministry of Home Affairs be reduced to Re 1 "

[Failure to check the influx of foreign missionaries (96)]

"That the demand under the head Other Revenue Expenditure of the Ministry of Home Affairs be reduced by Rs 100 "

[Sad plight of Oriya speaking people in Bihar, Andhra Pradesh and M.P. (97)]

"That the demand under the head Other Capital Outlay of the Ministry of Home Affairs be reduced to Re 1 "

[Policy regarding manufacture of teargas shells (98)]

**SHRI SURENDRANATH DWIVEDI** (Kendrapara): I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head Ministry of Home Affairs be reduced to Re. 1."

[Uniform policy with regard to All India services (99)]

"That the demand under the head Ministry of Home Affairs be reduced to Re. 1."

[Definite policy with regard to the nationality and status of Tibetan refugees in India (100)]

SHRI SAMAR GUHA (Coutai): I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head Ministry of Home Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Banning of political meeting, assembly, demonstration and procession with arms throughout the State of West Bengal (101)]

"That the demand under the head Ministry of Home Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Over-hauling of administration, general and police, of West Bengal with a view to weed out political elements in civil services (102)]

"That the demand under the head Ministry of Home Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Institution of Judicial Commission of Enquiry to go into the incidence of violent activities jeopardising life and property of the people of West Bengal during thirteen months U.F. rule in West Bengal (103)]

SHRI SURENDRANATH DWIVEDY: I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head Ministry of Home Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Failure to evolve a suitable machinery to solve Inter State disputes (104)]

"That the demand under the head Ministry of Home Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Failure to provide guidance to States in their disputes and quick disposal of the same (105)]

"That the demand under the head Ministry of Home Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Implementation of the Code of Conduct for legislators adopted at the 6th All India Whips Conference (106)]

"That the demand under the head Ministry of Home Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Delay in making the Joint Consultative and Compulsory Arbitration Machinery a statutory body (107)]

"That the demand under the head Ministry of Home Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Delay in implementing reports and recommendations of the Administrative Reforms Commission (108)]

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head Police be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Withdrawal of recognition to unrepresentative Paschem Bangla non-gazetted Karamchari Sangh sponsored by CPM and accord recognition to representative police organisation known as West Bengal Police Association (109)]

SHRI SURENDRANATH DWIVEDY: I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head Police be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Slow progress of processing cases against public servants by C.B.I. (110)]

"That the demand under the head Police be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Strengthening Border Security Force (111)]

"That the demand under the head Police be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Non-implementation of the various recommendations of the National Integration Council (112)]

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE (Kanpur): I beg to move:

[Shri S. M. Banerjee]

"That the demand under the head Ministry of Home Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Failure to confirm nearly 50% employees of the Central Secretariat Clerical Service who have put in long years of service (117)]

"That the demand under the head Ministry of Home Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Failure to honour the agreement reached in the meeting convened by the then Secretary (Services), Ministry of Home Affairs, on the 29th May, 1967 with the representatives of the National Council and the Departmental Council of the Ministry of Home Affairs regarding induction of stenotypists into Grade III post of the stenographer without any test (118)]

"That the demand under the head Ministry of Home Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Failure to promote educationally qualified class IV employees of the Central Secretariat to the posts of L.D.Cs. on the basis of seniority as demanded by the Central Secretariat Class IV Employees Association (119)]

"That the demand under the head Ministry of Home Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Failure to convene the emergent special meeting of the Departmental Council of the Ministry of Home Affairs in terms of sub-rule 3 of Rule 2 of the Rules of Business of the Departmental Council of the Ministry of Home Affairs and as requisitioned by 9 members of the Departmental Council as required by the rules (120)]

"That the demand under the head Ministry of Home Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Failure to refer CSCS (U.D. Grade) Examination, 1969 to Cabinet Sub-Committee as demanded by the Central Government Clerks' Union and as laid down in the scheme of the Joint Consultative Machinery (121)]

"That the demand under the head Ministry of Home Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Recognition of cadre/craft unions against the agreement reached at the time of introducing the JCM that the cadre/craft unions will not be recognised (122)]

"That the demand under the head Ministry of Home Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Failure to introduce the Selection grade in the Grade of Lower Division Clerk of the Central Secretariat Clerical Service as recommended by the Pay Commission (1957) with a view to remove the stagnation in the Grade of Lower Division Clerk (123)]

"That the demand under the head Ministry of Home Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Failure to implement the award of the Board of Arbitration given vide their No. 15-68-BA (JCM)/196, dated the 5th February, 1970 regarding the revision of the pay scale of the despatch Riders in the Central Secretariat offices (124)]

"That the demand under the head Ministry of Home Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Failure to treat induction of stenotypists into Grade III stenographer's post as promotion as demanded by the staff union and thereby cause financial loss to the low paid employees (125)]

"That the demand under the head Ministry of Home Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Failure to stop direct recruitment to the Grade of Assistant in the Central Secretariat with a view to remove acute stagnation in the Grade of the Upper Division Clerk of the CSCS (126)]

"That the demand under the head Ministry of Home Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Situation prevailing in the Central Secretariat Clerical Service due to large number of employees who are still being kept as temporary despite long years of service (132)]

"That the demand under the head Ministry of Home Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to hold regular periodical meetings by the Secretary (Services), Ministry of Home Affairs, with the Staff Unions so that the legitimate grievances of the employees are removed (133)]

"That the demand under the head Ministry of Home Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to give a similar increment to the Central Secretariat employees who have reached the maximum of the pay scale as has been given in the Railways (134)]

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head Ministry of Home Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Failure to undo the sufferings imposed upon the Government employees affecting their prospects throughout life by arbitrary denial of confirmation and promotion on account of the token strike (135)]

"That the demand under the head Ministry of Home Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Failure to ensure that the employees who participated in the token strike are confirmed and promoted

even after the announcement of the Government policy on 2-3-1970 (136)]

"That the demand under the head Ministry of Home Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Failure to instruct all the authorities to drop the court proceedings against the Government employees in connection with the one day strike of 19th September, 1968 (137)]

SHRI RAMAVATAR SHASTRI (Patna): I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head Ministry of Home Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to reduce the salaries of high officials of the Ministry (138)]

"That the demand under the head Ministry of Home Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to increase the pay and allowances of non-gazetted staff of the Ministry (139)]

"That the demand under the head Cabinet be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to bring down expenditure being incurred on the Cabinet (140)]

"That the demand under the head Police be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Failure to check increasing incidents of thefts, robbery and homicide (141)]

"That the demand under the head Police be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Deteriorating law and order situation in Delhi (142)]

"That the demand under the head Police be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to take action against those having communal feelings in the police department (143)]

"That the demand under the head Police be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Shri Ramavatar Shastri]

[Need to change the organisational set up of police department (144)]

"That the demand under the head Police be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to re-instate dismissed and suspended police employees who participated in the so called 1967 strike (145)]

"That the demand under the head Police be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to withdraw all cases against Government employees and others in connection with September 19, 1968 strike (146)]

"That the demand under the head Police be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Increasing cases of theft in North Avenue M.P. flats (147)].

"That the demand under the head Police be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to withdraw all action against police employees for taking part in 1967 strike (148)]

"That the demand under the head Police be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Failure to curb elements at the back of communal riots (149)]

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE: I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head Ministry of Home Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Failure to announce the "Zones for promotions" as provided in the Ministry of Home Affairs O.M. No. 10/3/69-CS(II), dated the 26th November, 1969 despite the repeated representations from the staff unions and despite the fact that more than four months have passed since above quoted orders were issued (127)]

"That the demand under the head Ministry of Home Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Failure to hold consultations with the staff unions, as demanded by them, on important issues, such as, fixations of "Zones for promotion" in decentralised grades of the Central Secretariat Services the orders regarding which are contained in the Ministry of Home Affairs O.M. No. 10/3/69-CS(II), dated 26-11-1969. (128)]

"That the demand under the head Ministry of Home Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Failure to convene the meeting of the Departmental Council of the Ministry of Home Affairs despite the repeated representations of the staff unions (129)]

"That the demand under the head Ministry of Home Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Failure to convene the meetings of the sub-committees constituted in the meeting of the Departmental Council held on the 29th July, 1968 despite the repeated representations from the Staff unions (130)]

"That the demand under the head Ministry of Home Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to recentralise the Central Secretariat Services completely as demanded by the staff unions of the Central Secretariat (131)]

SHRI RAMAVATAR SHASTRI: I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head Police be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to introduce lecture series for policemen to enlighten them about secularism (150)]

MR. CHAIRMAN: The cut motions are also before the House.

Shri J. K. Choudhary.

SHRI J. K. CHOUDHURY (Tripura West): Mr. Chairman, Sir, the speech of the Opposition that came just now has thrown all the blame on the present Home Ministry

on the basis of judging things just at the moment as they are. They have no reason behind them.

Quite a number of years ago, Malcolm Muggerridge, a British journalist of great renown—who came to India last year—wrote an article in an English paper, entitled "Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru—the last Governor-General of India." What he meant was not anything derogatory to our great Prime Minister, but that the Prime Minister had to manage an Establishment which had been inherited from the Governor-General. That establishment still continues. It could be changed and retrained. As we passed from subjection to freedom, it could be changed in our own way, keeping the men undisturbed and by changing their position and placing them in juxta-position in various capacities so that they might grow up in a different way as suggested by Mahatma Gandhi.

In this century, there have been three leaders of revolution: Mahatma Gandhi, Lenin and Mao Tse-Tung. It so happens, as it very often happens to un-understanding people, that we have discarded our own prophet, while the Russians have accepted theirs and the Chinese have accepted theirs. In our country we worship Lenin—at least one section does—and another section worships the Chinese Chairman, but we have thrown Gandhi away from our political affairs though we utter his name in vain many a time.

What has happened is, we have gone in to build up a socialist society with an establishment which was trained really for colonial purposes, but you cannot bring out steel mills out of textile machinery.

Now, we are finding it difficult to bring about socialism from the present instruments we have got. So, complaints have been made against them, not individually, but generally speaking, that the services should be 'committed.' This commitment may mean anything. In West Bengal we have just found—of which so much has been said—that there were certain officers who were committed in a particular way and our Minister of State for Home Affairs said only yesterday that he would see to it that the services were cleared of these officers. Why should they be? Because their commitment has been so parti-

san and so very one-sided that they could not simply run the Government as an establishment in an impartial manner.

I share the view expressed by the speaker from the opposition that our country has not been led to peace. The present un-peace is part of the world situation. Youth everywhere is in revolt. They are in revolt against the Establishment, with a capital, E, not only of the Government but of all institutions, temporal and spiritual. If in our country also the same revolt has come, it is because the new generation has grown up without seeing the efficacy of non-violence, and only to find a blank wall before them. Their fear is based on their unemployment; where they expected bread, they found stones. They do not find anything useful to do and, therefore, their energies are diverted towards what is being done now in indiscipline and violence.

This situation has been created to some extent by world forces, to some extent by forces in our own country and to some extent perhaps by certain steps taken and not taken by the Government and also by the people. The old atmosphere we found here, the atmosphere of non-violence and hopelessness has been disturbed completely. People no longer believe in nonviolence or promises. They think that any kind of violence is good enough for any change.

To burden the present Home Minister with all the ills that are happening in the country will not therefore, be fair. We shall have to study the background, find out how things gradually deteriorated and also try our level best to solve them. The solution of Chandigarh may not have been right. I do not know what will happen if anybody feels that. He is not going to part with Fazilka. In the same manner, the Belgaum question may lead to a fight between Marathas and Mysoreans. But the problem is, why should such things arise? We are passing through one of the worst phases of India of our times. We are passing through a phase in which we think every State is an independent, sovereign entity. We are so very conscious of our little, limited rights, our rights on the regional basis, on linguistic basis, on caste basis, on religious basis, on the basis of everything limited, that we have forgotten to think about our large duty.



[Shri J. K. Choudhury]

That we have a duty to our country, that we are all Indians, is an idea which is uttered in this House occasionally. I should think I should be forgiven for using this word—we have ceased to be patriots, except in an emergency, Indian patriots, I mean. We have become regional patriots. All these cumulative problems together have brought upon the Home Ministry a lot of difficulties which they are trying their best to solve.

In this budget also, they have made provision for a variety of things. It is well known that the Home Ministry is like an empire. It has so many things to deal with not only the police, a part of which it has and for which Rs. 69 crores have been provided in their budget, but also with civil services, all kinds of them; then the relation with States, the differences between them and many other things including national problems of integration; they come up every day and trouble this Ministry. How can the Ministry solve anything without the full co-operation of the people in the sense that they are all Indians? That is the basic fact. Are we prepared to look at every problem as Indians and think that whatever we do for ourselves, if it hurts any part of a State or the Government of India, is on the whole a loss to India itself? That is what we have forgotten. In this sense of things the emphasis on narrow things has been rather a disaster for the whole country. Yet, I should imagine that the Home Ministry has solved them, as they arise from time to time with credit.

It cannot be said what would have been the result if the Government of India had accepted all the recommendations of all the commissions. I do not know whether all parties would accept them. Anyhow, the suggestion that everything should go to the Supreme Court is, I think, not a very good solution. In that case, the Supreme Court will have a lot of its time taken by all the extraneous points which do not belong to the technical laws that they are administering at the moment. Yet it may be considered.

Then, what do we find? Against the background that I have just stated, there has been any amount of violence everywhere. In Bengal there as been bloodshed and yes-

terday's incident on Shri Jyoti Basu stands condemned by this House fully well. It is something that we cannot simply tolerate. Today it is Shri Jyoti Basu; tomorrow it may be anybody else. Nobody is safe, if such things are allowed again to prosper in the country. At least after the terrorism against the Britishers had ceased, or against those who were the supporters of the Britishers had ceased, after the 1930s perhaps, and Gandhiji's influence was prevalent in the country, for a time we were quite safe so far as such things were concerned. There was freedom, complete freedom of speech and action, of politics and also of party affairs with the result that we grew up pretty well, and when freedom came there was such a glow that it burst into a euphoria of freedom which had come to us almost overnight. But it did not last. Why did it not last? It is because of our character. Ultimately we shall have to look inside and we shall have to say that we are ourselves responsible for it.

It is no good criticising the present Home Minister, particularly for this year's happening and then saying that he has not done this or that. Every day we are seeing that the Home Minister is trying to solve the problems in the most tactful way with a very cool head and aplomb. It is not for me to give any certificate to any Minister. The whole House knows it and history will judge him. In fact, the troubles would have been much worse if the Ministers were not so careful and tactful about these things.

In Bengal they could not interfere because last year there was something during the governorship of Shri Dharma Vira which was highly criticised by the people, and the result of which was some access of strength to one particular party. If this time also the Central Government had interfered, or given any kind of directions, it would have gone against them.

There is a tendency to create tension between the Centre and the States. It is always being said that it is due to the Central negation, or interference, or the Centre not doing something which they should have done that all this has happened. It has passed into a joke in Calcutta to say, if one cannot

sleep in an area because of mosquitos, that the Centre has conspired to send the mosquitos there.

That is a kind of thing which has got to be avoided. Law and order is certainly a State subject and the centre can interfere only when it leads to a breakdown of the Constitution or of law and order in such a way that the State can no longer be run in the proper form as it ought to be, when people's life, honour and safety are at stake. A thing like that happened in Bengal. The Governor tried his best, could not do anything, wrote to the Centre and they took over the administration. They could not take it over earlier. As far as establishing law and order is concerned, the Governor of Bengal is trying his best to do it there.

As for the other States, it is a fact that there are parties, 'senas' and many other things. The Governments in certain areas do encourage them, not directly but at least indirectly, with the result that these 'senas' grow up. They have a very limited objective. That objective is not fully as Indians but exclusively as regionalists. They try to drive away a particular party from a particular side of a State. It is born out of one menace, that of unemployment. Unemployment is really the problem for which the Centre and the States have to find out a solution. Our President has spoken in his *Job for our Millions* about the solution. He has done it in the Gandhian way. If you will allow me to quote just a line from that, he has said in the introduction, last paragraph,—

"I am privileged to collect my thoughts and incorporate them in this book on the last day of the Gandhi Centenary Year to reiterate the relevance of the Gandhian approach to the solution of the Indian problem of problems, jobs for our millions."

If our government will care to read that book and accept some of the suggestions—I do not know whether they will accept his suggestions which are very valuable—much of the trouble will be gone.

SHRI C. C. DESAI (Sabarkantha): Mr. Chairman, Sir, the primary duty of the Home Ministry and of the Home Minister is to

ensure maintenance of law and order in the country and to afford protection to the life and property of the citizens. Can the Home Minister put his hand on his conscience and say whether by this standard he is prepared to be judged? Can he say that there is proper law and order in the country today, that life and property of the people are safe?

Take the country from the east to the west. We know what happened in Calcutta and what has been happening in Bengal. They all recognise that during the Marxist regim there was no law and order, no security or peace, no safety to the people in the place. But we are not quite sure whether even now that law has been restored or not.

In fact, they have been saying themselves that the Naxalites are the most dreaded people in the political life of the country. I see from the cut motions moved by some of the Congress Members that activities of Naxalites should be curbed or curtailed. Why do they not have the courage in that case to agree with us to join in the demand for the banning at least of the Naxalites? I would be prepared to say that we would even be prepared to accept that as a first step in the banning of the Communists, namely banning of the Naxalites who in any case are accepted by everybody to be the most menacing elements in the political life of the country today.

Beginning, as I said, from the east and going to west, take the case of Gujarat which is supposed to be the best administered State in the country today. Even there we had the worst possible communal riots in the whole country. Even now, if only the Home Minister were to go to Gujarat, to Ahmedabad, he will see that legislators who are equal to us in status cannot move freely and cannot go freely from their houses to the Assembly. They have to be escorted. They are supervised, they are guided and they are controlled by people from the ruling Government. They are not given any freedom whatsoever. I say this on authority. I have had discussions with my own party people in Gujarat, in Ahmedabad, during the last two days and they have stated quite categorically that the Members of the Legislature have no freedom at all. They are being tied hand and foot. If they do not hear of this situation, they will hear very soon in a practical manner later on.

[Shri C. C. Desai]

What is happening in Gujarat even apart from this law and order situation? These people do not have the courage and do not have the majority to face the Legislature. I wish the Home Minister would tell the Governor of the State that his first and foremost duty is to preserve and abide by the Constitution. Our Constitution is based on democracy. Our Constitution is based on the will of the people being supreme. No Government worth its name should continue to function without the support of the people and the support of the people should be joudged on the floor of the House, not in their own chambers.

What happened in Gujarat only three days ago? The Appropriation Bill was passed. But the Government found that their majority was dwindling, that they were losing, and even before the Finance Bill could be moved and passed, the Business Advisory committee in which the Government have the majority asked for the adjournment of the House *sine die* and the Speaker accepted it. Now we have litigation in which the leaders of the Opposition have gone to the High Court which has issued a writ or a notice to the Speaker of the Assembly calling upon him to show cause why the Assembly should not be re-convened.

Sir, this matter will go to the Governor. I raise this issue now because the Home Minister is concerned with the attitude, the conduct and the action of the Governors. That is why, I say, it is not irrelevant, as some people might think, and it is not that I have sneaked this matter in for political reasons. I have raised this matter now because I know this matter will come before the Governor. There should not be this particular explanation that the Governor is bound by whatever advice may be given by the Chief Minister. We just heard Mr. S. K. Patil saying that there may be a mad Chief Minister and he may give a mad advice. The first and foremost duty of the Governor is to protect the Constitution and to abide by the articles of the Constitution. His second duty is to accept the advice of the Chief Minister ad, where the advice conflicts with the Constitution, his duty is to tell the Chief Minister, "I am sorry. Your advice conflicts with the Constitution which is a democratic Constitu-

tion and, therefore, it is not acceptable to me." We are all watching how the situation develops and is handled in Gujarat.

Then, we hear in the papers that the Government is thinking or at least the ruling party is thinking of bringing in legislation for terminating the so-called privileges of the Indian Civil Service. As an ex-member of the Indian Civil Service, I stand here and I have no hesitation in saying that there is no Service in the world which can claim the same eminence as the Indian Civil Service. It is a Service with a fine record; it is a service which has done by this country very well indeed. But for that service we might well have gone the way Burma has gone. I do not say that there will not be some black sheep here and there. But, by and large, the Service is one which is nothing to be ashamed of, which has nothing to be afraid of. And yet how many members of the Service are there? They are less than 100 and they will all disappear in the course of the next 5-6 years. Are you contemplating a constitutional amendment affecting these less than 100 people who will be there for only 5-6 years? What kind of sense of proportion has the Government or the ruling party that they are even thinking of talking in terms of an amendment of the Constitution to terminate the so-called privileges? I have gone through the privileges. There is hardly any privilege worth the name. The only privilege is the perpetuation of the protection of the pension to the Indian Civil Servant. It is just one thousand pounds payable in rupees and even there has been a decline in the value of the rupee and they are not paying at the rate of Rs. 18 but only at the rate of Rs. 13. One of the civil servants has gone to the court and he has won the case. Yet the Home Ministry is not honouring the verdict of the court. But I have no doubt that the court will look after itself and ultimately the Government will have to submit to the verdict of the court.

15 hrs.

There is one matter on which I wrote a letter to the Prime Minister, endorsing a copy of it to the Home Minister, and that was in connection with the payment of

whether it is called privy purse or it is called political pension or some kind of remuneration to His Highness the Maharajah of Jammu & Kashmir who also happens to be a Minister in the present Government. I asked this specific question, and I am raising it now so that the Home Minister will be able to check the facts from the Central Board of Revenue, or whichever authority that may be concerned and may be able to give the answer at the time when he replies to the debate, because apart from a mere acknowledgment of the letter I have not had a reply on the facts. The question is whether the money payable to him as privy purse or political pension is subject to income tax or whether it is free of tax, whether Karan Singhji has paid the tax or, like my hon. friend, the Minister sitting opposite, is claiming for greatfulness for non-payment of tax. These are facts which are of importance to the public and to the people, and I wish and I hope, and I have said this specifically, although it is a small case and although it is an individual matter and an isolated case, nevertheless I hope the hon. Minister will have his facts ready, because that is the only way to get the reply on facts from the Government.

AN HON. MEMBER: You can only hope

SHRI C. C. DESAI: I hope, Sir. There is one more thing. I am sure the attention of the Home Minister must have been drawn to the latest issue of the *Current* which gives certain facts about gifts, donations and receipts of money and articles by the proprietors of the two papers—*Link* and *Patriot*. It so happened that when I was reading the *Current* this morning, a friend of mine from London was sitting with me and he looked at it and said 'Oh! I know this case.' I asked 'What do you know?' He said such-and-such a person who was in Switzerland recently went there with a friend to a Swiss bank and deposited money and a number of gifts. That tallies with what the Home Minister has been apparently told by the CBI. The question the *Current* has put is: why is the Home Minister keeping silent, keeping quiet over these disclosures and over these reports from CBI.

SHRI KANWAR LAL GUPTA (Delhi Sadar): CBI inquiry said that the money has been received. It is a fact.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please don't interrupt.

SHRI C. C. DESAI: I am making a specific request to the hon. Minister to kindly let us know as to what have been the disclosures during the investigation by the CBI and what the facts are. As I said, Sir, this is purely a straightforward and honest discussion that I had with a friend of mine who was just sitting in front of me who said, 'I know, I can give the name.' I said, 'I am not interested. Our plice including the Interpol are able enough and they will check these facts.' The only point is whether Government are interested in disclosing these things and whether Government are interested in checking these things, because Government are probably getting help from these very people for their political purposes.

SHRI S. K. TAPURIAH (Pali): Government are interested in shielding them.

SHRI C. C. DESAI: I am asking this specific question and I hope the hon. Home Minister will give a specific answer.

The Home Ministry is concerned with services also. I find that although they have a good principle that people should not be re-employed on superannuation or retirement, there is, however, one little word, and the Home Minister says that ordinarily they are not re-employed. The word 'ordinarily' leaves a big scope for all kinds of favouritisms, for all kinds of improper actions on the part of Government. Apart from that, the possibility of re-employment after superannuation or extension of service makes the people at the fag end of their service servile and subordinate, which I am sure even the Home Minister would not like them to be. In any case, it is not in the interests of the Government or in the interests of the country that a civil servant should have anything hanging in front of him just before his retirement. Therefore, I want this assurance from Government; for, I know for a fact that in spite of this so-called rule that ordinarily they are not employed, cases are made out by individual Ministers for making an exception, and ultimately re-employment after retirement is agreed to or extension of service is being agreed to. Particularly, in the case of the ICS, the day we join the service, we know that date of retirement. There is no reason why anybody should have to hang on

[Shri C. C. Desai]

to his service on the date of retirement; he knows that he has to make provision for his livelihood after his date of retirement, and that applies to every government servant.

I also read the other day a news item in the papers to the effect that Government were contemplating to put a perpetual or permanent ban on employment in private service or assumption of private service by retired public servants. I see no reason for such a ban on a particular class of people; they are as much citizens of this country as anyone else. After retirement, they are free to do what they like. The only thing you can do is to stop their pension. But I must remind the hon. Home Minister that pension is not a gift; pension is earned by the man after his long and meritorious service for 30 or 35 years, and you cannot take away the pension simply because he takes up private employment; you cannot stop a government servant from taking up private employment. Even the present rule which says that within two years of retirement, no government servant can take up private employment without the previous permission of Government is *ultra vires* and void, but unfortunately, no officer has tested it in a court of law, as otherwise, I am very reliably informed that such a case would not stand in any court of law. I hope that Government would think twice before putting any such ban and saying that simply because one officer after retirement went into private service and some of their Young Turks do not like it—I saw something to this effect in the papers therefore, there must be a rule that the entire civil service must be stopped for ever from taking up private employment after retirement without getting a favour from the Government.

The Home Ministry also deals with the Union Territories. The only question that I want to raise on this occasion is to consider how to develop the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, particularly from the point of view of oil. The Nicobar Islands are next-door to the Indonesian islands, which are all oil-bearing areas. The people whom I have consulted and with whom I have contact, and who are somewhat knowledgeable on the subject, all tell me that there are very good possibilities of oil being found in the

Nicobar and even in the Andaman Islands. Apart from that, there are also very good bases for constituting free trade zones like what we see in some other countries, particularly in Hong-Kong and Kaushang in Taiwan. I hope that something active and something positive will be done to develop these places which are Indian territory and which have a potential for economic growth.

The sword of Damocles is hanging on the heads of the princes. They have only asked the President and through the President, the Government of the country that let their case be referred to the Supreme Court for advisory opinion. But I know that Government are always very chary of going beyond the confines of the Law Ministry. Even when I make a suggestion, even in the matter of salaries and allowances of Members of Parliament, and I ask the Law Ministry to consult the Attorney-General, because I do not agree with the opinion of the Law Secretary or the Law Ministry, they say 'No, you can go to court'. Are Members of Parliament going to be driven to court? But they will never want to get their opinion checked. Who are these officers in the Law Ministry who think that they know all about the law? Time and again, it has been proved that their advice has been wrong. Take the case of the earlier Bank nationalisation Bill. It was they who had drafted the Bill and it was the Law Minister who had got the Bill passed, but ultimately the Supreme Court struck it down. Here are the Princes; they are not saying that you should not abolish the Privy Purses. They only say 'Our submission is this that this is unconstitutional and this is not in accordance with the Constitution; you refer the matter to the Supreme Court; if the Supreme Court says that it is constitutionally possible, then go ahead with it.' Why are Government shy of this? Ultimately the matter will have to go to court, and the Supreme Court is there; thank God, the Supreme Court is there for us, and it will save us from the vagaries of these governments. I say that the sense of justice requires that you at least refer the matter to the Supreme Court for advisory opinion and then abide by that opinion, and I have no doubt that if their opinion is that it is constitutional and it is competent for

Parliament, then many of us who are opposed to the principle of abolition or of going back on the pledges given to any particular class of people would even support them.

**श्री मु० प्र० खॉ (कासगंज) :** सभा-पति जी जैसा कि अभी सदन में माननीय सदस्यों ने बताया कि जहां तक होम मिनिस्ट्री का ताल्लुक है उसका यह काम है कि वह देखे कि आया मुल्क में ला एंड आर्डर की पोजीशन सही है या नहीं। जहाँ तक मैं समझता हूँ होम मिनिस्ट्री का काम है कि वह देखे कि मुल्क का हर शहरी भ्रमनो ग्रमान से रहते हुए खुशहाल जिन्दगी गुजार सके, मुल्की निजाम मुल्क के दस्तूर के मुताबिक चले। अगर इस तरफ और किया जाय तो हम देखते हैं कि आजादी के 23 साल बाद भी मुल्क की हालत बजाय सुधरने के बिगड़ती ही जा रही है।

आज जब हम मुल्क की हालत पर नजर डालते हैं तो कन्याकुमारी से लेकर कश्मीर तक और नागालैंड से लेकर मगरबी सरहदों तक कोई न कोई मसला ऐसा जरूर है कि जिसका ताल्लुक मुल्क के कानून से और ला एंड आर्डर से है। ऐसा मालूम होता है कि मुल्क का कानून बेअसर सा होता जा रहा है और ला एंड आर्डर की पोजीशन दिन ब दिन गिरती जा रही है। हर दफा हर माँग को पूरा करने के लिये चाहे मेघालय की शकल में हो या चंडीगढ़ की शकल में हो होम मिनिस्ट्री मुल्क को छोटे-छोटे सूबों में बाँटती जाती है। मेरा यह मतलब हरगिज नहीं है कि मुल्क के हर हिस्से में रहने वाला मुल्क के डेवलपमेंट में बराबर का शरीक न हो। उसको इसका पूरा हिस्सा मिलना चाहिये। मगर क्या यह शकल मुनासिब है कि जिस पंजाब को हम पांच दरियाओं का सूबा कहते थे उसके टुकड़े करके उसकी असली शकल ही बदल दी। आज उसका एक हिस्सा पूरे एक दरिया का सूबा भी नहीं है। अंग्रेज ने मुल्क का एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन चलाने के लिये मुल्क को मुक्तलिफ सूबों में तकसीम किया। मगर जब आजादी मिली तो हमने एक जबाब की बुनियाद पर देश को

तकसीम किया और इसी बुनियाद पर तेलंगाना को 1956 में आंध्र का एक हिस्सा बनाया गया। मगर आज एक ही जुबान बोलने वाले सूबों में आपस के झगड़े और भी ज्यादा बढ़ते जाते हैं। इसलिये यह महसूस होता है कि जुबान से ज्यादा मुल्क की एकता के लिये इकतसादी एकता, यानी इकानामिक यूनिटी की ज्यादा जरूरत है। यह भी तय है कि किसी भी मुल्क की इकतसादी तरक्की से ही लोगों की जिन्दगी खुशहाल बन सकती है और उनमें एकता की भावना पैदा हो सकती है और हम बाहर के मुल्कों के सामने सर उपर करके खड़े हो सकते हैं। इकतसादी तरक्की के लिये जरूरी है कि मुल्क में भ्रमनो ग्रमान हो और मुल्क के आईन में दी गई जमानतों के तहत हर इन्सान को तरक्की का पूरा-पूरा मौका हो। बदकिस्मती से पिछले 23 साल में हमारे मुल्क का एक बहुत बड़ा तबका सियासी व इकतसादी परेशानियों का सामना करता रहा, और वह तबका है मुसलमानों का। यह इंतहाई शर्म की बात है कि मुल्क में कम्युनल रायट्स की तावाद् बढ़ती जा रही है और मुसलमानों को मारा जाता है। यह जो कलंक है यह आपके माथे से छूट नहीं सकता।.....

**श्री क० ना० तिवारी (बेतिया) :** ऐसा नहीं है। यह गलत बात है।

**श्री मु० प्र० खॉ :** लाखों लाखों बिना कफन के सड़ रही हैं, लाखों करोड़ों रु० की प्रापर्टी को तहस नहस कर दिया जाता है और मुसलमानों को बेवरा, बेदर किया जाता है। रोटी खाने को मोहताज होते हैं और आप कहते हैं तिवारी जी, कि यह गलत बात है।

इन्तहाई शर्म की बात है कि 1968 में मुल्क में 346 कम्युनल रायट्स हुए और 1969 में 519 फसादात हुए। ये सरकारी आँकड़े हैं। इसका मतलब है कि बहुत से छोटे-छोटे फसादात ऐसे हैं कि जो इसमें

[श्री मु० प्र० खां]

शामिल नहीं है। चाहे आप नेशनल इंटेग्रेसन काउन्सिल बनायें या बहुत उम्दा-उम्दा तकरीरें करें, हालत सुधरने की बजाय और बिगड़ती ही जा रही है। जैसा आंकड़ों से मालूम होता है कि 1968 के बाद 1969 में फसादात की तादाद दुगनी हो गई जिसका मतलब यह है कि जो भी रुपया इनको रोकने पर खर्च किया जाता है वह बेकार ही जाता है। इसलिये किसी न किसी ठोस प्रमल की जरूरत है।

होम मिनिसट्री में इस तरह की स्कीमें चलीं, जैसे इंटेग्रेसन काउन्सिल पर एक लाख पांच हजार ६० पिछले साल खर्च किया गया और इस साल 93,650 ६० मंजूर किया गया है। मगर क्या मैं सरकार से पूछ सकता हूँ कि इंटेग्रेसन काउन्सिल की किसी भी रिकमन्डेशन को इम्प्लीमेंट करने की कोशिश की गई? क्या सरकार बतायेगी कि यह रुपया कितना कितना और किन किन आर्गेनाइजेशन को दिया गया है या अब किन किन आर्गेनाइजेशन को और कितना कितना दिया जायगा और इससे क्या फायदा हुआ। किस आर्गेनाइजेशन को रुपया दिया गया और किस मकसद के लिये उस रुपये को खर्च किया गया तथा उसका क्या फायदा हुआ? 1968 में नेशनल इंटेग्रेसन काउन्सिल बनी लेकिन उसके बाद से फसादात और बलवों में इजाफा हो रहा है। इन फसादात में हजारों औरतों, मरदों और बच्चों को जहाँ जिबह किया जाता है, इबादतगाहों को गिराया जाता है, वहाँ लाखों लोगों की इक्तसादी हालत को भी खराब किया जाता है जो लोग इन फसादों से मुतासिर होते हैं वे सालहा साल तक अपनी हालत ठीक नहीं कर सकते हैं।

रांची के फसाद को काफी भरसा हो गया मगर आज तक वहाँ के तबाहशुदा लोगों को आबाद नहीं किया गया है। इस सिलसिले में हम मशकूर हैं माननीय भोगेन्द्र झा के

जिन्होंने वहाँ के मुसलमानों को आबाद कराने के सिलसिले में बेहद कोशिश की। इन फसादात में जहाँ मुसलमानों का कतलेआम किया जाता है वहाँ उनकी इक्तसादी हालत को भी बिगाड़ा जाता है। तो मैं अर्ज करूंगा कि जहाँ मुल्क की इतनी बड़ी आबादी को मुल्क की तरक्की में जुटना चाहिए वहाँ अपनी जानोमाल, इज्जत और मजहब की हिफाजत के लिए सोचती रहे और उसके लिए एक ग्रहम मसला बन जाय कि वह किस तरह से इस मुल्क में प्रमनो प्रमान के साथ रह सकेगी। यकीनन यह तबका अपनी इक्तसादी तरक्की नहीं कर सकेगा। और मुल्क की यह बड़ी आबादी जो तकरीबन मुल्क की एक बटे आठ या एक बटे नौ है, इक्तसादी तोहरान में फंसी रहेगी। यह मुल्क के लिये इन्तहाई शर्म की बात है। जिस तरह से एक तन्दुरुस्त और खुबसूरत जिस्म है अगर उसका एक छोटा हिस्सा मफलूज या नाकारा हो जाय तो हम उसको तन्दुरुस्त जिस्म नहीं कह सकते, उस को कारामद-जिस्म नहीं कह सकते, यही हालत इस मुल्क की है जिस की एक बहुत बड़ी आबादी, जिसको इक्तसादी तौर पर बरबाद किया जाता है, यह मुल्क के लिये कोई बहुत अच्छी बात नहीं है।

मुसलमानों की हालत आज यह है कि वह अपने घर में रहते हुए बेघर हैं। न वह अपने घर में महफूज है और न रास्ते में। मैं अगर रांची और ग्रहमदाबाद की मिसाल दूँ कि वहाँ क्या-क्या हुआ तो वह बेकार है क्योंकि सारी दुनिया जानती है। जहाँ भी ये बाक्यात होते हैं वहाँ कातिलों और लुटेरों को खुली छूट होती है और कानून सिर्फ एक तमाशायी की हैसियत से देखता ही नहीं रहता बल्कि उन कातिलों और लुटेरों की मदद करता है। इसके बावजूद भी हमारे जनसंघ और धार० एस० एस० के लोग मुतमईन नहीं हैं, तरह-तरह की तरकीबें अख्तियार करते रहते हैं और ऐसे हालात पैदा करते हैं

कि मुसलमानों का मुस्तकबिल खतरे में रहे । इस तरह के बयानात तहरीरी और तकरीरी तौर पर देते हैं जिससे यह जहर बढ़ता ही रहे और हमारी सरकार हाथ पर हाथ रखे मुंह देखती रहती है । अगर सरकार का ख्याल है कि चन्द हमदर्दी की तकरीरों से मुसलमानों को मुतमईन कर सकती है तो यह उसकी भूल है । जब तक कहने और करने में फर्क रहेगा यह मसला हल नहीं होगा । हालांकि मुझे यकीन है कि हमारे मुल्क की ज्यादातर जनता यह चाहती है कि मुल्क में अमनों अमन रहे और सबको मुल्क में बराबरी से फलने-फूलने का मौका मिले । मगर मुल्क में एक ऐसा तबका भी है जो सियासी तौर पर मुल्क में नफरत फैलाना चाहता है और दिमागी और मजहबी मरीज लोगों को बनाकर अपना मकसद हल करना चाहता है, और उनमें से चन्द लीडरों ने मुसलमानों को इंडियनाइज करने का नारा लगाया है । यह कोई नया नारा नहीं है । ऐसे ही फासिस्ट नारे हिटलर और मुसोलिनी ने भी लगाये थे । अगर इंडियनाइज करने का मकसद मुल्क से वफादार रहने का है तो एक-एक मुसलमान मुल्क के प्रति वफादार है और रहेगा । मगर इसकी आड़ में जो शरारत है और जो बदनीयती है तो मैं उनको बताना चाहता हूँ कि हर अमन पसन्द शहरी जिसका इस मुल्क के आईन में यकीन है इसका डट कर मुकाबला करेगा ।

इस नारे को चलाने वाले माननीय बलराज मधोक हैं जिसका मुझे अफसोस है । मैं जानता हूँ कि श्री बलराज मधोक सरकादू के रहनेवाले हैं जो पाकिस्तान आक्यूपाइड कश्मीर में है । मैं जानता हूँ कि उनकी जन्म भूमि वहीं है, वहीं पैदा हुए—वहीं बड़े, वह अपनी जान के खीफ से यहां प्राये । मैं उनका खैरमकदम करता हूँ, लेकिन इसका मतलब यह नहीं है कि वह हम लोगों से वफादारी का सबूत मांगें, जो इस मुल्क में पैदा हुए, जो इस मुल्क में रहे,

जो इस मुल्क के वफादार थे, हैं और रहेंगे । मैं अर्ज करता हूँ कि मेरे लाखों सलाम हैं उन करोड़ों हिन्दू साहबान को जो हालात का मुकाबला करते हुए आज भी पाकिस्तान में हैं और उनका मुकाबला कर रहे हैं । मेरे लाखों सलाम हैं उन 6 करोड़ मुसलमानों को भी जो आज भी इन हालात का मुकाबला करते हुए इस देश के वफादार हैं, जिन्होंने फैसला किया है कि वह इस देश में जियेंगे और इस देश में मरेंगे ।

हमारी सरकार बार-बार सेकुलरिज्म का नारा लगाती है । मगर ऐसा मालूम पड़ता है कि नारे खोखले हैं । मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि क्या इन थोथे नारों से हमारे मुल्क में सेकुलरिज्म होगा । इसलिये या तो सरकार में इस पर अमल करने की ताकत हो, नहीं तो फिर यह सिर्फ लोगों को धोखा देना चाहते हैं, इस पर अमल नहीं करना चाहते हैं । अगर यह सही है तो मेरी एक तजवीज है । कई सालों से यह हो रहा है कि हर साल काफी तादाद में खून बहाया जाता है माइनारिटीज का । मैं अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि अगर वह अपने इस नारे को अमल में लाने से मजबूर है तो मेरा एक सजेसन है उसको कम से कम मिनिस्टर महोदय मान ही लें । जब सालाना बजट पेश होता है हिन्दुस्तान की पार्लियामेंट में, इस आगस्ट हाउस के सामने जिसके अधिकार बहुत वाजेह हैं, उसमें फिरकापरस्त लोगों और उनके लीडरों से मशवरा करने के बाद मुसलमानों का गोश्त, खून और हड्डियां भी बजट में रख दिया करें ताकि मुसलमान अपनी मर्जी से अपना खून, अपनी हड्डियां और अपना गोश्त दे दें । कम से कम उनकी औरतों और बच्चों की बेइज्जती तो होने से बच जाय । कम से कम जो उनकी तबाही होती है उससे तो वह महफूज रहेंगे, कम से कम वह अमन से तो रहेंगे, कम से कम अपनी मर्जी से मर तो सकेंगे । इपलिये मेरी तजवीज को आप मान लें जिससे हमें मालूम हो जाय करे कि फिरकापरस्त लोगों



[श्री मु० अ० खां]

को खुश करने के लिये कितने खून, कितने गोशत और कितनी हड्डियों की जरूरत है।

मैंने आज अखबार में देखा कि एक इन्स्पेक्टर का बयान कमिशन के सामने हो रहा था। उसने यह तसलीम किया कि उसने मुसलमानों की 24 लाशों को जला दिया। जब उससे सवाल किया गया कि क्या तुम यह जानते थे कि मुसलमान को जलाया नहीं जाता, गाड़ा जाता है—अगर आप कहें तो मैं अखबार निकाल कर कोट करूँ—तो उसने तसलीम किया कि हाँ मैं जानता हूँ कि मुसलमानों को जलाया नहीं जाता बल्कि दफन किया जाता है, फिर भी मैंने जला दिया। मैं अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि ये हालात बद से बदतर होते जा रहे हैं। क्या होम मिनिस्टर महोदय जरा गम्भीरता से सोचेंगे कि आखिर इन हालात को कब तक चलने दिया जायेगा? कब तक यह मुसीबतें, यह परेशानियाँ, यह इन्सिक्वोरिटी, जो मुसलमानों के दिमाग में है, रहेगी। क्या आप कोई फैसला करेंगे जिससे उन्हें सही इन्साफ मिल सके और उनके कातिलों को सजायें मिल सकें?

बार-बार इस सदन में कहा गया कि रॉविसेज में मुसलमानों का परसेंटेज बहुत कम है, रॉविसेज में डिस्ट्रिक्मिनेशन बरता जाता है। होम मिनिस्टर साहब ने, जहाँ तक मुझे मालूम है, कुछ हिदायतें भी दीं कि मुसलमानों का परसेंटेज बढ़ाया जाय। क्या मैं पूछ सकता हूँ कि आज तक उसका क्या असर हुआ? मुझे शक है कि गवर्नमेंट जो कहती है वह करना भी चाहती है। पब्लिक सेक्टर तो इस गवर्नमेंट के हाथ में है। क्या मैं पूछ सकता हूँ कि सदन में क्या वह कोई ऐसा बयान देने व्योरे के साथ जिसमें बतलायें कि पब्लिक सेक्टर में किस कटेगरी में कितने परसेंट मुसलिम भरती हुए। मेरे ख्याल में वह इ बहीं सकेंगे।

जब बम्बई सेशन हुआ था तब एक माइनारिटी पेनल बनाया गया था। अखिल तो माइनारिटी और वीकर सेक्शन का पेनल बनने की बात ही नहीं हो रही थी, आखिर बहुत लिखा-पढ़ी की गई, दरख्वास्त की गई तब माइनारिटी पेनल बना। उसमें कुछ रिक्-मेन्डेशनस भेजी गई। पेनल बना, इन्ट्रेंशन कौंसिल की रिपोर्ट है, मगर जब तक गवर्न-मेंट सीरियस न हो उनको इम्प्लमेंट करने के लिये तब तक पेनल बनाने से और उस पर रुपया बर्बाद करने से क्या फायदा? मैं दरख्वास्त करूंगा कि आज वक्त आ गया है कि होम मिनिस्टर महोदय सोचें, गम्भीरता से गौर करें कि यह बहुत बड़ी प्रॉब्लेम है। होम मिनिस्टर का यह कह देना कि ला ऐंड आर्डर स्टेट सब्जेक्ट है, काफी नहीं है। होम मिनिस्ट्री की जिम्मेदारी है कि वह देखे कि इस मुल्क में हर शहरी को दस्तूर के मुताबिक बराबर के टुकूक हासिल हैं या नहीं, बराबर की खुशहाली और अमान अमान के साथ रह सकता है या नहीं। जब तक ऐसा नहीं होता वह अपनी जिम्मेदारी से मुबक-दोश नहीं हो सकते। मैं अर्ज करूंगा कि इस कम्प्यूनल प्रॉब्लेम को एक रेशनल प्रॉब्लेम करार दिया जाय और नेशनल प्रॉब्लेम समझ कर ही उसे डील किया जाये। (व्यवधान)

श्री यश बल्ल शर्मा (असूतसर) : सभा-पति महोदय, गृह मंत्रालय से संबंधित जो मेरी शिकायतें हैं मेरे विचार में उनकी बुनियाद शासक दल की स्वायत्तता तथा संकीर्ण राजनीति है। वास्तव में सरकार दल के स्वार्थों से प्रभावित होकर, सब प्रकार की समस्यायें देश में पैदा कर रही है। बंगाल के संबंध में मुझसे पूर्व वक्ताओं ने विरोधी दल की ओर से बहुत कुछ कहा है। पिछले कुछ महीनों में वहाँ क्या नहीं हुआ? नारियों के सतीत्व का अपहरण हुआ और वहाँ के स्कूल और कालेज अनेक प्रकार के गैर-कानूनी हथियारों की फौजदरान बन गये हैं। कुल-

पतियों का घेराव हुआ, जाजेज का घेराव हुआ, वहाँ की सम्पत्ति को ध्वस्त किया गया, वहाँ अनेकों प्रकार से अशांति और अन्याय की सत्ता बन रही है, परन्तु सबसे बड़ा सवाल यह है कि गृह मंत्रालय ने इस सम्बन्ध में क्या किया ? माननीय गृह मंत्री महोदय यहाँ पर मूक समाधिस्थ थे । बार-बार उन्होंने अनेक प्रकार की बातें कहीं हैं । उन्होंने कहा, मैं क्या कर सकता हूँ ? उन्होंने कहा कि आखिर एक स्टेट है, वह अपना निर्णय लेगी । मेरा सरकार से कहना है कि देश के सामान्य नागरिक को इस प्रकार के तर्क समाधान नहीं देते । आखिर हमारा देश एक है । इस देश की एकता का आभास देश के अन्दर बसने वाले प्रत्येक व्यक्ति को होना चाहिए । उसको यह विश्वास हो कि मैं इस देश में बस रहा हूँ और किसी भी प्रकार की स्थिति के अन्दर मेरा जीवन मेरे देश के सर्व-प्रभुत्वसम्पन्न और स्वतन्त्र राष्ट्र के अन्दर सुरक्षित है । यह विश्वास तो गृह मंत्रालय नहीं दे पाया ।

यहाँ पर बंगाल बन्द की बात कही गई । वहाँ पर राष्ट्रपति शासन से पूर्व जो सरकार काम कर रही थी, उसने बंगाल बन्द करवाया । रेलें, विमान और डाक तार का महकमा यह सब सेवायें जिसके लिये जिम्मेदारी केन्द्र की थी । उसको देखना चाहिये था कि राष्ट्र की गति अवरुद्ध न हो, हमारी सब प्रकार की सेवायें जन सेवा की दृष्टि से सक्रिय रहें, लेकिन डाक सेवाएँ भी खण्डित हो गईं, वह वहाँ काम नहीं कर पाई । मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि क्या गृह मंत्री महोदय का इस सारी स्थिति में कोई दायित्व नहीं बनता ? क्या वह इस सम्बन्ध में देश को इस प्रकार का कोई आभास नहीं दे सकते थे कि कोई एक चिड़िया की चोंच जैसा राज्य आज सारे राष्ट्र की गति को अवरुद्ध नहीं कर सकता । देश में गाड़ियाँ चलेंगी, देश में दिमान उड़ेंगे, देश में किसी भी प्रादेशिक सत्ता को इस बात की आज्ञा नहीं दी जा सकती कि वह देश की

सामूहिक एकता को खण्डित करके रख दे । गृह मंत्री इस सम्बन्ध में कुछ नहीं कर पाये । परन्तु इसके मुकाबले में अहमदाबाद में कुछ दंगे हुए । उन दंगों के बारे में मैं समझता हूँ हम भी उतने ही दुखी हैं जितना कोई और हो सकता है । मेरे मित्र ने अभी जो बातें कही हैं उनमें से अनेक बातों में मैं उनसे सहमत हूँ कि आज देश में इस प्रकार के दंगे, किसी भी साम्प्रदायिक प्रकार का तनाव हमारे माथे पर कलंक है और विश्व के अन्दर हमारे चित्र को ध्रष्ट करके पेश करता है । हमें अपने देश में इस प्रकार से अपनी प्रतिष्ठा को जाने नहीं देना है । लेकिन अहमदाबाद के दंगों के अन्दर शासक दल की सारी सेना दौड़ कर गई और उन्होंने वहाँ जाकर अनेक प्रकार के वक्तव्य दिये क्योंकि वहाँ की सरकार उनके अनुकूल नहीं पड़ती थी । वहाँ की सरकार के लिए अनेक प्रकार की कठिनाइयाँ पैदा करना उनकी अपनी खिचड़ी के लिये अनुकूल था, इसलिए वहाँ जाकर उन्होंने अनेक प्रकार की बातें कहीं । अगर वह बंगाल में जाकर किसी प्रकार की कोई बात कहते तो उनको लगता था कि केन्द्र में जो उनकी सब प्रकार की युति, काम्बिनेशन, बना हुआ है उसको हानि पहुँचेगी । इसलिए वहाँ किसी की मर्जी से कुछ भी होता चला जाय, उसकी नोटिस लेने के लिये सरकार तैयार नहीं थी, कोई बात कहने के लिये तैयार नहीं थी । यह बड़ी विचित्र और दुःखदायी स्थिति है । मैं समझता हूँ कि इस सम्बन्ध में सरकार को अपनी स्थिति स्पष्ट करनी चाहिये । दल आयेगे और दल आयेगे, यह देश दलों के लिये कुर्बान नहीं किया जा सकता, दलों को देश के लिये कुर्बान किया जा सकता है । इस नाते से मैं चाहूँगा कि सरकार की नीति स्पष्ट होनी चाहिये कि अगर कहीं विधान टूटता है तो वह क्या करेगी । विधान की बराबर खिजियाँ उड़ाई गई बंगाल में अगर गृह मंत्रालय की ओर से और हमारे देश के शासन की ओर से इस सम्बन्ध में किसी प्रकार का कोई सक्रिय पग

[श्री यज्ञ दत्त शर्मा]

नहीं उठाया गया। कोई भी विचार वहाँ नहीं किया गया।

पंजाब की स्थिति को मैं आपके सामने रखना चाहता हूँ, वहाँ का मैं आपको एक उदाहरण देना चाहता हूँ। पंजाब में जाकर यहाँ के एक कांग्रेसी मंत्री ने जिनका मैं नाम भी ले सकता हूँ, प्रो० गोर सिंह, हिन्दी के बारे में लम्बी चौड़ी बातें कहीं। यह कहा कि पंजाब के अन्दर हिन्दी को वह स्थान नहीं दिया गया है जो दिया जाना चाहिये, उसके लिये वहाँ स्थान बनना चाहिये। मैं आपसे पूछना चाहता हूँ कि देश के अन्दर हिन्दी को उसका उचित स्थान आपने आज तक क्यों नहीं दिया? इसी सदन के अन्दर अनेक बार इस बात को उठाया गया है कि सेवाओं के अन्दर हिन्दी को जो स्थान मिलना चाहिये नहीं मिला है। हिन्दी के जितने टाइपिस्ट हैं और स्टेनो हैं उनके ब्रेड अंग्रेजी वालों के मुकाबले में कम हैं। इस ओर बार-बार सरकार का ध्यान खींचा गया है लेकिन सरकार ने कुछ नहीं किया है। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि आज केन्द्र के अन्दर हिन्दी को हिन्दी का उचित स्थान नहीं मिला है, उसकी उचित व्यवस्था नहीं की गई है तो वहाँ जाकर हिन्दी का रोना रोया जाना, उसके प्रति दर्द दिखाया जाना क्या उचित था? लेकिन वहाँ जाकर क्यों उन्होंने ऐसा कहा है? इसलिये कहा है कि उनकी शासकीय नीति की दृष्टि से, स्वार्थपूर्ण राजनीति की दृष्टि से यह अनुकूल पड़ता था और इसलिए जा कर वहाँ उन्होंने सारी की सारी बातें कहीं।

यह जो स्थिति है यह देश के लिए बड़ी घातक है। आज अगर दलगत दृष्टिकोण से ही सरकारें चलेंगी तो किसी भी तरह से देश के हितों की रक्षा नहीं हो पाएगी। मैं समझता हूँ कि हमको दल के दृष्टिकोण से बहुत ऊपर उठना होगा। दल की राजनीति बड़ी सीमित होती है, दलों के हमारे स्वार्थ बड़े

सीमित होते हैं, दलों के स्वार्थ सिद्ध कर लेने से हमें व्यक्तिगत रूप से सत्ता और कुर्सी भले ही मिली रहे भले ही वह कायम रहे, उसके बारे में भले ही हम आश्वस्त रह सकें लेकिन राष्ट्र के इतिहास के निर्माण की दृष्टि से, आने वाली पीढ़ी के भविष्य के निर्माण की दृष्टि से, भविष्य की गारंटी देने की दृष्टि से, विश्व के मानचित्र पर अपने देश को आदरपूर्ण और स्वाभिमानपूर्ण स्थान दिलाने की दृष्टि से, यह किसी भी अवस्था में सहायक नहीं हो सकती है, उससे हम अपने देश को बड़ा और गौरवशाली नहीं बना सकते हैं। इस वास्ते सरकार अपनी नीति पर कुछ विचार करे।

पिछले दो महीनों में राज्यपालों के आचरण को लेकर अनेक प्रकार की बातें यहाँ और बाहर कही गई हैं। बिहार के अन्दर, पंजाब के अन्दर, बंगाल के अन्दर, हरियाणा के अन्दर, जम्मू काश्मीर के अन्दर कुछ घटनाएं घटी हैं। वहाँ पर राज्यपालों के आचरण का इस सदन के सामने एक चित्र आया है। हर प्रान्त की कहानी अपने ही प्रकार की है। अब सवाल यह पैदा होता है कि सदस्यों की गिनती या उनकी बहु गिनती का परीक्षण सदन के अन्दर हो या बाहर हो। जम्मू काश्मीर के अन्दर, हरियाणा के अन्दर इस प्रकार की स्थिति पाई जब विरोधी दल बहु गिनती में थे और तब गवर्नरों को कठपुतली बनाकर, केन्द्र के हाथ की कठपुतली समझ कर, और उसका वैसा ही प्रयोग करके वहाँ की असेम्बलीज को स्थगित करवा दिया गया। अब बंसी-लाल जी इधर-उधर बंसी बजाते फिर रहे हैं। सदन को बन्द कर दिया है और अब इधर-उधर घूम रहे हैं। इस प्रकार के गवर्नरों के आचरण का क्या हम किसी भी प्रकार से समर्थन कर सकते हैं? गृह मंत्री इस प्रकार के आचरण की किसी भी प्रकार से कोई तर्क-संगत युक्ति दे सकते हैं, किसी भी प्रकार से इसको उचित ठहरा सकते हैं? इनके पास

कोई युक्ति नहीं है। मैं जानता हूँ कि गृह मंत्री जी वाद विवाद में बड़े पटु हैं, वाद विवाद के बड़े महारथी हैं, अनेक प्रकार से किसी भी गृह मंत्रालय से सम्बन्धित अयोग्यता और अक्षमता को भी तर्क संगत सिद्ध करने के लिए उनके तर्क के तरकश के अन्दर अनेक प्रकार के तीर मौजूद रहते हैं, बड़े से बड़े घोटाले को भी सीना तानकर सिद्धता के साथ और बनावटी ढंग से वह उचित ठहरा सकते हैं। इसका परिचय वह सदन के अन्दर कई बार दे भी चुके हैं। लेकिन इससे सदन संतुष्ट नहीं हो सकता है। सदन का समाधान तो इससे होगा कि हम कृति और आचरण के अन्दर समस्वरता ला कर देश को किसी प्रकार का ऐसा आशवासन दे जिससे व्यवस्थाओं को दिशा मिले और आगे आने वाली कठिनाइयों को दूर करके कोई तन-दरुस्त रास्ता निकल पाए।

गवर्नरों के आचरण का जहाँ तक संबंध है, उनके विवेकाधीन अधिकारों का जहाँ तक सवाल है, जो असपष्टता थी वह अभी भी बनी हुई है। 1967 में आम चुनाव हुए और उसके बाद मध्यावधि चुनाव भी कुछ स्थानों पर हो चुके हैं। तब से लेकर आज तक क्या गवर्नरों के आचरण या उनके विवेकाधीन अधिकारों का प्रश्न हमारे लिए विवाद का विषय बना रहा और अब भी बना हुआ है? आपने अभी तक इस विषय की स्पष्टता क्यों नहीं की? मैं कारण जानता हूँ। आपकी दलगत स्वार्थ-पूर्ति, अथवा संकीर्ण राजनीति को यह स्पष्टता अनुकूल नहीं बैठती। उस अवस्था में कैसे आप उनका प्रयोग अपने हितों में कर पाते?

गवर्नरों का आचरण दो प्रकार का है, उनका दोहरा दायित्व है। एक तो जिस राज्य में वे हैं उस राज्य के प्रति उनका दायित्व है और दूसरा केन्द्र के प्रतिनिधि के रूप में है, विधान के प्रतिनिधि के रूप में है। वहाँ पर उनको विधान की सुरक्षा के लिए पग उठाने पड़ते हैं, उस प्रदेश की जनता को

उनके वैधानिक अधिकार प्राप्त हों, यह दायित्व भी उन पर आता है। दोनों प्रकार के अधिकारों का स्पष्टीकरण होना बड़ा आवश्यक है। विधान विहित अधिकारों के बारे में मैं समझता हूँ कि सुप्रीम कोर्ट से सब से पहले स्पष्टीकरण लेना आवश्यक है। जहाँ तक उनके राजनीतिक अधिकारों का सवाल है, आप केन्द्रीय सरकार के रूप में सदन का कर्सेसस लेकर उसका कोई स्पष्टीकरण करें ताकि आगे राज्यपालों के इस प्रकार के आचरण के सम्बन्ध में नित्य प्रति के विवाद सदन में खड़े न हों और लोगों के मन में आशंका पैदा न हो। लेकिन यह स्पष्टता की नहीं जा रही है। कारण यह है कि शासकीय दल के यह अनुकूल नहीं पड़ता। मैं समझता हूँ कि इस तरह से चीज को लटकाये रखने से अधिक से अधिक भ्रम पैदा करने से कभी भी हम समस्याओं का समाधान नहीं कर सकेंगे।

मेरे मित्र ने अभी हिन्दू मुस्लिम दंगों को लेकर, साम्प्रदायिक दंगों को लेकर एक विशेष प्रकार के वर्ग के सम्बन्ध में कुछ अपने विचार प्रकट किये हैं। कोई भी वर्ग हो, मुस्लिम वर्ग हो या अन्य हो, इन दंगों के कारण अग्र जन जीवन को हानि पहुँचती है तो मुझे उससे महान कष्ट होता है। एक माता के गर्भ से जन्म लेकर इस धरती का अन्न जल खा कर मैं पनपा हूँ। वास्तव में यही मेरी माता है। इसी का गेहूँ, चना, ज्वार, बाजरा आदि खा कर मैं अपनी इस जीवन लीला को चला रहा हूँ। उस नाते इस धरती पर बसने वाले सभी लोग चाहे वे किसी भी सम्प्रदाय से सम्बन्ध रखते हों, किसी भी विचार को मानने वाले हों, कुछ भी हम में मतभेद हों लेकिन वे मेरे परिवार के एक अंग हैं। उनके साथ मेरा भाई चारा है। उनके जीवन को किसी भी प्रकार का अग्र कष्ट पहुँचता है तो स्वाभाविक तौर पर मुझे कष्ट पहुँचता है। लेकिन सवाल यह है कि इस धरती के प्रति इस

[श्री यज्ञ दत्त शर्मा]

प्रकार की निष्ठा, आपस में इस प्रकार की पारिवारिकता, एक दूसरे के प्रति एक प्रकार की आत्मीयता को जगाने के लिए क्या किया गया है ? देश के अन्दर आपने क्या यूनिफार्म सोशल कोड बनाया ? जो कोड बनाया है वह भी हिन्दू कोड बनाया है। क्यों हिन्दू कोड बनाया है ? अगर एक चीज मेरे लिए अमृत है तो क्या वह मुसलमानों और ईसाइयों के लिए अमृत नहीं है और अगर मेरे लिए विष है तो उनके लिए भी विष नहीं है ? उनको इससे बंचित क्यों किया गया है ? आप हिन्दू के ही पेट में क्यों डेला मारते हैं ? क्यों ऐसा कहते हैं कि हिन्दू एक शादी करे और मुसलमान चार चार शादियाँ कर सकता है ? अगर हिन्दू एक से ज्यादा करता है तो आपका कानून हरकत में आ जाता है। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि क्या हिन्दू लड़का मैडिकली अनफिट है ? मैं बहु शादियों के पक्ष में नहीं हूँ कोई भी बहुत शादियाँ करे, इस पक्ष में मैं नहीं हूँ। मैं राम का पुजारी हूँ। राम को मैं अपना इष्ट देवता मानता हूँ, दशरथ को अपना देवता नहीं मानता। मैं शादी को कट्टेकट नहीं मानता हूँ, पशुता की वृत्ति की तृप्ति करने का साधन नहीं मानता हूँ। मैं नारी को जीवन के पूर्णत्व की प्राप्ति का एक सामाजिक संस्कार मानता हूँ। प्रकृति का पुरुष के साथ मेल अपने अन्दर की पशुता को दबा कर, अपने अन्दर के पुरुषत्व और देवत्व को जगाकर, समाज के साथ समरबर होने की एक प्रक्रिया मानता हूँ। इस नाते मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस प्रकार का कोई सोशल कोड बनाना है तो ऐसा बनाओ जो सारे राष्ट्र में एकात्मकता पैदा करके देश को एक दिशा दे। ऐसा आप नहीं कर पाते क्योंकि आपके सामने वही दलगत राजनीतिक स्वार्थ हैं। इस प्रकार के भावुकतापूर्ण भाषण देना कि मुस्लिमों की जितनी हड्डियाँ चाहियें, जितना मांस चाहिये, जितना गोश्त चाहिये, वह बजट के समय ही हम से ले लिया जाए,

मैं समझता हूँ उचित नहीं है और मेरे मित्र भारत में बैठकर यह सब कुछ कह सकते हैं। भारत ने कभी इस चीज को पसन्द नहीं किया है। कांग्रेस जब नहीं आई थी तब भी शकों, हूणों, किरातों, यवनों को भाईचारे के रूप में देश में रखा गया था। आज भी उनके नाम के संवत तक चल रहे हैं। कितने ही मंदिर यहाँ ध्वस्त हुए हैं कितने ही जीवन को जलाया गया। राम और कृष्ण के जन्म स्थान के ऊपर मस्जिदें बनी हुई हैं। लेकिन किसी के अन्दर साहस है कि वह कहे कि हाट बनिंग को दूर करने के लिए राष्ट्र पुरुषों के यह जो स्थान हैं उन कम्युनिटीज को दे देने चाहिये जिनके वास्तव में ये हैं ? लेकिन यह साहस उनमें नहीं हो सकता है। वे हर चीज को एक पहलू से देखने के आदी हैं, एक ओर से देखने के आदी हैं। अगर साम्प्रदायिक दंगों को आप दूर करना चाहते हैं तो साम्प्रदायिकता के दायरे से निकलकर राष्ट्रवाद के खुले मैदान में आ कर आपको खड़ा होना चाहिये। देश और समाज एक परिवार के रूप में हैं, इस प्रकार की एकात्मक भावना को अपने अन्तःकरण में जगाना होगा। इसको जगाने के लिए सरकार को भी आगे आना चाहिये और दूसरों को भी आगे आना चाहिये। इस काम में कानून और कायदे भी सहायक हो सकते हैं और उनकी सहायता भी ली जानी चाहिये। इस प्रकार के संस्कार समाज में जगाने के लिये हमें अपने व्यवहार के अन्दर भी परिवर्तन करना होगा। लेकिन आप तो शासन की सभी नीतियाँ साम्प्रदायिक आधार पर चलाते हैं, मंत्रिमंडल साम्प्रदायिक आधार पर बनाते हैं, चुनाव साम्प्रदायिक आधार पर लड़ते हैं, आर्थिक नीतियाँ साम्प्रदायिक आधार पर निर्धारित करते हैं, नौकरियाँ साम्प्रदायिक आधार पर देते हैं और तब आप चाहते हैं कि ये कठघरे बन्द हो जाएँ, यह कम्पाटमेंटल थिंकिंग बन्द हो जाए, यह मैं समझता हूँ कि आकाश में दूध बूहने की एक बावलेपन की कल्पना है।

इसमें कोई तथ्य नहीं है, इसका कोई नतीजा नहीं निकल सकता है, ऐसा कभी हो नहीं सकता है।

एकात्मता लाने के लिए जब भारतीयकरण की बात की जाती है तो मेरे मित्रों को मरोड़ लग जाते हैं। कम्युनिस्टों को भी इससे बड़ा कष्ट हुआ है। भारत में रहकर भारतीयकरण की बात न कहें तो क्या चीनीकरण की बात कहें, अरबीकरण की बात कहें, भारत में रहकर क्या भारतीयकरण की बात कहना असंगत है? मैं आपका ध्यान एक उच्च और योग्य व्यक्ति द्वारा जो कुछ इस सम्बन्ध में लिखा गया है, उसकी तरफ दिलाना चाहता हूँ। मैं इसको कोट करता हूँ। वह कोई संकीर्ण दृष्टिकोण रखने वाले व्यक्ति नहीं है। वह पत्रकारिता जगत में एक जाने-माने व्यक्ति हैं। मैं समझता हूँ कि उनके राष्ट्रीय दृष्टिकोण से हम सब परिचित हैं। उन्होंने भारतीयकरण के सम्बन्ध में अपने सम्पादकीय लेख में कहा है:—

"It is incredible that a world lied 'Indianisation' which for years was perfectly a respectable term has now acquired an abnoxious meaning in the opinion of some political leaders. In the historical significance, 'Indiansation' represented the national demands for displacing foreign bureaucrats in the Indian administration under the British Raj by Indian officials. A resolution calling for Indianisation of the services was a hardy annual of every Congress session, and yet, curiously enough, this apparently innocuous and once respectable term is now regarded as abnoxious by the leaders, like Mr. Y. B. Chavan and Mr. V. C. Shukla. In fact, the latter went so far as to suggest that anyone preaching Indianisation of the non-Hindu section of Indian society should receive stringent punishment."

मैं यह पूछना चाहता हूँ कि किस व्यक्ति ने कहा है कि मुसलमानों का, या किसी भी अन्य सम्प्रदाय का, साम्प्रदायिक परिवर्तन किया जाये, उसकी रिलिजस कनवर्शन की

जाये। मैं समझता हूँ कि भारत एक ऐसा देश है, जिस में कभी भी धार्मिक मान्यताओं में विभिन्नता के आधार पर भेदभाव नहीं किया गया है और न ही उन धार्मिक मान्यताओं या विचारों में परिवर्तन करने की बात कही गई है।

जब हमारे राष्ट्रपति श्री वी० वी० गिरि, राष्ट्रपति पद का चुनाव जीतने के बाद अपने इष्टदेव की पूजा के लिए किसी पवित्र स्थान पर गये, तो इस देश के कुछ लोगों, इस दल के लोगों, के पेट में मरोड़ पैदा हुआ और उन्होंने कहा कि सैकुलरिज्म को धक्का पहुंच गया।

श्री स० मो० बनर्जी (कानपुर) : किसी ने यह बात नहीं कही।

श्री यशवन्त शर्मा : यह बात कम्युनिस्टों ने कही है। अगर माननीय सदस्य, श्री बनर्जी, मुझे भ्रवसर दें तो मैं वोट कर सकता हूँ, वे समाचार पत्र इस सदन में पेश कर सकता हूँ।

मैं चाहूंगा कि माननीय सदस्य विचारशील और मनीषी लोगों के विचारों को पढ़ें। हम कभी भी किसी का भी धर्म-परिवर्तन नहीं करना चाहते हैं। हर एक व्यक्ति अपने धर्म और अपनी पूजा की पद्धति के विषय में स्वतंत्र है। पूजा की पद्धति उसके निजी जीवन का विषय है। वह अपने अन्दर के व्यक्तित्व के विकास के लिए, अपने अन्दर की पशुता के ह्रास के लिए अपने अन्दर की मानवता के विकास के लिए किसी भी पूजा के रास्ते पर चल सकता है। इस देश में कभी भी इस प्रकार का विवाद नहीं हुआ है। हर एक व्यक्ति को अपने अपने पूजा के रास्ते अपनाने की स्वतंत्रता है। हमारी पूजा की अनेक पद्धतियाँ हैं, मगर हमारा इष्टदेव एक है। हम एक ही पूर्णत्व का, एक ही पायंट ग्राफ पर फोकशन का, विचार करके चलते हैं। जिन्होंने कभी परमेश्वर की पूजा नहीं की है,

[श्री यज्ञ दत्त शर्मा]

वे भी तूलिका के द्वारा, अपने ब्रह्म से, चिद और मूर्तियाँ बनाकर, अपने तरीके से भगवान् की पूजा करते हैं।

हमारे मुसलमान भाई पांच बार नहीं पचास बार नमाज पढ़ें। इस देश में विभिन्न मतों के लोग हैं। लेकिन सवाल यह है कि जब मैं मस्जिद, मन्दिर या गुफाद्वारे से निकल कर इस देश के चौराहे पर आ खड़ा होता हूँ, तब मैं क्या हूँ? क्या मैं सिख, हिन्दू, नानक-पन्थी, ईसा-पन्थी, दादू-गन्थी, या मुहम्मद-पन्थी हूँ? उस समय मुझे भारतीय बनकर खड़ा होना है। उसी दृष्टि से हम भारतीयकरण की बात कहते हैं।

अगर बालगंगाधर तिलक और लाला लाजपतराय जैसे महापुरुष विदेशी साम्राज्यवाद के खिलाफ, इस देश की स्वतंत्रता और देशभक्ति का गीत गा कर, उस समय के नौजवानों के अन्दर देशभक्ति की आंधी जगा सकते थे, तो आज भी हम स्वतन्त्र राष्ट्र में अपने देश, अपनी धरती, अपने समाज, अपने भविष्य और अपने वर्तमान के निर्माण का एक उच्च तेजस्वी नारा देकर अपने देश को दुनिया में एक तेजस्वी रूप में खड़ा कर सकते हैं। इसी का नाम भारतीयकरण है।

सवाल यह है कि इससे कम्युनिष्टों के पेट में क्यों मरोड़ पैदा होता है। बात यह है कि इन्होंने अपने दिमागों पर तो ताले लगा दिये हैं और उनकी चाबियाँ किसी ने मास्को में रख दी हैं और किसी ने पीकिंग में रख दी हैं। कोई चीन को चाचा कहता है और कोई रूस को मामा कहता है, लेकिन भारत को माता कहने के लिए कोई तैयार नहीं है। इसलिए हम उनके भारतीयकरण की बात कहते हैं।

श्री चव्हाण से देश को बड़ी अपेक्षाएँ और आशाएँ हैं। आज देश को सबसे बड़ी आवश्यकता एकता की है। भारत का वर्तमान

संघात्मक प्रणाली का संविधान हमें एकता की ओर नहीं ले जायेगा। आज राज्यों में जितने भी संकट हैं, उनके आपस के जितने भी टकराव हैं, उनको दूर करने के लिए देश के संविधान को एकात्मक प्रणाली की दिशा देनी है, देश और समाज को एकात्मता का दर्शन कराना है और शासन की नीतियों में भी एकतापूर्ण भावों को लेकर चलना है और संकीर्ण तथा स्वार्थपूर्ण दलीय दृष्टिकोण को छोड़ना है।

श्री स० मो० बनर्जी: सभापति महोदय, मेरा पायंट आफ आर्डर है।

MR. CHAIRMAN: You will also get time. This is not your turn now. Kindly cooperate with me.

श्री स० मो० बनर्जी: मैं सिर्फ यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि माननीय सदस्य भारतीयकरण करें या जो कुछ करें, लेकिन उनकी यह बात बिल्कुल गलत है कि राष्ट्रपति के मंदिर में जाने से कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी नाराज हुई थी। ये लोग धर्म के ठेकेदार नहीं हैं। They are not the sole custodians of the religion.

SHRI HEM RAJ (Kangra): Mr. Chairman, Sir, so many members of the opposition benches who have spoken have heaped the blame for all the ills on the head of the Home Minister. Really speaking, before the 1967 elections there was only one ruling party and most of the States were ruled by that party. After the 1967 elections the circumstances have changed and the whole atmosphere of the country has changed. In the changed circumstances the able way in which the Home Minister has steered the ship of the Home Ministry with great ability is a matter for which the credit goes to him.

Here I may say that so many charges have been levelled against the Home Ministry. For example, it has been said that communal forces have come up during this period whereas formerly there was none. Really, the fact is that there are different elements in the country which have combined together

and created a situation and now they want to put the blame for all the shortcomings on the head of this Government. Really the fault lies with them. If they will look in the mirror they will see their own face smeared and the real fault lies with them and not with the ruling party.

Coming to our democracy, the other day Shri Kanwar Lal Gupta was saying that even MLAs and MPs have become commodities and that some sort of check must be put on them so that they cannot be sold at a premium. At the present moment democracy in this country is in danger due to defections by members. The politicians have earned a bad name.

Formerly, the legal profession was considered to be a very good profession but due to toutism this profession earned a bad name. Similarly, we politicians have earned a bad name simply because of these defections. The Home Minister had formed a committee about this and has got the report. The time has come when this law on defections should come up in Parliament so that democracy may not be effaced and we may not get more bad name. We should prevail upon all parties to see that they observe certain conventions so that democracy which we have nourished for a long time should not find a burial in our age. Therefore my plea to him is that the law on defection must be framed at an early date and legislation to this effect should be brought before Parliament.

SHRI J. B. KRIPALANI (Guna): In the mean time they should go on making merry.

SHRI HEM RAJ: No, we are earnest about that.

I am very glad that in the report itself it is given that they are now doing away with the privy purses. I think the course that has been chalked out by Government is the best course in the prevailing circumstances. But I would like to know whether the Attorney General has at least been consulted or not about the legal position so that like the Bank Nationalisation Act there may not be some hurdles when the legislation is passed.

I come from a Union territory. Besides

States, there are 11 Union territories which are under the direct responsibility of the Centre. Out of these 11 Union territories, four or five have got Legislatures and six have no Legislature. So far as NEFA is concerned, it is directly under the Centre. I see from the report that 10 miles of road have been constructed. It is a very strategic area; we have got the MacMahon Line there 900 miles long. It is rather something which does not look nice in the present circumstances, when the aggressor is sitting on our head and is constructing roads there, that we have constructed only 10 miles of road there. In all the hills, roads are the first priority and should be given the first priority. Because it is directly under the Centre, it should be seen that all that area is developed so that we might be able to meet any aggression that might come in future on our northern border.

A reference has been made in this report of border districts but no mention has been made as to which are those border districts which have been taken over by the Planning Commission for the purpose of development. So far as Ladakh is concerned, it has been kept with the Home Ministry. The people of Ladakh are also very much agitated. They are not getting full justice from the Jammu and Kashmir Government and therefore they wanted that this area should be developed by the Central Government directly. I will request the Home Minister that they should also take up this question and if the other border districts have been handed over to the Planning Commission for the purpose of development, it is very essential that Ladakh should also be handed over to the Planning Commission for the purpose of development because Ladakh is also a border district adjoining Tibet.

Then, there was the Administrative Reforms Commission report on Union territories. It has taken 2½ years just to scrutinise it. It has not been examined so far, what to say of its implementation. If the Government has taken such a long time to scrutinise it, may I know from the Home Minister how much more time it will take after scrutiny to get it implemented?

This time I had a chance to visit the Andaman and Nicobar Islands with the



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Estimates Committee. There we found that so far as Port Blair is concerned, it has a cosmopolitan population. I wish the same sort of rehabilitation takes place in other islands also which are uninhabited so far. At the present moment, only ex-servicemen in the Camp Bell island area have been rehabilitated from Punjab. I wish ex-servicemen from all the States are rehabilitated there so that those areas may have a cosmopolitan population and become a miniature India by themselves.

Then, the Andaman and Nicobar islands is a very good place for tourist traffic. It should be developed as a tourist centre so that we might be able to earn foreign exchange.

Now, I come to the Union Territory of Himachal Pradesh which I represent. The question of affording Statehood to Himachal Pradesh has been supported, as you know yourself, Sir, politically by this House as well as by the other House. But the Central Government says that it will not be a viable one. Though it fulfils all other considerations, they say, it will not be viable and, therefore, it cannot be given Statehood. May I know from the hon. Home Minister why he has taken up the question of viability? So far as the question of viability is concerned, the establishment charges and the revenues have equalised. This time, the Budget which has been presented to the Himachal Pradesh Assembly shows that there will be a surplus of Rs. 14.93 lakhs.

Then, the other question that has been raised is the question of the non-Plan expenditure. So far as the non-Plan expenditure is concerned, the custodian of Himachal Pradesh is the Central Government. When the division of Punjab took place, the interests of Himachal Pradesh ought to have looked after by the Central Government. Our complaint is that instead of looking after our interests, the Central Government ignored us and neglected us.

All these big projects, the Bhakra Dam, the Sutlej-Beas Link, the Pong Dam and Jogindra Nagar, lie in Himachal Pradesh area and on, water and electricity that is produced here, we are entitled to royalty.

If that royalty is accounted for, in that case, there will be a little gap and that should be made good by the Centre as they do for Assam and Jammu and Kashmir strategic areas. If Assam and Jammu and Kashmir which are strategic areas can be given certain grants and subsidies from the Centre, I do not understand why this question of economic viability should be placed as a hurdle in the attainment of Statehood for Himachal Pradesh.

Another burning question on which the hon. Home Minister assured us the other day that he will consider sympathetically is the case of non-gazetted employees in Himachal Pradesh. The other day, we told him that so far as the Punjab scales and the Delhi scales are concerned, there is a difference ranging from Rs. 40 to Rs. 100 and that the most dissatisfied people are the policemen, patwaris, drivers, forest guards and gram sevaks who work in the villages. If these people remain dissatisfied, if these people do not get a square meal, in these strategic areas, then these people instead of becoming a source of strength will become a liability.

Then, there is the question of Boundary Commission to settle boundaries between Punjab, Haryana and Himachal Pradesh. I think, you are appointing a one-man Commission and, I hope, the interests of Himachal Pradesh regarding the hill areas which were left out at the time of the Shah Commission will be restored to us.

There is the question of Dhani service. You have created a Dhani service. In this Dhani service, we are tagged with Delhi and Andaman and Nicobar islands. They lie hundreds of miles away from each other. The Central Government also created a joint IAS and IPS service for these areas. They went to the Delhi High Court and that case was decided against the Central Government. Now they might have gone in appeal to the Supreme Court. So far as the Dhani Provincial service is concerned, Delhi people are cent per cent literate while we, hill people, are not so much literate and we are made to compete with the advanced people of Delhi. Examination takes place at the UPSC level on all India basis and boys from the back-

ward areas are expected to come up to the standard of the Delhi people which is impossible. Therefore, this Dhani service should be scrapped.

16 hrs.

Then about integration of services, 3½ years have passed, but as far as the Judicial Services are concerned, as far as the Secretariat Services are concerned and as far as the Medical Services are concerned, they have not been integrated so far and *ad hoc* promotions are being made. Therefore, I will request the Home Minister to see that these services are integrated at an early date. Himachal Pradesh has very good potentiality for development and may go further and if the Home Ministry grants us Statehood, we can assure you that we will run the Government very efficiently.

Thank you, Sir.

SHRI S. KANDAPPAN (Mettur): The hon. spokesman from the Jana Sangh who preceded me has made a plea before Concluding his speech that a unitary form of constitution alone is good for our country. I would like to ask him as well as others of his thinking as to what is it that our Constitution is called and how is it so far being executed in this country? I think it is more unitary in effect than federal or quasi-federal. All the ills of restlessness and indiscipline that we see around in this country have happened in spite of the centralisation that has been going on here all these years over the past two decades. Nobody can say that after the Constitution came into force, either the powers of the Central Government or their administration or the executive power that is vested at the Centre has gone down. Rather it has been increasing all along and we all know now that there is a demand from almost all the States, to whichever Party they belong, that there should be more and more decentralisation. This is a very serious matter about which I would like to plead with the hon. Home Minister that time has come that we should have rethinking on the entire issue.

My complaint about the Home Ministry is this that in spite of their claim about consideration that they say they are bestowing

on the report of the Administrative Reforms Commission, this particular report pertaining to the Centre-State relationship has not been gone into thoroughly. I feel this is a very serious matter and this is the time rather for the Government to take some time to consider this report and, if possible, even to associate the National Development Council and all the Chief Ministers in the study of these recommendations and try to evolve acceptable recommendations that are there in this report. To my mind it looks that the recommendations in that report are acceptable and it may make a good beginning with regard to improvement in the Centre-State relations. Even in the dissenting note given by Mr. Kamath there is not much of a difference from the main report. Before I come to that, I would like to make a few observations about the framing of our Constitution and how it works to-day.

Sir, sometime back, when the Chief Minister of Tamilnadu made a demand or a suggestion in a DMK Conference that the DMK is for a Federation or a Confederation at the Centre, there was a hue and cry raised in some section of the Press. But, we should all remember—as I have already pointed out—that in spite of the centralising process that is going on unceasingly, we have been facing various difficulties. Sir, it is the honest belief of our party that it is rather because of this unhealthy 'centralising trend' that we find everywhere the present-day indiscipline and restlessness.

We should remember that all the attributes that warrants the creation of a Federation in our country exists; but the framers of our Constitution, in their wisdom, bestowed their attention on having a sort of more unitary than a federal structure with which we have been working. I think there were sufficient reasons for that also at that point of time—probably because, Sir, the occasion demanded that; probably the need was felt more acutely, due to the creation of Pakistan—that they wanted to safeguard and so bestowed their best attention to the preservation of the integrity and the unity of our country. But we should remember, excepting probably some religious teachers attempting to bring about a sort of identity to the country in the early days we never existed as a political entity. India was a sort of

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contiguous geographical entity in the Continent of Asia. It was, Sir, during the British days that some kind of a semblance was given as a political entity, due to that administrative uniformity and centralised administration at that. But, they have never attempted, nor was it essential for them to attempt, to create a social or economic or cultural integration. After independence these differences, to my mind, have become more marked. Because, when we were under the yoke of the Britishers, there was at least the compelling circumstance of similarity of purpose that prodded us on to come more closer. But after the Britishers had left us, that compelling factor is no more there. The heterogeneous and the multi-national character that was there still remains, in spite of our claims that we are all one.

Sir, I am second to none, in upholding the unity of this country. But, we have got to realise the basic factors and to make way for them so as to reconcile these various warring elements that are there in the very basis of our structure. I think it was Gandhiji who enunciated the cardinal principle that the Governmental edifice in India should be like a pyramid broad-based at the lower level. But what the Government of India has been doing is rather to try to build up a pyramid upside down.

AN HON. MEMBER: From top to bottom.

ANOTHER HON. MEMBER: Shirasan!

SHRI S. KANDAPPAN: From top to bottom, or upside down, or topsy-turvy,—whatever it is,—they try to build up the other way round and I am sure, even if they possess more mathematical acumen than the Pharaohs of Egypt they will not succeed. That is why we find that the structure is becoming more shaky.

So, it is rather time for us now to see how best to rectify this defect and how to check and arrest and reverse this trend, because, that has not done any good to us. I am making this suggestion with all the seriousness that I can command.

People may attribute motives to the DMK. It is quite possible. I find in some section of the Press—in spite of the best efforts that we make—there are certain insinuations or motives attributed to some of our honest policies or efforts in the fields of culture or religion or social reform.

That is possible. I can only say that I am making it with all seriousness. And I know the implications of the demand that we make. We also realise the difficulties of the Government and the demand that we make probably may not be met by a simple amendment of the Constitution. It may need a drastic re-drafting of the entire Constitution. I do not think that at present it is possible, even if the Government is interested in meeting us half-way and making some changes, I doubt very much whether they can carry on the constitutional amendments. You know the status that they enjoy.

Hence I would like to confine myself with regard to certain important suggestions made in a report of the Administrative Reforms Commission which, I am sure, are acceptable to many of the parties that are here in this country. I am sure many of the States would be most happy at least if a beginning could be made to implement some of the important suggestions with regard to financial allocations and with regard to the resources availability in the states and with regard to their loans repayment and how a moratorium can be put there.

With regard to the setting up of a Centre-State Council also some suggestions are there which I am sure Government would consider. I would like to quote for the benefit of the House what the report of the Administrative Reforms Commission on the Centre-State Relationships on page 4 says. I quote:

“There are two levels in the Indian Government edifice—one, Constitutional and the other, administrative. So far as the Constitutional Structure is concerned, the Centre must have powers to safeguard the unity of India and to make any recalcitrant State conform to the concept of Indian unity. At the administrative level, overconcentration of authority should

be avoided. Unnecessary accumulation of administrative power increases not only delays, but also causes irritation and friction. The people of India should have an administration which works with efficiency and economy and is capable of satisfying the needs of the people. Concentration of administrative powers at a distant Centre tends to breed inefficiency and resentment, which in turn sets the minds of the people against the Centre. A wise and farsighted administration must be committed to decentralisation of administrative powers."

Towards this end they have made so many suggestions.

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN): From where are you quoting?

SHRI S. KANDAPPAN: I am quoting from the report of the Administrative Commission's Report from page 4. Towards this end they themselves have made certain suggestions as to how to reorganise the Central Ministries.

Sir, in the other report by the same Committee they have indicated the machinery of the Government and the procedure to be followed and how the entire thing can be organised as 16 ministries which can be entrusted to 16 Cabinet Ministers. There may be difference here and there. But, in the main, I think the recommendations are broadly good. The Government can still make a beginning in this regard. My complaint against the Home Ministry is this that they are probably preoccupied with so much of other work that they are not paying the attention that is due to such vital matters which we come across. We find between various States and the Centre many issues being raised on so many counts. Then the A.R.C. set up a study Team headed by Shri M. C. Setalwad. He has made many good observations. I would like to quote only a few observations of his which are related to the point which I am trying to focus.

"From the constitutional angle, the situation was abnormal. As a result of bypassing normal constitutional processes, a habit of settling issues through extra-

constitutional means grew and sufficient experience and a proper climate for settling them through the regular process were not developed."

In another place he says:

"The Indian polity is federal in form but lacks much of the substances of a classical federation."

Then, in another place he says:

"In fact, it is through the purse strings and not by resort to any legislation an "economic and social planning", a subject in the con-current list, that the Centre has chosen to influence development policy in the States."

Then, in another place, he says—

"During the last many years two lines of decision-making have often been political or party, and not governmental or constitutional except in form."

In another place he says:

"We have been impressed by the need to enable the States to become full, efficient and responsible partners in the task of development."

These are some basic factors which impartial people have analysed and come to certain conclusions, and have made recommendations. I would like to urge upon the Home Minister to give paramount attention to this aspect of Centre-State relations and I feel many of the maladies afflicting our body politic can be removed if the basic defects in Centre-State relations can be remedied. I do not presume it can be set at rest for ever, but a healthy beginning should be made even without amending the Constitution as the ARC has recommended.

I am rather pained to see one thing. In their annual report for 1969-70, in their very first chapter, they refer to the creation of new all-India services, the Indian Forest Service, the Indian Medical and Health Service and the Indian Service of Engineers. The report says they have got the consent of the Chief Ministers in the Chief Ministers'

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conference held in August 1961. Much water has flowed down the Yamuna since that time. Many Chief Ministers have come and gone. I do not know how the Home Minister or the Government of India can presume that the present State Governments can agree to the suggestion. In fact, I find from the report of the Home Ministry itself the effect given to this in Jammu and Kashmir. When some of the officers of the State went to court, it was struck down in the Supreme Court. Again in the Assam and Mysore High Courts, it was struck down. Now they are trying to have an amendment bypassing the judgment.

Many other States have also objected. According to the report, even Tamil Nadu, Punjab, Maharashtra and West Bengal have not consented to the creation of these new all-India services. After all, when there is a need to reverse that trend and see that they do not duplicate and proliferate the administrative machinery to the detriment of the efficient functioning of the executive, I do not see any reason why we should go on creating this kind of new services and wasting most of our precious resources in defraying the charges of this administrative set-up.

Even if we look at the selection of the UPSC and the deployment of the senior officers in the Central and State cadres, we can understand how the Central administrative structure is reaching a limit or even trying to go beyond it. In the 1968 selection, out of a total appointment of 361, those of the IAS cadre working in the States are 151 and 210 are allotted to various Central services as Class I and Class II. This is what the report indicates. It only shows that the Central Government which was mainly entrusted in the early days to guide and co-ordinate the functions in the various States under various heads has now become almost the executor or implementor of particular jobs. That is rather duplicating the work and that is the reason why we find in most of the States in many fields, they do not have the initiative.

Shri Patil and others have spoken about the law and order situation in the States. My complaint is against the Centre. I do not think that simply because we come to Delhi and sit in a different place while the

other people sit in their capitals, we are more responsible and they are irresponsible. That kind of stance or attitude we assume about the people at the helm of affairs in the States is totally unwarranted. I believe that whatever may be the Ministry in a State, the State Government is equally interested in law and order, but there are various reasons and the most important psychological aspect of it to my mind is the deployment of the CRP, the Industrial Security Force etc. The Border Security Force is a different question altogether, but the deployment of the other forces does create problems and suspicion also. My sincere feeling is that if the Government of India can help the States to strengthen their police force and give them only help to the extent that they are put on a modern footing and all the scientific knowledge that is there in the world is made available to them, they can show a better performance. The only question comes in when the Centre does not believe in the *bona fides* of a State Government, but there of course it is a constitutional matter and it is more serious. I think they can have recourse to so many other avenues which are already provided in the Constitution for that. So, in the normal course we need not suspect any State and think that we have the monopoly to safeguard the integrity and sovereignty of the country and the States do not have it in mind. There may be people in this country who may not have so much loyalty as others would like them to have, but if you look at it from their angle probably their attitude is different.

Then I will come to another very important point, namely the question of language. I would like to be very brief on that because the hon. Home Minister, Mr. Chavan, two years back when we passed the Amendment of the Official Languages Act and the Resolution, did concede that the non-Hindi-speaking people are put at a disadvantage. You will remember and the House will recall that in the initial stage when the Amendment was introduced the D.M.K. supported it. It is only after the Resolution which slightly tilted the position that we changed our position too, and then at the final stage we opposed it. Afterwards we relied on the good sense, impartiality and fairplay of the Govern-

ment of India and the Home Minister to see to it that particularly those people who are already working in the Central Government in various departments are not put to difficulties, but I am sorry to say that that is not the position. They have been experiencing a lot of difficulties, and the whole trouble lies in this that they make the use of both Hindi and English obligatory for certain specified purposes. Even apart from that, there are certain instructions which I will just quote in passing. At page 116 in the Report they have indicated this:

"...in cases where any general order is received for cyclostyling only in English this should be returned to the concerned Section with the remark that it should be sent along with its Hindi version."

It becomes the responsibility of the Section Officer to provide the Hindi translation. If he is a man who does not know Hindi, what will be his fate? How can he authorise it if somebody else prepares it? These are embarrassing situations.

AN HON. MEMBER: There is a translation department.

SHRI S. KANDAPPAN: He cannot rely on the translator for its authenticity.

At page 119 they say:

"...it is proposed to advise the Chief Controller of Printing and Stationery to issue necessary instructions to the Government of India Presses not to accept any material for publication in the Gazette of India in English only."

These are rules that they are trying to adopt.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA): May I clarify this small point that you have just raised about the compulsion about the English and Hindi versions? There is actually no compulsion that a non-Hindi-knowing person also should give a Hindi translation. Facilities are provided in the sections or the divisions where they are working, and it is automatically done. Nobody who does

not know Hindi suffers any difficulty or disqualification because of this. He can work fully in English; he need not work in Hindi at all; there is no compulsion like that.

SHRI S. KANDAPPAN: Will the hon. Minister enlighten me as to what this passage on page 122 of the report means: by Presidential order dated 27 April, 1960 in-service training in Hindi was made obligatory for Central Government employees who were aged less than 45 years on 1-1-1961 except employees below class III, those in industrial establishments and work-charged staff? What is it but compulsion? Anyway, the hon. Minister should try to mitigate the handicaps. Here is a peculiar case. Staff and officers who are there and who are put to these difficulties rarely take up these matters with the higher authorities; perhaps they are a little afraid or shy to represent on such matters; probably they think that senior officers may take action against them if the matter is raised through a Member of Parliament and brought to the notice of the Minister. This kind of atmosphere is not conducive to the healthy functioning of any department in the Central Government. I hope the Government of India would appreciate the feeling against the imposition of Hindi. After coming to Parliament and watching things for the last eight years, sometimes I feel that people from other parts of the country do not feel so much about this matter; they do not feel much difficulty and that we alone feel the difficulty. Last time when I spoke I referred to it. Fortunately or unfortunately it is so because of the ancient Tamil literature which had its impact on the development of our languages all along the ages. The admixture of Sanskrit which happened in relation to other languages in the South did not affect Tamil and Tamil was preserved almost in its pristine purity, with the result we now find it difficult to learn or understand this language. It is a genuine difficulty and that is what people here fail to understand. They seem to think that it is because of the opposition of the DMK that Tamilians do not learn the Hindi language. I should rather say that even if DMK were not there, as far as the language question is concerned it would be very difficult for the 3.5 crores of Tamilians. Today we find a curious spectacle of the great leader of the Congress from my area changing his postures

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and claiming that he was rather the person who tried to protect the interests of Tamil language and Tamils and not the DMK. It is a political argument. That shows that whoever tries to win some support among the public in Tamil Nadu has to impress upon them that they are against Hindi and that they are for Tamil. Unfortunately, that is perhaps the case in some of the Hindu States also where politicians impress upon the people that they are for the imposition of Hindi throughout the country. This is a kind of contradiction and I do not know where it will lead to. If the Government of India could have an intelligent approach, this problem can be settled amicably without leading to riotous situations as happened in our country.

All along, there was an impression in the minds of Tamilians that Delhi was far removed and was almost foreign to them; they had nothing in conformity with Delhi. The Government of India had tried to assuage that feeling in the past three or four years and tried to help them. The recent issue of a stamp of our late lamented leader Anna had a very good impact in their minds. It was a small thing but its impact was great. The Government of India should consider the psychological aspects. In this connection, I have to make a plea here which I hope the entire House would support. Countries have national flags, national anthems, national animals, national birds etc. which represent the nation as a whole. Some countries have national books too. There was a demand in Tamil Nadu—I do not know whether it reached Delhi as yet—for sometime now. I mention the Tamil book, Thirukkural, which was written by Saint Thiruvalluvar 2,000 years back, which I suggest should be declared as the National Book of India. This is a very suitable book in the sense that in Tamil Nadu, I find that the atheists as well as the theists appreciate this book. The Buddhists claim that Thiruvalluvar was a Buddhist; the Jains claim that Thiruvalluvar was a Jain; the Christians also claim that Thiruvalluvar was a Christian. The Hindus claim likewise. So, it is a very curious combination, and the poet surpassed everybody and he wrote things which are permanent and which are of an enduring nature. It is acceptable to everyone. This is my suggestion,

which I think the Home Ministry would seriously consider, and if they accept this, this will go a long way in psychologically creating an atmosphere in my part of the country that we are partners in one common effort.

SEVERAL HON. MEMBERS *rose—*  
(*Interruption*)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Order, order. Shrimati Jyotsna Chanda.

SHRIMATI JYOTSNA CHANDA (Cachar): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I rise to support the Demands for Grants of the Ministry of Home Affairs, but I would like to make a few observations.

It is a painful fact that the problems and difficulties of areas far away from the capital fail to make their due impact. The Cachar-Mizo region of Assam which I represent is one such grossly neglected area, suffering under the cumulative neglect of the State Government. With a population of about two million, covering an area of 10,814 sq. miles, it is geographically nearly isolated from the rest of the country since partition. Together with the North Cachar Hills, Tripura and a part of Manipur, the Cachar-Mizo region constitutes a distinct area from the points of view of geography and economy.

Cachar is the core of this region and transport and communication lines to the outlying units of the region have all to pass through Cachar. So, the vitality of the economic life and security of the entire region are vitally linked up with, and dependent upon, the stability and strength of the core.

Both the State and the Central Government failed to give due priority to road and railway development. Even the strongest claim of the region on the ground of its abundant bamboo resources, for the location of the proposed paper and pulp mill in the public sector has been bypassed through the machinations of a prejudiced body of technical experts who insisted on a very narrow technical approach.

I am bringing these aspects before the House today because I feel that they have a close bearing on the entire problem includ-

ing that of law and order. Because frustration, disappointment, unemployment and hunger—all originate from socio-economic difficulties.

Before partition, the port of Calcutta was only 400 miles from any part of Assam including the Hills. But after partition, the people of the whole of Assam, Manipur, Tripura etc., have to pay additional fare and freight for no fault of their own. So there is a justified case for considering a national distance of 400 miles for Assam, Manipur, Tripura and Nagaland's railway link with Calcutta. The distance could thus be minimised.

Sir, not only economically but culturally as well, the people of the Cachar region are experiencing difficulties of growing magnitude. With the decision of the Gauhati University to introduce Assamese as the only medium of instruction other than English (for the Hill areas), the students of the Bengali-speaking Cachar district along with students of other non-Assamese linguistic groups in the State are confronted with the bleak prospect of unequal, unfair competition. The principle of ensuring equal opportunities should be safeguarded at all costs if the youth of the area are to be saved from undesirable consequences. Because, the burden of unequal opportunity is likely to further accentuate the problem of student and youth unrest, making the younger sections more susceptible to misguided adventurism. And this area, unfortunately, has an abundance of misguided elements, including armed adventurists and Naxalites. I avail myself of this opportunity to extend by full support to the genuine demands of the area and its neighbourhood.

While the sound reasoning behind the demand of Manipur and Tripura for statehood should convince everyone about the legitimacy of their case, the Government of India should not miss any opportunity to enlarge the scope of the Eighth Schedule to the Constitution by including the Manipuri language in it. Manipur's two thousand year old culture and heritage including language strengthens the case of the modern Manipuri language to find its rightful place among the family of major national languages.

I feel that continued delay in recognising the statehood for Manipur and Tripura and indifference to the demand for constitutional recognition of Manipuri language will further strengthen the fissiparous tendencies, including those inspired and assisted by China and Pakistan, and Tripura's growing economic problems provide fostering care to misguided extremists and armed elements.

May I mention here that even Cachar's quiet valley is threatened by extremists, Naxalites and encroachers? Taking advantage of the land hunger of a fast growing agricultural population left with no other alternative occupation in the absence of new industries, irresponsible politicians and extremists are encouraging large-scale encroachment of forest reserves and other areas. Besides, the situation is further aggravated by the presence of anti-Indian elements drawing inspiration from China, Pakistan and elsewhere.

It may not out of place to mention that the situation in the Mizo district continues to cause anxiety despite commendable success achieved by our security forces. Cautious follow-up measures in economic, political and emotional spheres are necessary because at present the reverses suffered by the misguided elements have not been transformed into points of positive gain. Moreover, some unfortunate consequences of the quelling action of the security forces have worsened the situation. The difficulties of the common people, who never supported the rebels, arising from unplanned and forced grouping of villages under so-called 'voluntary grouping' in some cases, virtual dislocation in cultivation in most areas owing to restrictions on movement or due to compulsory impressed labour without adequate payment for unproductive purposes etc. have done terrible harm. Several complaints have been made about non-payment of wages for compulsory labour of villagers utilized by the security forces.

There is reliable information about widespread starvation condition in large areas in the Mizo district owing to erosion of purchasing power. All these call for strengthening of stocks of foodgrains before monsoon.



[Srimati Jyotsna Chanda]

Before I conclude I would like to say a few words regarding Grih Kalyan Kendra which is administered by a board of senior officials representing different Ministries. I find from the Report on the Ministry of Home Affairs that the present grant-in-aid for this scheme is Rs. 3.50 lakhs and the annual fee collection and earnings amount to nearly Rs. 3 lakhs. It seems that this scheme is functioning only in Delhi, Bombay, Madras, Nagpur and Dehra Dun. May I request the hon. Minister to extend this scheme to other places also for the welfare of the society?

**SHRI SURENDRANATH DWIVEDY (Kendrapara):** Mr. Chairman, Sir, I endorse what my hon. friend, Shri Kandappan, has stated about Centre-State relationship and I would like the Government to take a decision on the recommendations that the ARC has made in this regard. I do not know why they are taking such a long time in taking a decision on the recommendations of the ARC on many vital matters affecting the administration.

There is criticism in this House that the ARC has taken unduly long to finish its deliberations but at the same time they have submitted many reports which, if sincerely and quickly implemented, would really tone up our administrative machinery and would give it a new direction.

In this period of instability all over the country, when there is a spirit of violence, it is all the more necessary for the Ministry of Home Affairs to function in a manner as to strengthen our democracy and bring about real integration of the country. But the manner in which the affairs of the Home Ministry are being pursued, I am afraid, if we had all these troubles all over the country, the Home Minister would have to share the responsibility to a great extent. On vital issues, due to political reasons, the interest of the country is ignored; no decision is taken. I will come to that later on.

Politicians who become ministers always accuse the civil service. The main accusation today is that if we are not able to carry out the promises, assurance and programmes, it is because the bottleneck is the instrument,

the Government machinery, the officials, the services. This is a valid charge, I would say, because the services in this country during the British period were meant for some other purpose. They were to keep away from the people. They were mainly meant for maintaining law and order. They are very prestige conscious. They are a class by themselves. We created so many classes among them and they still exist probably with more privileges and more authority. Therefore I would like to know what steps have really been taken in this direction.

As you know, there is a slogan going on that we want the services to have commitment. Commitment to what—to our ideology, to our policy or to whom? I think, Shri Shukla, said here the other day that they were going to take steps to weed out some of the officials who in West Bengal had behaved in a most dishonest, reprehensive manner. Because this is an issue in which the whole country is very much interested, I want to know what is it that after all the Government wants. Will the services in this country commit themselves to the philosophy and ideology of a particular party which runs the Government or do we actually want that if there is any commitment the services must commit themselves to the nation, the national interest, and must have a broad outlook and honesty and they must be good and efficient? All these qualities are the real commitment that is necessary. If they have not, I would very largely blame the Government for that. They have never tried to inculcate all these qualities. Rather, the Government machinery is being used for political purposes, whether at the Centre or in the States, and as a result demoralisation and frustration has crept into the services to such an extent that, in some States, the people working in the services do not think of any promotion or recognition of their efficiency if they do not belong to a particular caste or to a certain region. We often hear, in the communal riots, and this is a charge which cannot be refuted, the services have taken this side or that side. The danger in such a situation is that when there is instability at the governmental sphere and, if the Government machinery is also influenced by partisan political elements, then, necessarily, the country will suffer. There has been such a situation in

many countries, say, for example, in France where because the services are immune to all these elements, that the country has made steady progress. This is all the more necessary in our country.

If any commitment is necessary, I ask, when you appoint Governors, are they really committed to the Constitution under which they function and which they have to preserve and defend? What we find today is that Governors have become more political functionaries than functionaries who are really preserving the Constitution. It is time that we review the whole position. Perhaps, there is a need to abolish the office of the Governor. Is it necessary at all? They make all sorts of statements. Even Shri Hukam Singh who was the Speaker for 5 years in this House has not failed at this moment to enter into a controversial political issue. Shri Dhavan is a class by himself. It is not necessary to mention other names here. Any number of examples can be given as to how the Governors position, authority and power are used for political purposes. They have become pawns in the hands of the Central Government. They are not the agents of the President. They always look to Mr. Chavan for guidance. If that is the role they have to play, we can appoint an IAS officer as an agent of Mr. Chavan to look after the affairs of the State and he can send his report to him. There is no need of having Governors of such nature.

Then, among the services, there are differences in many directions at the Centre and in the States. There are IAS and IPS officers. I would like to know, because there has been a resistance for the all-India service now, what is really the responsibility and obligation of the Central Government so far as the Central services are concerned. What is the discipline? How far they control these IAS and IPS officers who work in the States? I am told, in respect of the Ayier Commission Report in Bihar which has specifically mentioned about 10 or 12 IAS officers, no action is being taken. Because they have to look to the Centre for what they have done in the State and the Centre seems to be taking a step-motherly attitude, a very callous attitude, sitting tight and asking the State to ask some authority or someone to find out whether any action can be taken.

SHRI K. N. TIWARY: No, no.

SHRI SURENDRANATH DWIVEDY: I do not know if these things go on. Then, there is disparity in the emoluments, in the privileges, in the salaries. . .

SHRI K. N. TIWARY: I may tell the hon. Member that the Bihar Government is taking action.

SHRI SURENDRANATH DWIVEDY: It is for the Home Minister to contradict it.

SHRI K. N. TIWARY: The Bihar Government is taking action in that matter.

SHRI SURENDRANATH DWIVEDY: Bihar Government wants to take action but because of these difficulties they are not able to do anything.

SHRI K. N. TIWARY: There is no interference so far as we know.

SHRI SURENDRANATH DWIVEDY: There is no question of interference. There is the delay. That is how things are functioning and the Civil Servants are under the discipline of the Centre.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: I thought I should not intervene. Possibly you will not be present when I am replying to the debate. So I want to say a word.

There is no question of interference from the Central Government as far as the desire or decision of the State Government to take any action against either the Ministers or the Government employees involved. What has happened is that the Chief Minister himself asked us whether the Attorney General's view could be made available to them about the action to be taken on the report of the Iyer Commission. This is where the Central Government comes in. There is no question of Central Government delaying or withholding any permission.

SHRI SURENDRANATH DWIVEDY: If that is the case, I have nothing to say. I want to point out that IAS officers and IPS officers are functioning in the States and for their acts of omission and commission in the States where they work, the responsibility

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for taking any action that the State Government considers necessary should be with the State and the Central Government should not come in the way. Otherwise practically it creates all sorts of difficulties in their way.

I was pointing out the disparity in the salary even amongst the officers. There are so many classes among them. The ARC in their report on Personnel Administration has suggested that it should be reduced. What has happened to that? They said, 'Make it possible for many of our young men to enter into the competitive examinations.' They have suggested that the age limit which is now 20 to 24 years should be relaxed and it should be made 26 years. A large number of our young man are debarred from the competitive services. That simple recommendation has not been accepted. There is no such disparity in any country I would say. Perhaps even in the United States in the federal services the ratio is 1:7. In Britain it is 1:11. Here, what is the ratio between the lowest and the highest? If you have this wide disparity in the services, it is impossible to ask all classes of officers to work with a certain objective.

SHRI J. B. KRIPALANI: That is the purpose of socialism.

SHRI S. KANDAPPAN: Even in the same cadre in the State and the Centre there is difference in the emoluments.

SHRI SURENDRANATH DWIVEDY: What you desire to do is a different thing. But this is a question of classification, of putting the categories on a uniform basis so that they really feel that they are comrades-at-arms and work for certain purposes. That has not been done. That is being neglected. I do not know why. I wish that the Home Minister pays some more attention to this very important matter.

The next thing I want to say is about border disputes about which some mention was made. We have been agitating in this House as you must have known, not only now probably for the last 8 or 9 years after the SRC recommendations, demand has been made. You must have to tackle these border disputes on a principled basis. That is not

done. But the Government itself is creating difficulty because they want the States to fight among themselves. They did not accept this principle. They go in for *ad hoc* solutions because it suits them politically. Perhaps as far as Chandigarh is concerned, the same thing has happened. There was the delay in taking a decision. They ultimately decided, but they failed to take Sant Fateh Singh with them in spite of the fact that they gave Chandigarh to Punjab. It misfired. That was a political decision. That was not really a judicial decision. It is good that you gave it Punjab.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Your time is up.

SHRI SURENDRANATH DWIVEDY: I am speaking about your own Chandigarh.

Now, Sir, take the Maharashtra-Mysore Border question. Mr. Chavan is the Home Minister, and he is an interested party. I do not know why this tussle is going on between different States; even in the same party working in these States, they are fighting as if they belong to a different country. Why is this fight going on? Whose interests are they serving by allowing the matter to drift like this? Mr. Chavan probably does not want that this problem should be solved.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: Why ?

SHRI SURENDRANATH DWIVEDY: Otherwise—I would like to know this—the Mahajan Commission was appointed, why has that Mahajan Commission's Report not been discussed in this House so long? You are discussing it with everybody else and the report is confidentially sent to somebody else; then what is this Parliament for? Why has that report not been discussed here, when that report has been submitted I think, 3 or 4 years back. . .

SHRI S. KANDAPPAN: They are afraid about accidents in the House.

SHRI SURENDRANATH DWIVEDY: Now the question is whether you want to reopen the whole question or not. They are not making it very clear. The Prime Minister said: 'Yes; so far as principles as basis for solving the border disputes, I am not going

to accept this.' If that is the position, Government must make it clear whether they are accepting the Mahajan Commission's Report, that the whole question cannot be reopened. But why this simple statement is not coming? By what they are doing they are creating more difficulties, disintegration, more fighting amongst quarters where they should not be. Therefore they are responsible for all these things. And, deliberately, if Mr. Chavan found it difficult politically for him to take a certain decision then it would be honest for him to leave the Home Portfolio. Because he wants to be the leader of the Maharashtra, he does not want to displease them because that is his political base. If that is so, if that is the real difficulty in your way, I want to warn them. Let the Government make its position very clear. Sir, we accept the position that every decision of the Government should be based on some principles and policies. It should be made clear whether that policy is equally applicable to Maharashtra-Mysore dispute where the Commission has already given a report. What is your position? Let us know about this clearly.

Then, about Telengana, Sir. I would like to remind Mr. Chavan—the Home Ministry's Consultative Committee unanimously adopted a decision that there should be a Conference of all concerned interests, Andhras and Telenganes, and that everyone who is interested in the matter may be called at a conference either in Delhi or in Hyderabad. This was the unanimous decision taken sometime back—in August or October,—I don't remember the exact month. But why has not this simple decision been carried? Sir, my charge is that decisions are not being taken in the interest of the country, but decision is taken only if it suits the political purpose of the ruling party.

MR. CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member's time is up.

SHRI SURENDRANATH DWIVEDY: One last point and I would conclude. This is about West Bengal. Many friends have said many things and I am not going to narrate the whole history of what has happened in that part of our country. But one thing is very clear that the police was immobilised, that there were many serious incidents, murders took place and the Administration

also was practically paralysed. There are innumerable incidents given by the Services themselves to point out as to how the CPI (M) who were in charge of the Home portfolio there practically took action for political reasons against different officers.

17 hrs.

The Home Minister admitted that a large number of Chinese small arms were smuggled into Bengal.

Taking all this situation into consideration, is it not the responsibility of the Home Ministry who is entrusted with the task to maintain the integrity of the country? Now the President's rule is there. I am not apportioning blame here or there. There is some feeling amongst the officers who are working there. If anything has been done to them, that must be brought out. And a judicial enquiry or a high-power enquiry should be made into the affairs of West Bengal to see how they ran the administration there and create confidence amongst the services. I think a very serious consideration should be given to this matter for national integrity and sovereignty of the country.

I would therefore urge upon the Home Minister that so far as the A. R. C's recommendations are concerned with regard to personnel, services, machinery of the government and the Centre-State relations these should be implemented as expeditiously as possible.

Thank you.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Shri Bhandare.

SHRI R. D. BHANDARE (Bombay Central): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I rise to support the demands of the Ministry of Home Affairs. There has been so much talk of tension and violence that is prevailing in this country. Very few hon. Members have given the correct assessment of the present state of affairs of the Nation. The hon. Member Shri Patil suggested that there was tension in this country. He also said that violence and indiscipline were prevailing in this country. Political debauchery or political prostitution is going on in the shape of defection. I, to some extent, agree with that. Let me tell you that beyond indiscipline and political prostitution there is such a thing as dignity of life and human values. The

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question is: to what extent these affect a decent living. Why I am repeating this is that these questions of indiscipline and political defections are not the developments of a day or two but these have happened during the last twenty years. The question that we should address ourselves is: What are the economic and social conditions that are prevailing in this country? These tensions and violence have increased because of prevalence of social and economic conditions in the country. We very often see *ad nauseum* this gap between the poor and the rich. What is the real connotation of it? Before independence, the whole power was concentrated in the hands of a few. So also the economic power was concentrated in the hands of a few.

Therefore, the results of the three Plans resulted in the social and economic powers becoming more and more concentrated in the hands of those in whose hands those powers were concentrated. Let me also diagnose and tell you one factor. Social and economic powers have been institutionalised in this country. The question therefore is whether these institutions have become weak or strong. If they are weakened, why there is tension and violence? If they have become strong, we must find out how and why there is increase in violence and tension.

In order to understand this aspect and find an answer to the question, let me quote from p. 9, paragraph 8 from the report on the Causes and Nature of the current Agrarian tensions prepared by the Research and Policy Division of the Home Ministry:

"The basic cause of unrest, namely, the defective implementation of laws enacted to protect the interests of the tribals and the landless remains. Unless this is attended to, it would not be possible to win the confidence of the tribals whose leadership has been taken over by the extremists."

This is the reason given by the Home Ministry itself.

SHRI S. M. JOSHI (Poona): Why did they do it?

SHRI R. D. BHANDARE: Because of the defect in land reforms, because of the

concentration of economic and social power in a few hands.

SHRI S. M. JOSHI: It is in his hands.

SHRI R. D. BHANDARE: I am blaming those in whose hands social and economic powers rest, whether they belong to this side or that. The main Opposition is also equally responsible along with Government because they were part and parcel of it (*Interruptions*). When I joined the Congress, I was under the impression that by doing so I would be able to help the people so that the tension and violence may not percolate down to our people.

In this connection, the role in history of Dr. Ambedkar has not been properly appreciated. He framed the Constitution and canalised the new awakening and strength created by him among these downtrodden and under-privileged people through democratic channels.

SHRI S. M. JOSHI: He thought that you would never become undemocratic.

SHRI R. D. BHANDARE: We have never become undemocratic. But how long can the downtrodden and under-privileged tolerate it and be patient? That is exactly the point I am raising.

AN HON. MEMBER: What about defections?

SHRI R. D. BHANDARE: Leave aside the question of defections. It is the result of the tension prevailing in his mind. He should never forget that (*Interruption*). Let him not be impatient. Otherwise, there will be no patience left in the country.

Let me quote from p. 10 of the same report:

"Although the peasant... opposition"—and I should add, the political parties—

"in most parts of the country are still organisationally weak, and their capacity for launching sustained agitation is limited, the tension in the rural areas resulting from the widening gap between the relatively few and affluent farmers and large body of small landholders, landless agri-

cultural workers may increase in the coming months and years."

A bad agricultural season would lead to an explosive situation in the country. Therefore, let us not be satisfied with saying that there is defection and therefore the tension and violence has increased. We have got to overhaul the whole machinery of the society and weaken those centres of power which have been institutionalised.

SHRI SHEO NARAIN (Basti): Who is going to do it? Ask your Prime Minister.

SHRI R. D. BHANDARE: That is the programme we have taken up and that is why this time there is so much agitation passing in the minds of these people because we have given the slogan of socialism. As a member of the ruling party which wants to bring about land reforms and less concentration of economic power, do you really think that I have lost my fervour, vigour and vitality and I have become so weak? There are other reasons. Let me tell you the truth. Now the common man, the educated man and those who have become awakened are not going to allow you to have peace of mind, whether one belongs to the Congress ruling party, Congress opposition or any other political party. There is awakening and we have been trying to turn that awakening and strength into democratic channels. Even that credit you are not prepared to give me and my friends and my leader Dr. Ambedkar.

It is also not appreciated why Dr. Ambedkar asked us to accept Buddhism. It is because Buddhism is based on the principles of equality, liberty and justice, the very principles which are enshrined in the Constitution. When I demand some facilities to the Buddhists to make them strong so that they can be strong pillars of democracy, you people laugh at us, in fact jeer at us saying that we have become neo-religious or neo-communal. I, therefore, insist that more facilities in the matter of education and improved economic opportunities must be given to the Buddhists also, because if you go to the villages you will find that their social and economic position remains the same as before their conversion. Therefore, there must be reservation in the services. That is my appeal.

SHRI S. M. JOSHI: I support you on that point.

SHRI R. D. BHANDARE: I hope so, and the Government is bound to support me on that.

Coming back to the Report of the Home Ministry, I must draw the attention of the Home Minister to page 58 which deals with the reservation in the services of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes. I think the story is very pathetic told by the Home Ministry itself. I do not want to dwell on it, but I will draw the attention of the whole House including my friends who are part and parcel of the society in which there is concentration of economic power and social power, to the question whether the atrocities on these people have increased or decreased. Who is responsible?

SHRI OM PRAKASH TYAGI (Moradabad): The ruling party.

SHRI R. D. BHANDARE: The hon. Members are not less responsible from my point of view. All the political parties are equally responsible. When there is a question of monopoly, everybody would like to be radical socialists but what about the social monopoly under which we have been carrying on our agonising life for centuries together? No political party raises its voice, only a few voices here and there are raised at times but that voice is in the wilderness. Therefore, I would suggest to the Home Minister that the protection of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and the underprivileged must be the special responsibility of the Governor himself. Let us change the Constitution to that extent. We can criticise the Governor through the Home Ministry because ultimately the Home Ministry would be responsible for atrocities committed in all parts of the country. . . (Interruptions)

Even if a person from the Scheduled Castes is made the President of India, unless the constitution is changed he may not be able to do anything. . . (Interruptions.)

Since Mr. Dwivedy raised the question and it has also been agitating the minds of many persons as to why Maharashtra has not accepted the Mahajan Commission's report as that Commission was appointed at the suggestion of Maharashtra, I shall refer to

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it. We have to ask whether certain basic principles which be applied in solving border questions were applied in this case or not? Should this be solved on an *ad hoc* basis? What should be our attitude. We claim that border disputes must be solved on certain specific agreed principles. I need not repeat those principles in detail: village as a unit, geographical contiguity, language as the basic factor, wishes of those people, etc. If some of the villages do not want to come to Maharashtra, the matter should be left to their desire. That is exactly the question. That is the reason why we are not accepting the report of the Mahajan Commission. Why should it therefore agitate their minds when we talk of the principles for solving border disputes between different states? That is our grievance. With these words, I support the Demands.

SHRI RANDHIR SINGH (Rohtak): Will this principle be applicable to Haryana also?

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please sit down. With regard to unattached Members I have got five or six names and their share of time is 19 minutes. If they take five or six minutes each, I think they can be accommodated . . . (Interruptions).

SHRI EBRAHIM SULAIMAN SAIT (Kozhikode): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am grateful to you for giving me a chance to speak on the Home Ministry's demands. In its opening paragraphs the report claims that the Home Ministry had been taking proper measures to tackle violence and tensions in different parts of the country. In my opinion they have not succeeded in this duty. The main duty of the Home Ministry is to maintain law and order in the country, to see that the people, every one of them, feel secure. The Home Ministry had not succeeded in this regard.

Interested as I am in the cause dear to my heart, I shall deal with the Muslim minority in this country and the situation prevailing in the country. It is this Muslim minority which is primarily affected by the riots going on in this country. If riots go on, there cannot be peace and progress and therefore the interests of the country will suffer. Though the Home Ministry claims that they had been making efforts in this

direction during the last 23 years, there had been no peace in this country and no law and order, because of which the Muslim minority has been suffering continuously and perpetually for the last 23 years.

17.20 hrs.

[SHRIMATI SUSHILA ROHATGI, in the Chair]

I cannot agree that the administration is so negligent in this country. I cannot agree that the intelligence services have become so incompetent. I cannot agree also that only the police is so weak. What I say is, where there is a will, there is a way. I feel, therefore, that the Government has not taken adequate measures to see that law and order is maintained in this country. As far as I can see, you must treat, particularly the Home Ministry must treat, the cases of communal riots, the genocide of Muslims in this country as a national problem.

Always we have got tension in this country; every day riots take place in this country, because of various reasons, and because we have got regional tensions, regional riots, and we have also got linguistic riots. These riots are completely different from communal riots. These regional riots, linguistic riots, take place because of discrimination against them and therefore there is a sudden outburst. If we do justice to every section of the population, to people belonging to areas speaking different languages, people living in the different regions, there cannot be any such riot at all. But, on the other hand, as far as the communal riots are concerned, it is not a sudden outburst because of discrimination. They take place in a certain plan, under a certain conspiracy which is being hatched by the rabid, communal, militant forces in this country.

Therefore, I say that today we see the preparations which are going on, by the militant forces in this country, the communal forces of the majority in this country who are also carrying on military training. For what purpose and against whom? Are these people going to fight against Pakistan? Are these communal forces carrying on military training to fight against China? I say we have got a very competent military, efficient military to safeguard the integrity and independence of the country. But if, in that case, riots take place in this country, the reason is very

obvious. When Shri Bal Raj Madhok says, as is reported in the Hindustan Times dated 16 February, that "the riots will continue till Islam is Indianised", you can clearly understand the reason why the riots take place.

Who is responsible for these riots? Who is responsible for the heart-breaking we have witnessed? Who is responsible for the holocaust which has been taking place in this country for the last 23 years? You can very well imagine the plight of a minority of eight crores being dubbed as anti-national and living under perpetual fear of their lives and property. What will be the feelings of such a minority? I can only say in the words of the Urdu poet:

सब्त जानी की दाद दे ए दोस्त—

त्री रहा हूं तेरे जमाने में ।

[سبقت جانی کی داد دے اے دوست

جی رہا ہوں تیرے زمانے میں]

This is the situation that prevails in this country. After the suffering of the Muslims in the worst blood bath in the annals of this country at Ahmedabad, after the brutality and ferocity having reached its zenith, and after the visit of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan who carried on a peace mission in this country, I we hoped that brutal riots will stop. But we are shocked that there have been communal riots again in Murshidabad, Indore and Bhopal. All these missions here failed and so we see here:

इस्लाम का जलना हुआ घर

देख रहा हूँ—

देखा नहीं जाता है मगर देख रहा हूँ ।

[اخلاق کا جلتا ہوا گھر دیکھ رہا ہوں

دیکھا نہیں جاتا ہے مگر دیکھ رہا ہوں]

This is the condition in this country. I feel that the administration has failed. I feel that the administrators have failed. What did Mahatma Gandhi say in respect of such riots? What is the way to fight against the riots? Mahatma Gandhi said that you must die to quell the riots. We have got Gandhians today; secularists today; nationalists today. Has anyone given up his life for the sake of putting down the communal riots in this country? Where are the nationalists? Where

are the secularists? I do not find them. Nobody is patriotic today. Everybody wants his region, language and community, and not the country. That is the worst situation in this country. This is the great Tragedy!

The recent Home Ministry report has pointed out that as against 346 communal incidents in the country in 1968, 519 incidents have taken place in 1969. This is the position today. And why? There are slogans of Indianisation. Indianisation against whom? Mr. G. Ramchandran, speaking in the Upper House the other day said that "under the circumstances, under this background, when one section, one party raises the Indianisation slogan, it means Hinduisation and nothing else." I do not say this: Mr. G. Ramchandran says it. Therefore, on this background, I say that such things must stop. Hatred should not be spread. Love and amity should prevail. Every one must have place of honour in this country.<sup>1</sup>

MR. CHAIRMAN: His time is up. He should conclude now.

SHRI EBRAHIM SULAIMAN SAIT: I have got certain problems to bring to your notice. There is the Shiv Sena coming up in Maharashtra, which held the Bombay city to ransom the other day. It is a destructive force which has to be tackled.

As far as the Ahmedabad riots are concerned, the problem of rehabilitation, the problem of compensation to widows and the most important problem of the reconstruction and repair of thousands of places of worship should be given top-most priority. The damaged places of worship even now remain as monuments of the brutality of the rioters. The repair and reconstruction of these places of worship must be made the responsibility of either the State or Central Government.

Quite recently, on the 6th instant, the Punjab Chief Minister raised the issue of the damage caused to Gurudwaras in Haryana during the recent violence there, in a letter written in Haryana Chief Minister. The latter promptly informed the Punjab Chief Minister that Rs. 18,626, Rs. 465 and Rs. 12,000 have been given to the managements of Gurudwaras at Sonepat, Rohtak and Dadri respectively after the assessment of



[Shri Ebrahim Sulaiman Sait]

the damage caused to their buildings. This is a noble example set by Haryana. Why not the Central Government follow this, especially when they have a responsibility in the matter?

Then, the National Integration Committee has recommended that action should be taken against those responsible in communal riots and that the Muslim minorities must be given adequate representation, particularly in the police. I want the Home Minister to place a report on the Table of the House as to what action has been taken on these recommendations. How many mischief mongers have been brought to book and how many Muslims have been given representation in the services, particularly in the police?

Sir, with your permission, I would like to place on the Table a copy of the list of 49 mosques damaged during the riots which need complete repair or reconstruction. This will cost Rs. 10 lakhs, which is a paltry sum for the Government. This has to be done as early as possible.

SHRI MOHSIN (Dharwar South): I rise to support the Demands of the Home Ministry. While doing so, I would like to give some suggestions. I have heard Shri S. K. Patil rightly point out that the law and order situation in the country has been deteriorating. He referred to the incidents that have been happening in West Bengal and also to the incident that happened in Bihar on the life of Shri Jyoti Basu. But, surprisingly, he left out communal disturbances that have taken a toll of thousands of lives.

It is quite right to say that even after 22 years of rule the law and order situation has further deteriorated and become worse. So, something has got to be done. It is no use shifting the responsibility to the States, saying that law and order is the responsibility of the State Government. There is the Home Ministry in the Centre and the primary duty of the Home Ministry is to maintain law and order in the whole country. If the States cannot do it, then the Home Ministry of the Central Government will have to take up that responsibility, because it means the protection of the life and property of the people which is very important in any free democratic nation. If necessary, the

Constitution will have to be amended to bring law and order in the Concurrent or Union List. In any case, the Centre cannot escape from the responsibility of protecting the lives of the people.

When Shri Mushir Ahmed Khan referred to some instances where communal disturbances had taken a toll of thousands of lives, a Jana Sangh Member from the opposite side also joined him in condemning such communal disturbances. It is a very happy augury. Shri Sharma stated that it is really a disgrace on our country that communal disturbances occur. If the Jana Sangh adopts this attitude, I shall be very happy. But it must practise it also. But, at the same time, he referred to the conversion of some Hindu temples into mosques in those olden days. Is it the reason for the revenge that is being taken on the lives of the Muslims today? Because once upon a time some temples were converted into mosques, can that be a reason for taking revenge on the Muslim community? If any person makes a mistake or commits an offence, let him be punished be he a Hindu or a Muslim; there cannot be any difference. But for the act of a solitary individual, the whole innocent community should not be punished. In fact, such are the happenings which are going on throughout the country and something will have to be done to stop it.

In foreign countries, in most of the Islamic countries, which I have toured there is a feeling that in India the Muslim minority is not safe. That apprehension or feeling is not good in the interest of the country. We have to hang our heads in shame when such references are made. In a country like ours with great traditions of amity and goodwill, such things are happening and we have no answer to that.

Shri Bal Raj Madhok is very popular in those countries because by his utterances in provoking such disturbances here. Even in Pakistan, it is said, Shri Bal Raj Madhok is better known than anybody else. Perhaps, it is for this reason that he speaks of Indianisation. If Indianisation is required, Shri Bal Raj Madhok will have to be Indianised because he is propagating the cause of Pakistan in other countries. He is very popular in Pakistan and other countries than in

India. It is because of this reason that I welcome the proposal of Indianisation. I did not know that Shri Bal Raj Madhok was born in Pakistan occupied Kashmir. He is not a born Indian that way; of course, because a part of Kashmir was taken away he has come as a refugee here.

**SHRI KANWAR LAL GUPTA:** It is not a fact that he was born in Pakistan. He needs to be Indianised.

**SHRI MOHSIN:** He was born in Kashmir which is now occupied by Pakistan. In that case he has no authority to talk about the loyalty of those persons who were born here and are living here for thousands of years. If at all anything has to be done, it has to be rectified only at his level.

Then coming to the law and order situation, it is said that there are 140 senas, private armies, in this country, prominent among them being the Shiv Sena in Bombay. We are aware of the havoc which it is creating. It is said that some of the prominent persons of the Government are backing these private armies like Shiv Sena. One article in the *Illustrated Weekly* shows how much rampage it has done in Bombay. The life of the whole city was paralysed for four full days. The article says:

"Despite the Sena's fascist techniques, politicians of other parties have not hesitated to get its support in disputes such as the Mysore-Maharashtra border question. The Shiv Sena pledge commits its members to total social and commercial boycott of all non-Maharashtrians. Recently it has taken an anti-Muslim stance. Threats have also been made against Punjabi and Sindhi Gurdwaras in some of its agitations. In Tamil Nadu, the reaction was the formation of the Tamil Sena. Some South Indian leaders have said that in retaliation to the Shiv Sena they will call for boycott of all Maharashtrians in their region.

The Shiv Sena's anti-communist posture adds another angle to the picture. Bal Thackeray declared recently that the Shiv Sena would break up any Communist meetings. The accusation in some quarters is that the Shiv Sena is already being used in labour-management disputes, both to

split the union strength of dividing Maharashtra and non-Maharashtrian labour, and to intimidate labour by "goonda" methods. Reportedly much of the Shiv Sena's finances come from big business interests which find it worthwhile to finance the Sena for these reasons."

There is something further. It says:

"There have even been accusations of CIA support for the Sena's anti-Communist activities."

These are anti-people activities of the Shiv Sena which has given rise to Tamil Sena in Tamil Nadu and Lachit Sena in Assam and so many Senas in so many States. That shows the political stability has deteriorated throughout the country.

One of the biggest Senas that I cannot but refer to is the R. S. S. which is also using fascist methods of Nazis. The R. S. S., as all of us are aware, has raised a big army, a private army, of its own and it gives training in military warfare. They use all the weapons that military uses. They give training in those weapons to the persons. When you have got an Indian army why such a private army is required I cannot understand. Wherever such demonstrations have occurred, the communal disturbances have followed. So, it is only with this objective that the R. S. S. has been used. I am sorry to say that Shiv Sena is closely following the R.S.S. activities.

When the border disputes question has been raised by many hon. Members, I cannot help referring to the border disputes. It is the paramount duty of the Government to see that the integrity of the country is not lost and that the disputes between the States are solved quickly. Such disputes have remain unsolved since very long and there is a big time lapse.

One dispute of that sort is the Maharashtra-Mysore border dispute. The Reorganisation Act had put an end to all these things. The Parliament had passed the Reorganisation Act and there was no necessity to disturb the boundaries again. A high-powered Reorganisation Commission was appointed under the leadership of Mr. Justice Fazl Ali and the Parliament had passed the Reorganisation Act on their recommendation. Where was the necessity of considering the question

[Shri Mo hsin]

again? Our Home Minister thought it worthwhile to re-open that question again. I have got the highest regard for the Home Minister who is a very good administrator. Of course, it was all right when he was the Chief Minister of Maharashtra that he had taken up that border question. But now he belongs to the whole of India. He does not belong only to Maharashtra. He represents the whole country. He should be an impartial attitude in taking up these questions.

As regards the Maharashtra-Mysore border dispute is concerned, a Resolution was passed in the Congress Working Committee in pursuance of which the Mahajan Commission was appointed. I quote:

"Taking into consideration the fundamental basis of the reorganisation of States in India and with a view to solving the existing border disputes between the States of Maharashtra and Mysore, and the States of Mysore and Kerala, the Working Committee request the Government to set up a Commission which shall hear concerned parties and give its final decision."

Mr. Y. B. Chavan was a party to this Resolution. Moreover, he took initiative to pass such a Resolution.

Then, Shri V. P. Naik, the Chief Minister of Maharashtra who was also a party to the resolution told newsmen in Delhi, I quote:

"that the decision would satisfy to a large extent the Maharashtra Congressmen."

He further said:

"The Working Committee's decision should be welcomed by all as it marked a final and decisive step towards settling the disputes agitating the minds of the people of Maharashtra, Mysore and Kerala for a decade."

Further, just before the Mahajan Commission's Report was received—he did not know what the Report would be—Mr. Nijalingappa, the then Chief Minister of Mysore had said that whatever be the recommendation, we are going to accept it. In response to that, Mr. V. P. Naik said:

"Shri Nijalingappa's statement that he shall accept Mahajan Commission's recommendations is not new. When the question came up before the Congress Working Committee, the two Chief Ministers had agreed between themselves to accept the recommendations rather than keep the whole issue pending from generation to generation. This point was not officially made public at the time of the appointment of the Commission for the simple reason that constitutionally it is Parliament which takes final decision on such issues. Copies of the Mahajan Report have not reached us so far. However, whatever the recommendations might be, they are binding on us."

That is one day prior to the Mahajan Commission's Report was received by him and soon after, when the Mahajan Commission's Report comes into his hands, he changes his mind. Everybody changes except Mysore. It was the express desire of all that the Mahajan Commission's report should be taken as an award and not as a mere recommendation. On this basis only Mysore agreed for that. Mysore agreed before the actual report came into the hands of the Government. Now it is not open for the Maharashtra people to back out from this decision and say that new criteria will have to be found out.

श्री अमृतल गनी डार ( गुडगाव ) :

चेयर-मैन साहिबा, मैं होम मिनिस्टर साहब को, जिन को मैं अपना प्यारा भाई कहा करता हूँ, यह याद दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि जब कांस्टीट्यूशन बनाया जा रहा था, तो उस वक्त एक ब्याल यह भाया था कि गवर्नर को यह अख्तियार दिया जाये कि वह इन्स्ट्रक्शन दे, हिदायत करे और वह अपने दिमाग से जिस काम को सही समझे, वह करें। इस सिलसिले में एक प्रस्ताव कांस्टीट्यूएण्ट एसेम्बली के सामने रखा गया था। लेकिन एक दिन श्री कृष्ण मेनन उठे और उन्होंने कहा कि प्राइम मिनिस्टर ने यह हिदायत दी है कि हम इस प्रस्ताव को वापिस ले लें। उस वक्त के ला मिनिस्टर, डा० अम्बेदकर, को इस बारे में कुछ भी पता नहीं था। किसी

को भी समझ में नहीं आया कि पंडित जी ने ऐसा क्यों किया। पंडित जी की नजर बहुत तेज थी। उन्होंने राज करना था। उन्होंने समझा कि अगर गवर्नर हमारे हुकम पर न चले, तो कैसे काम चलेगा। आज हम उसका नतीजा देख रहे हैं।

होम मिनिस्टर साहब और मुअज्जिज मेम्बरान इस बात से इन्कार नहीं करेंगे कि मुकतलिफ स्टेट्स में गवर्नरों ने अलग अलग रोल भ्रदा किया है। वेस्ट बंगाल में श्री धर्मवीर ने बड़ी मजबूती के साथ यह कोशिश की कि वहां किसी तरह की बद-अमनी न हो, कत्ल और फसादात न हों, नक्सलवाड़ी जैसे हालात पैदा न हों और मजबूत गवर्नमेंट हो। लेफ्ट कम्युनिस्टों ने उसके खिलाफ तूफान उठाया और राइट कम्युनिस्टों ने भी उनका साथ दिया। उसके बाद एक दूसरे साहब वहाँ गवर्नर बना कर भेजे गये, जो उन लोगों की पसन्द के हैं। लेकिन उसका नतीजा क्या हुआ? आज बंगाल में जो सूरतेहाल है, उस पर यकीनन न होम मिनिस्टर साहब खुश हो सकते हैं और न हाउस का कोई सदस्य खुश हो सकता है।

हरियाणा, पंजाब और राजस्थान में गवर्नरों ने जो रोल भ्रदा किये, वे उनके शायाने-शान नहीं थे। आखिर गवर्नरों को लेटर-बाक्स तो नहीं बनाया गया है। उनसे यह तो उम्मीद नहीं की जाती है कि यहाँ से जो इशारा किया जाये, उस पर वे अमल करें। मेरी राय में या तो गवर्नरों के ओहदे को खत्म कर दिया जाये और या असल में इस ओहदे के पीछे जो मकसद रखा गया था, उसके मुताबिक गवर्नरों को यह अख्तियार दिया जाये कि वे अपनी अक्ल और दिमाग से काम ले कर अपनी स्टेट के फायदे के लिए सही काम करें। पहले मिर्फ कांग्रेस पार्टी के आदमियों को गवर्नर बना कर भेजा जाता था अब दूसरे लोगों को भी भेजा जाने लगा है। लेकिन उन लोगों को भेजना चाहिए, जो अपनी अक्ल से काम लेकर सही काम करें।

अंग्रेज के जमाने में अगर कहीं एक जगह भी गोली चल जाती थी और कोई शहीद हो जाता था, तो एक तूफान उठता था। जलियांवाला बाग का तूफान सारी दुनिया को याद है। आजादी के बाद जो कयामत आई थी, जिसमें लाखों बेगुनाह हिन्दू और मुसलमान मारे गये थे, उसको छोड़ दीजिए। लेकिन अगर गिनती की जाये और चन्हाण साहब अपनी रिपोर्ट्स को देखें, तो मेरा यकीन है कि आजादी के बाद इन 23 सालों में मुकतलिफ किस्म के रायट्स में—कम्युनल और लिग्विस्टिक रायट्स, बांडर के मुताल्लिक रायट्स, स्टुडेंट्स के रायट्स, मजदूरों के रायट्स, घेराब और नक्सलवाड़ी जैसे वाकयात में—एक लाख से ऊपर बेगुनाह आदमी मारे गये हैं। आज हालत यह है कि सारे मुल्क में तशदुद् फैल रहा है।

मेरी बहन, प्राइम मिनिस्टर साहिबा, तक ने यह फरमाया है कि उनकी जान खतरे में है। हमारे लीडर, डा० राम सुभग सिंह, जिन को मैं डेमोक्रेसी को बचाने वाला कहता हूँ, के कम्पार्टमेंट की खिड़की को कानपुर के पास काट कर उन पर हमला करने की कोशिश की गई। वह एक नौजवान को देख पाये, दूसरे को नहीं देख पाये। वह शरीफ आदमी है वह चुप रहे। लेकिन जब उन्होंने फिर हमला करने की कोशिश की, तो डा० सिंह ने किसी दूसरे को पता लगाने के लिए कहा। पता चला कि गुसलखाने की सारी खिड़की काट दी गई थी और उससे वे लोग अन्दर दाखिल हो गये थे।

अब श्री ज्योति बसु पर हमला किया गया है। मैं अपने बहुत ही अजीज भाई, श्री दीन दयाल उपाध्याय, को बहुत प्यार करता था, हालांकि वह जनसंघ में थे। वह अपनी पार्टी के इन्तहापसन्दों को उडा करने और उन्हें जोश में न आने देने के लिए बहुत काम करते थे। उनका भी कत्ल हुआ। लेकिन

[श्री अब्दुल गनी डार]

उसको तो बहुत देर हो गई। ये तो ताजा वाकयात है। अगर डा० राम सुभग सिंह की जान लेनी है, तो बड़ी खुशी से ले लीजिए। हमारी पेशानी पर बल भी नहीं आयेगा। मेरे घर पर तीन बार हमला हो चुका है। मैंने हंस कर कहा है कि जान लेनी है, तो ले लीजिए, क्योंकि:

जान दी, दी हुई उसी की थी,  
हक तो यह है कि हक अदा न हुआ।

हमने कसम खाई है कि अगर वतन है, तो हम हैं, अगर वतन नहीं है, तो हम कहां हैं।

अगर कहीं कोई वाकया होता है, कोई हमला होता है, तो ये लोग जनसंघ का नाम लेते हैं। अगर जनसंघ वाले गुनाहगार हैं, तो इस 23 बरसों में क्या एक दो जनसंघ वालो को फांसी की सजा हुई, क्या किसी को नजरबन्द किया गया? अगर ये लोग वाकई मुजरिम हैं, तो क्या सरकार ने उनको कोई सजा दी? नहीं दी। इसके मानी ये हैं कि वे मुजरिम नहीं हैं, सरकार मुजरिम है। अगर किसी को सजा दी होती, तो हम मान लेते कि जनसंघ वाले मुजरिम हैं। जगह-जगह जो कत्ल हुए, घेराव हुए, क्या उनमें भी जनसंघ का ही हाथ था? बंगाल में जो वाकयात हुए हैं, जो कत्ल हुए हैं, क्या उनके पीछे भी जनसंघ का ही हाथ है?

जनसंघ चार साल से दिल्ली में हुकूमत कर रहा है। मैं दावे के साथ कह सकता हूँ कि जिस किसी स्कूल में मीडियम आफ इंस्ट्रक्शन उर्दू था, जनसंघ ने वहां उसको नहीं हटाया। जनसंघ ने कभी किसी मुसलमान टीचर की सीनियारिटी नहीं छीनी और किसी मुसलमान कंट्रैक्टर को नहीं हटाया। जो काम गांधी जी के कहने के मुताबिक इस सरकार को करना चाहिए था, अगर जनसंघ

उसको करने लगे, तो मैं श्री कंवरलाल गुप्त के पांवों में जाऊंगा या इन लोगों के पांवों में?

मैंने डा० राम सुभग सिंह की जान पेश की है। मैंने अपने आप को भी पेश किया है। हमको गोली मार दी जाये, लेकिन हम काम वही करेंगे, जो सही होगा। जब हमने मुल्क की आजादी की कसम ली थी, तो सामने वाले लोग हमारे साथी थे। क्या हमने यह वादा नहीं किया था कि जब देश आजाद होगा, तो हर गरीब और अमीर के साथ एक सा मुलूक होगा?

आज क्या यह सच्चाई नहीं है कि इस वक्त आप वार्डर के मुआमलात को इस तरह से उलझाते चले जा रहे हैं, जिस तरह से पंडित जी ने उलझाया। पंडित जी ने खुद ही कमीशन बैठाया। उस वक्त हमने पंडित जी से कहा—आप क्या करने जा रहे हैं? आपको चाहिये कि सारे मुल्क को तीन-चार-पांच या छः हिस्सों में बांट दें ताकि यह इलाकाई तन्नास्सुब या जुबान का झगड़ा या आपस के झगड़े परेशान न करें और मुल्क बरबाद न हो। लेकिन हमारी किसी ने नहीं सुनी। आप मुल्क के टुकड़े करते चले गये जिसका नतीजा यह हुआ कि और ज्यादा लोगों में यह ख्वाहिश पैदा हुई कि हम अलग-अलग सूबा बनायें और उनको आप सम्भाल नहीं पाये।

इसी तरह से एक और बात मैंने कही थी, जो सब को चुभी। मैंने कहा था कि जो पुलिस का डिपार्टमेंट है, इसको भी आप फौजी लेवल पर सेंटर की नीचे कर लीजिये। सबने कहा कि स्टेटों के हक को छीनना बहुत बड़ा पाप है, स्टेटों को ताकत देनी चाहिये, लेकिन उस वक्त तक किसी के दिमाग में यह बात नहीं आई थी कि

सारी उम्र यह काठ की हण्डिया चढ़ने वाली नहीं है, आज कांग्रेस रूल करती है, लेकिन कल डी० एम० के० वाले भी छा सकते हैं, लेफ्टिस्ट भी छा सकते हैं, स्वतंत्र पार्टी भी कहीं पर अपना राज बना सकती है और हो सकता है कि कांग्रेस के अपने आदमी ही बागी हो जाय। मेरी यह बात अगर उस वक्त मान ली होती, तो मुझे खुशी होती, मुल्क में जो दंगे फिसाद हुए, तशाद्दुद की जो री आज बढ़ रही है, वह न बढ़ पाती।

**श्री कंवर लाल गुप्त :** यह भी बता दीजिये कि जब से दिल्ली में जनसंघ पावर में आई है, दिल्ली में कोई दंगा नहीं हुआ . . . (ध्वजघान) . . .

**SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN:** May I ask a question? This is with regard to the point raised by Shri Kanwarlal Gupta. Had the communal riot taken place only because the Jan Sangh was not in power.

**श्री कंवर लाल गुप्त :** इसके दो कारण हैं—एक तो यह था कि चाहे कितना भी प्रोवोकेशन हो, गवर्नमेंट आफ इण्डिया की चाहे कितनी भी कम्युनल पालिसी हो, लेकिन उस प्रोवोकेशन के बाद भी हम सब ने हिन्दू मुसलमानों में यही प्रचार किया कि हम सब एक हैं, किस तरह का भेदभाव नहीं होना चाहिये। यही वजह है कि जिसके कारण कोई झगड़ा नहीं हुआ। आप अपनी कम्युनल पालिसी से लोगों के अन्दर टेन्शन क्रिएट करते हैं, जिसकी वजह से झगड़े होते हैं।

**श्री अम्बुल गनी डार :** मैं भाई चव्हाण से अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ—वह इस बात पर ध्यान दें—दुनियां में जहाँ कहीं भी डेमोक्रेसी है, वहाँ ऐसी बात कभी नहीं सुनी कि डेमोक्रेसी के सब से बड़े पद के लिये अगर इन्तखाब होता है तो उसमें ऐसे गन्दे से गन्दे हथियार इस्तेमाल किये जाय। गन्दे से

गन्दे पोस्टर और पेम्फ्लेट शायी किये जाय और उन पर किसी के दस्तखत न हों और होम मिनिस्टर साहब के कानों पर जूँ तक न रेंगे। होम मिनिस्टर की बहुत बड़ी ताकत होती है, अगर अम्बुलगनी मुजरिम है तो उसको कान से पकड़ कर सामने पेश करते और कहते कि यह गद्दार है, इस ने यह गद्दारी की है . . . (ध्वजघान) . . . होम मिनिस्टर साहब मैं आप से अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि इस वक्त आपकी जो पालिसी है वह अन्धों और बहरे की पालिसी है—बहरे को सुनाई नहीं देता और अन्धे को दिखाई नहीं देता, जितनी दूर चलती है, उतनी दूर गाड़ी चलाते जाओ, . . .

**श्री रामघन (सालगंज) :** वह तो आप खुद हैं।

**श्री अम्बुल गनी डार :** मैं तो मानता हूँ, मैंने कभी इन्कार नहीं किया। मैं तो गंगा भी हूँ, हर एक मुझको देख सकता है, लेकिन आप जरा अपने सीने में झाँकिये—गांधीजी के साथ करार करने के बाद आप क्या कर रहे हैं। इस वक्त जो इनडिस्प्लन आया है उसकी क्या वजह है। मेरे भाई पाटिल साहब ने कहा था—क्या करें ये आया-राम और गया-राम जान खा गये, लेकिन जब आया-राम और गया-राम खुद चव्हाण साहब हों, मेरी बहन इंदिरा उसमें शामिल हो जाय, तब क्या हो? बैंगलोर से लेकर आज तक उन्होंने जो कुछ किया, चव्हाण साहब को इसका इल्म होना चाहिये। इनके कानों को तो बहुत ज्यादा सुनाई देता है, खुदा ने इनका दिमाग भी बहुत बड़ा बनाया है। लेकिन ये अन्धे थे—डा० राम सुभाग सिंह, निर्जलिगप्पा, मोरारजी देसाई। मैंने इनको लिखा और हाथ जोड़कर कहा, खुदा के लिये न लड़ो, कांग्रेस के सिवा इस वक्त कोई हुकूमत करने वाला नहीं है। अगर लड़ोगे तो मुल्क तबाह हो जायेगा, तशाद्दुद आ जायगा, लेकिन मेरी इन्होंने नहीं मानी। अभी ज्योति बसु पर

[श्री अब्दुल गनी डार]

ही क्या, न जाने कितने आदमियों पर हमला होगा, कितने पोलिटीकल मर्डर्स होंगे. . . (व्यवधान) . . .

18 hrs.

आखरी बात मैं यह अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ—आप जनसंघ का नाम लेते हैं और मुसलमानों को बेवकूफ बना कर उनको यह कहते हैं—बड़े हमदर्द बनने की कोशिश करते हैं। एक दफ्ता आचार्य कृपलानी जी ने मुझे छोड़ा और कहा कि क्या मुसलमानों में कोई है जो यह कहे कि भगवान राम की जो जन्मभूमि है, उनका जन्म स्थान है या भगवान कृष्ण का जो जन्म स्थान है, उन पर मुसलमानों ने नाजायज तौर पर कब्जा किया हुआ है? क्या यह इस्लामी रवायत के, स्त्रिट के, हक में है। मैंने कहा—बिल्कुल नहीं है। मैंने उस बक्त दिलेरी से कहा था—अगर ऐसा हुआ है तो गलत है और उस गलती का खिमियाजा आज भी मुसलमानों को भुगतना चाहिये। लेकिन इसके साथ ही मैं यह भी कहना चाहता हूँ ये खुद आज मुसलमानों का भारतीयकरण करने जा रहे हैं। आप जरा अपनी एजुकेशन की पालिसी की तरफ देखिये, किस तरह से आपने ऐसा रुख अख्तियार किया है कि 20 साल के बाद खुद मुसलमान अपनी तालीम को भूल जायेगा, उनके भारतीयकरण की जरूरत ही नहीं पड़ेगी, उनका खुद ही भारतीयकरण हो जायेगा। इसलिये कि जुबान के मसले को लेकर आप इसाफ़ नहीं कर रहे हैं, उर्दू को मिटाकर रख दिया है। उस उर्दू को, जो इतनी पापुलर थी कि हिन्दुस्तान में सब से ज्यादा पापुलर थी, आज भी जितने अखबार उर्दू में निकलते हैं, जिनके निकालने वाले ज्यादातर हिन्दू हैं, मुसलमान नहीं हैं, मुसलमान तो बहुत थोड़े हैं, उनकी तादाद सबसे ज्यादा है. . .

श्री रणधीर सिंह: हम भी उर्दू के परस्तार हैं।

श्री अब्दुल गनी डार: आप परस्तार हैं, लेकिन आपके होम मिनिस्टर कहां परस्तार हैं।

श्री रणधीर सिंह: हम इन्हीं की वजह से परस्तार हैं।

श्री अब्दुल गनी डार: ऐसी बात नहीं है।

आखरी बात मैं यह अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ—आपने दिन आप जम्मू और काश्मीर को हर मामले में अलग निकाल देते हैं, लिखते हैं—“एक्सेप्ट जम्मू एण्ड काश्मीर” यह क्यों? हमने करोड़ों और अरबों रुपया जाया किया है। जाया इसलिए कहता हूँ कि आपने पूरा काश्मीर ले लिया और फिर वापिस दे दिया। आपकी जो विजिलेन्स फौज है, जिसको विजिलेन्स पुलिस कहते हैं उसके बावजूद क्या आज आप यह नहीं मानते कि चाइना आगे बढ़ रहा है? तो फिर आपको कौन सी कामियाबी हुई? पब्लिक सेक्टर में आये दिन चोरियां होती हैं लेकिन कहां है आपकी पुलिस? बाम्बे में करोड़ों रुपए की स्मर्गलिंग होती है, आप बड़े बड़े लोगों को लाइसेंस देते हैं तो फिर आपका इंटेलेजेंस कहां है? 13 अगस्त को 80 लाख रुपया रशिया का यूनाइटेड कामर्शल बैंक से निकाला गया, 20 लाख रुपया शांति प्रसाद जैन ने दिया तो कहां है आपकी इंटेलेजेंस? . . . (व्यवधान) . . . मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि कब रिपोर्ट हुई थी लेकिन फिर भी आजतक शांति प्रसाद या साहू जैन क्यों बचे हुए हैं? उनके खिलाफ रिपोर्ट कब हुई थी और सी० बी०आई० ने आपके पास कितनी रिपोर्ट्स की हैं? कितने आदमी हैं बाबू जगजीवन राम जी की तरह से जिन्होंने 15 साल या दस साल तक कोई हिसाब किताब ही नहीं दिया? . . . (व्यवधान) . . . तो मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस अंधेरगदी में मेरे प्यारे भाई चव्हाण साहब, उनको मैं अपना भाई मानता हूँ, अगर उनके दिल में खयाल है तो हमारे साथ मैं मिलें और मुल्क में इन्कलाब लायें।

[سٹری عبدالحی ڈار (گورنر کاؤس)  
 چیرمین صاحبہ - میں ہوم منسٹر صاحب کو  
 جن کو میں اپنا پیارا بھائی کہا کرتا ہوں  
 یہ یاد دلانا چاہتا ہوں کہ جب کانٹیشیون  
 بنایا جا رہا تھا۔ تو اس وقت ایک فیمل  
 یہ آیا تھا کہ گورنر کو یہ اختیار دیا جائے  
 کہ وہ انسٹرکشن دے۔ ہدایت کرے  
 اور وہ اپنے دماغ سے جس کام کو  
 صحیح سمجھے۔ وہ کوہ اس سلسلے میں ایک نیکو  
 کانٹیشیونٹ ایسبل کے سامنے رکھا گیا تھا۔  
 لیکن ایک دن سٹری کرشن مینن اٹھے اور  
 انہوں نے کہا کہ پرائم منسٹر نے یہ ہدایت دی  
 ہے کہ ہم اس پرستار کو واپس لے لیں۔  
 اس وقت کے لا منسٹر۔ ڈاکٹر اجمد کو۔  
 اس بارے میں کچھ بھی پتہ نہیں تھا۔ کسی  
 کو بھی کچھ میں نہیں آیا کہ پٹل جی نے ایسا  
 کیوں کیا۔ پٹل جی کی نظریت تیز تھی۔ انہوں  
 نے راج کرنا تھا۔ انہوں نے سمجھا کہ اگر  
 گورنر صاحبہ حکم پر نہ چلے تو کیسے کام چلے گا۔ آج  
 ہم اس کا نتیجہ دیکھ رہے ہیں۔

ہوم منسٹر صاحب اور حمزہ مہراں اس  
 بارے سے انکار نہیں کریں گے کہ مختلف اسٹیشن  
 میں گورنروں نے کنگ انگ رول ادا کیا ہے۔  
 ویسٹ بنگال میں شری ہجر اور نے بڑی جھنڈی  
 کے ساتھ یہ کوشش کی کہ وہاں کسی طرح کی برامی  
 نہ ہو۔ قتل اور فسادات نہ ہوں۔ نکلنا بڑی  
 جیسے حالات پیدا نہ ہوں اور مضبوط گورنمنٹ  
 ہو۔ لیٹل کیرنٹوں نے اس کے خلاف  
 طونان اٹھایا اور رائٹ کیونٹوں نے بھی  
 ان کا ساتھ دیا۔ اس کے بعد ایک دوسرے صاحب

وہاں گورنر بنا کر بھیجے گئے۔ جوں لوگوں کی  
 پسند کے ہیں۔ لیکن اس کا نتیجہ کیا ہوا۔ آج  
 بنگال میں جو صورت حال ہے۔ اس پر یقیناً  
 نہ ہوم منسٹر صاحب خوش ہو سکتے ہیں۔ اور  
 نہ ہاؤس کا کوئی سہیہ خوش ہو سکتا ہے

ہریانہ۔ پنجاب اور راجستھان میں  
 گورنروں نے جو رول ادا کیے۔ وہ ان کے  
 شایان شان نہیں تھے۔ آخر گورنروں کو  
 لیڈر باکس تو نہیں بنایا گیا ہے۔ ان سے  
 یہ امید نہیں کی جاتی ہے کہ یہاں سے ہوا شاہ  
 کیا جائے اس پر وہ عمل کریں۔ میری رائے میں  
 یا تو گورنروں کے عہدے کو ختم کر دیا جائے اور  
 یا اصل میں اس عہدے کے پیچھے جو مقصد رکھا  
 گیا تھا۔ اس کے مطابق گورنروں کو یہ اختیار  
 دیا جائے کہ وہ اپنی مقل اور دماغ سے کام لے  
 کر اپنی سٹیٹ کے فائزہ کے لئے صحیح کام کریں  
 پہلے ہون کا اگر میں پارٹی کے آدمیوں کو گورنر بنا کر  
 بھیجا جاتا اب دوسرے لوگوں کو بھی بھیجا جائے گا  
 ہے۔ لیکن ان لوگوں کو بھیجا جانا چاہئے جو  
 اپنی مقل کے لئے کام لے کر صحیح کام کریں۔

انگریزوں کے زمانے میں اگر کہیں ایک جگہ  
 بھی کوئی چل جاتی تھی اور کوئی عہدید ہر جاتا  
 تھا۔ تو ایک طونان اٹھتا تھا۔ جلیان والا  
 باغ کا طونان ساری دنیا کو یاد ہے۔ آزادی  
 کے بعد جو قیامت آئی تھی۔ جس میں لاکھوں  
 جگہ جگہ ہندو مسلمان مارے گئے تھے۔ اس کو  
 چھوڑ دیجئے۔ لیکن اگر کشتی کی جہاز اور چوہان  
 صاحب اپنی رپورٹس کو دیکھیں تو میرا یقین ہے  
 کہ آزادی کے بعد ان ۲۳ سالوں میں مختلف



### شری عبدالغنی ڈار

قسم کے رائٹس میں۔ کیونٹ اور لنگو شک رائٹس۔ بارڈر کے متعلق رائٹس۔ شوٹنگ رائٹس۔ فریڈوم رائٹس۔ رائٹس گھیراؤ اور مکسلیٹری جیسے واقعات میں۔ ایک مالک سے اوپر بے گناہ آدمی مارے گئے ہیں۔ آج حالت یہ ہے کہ سارے ملک میں تشدد پھیل رہا ہے۔

قتل ہوا لیکن اس کو تو بہت دیر ہو گئی۔ یہ تو تازہ واقعات ہیں۔ اگر ڈاکٹر رام سبھگ سنگھ کی جان لیئی ہے۔ تو بڑی خوشی سے لے لیجئے ہماری پیشانی پر بل بھی نہیں آئے گا۔ میرے گھر بدترین بار حملہ ہو چکا ہے۔ میں نے ہنس کر کہا ہے کہ جان لیئی ہے۔ تو لے لیجئے۔ کیونکہ

میری بہن۔ پرانے منظرہ صبر تنک نے یہ فرمایا ہے کہ ان کی جان خطرے میں ہے ہمارے لیڈر۔ ڈاکٹر رام سبھگ سنگھ۔ جن کو میں ڈیپو کر لی کو بچانے والا کہتا ہوں۔ کے کیا ٹرنٹ کی کھڑکی کو کلان پور کے پاس کاٹ کر ان پر حملہ کرنے کی کوشش کی گئی۔ وہ ایک فوجی کو دیکھ پلٹے دوسرے کو نہیں دیکھ پلٹے۔ وہ شرفین آدمی ہیں۔ وہ چپ رہے۔ لیکن۔ جب انہوں نے ہر حملہ کرنے کی ناکام کوشش کی۔ تو ڈاکٹر رام سبھگ سنگھ نے کسی دھرم کو پتہ لگانے کے لئے کہا۔ پتہ چلا کہ غسل خانے کی سیاری کھڑکی کاٹ دی گئی تھی اور اس سے وہ لوگ اندر داخل ہو گئے تھے

جان دی۔ دی ہوئی اسی کی تھی حق تو یہ ہے کہ حق ادا نہ ہوا۔

ہم نے قسم کھائی ہے کہ اگر وطن ہے۔ تو ہم ہیں۔ اگر وطن نہیں ہے۔ تو ہم کہاں ہیں۔

اگر کہیں کوئی واقعہ ہوتا ہے۔ کوئی حملہ ہوتا ہے تو یہ لوگ جن سنگھ کا نام لیتے ہیں۔ اگر جن سنگھ والے گنہگار ہیں۔ تو ان ۲۳ برسوں میں کیا ایک دو جن سنگھ والوں کو چھانسی کی سزا ہوئی۔ کیا کسی کو نظر بند کیا گیا۔ اگر یہ لوگ واقعی مجرم ہیں۔ تو کیا سرکار نے ان کو کوئی سزا دی۔

ہیں دی۔ اس کے معنی یہ ہیں کہ وہ مجرم نہیں ہیں۔ سرکار مجرم ہے۔ اگر کسی کو سزا دی ہوتی تو ہم مان لیتے کہ جن سنگھ والے مجرم ہیں۔ جگہ جگہ جو قتل ہوئے۔ گھیراؤ ہوئے۔ کیا ان میں بھی جن سنگھ کا ہی تعلق ہے جگہ جگہ

اب شری جیوتی بسو پر حملہ کیا گیا ہے اپنے بہت ہی عزیز بھائی شری دین دیوال اپادھیائے۔ کو بہت بہت پیار کرتا تھا۔ حلالا کہ وہ جن سنگھ میں تھے۔ وہ اپنی پارٹی کے انتہا پسندوں کو ٹھنڈا کرنے اور انہیں جوش میں نہ آنے دینے کے لئے بہت کام کرتے تھے۔ ان کا بھی

جو واقعات ہوتے ہیں۔ جو قتل ہوئے  
ہیں۔ کیا ان کے پیچھے بھی جو سنگھ  
کا ہی ہاتھ ہے۔

جن سنگھ چار سال سے دہلی میں  
حکومت کر رہا ہے۔ میں دہلی کے  
سابقہ کہہ سکتا ہوں کہ جس اسکول میں  
میدیم آف انسرکشن اردو تھی۔  
جس سنگھ نے وہاں اس کو نہیں ہٹایا  
جن سنگھ نے کبھی کسی مسلمان شیوہ  
کی سنیاری نہیں چھینی اور کسی  
مسلمان کنڈیکٹ کو نہیں ہٹایا۔ جو  
کام گاندھی جی کے کہنے کے مطابق  
اس سرکار کو کرنا چاہئے تھا۔  
اگر جن سنگھ اس کو کرنے لگے تو  
میں سٹری کنزول لال گپت کے پاؤں میں  
جاؤں گا یا ان لوگوں کے پاؤں میں۔

میں نے ڈاکٹر رام سبھگ سنگھ  
کی جان پیش کی ہے۔ میں نے اپنے  
آپ کو بھی پیش کیا ہے۔ ہم کو گوئی  
مادری جائے۔ لیکن ہم کام وہی  
کریں گے جو صحیح ہوگا۔ جب ہم نے  
ملک کی آزادی کی قسم لی تھی۔ تو  
سانے والے لوگ ہمارے ساتھی تھے  
کیا ہم نے یہ وعدہ نہیں کیا تھا کہ  
جب دلین آزاد ہوگا۔ تو ہر ایک  
غریب اور امیر کے ساتھ ایک سا  
سلوک ہوگا۔ آج کیا یہ سچائی نہیں  
ہے کہ اس وقت آپ ہاردر کے

حاملات کو اس طرح سے الجھاتے  
چلے جا رہے ہیں جس طرح سے بیڈت جی  
نے الجھایا۔ بیڈت جی نے خود ہی کیٹھن  
بٹھایا۔ اس وقت ہم نے بیڈت جی  
سے کہا۔ آپ کیا کرنے جا رہے ہیں۔  
آپ کو چاہئے کہ سارے ملک کو تین چار  
پانچ یا چھ حصوں میں بانٹ دیں۔ تاکہ  
علاقائی تعصب یا زبان کا جھگڑا یا  
آپس کے جھگڑے پریشان نہ کریں۔  
اور ملک برباد نہ ہو۔ لیکن ہماری

کسی نے نہیں سنی۔ آپ ملک کے ٹکڑے  
کرتے چلے گئے۔ جس کا نتیجہ یہ ہوا  
کہ اور زیادہ لوگوں میں یہ خواہش  
پیدا ہوئی کہ الگ الگ صوبہ بنائیں  
اور ان کو آپ سنبھال نہیں پائے

اسی طرح سے ایک اور بات  
میں نے کہی تھی جو سب کو چھپی۔  
میں نے کہا تھا کہ جو پولیس کا ڈپارٹمنٹ  
ہے اس کو بھی آپ فوجی یونٹ پر  
سینٹر کے نیچے کر لیجئے۔ سب نے کہا  
کہ سیٹوں کے حق کو چھیننا بہت  
بڑا باپ ہے۔ سیٹوں کو طاقت  
دینا چاہئے۔ لیکن اس وقت تک  
کسی کے دماغ میں یہ بات نہیں آئی  
تھی کہ ساری عمر یہ کاٹھنی بیڈت یا  
چوہنے والی نہیں ہے۔ آج کانگریس  
رول کرتی ہے لیکن کل ڈی۔ ایم۔  
کے والے بھی چھا سکتے ہیں۔ لینڈسٹ  
بھی چھا سکتے ہیں۔ سو تتر پارتی بھی

### شری عبدالغنی ڈار

کہیں پر اپنا راج بنا سکتے ہے اور ہو سکتا ہے کہ کانگریس کے اپنے آدمی ہی باغی ہو جائیں۔ میری یہ بات اگر اس وقت مان لی جاتی تو مجھے خوشی ہوتی۔ ملک میں جو دنگے فساد ہوئے۔ تشدد کی جو رو آج بڑھ رہی ہے وہ نہ بڑھ پاتی۔

श्री कंवर लाल गुप्त : वह भी बता दीजिए कि जब से दिल्ली में जनसंघ पावर में आई है, दिल्ली में कोई वंगा नहीं हुआ . . . (बयबान) . . .

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: May I ask a question? This is with regard to the point raised by Shri Kanwarlal Gupta. Had the communal riot taken place only because the Jan Sangh was not in power?

श्री कंवर लाल गुप्त : इसके दो कारण हैं—एक तो यह कि चाहे कितना भी प्रोवोकेशन हो, गवर्नमेंट घाफ इन्डियन चाहे कितनी भी कम्यून्स पार्लिमेंटरी हो, लेकिन उस प्रोवोकेशन के बाद भी हम सब ने हिन्दू मुसलमानों में यही प्रचार किया कि हम सब एक हैं, किसी तरह का बंधन नहीं होगा चाहिये। यही वजह है कि जिसके कारण कोई अगड़ा नहीं हुआ। चाप अपनी कम्यून्स पार्लिमेंट से लोगों के अन्दर टेन्शन किएट करते हैं, जिसकी वजह से अगड़े होते हैं।

پر دھیان دیں۔ دنیا میں جہاں کہیں بھی ڈیموکریسی ہے وہاں ایسی بات کبھی نہیں سنی کہ ڈیموکریسی کے سب سے بڑے پد کے لئے اگر انتخاب ہوتا ہے تو اس میں ایسے گندے سے گندے ہتھیار استعمال کئے جائیں۔ گندے سے گندے پوسٹر اور پمفلٹ شائع کئے جائیں اور ان پر کسی کے دستخط نہ ہوں اور ہوم منسٹر صاحب کے کانوں پر جوں تک نہ رینگے۔ ہوم منسٹر کی بہت بڑی طاقت ہوتی ہے۔ اگر عبدالغنی بزم ہے تو اس کو کان سے بکڑ کر سامنے پیش کرتے اور کہتے کہ یہ غدار ہے۔ اس نے غدار کی ہے۔۔۔ (انٹرپشن)۔۔۔

ہوم منسٹر صاحب میں آپ سے عرض کرنا چاہتا ہوں کہ اس وقت آپ کی جو پالیسی ہے وہ اندھے اور بہرے کی پالیسی ہے۔ بہرے کو سنائی نہیں دیتا اور اندھے کو دکھائی نہیں دیتا جتنی دُور چلتی ہے اتنی دُور گاڑی چلاتے جاؤ۔

श्री रामचम (लालसंघ) : वह तो चाप खुद है।

شری عبدالغنی ڈار۔ میں بھائی جوہان سے عرض کرنا چاہتا ہوں۔ وہ اس بات

میں تو ماننا ہوں۔ میں نے کبھی انکار نہیں کیا۔ میں تو ننگا بھی ہوں ہر ایک مجھے دیکھ سکتا ہے۔ لیکن

کوشش کرتے ہیں۔ ایک دفعہ  
 آچار یہ کر پائی جو نے بگے پیچھا  
 اور کہا کہ کیا مسلمانوں میں کوئی  
 ہے جو یہ کہے کہ بھگوان رام کی جو  
 جنم بھوی ہے ان کا جنم ستھان  
 ہے یا بھگوان کرشن کا جو جنم ستھان  
 ہے ان پر مسلمانوں نے نا جائز  
 طور پر قبضہ کیا ہوا ہے۔ کیا یہ اسلامی  
 روایت کے سپرٹ کے حق میں ہے  
 میں نے کہا بالکل نہیں ہے۔ میں نے  
 اس وقت دلیری سے کہا تھا۔ اگر ایسا  
 ہوا ہے تو غلط ہے اور اس غلطی  
 کا خمیازہ آج بھی مسلمانوں کو بھگتنا  
 چاہئے۔۔۔ لیکن اس کے ساتھ ہی  
 میں یہ بھی کہتا چاہتا ہوں۔ یہ خود  
 آج مسلمانوں کا بھارتیہ کرن کرنے  
 جارہے ہیں۔ آپ ذرا اپنی  
 ایجوکیشن کی پالیسی کی طرف دیکھیے  
 کس طرح سے آپ نے ایسا رخ  
 اختیار کیا ہے کہ ۲۰ سال کے بعد  
 خود مسلمان اپنی تعلیم کو بھول جائے  
 گا۔ ان کے بھارتیہ کرن کی ضرورت  
 ہی نہیں پڑے گی۔ ان کا خود ہی  
 بھارتیہ کرن ہو جائے گا۔ اس لئے  
 کہ زبان کے مسئلے کو لے کر آپ  
 انصاف نہیں کر رہے ہیں۔ اردو  
 کو مٹا کر رکھ دیا ہے۔ اس اردو  
 کو جو اتنی پوپلر تھی کہ ہندوستان  
 میں سب سے زیادہ پوپلر تھی۔  
 آج بھی ہندوستان میں مجھے اخبار  
 اردو میں لکھتے ہیں جو کے نکالنے والے

آپ ذرا اپنے سینے میں جھانکئے۔  
 کاندھوی جی کے ساتھ قرار کرنے کے بعد  
 آپ کیا کر رہے ہیں۔ اس وقت جو  
 انڈسپن آیا ہے اس کی کیا وجہ ہے  
 میرے بھائی پامل صاحب نے کہا تھا۔  
 کیا کریں یہ آیا رام اور گیا رام جان  
 کھا گئے۔۔۔ لیکن جب آیا رام اور  
 گیا رام خود چوہان صاحب ہوں۔ میری  
 بہن اندرا اس میں شامل ہو جائے  
 تب کیا ہو۔ بنگلور سے لے کر آج  
 تک انہوں نے جو کچھ کیا۔ چوہان صاحب  
 کو اس کا علم ہو نا چاہئے۔ ان کے  
 کانوں کو تو بہت زیادہ سنائی دیتا ہے  
 خدا نے ان کا دماغ بھی بہت بڑا  
 بنا دیا ہے۔ لیکن یہ اندھے تھے۔  
 ڈاکٹر رام سبھگ سنگھ۔ نجلنگیٹا۔  
 مورارجی دیسائی۔ میں نے ان کو کھکا  
 اور ہاتھ جوڑ کر کہا۔ خدا کے لئے نہ  
 لڑو۔ کانگریس کے سوا اس وقت  
 اور کوئی حکومت کرنے والا نہیں  
 ہے۔ اگر لڑو گے تو ملک تباہ ہو  
 جائے گا۔ تشدد آجائے گا۔ لیکن میری  
 انہوں نے نہیں مانی۔ ابھی جیوتی بسو  
 پرہیا کیا۔ نہ جانے کتنے آدمیوں  
 پر حملہ ہو گا۔ کتنے پوٹیکل مرڈرز ہو گئے  
 .... انٹرپن ...

آخری بات میں یہ عرض کرنا چاہتا  
 ہوں۔ آپ جن سنگھ کا نام لیتے ہیں  
 اور مسلمانوں کو بے وقوف بنا کر ان کو  
 یہ کہتے ہیں۔ بڑے حملہ در بننے کی



**SHRI BISWANARAYAN SHASTRI** (Lakhimpur): While supporting the Demands of the Ministry of Home Affairs, I would like to make some observations.

The first important question today is that of national integration. In the olden days the integration of India was based on religion and culture, but with the changing times we must seek some other means by which we can maintain the integration of India. To my mind, the equal development of all the regions is the main criterion or the basis for maintaining the integration of India. We have often seen outbursts and agitations in different parts of the Country. There grievance is that no proper attention is paid to their region or that their region is being neglected. If there is sufficient reason for their grievances, we cannot blame the people if they become restive. Therefore, it is the bounden duty of the Government of India to look into those grievances properly, promptly and efficiently and to redress the grievances.

It is surprising that those who are working for fissiparous tendencies or who champion communal causes are taken in the National Integration Council and they become prominent in this way, but those who work for national integration with catholicity of mind are generally neglected because they are considered as people of no importance. I think the Home Ministry should change this attitude.

The next question is the Centre-State relationship. In our Constitution subjects had been divided between the Centre and the States. Law and order is a State subject but the Centre has over all responsibility to see that the Constitution is functioning properly in all the States and if there is a break of the Constitution the Centre should step in to maintain law and order in those States. Since 1950 till today, during all these 20 years, the Centre had to impose President's rule nineteen times in different States. This means that there is some lacuna or something wrong somewhere because of which the State Governments could not function properly. In this connection the role of the Governors come up for consideration. We have heard in this House that certain Governors had

not conducted themselves in a proper manner, at least not to the liking of certain parties. They criticise the action of a particular Governor and condemn him. In another context, those parties which have condemned the action of a Governor have praised the conduct to another Governor. I am reminded of a story: Once an old rich man was in his death bed and he summoned his sons and near relatives and said to them: I think so and so borrowed Rs. 5,000 from me and you must realise that amount. His sons exclaimed: 'thank God, our father has not lost his consciousness till he breaths last.' After that, the old man said: 'I have to pay Rs. 10,000 to A and Rs. 15,000 to B. You repay the debt and make me free from the debt.' The sons exclaimed 'Our father is in a delirium; it should not be heard or acted upon. The death is approaching.' Such is the attitude of some of the parties. If a certain action of a Governor favours them, they praise him; otherwise, they condemn him. This is not a proper attitude to take. Certain norms should be laid down properly and should be accepted by all parties and those norms should be followed strictly.

In some States leaders of certain political parties have physically demonstrated the MLAs before the Governor to prove their numerical strength. To my mind there cannot be anything more derogatory and disgraceful than being physically present before the Governor to show their strength. If I happened to be in such a position, I shall have resigned immediately if I am compelled to do so. Political parties should influence their men that under no circumstances such a physical demonstration should be made before a Governor. After all the Governor is appointed by the President and the MLAs and MPs are elected by the people representing more than 50 crores of people.

There are some Union Territories, I think their number is ten. That concept itself is repulsive. Why should it be there? Are they colonies of the Home Ministry here? Why should they be retained as Union Territories? Smaller territories should be merged with neighbouring States if they could not function as full fledged States by themselves. Bigger units should be converted into States so that there will be no Union Territory to be used as a colony of the bureaucrats here, who get

[Shri Biswanarayan Shastri]

appointed as Lieut. Governors there after their retirement. It is a conspiracy of the bureaucracy here that they managed to retain this concept of Union Territories without being merged with the neighbouring States or converting them into a State. Parliament should give proper attention to this matter so that this business is finished as soon as possible.

The problem of Assam is known to you. It has three foreign borders: the border of Pakistan, the border of China and the border of Burma. The Government of Burma is friendly to us, but the Governments of Pakistan and China are quite hostile to India. You know what happened during the Chinese aggression in 1962. We had to leave our hearth and homes overnight and cross over the Brahmaputra and come down to Gauhati, and in his broadcast at midnight, the late Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the then Prime Minister, said, "my heart goes out to the people of Assam." We hope that the borders would be protected more efficiently and there may not arise such occasions in future.

We have seen the Chinese leaflets, and the Chinese agents are operating in those areas. Recently, I have seen not merely in the NEFA hill area but even in the plain area Chinese leaflets in different dialects have been profusely distributed and pasted on the walls. The posters and leaflets carry slogans, "Mao-Tse Tung is our Chairman" and such things, and that the people should rise in revolt to throw out the bureaucratic government of India and join China. Young people from the NEFA area are often taken to China and are trained there and shown round the place, and after that, they are allowed to come back to the region and to work for Chinese ideas and influence. There should, therefore, be more vigilance so that no person can be taken away under Chinese influence and no Chinese leaflets, can be distributed; no Chinese smuggling goods should be allowed to cross in those parts.

I would like to mention one other point. The people from Nepal also come to Assam. According to the agreement, they can come

without any passports and visas. It is well and good. But in disguise, people with political motives do enter India sometimes. There is no proper check. When the people from Nepal come to Assam, sometimes they say that they are citizens of Darjeeling. Nobody can distinguish whether some of them are citizens of India or not. Nobody can distinguish whether a particular person is coming from Darjeeling area, which is Indian territory, or coming from Nepal. There must be some check, not to prevent their entry into India but to see that among them no politically motivated Chinese agent enters India.

One word about the Assam Civil Service *vis a vis* the IAS. The cadre of the IAS officials in Assam is the largest in comparison to the population area and the administrative work-load in that area. There is some resentment among the ACS cadre in Assam. Their retirement age is 55, whereas the retirement age of the IAS people is 58. Therefore, the ACS people have no chance of getting promoted into the IAS cadre. Recently, there was one ACS officer who was promoted to the IAS; but he refused to be taken to the IAS because his case had long been neglected. If such things go on, how can one expect any incentive to be there for the Assam Civil Service people to work with enthusiasm or with courage and heart for the betterment of the State? Therefore, I request the Government to see that Assam does not become a dumping ground for the refused or surplus IAS officials.

One word more about some services. The Government of India has recently constituted an All-India Forest Service and an All-India Medical Service. I have no objection on principle to this. But under these schemes, I would like to say that the interest of the people of Assam is not harmed and the interests of the officials working there are not prejudiced.

Before concluding, I would like to say one thing. This is about the capital of NEFA. My constituency is bordering NEFA and therefore I am vitally connected with NEFA. But the capital of NEFA, that is, its administrative headquarters, is located at Shillong.

As you know, Shillong is the seat of three capitals—the capital of Assam, Meghalaya and the administrative headquarters of NEFA. Therefore, I would like to suggest that immediately the headquarters of NEFA should be shifted to a place within NEFA which will be convenient to all the local people. What is the justification for NEFA being administered from Shillong? It is better to administer it from the region itself. I would, therefore, request the Home Minister to pay his personal attention to this. With these words, I support the Demands for Grants relating to the Home Ministry.

श्री शिक्करे (पंजिम) : सभापति महोदया, जब असत्य का उच्चार, पुनरुच्चार बार-बार, दस बार, सौ बार होता है तो असत्य अर्ध सत्य बनता है और असत्य का उच्चारण जब गोर्यबिल्ल के तन्त्र से या हमारे "भाल इंदिरा रेडियो" के तन्त्र से होता है तब अर्ध सत्य, सत्य बनता है। माननीया, जब इस सदन में महाजन कमीशन अर्वाड पर माननीय सुरेन्द्रनाथ द्विवेदी या मोहसीन भाई ने भाषण दिये तब उन्होंने एक ऐसा वातावरण चित्रित किया कि महाजन कमीशन अर्वाड का जो इम्प्लीमेंटेशन नहीं हुआ उसमें अन्याय हुआ। वह तो कहते हैं कि महाराष्ट्र ने महाजन कमीशन की स्थापना का अनुमोदन किया था। मैं मानता हूँ कि मेरा सवाल यह है कि क्या सचमुच महाराष्ट्र ने उसको सम्मति दी थी? महाराष्ट्र प्रदेश कांग्रेस ने सम्मति दी थी, महाराष्ट्र सरकार ने सम्मति दी थी, लेकिन आज तो एक बात ध्यान में रखें कि संयुक्त महाराष्ट्र समिति का स्थान उस जमाने में इतना था जो स्थान अब अपोजीशन का इस सदन में है और महाराष्ट्र सरकार की स्थिति इंदिराजी की सरकार जैसी थी तब महाराष्ट्र सरकार ने मान्यता दी थी, लेकिन जो विरोधी पक्ष थे महाराष्ट्र असेम्बली में उन्होंने तो नहीं दी थी। लेकिन वह भी अलग बात मैं समझता हूँ। जिस जनता का प्रश्न यहाँ है, बेलगाम, कारवाड़ और निपानी की जनता उम्मेने इर महाजन कमीशन की स्थापना को

क्या मान्यता दी थी? जिस जनता का प्रश्न है, क्योंकि बेलगाम की जनता, कारवाड़ की जनता अभी तक महाराष्ट्र में नहीं है, वह जनता महाराष्ट्र में आना चाहती है। लेकिन उन्होंने तो इस महाजन कमीशन की स्थापना के लिये सम्मति नहीं दी थी। वह तो बार-बार कहते थे कि यह सीमा विवाद इस प्रकार हल किया जाय कि ग्राम को यूनिट माना जाय, भौगोलिक संलग्नता को ध्यान में रखा जाय और प्रमुख प्रश्न समान भाषा के बारे में है। मेरा सवाल यही है कि यह सरकार भाषावार राज्य रचना जो होती है, वह जो आइडिया है अभी भी उसको मान्यता देती है या नहीं या भाषावार राज्य रचना जो करने का यह प्रमुख प्रश्न यहाँ था वह महाजन कमीशन के सामने था? आज हमने माननीय पाटिल साहब का भाषण सुना। उन्होंने कहा कि वह भाषावार राज्य रचना के खिलाफ हैं। तो वे जब भाषावार राज्य रचना के खिलाफ हैं तो उनके जो आर्गुमेंट होंगे वे भाषावार राज्य रचना के खिलाफ ही होंगे। महाजन अर्वाड में भी मैंने यही देखा। खुद जस्टिस महाजन तो भाषावार राज्य रचना के खिलाफ थे और जो माननीय जज भाषावार राज्य रचना के खिलाफ हैं वह ऐसे आर्गुमेंट आपके सामने आने देंगे, वह राय ऐसी देंगे जो भाषावार राज्य रचना को मानते ही नहीं। तो मेरा सवाल यही होगा कि अभी जो सीमा विवाद मुलझाने का प्रश्न केन्द्रीय सरकार के सामने आया है उसको मुलझाने के लिये भाषावार राज्य रचना का प्रश्न ध्यान में रखा जायगा, क्या? क्या विलेज यूनिट रखा जायगा, भौगोलिक संलग्नता पर ध्यान रखा जायगा क्या?

आप जानते होंगे, और मैं आपसे कहना चाहूँगा कि यह महाजन अर्वाड जो है उसका मैंने अध्ययन किया है। उसका अध्ययन मुझको इसलिये करना पड़ा कि हम तो मैसूर और महाराष्ट्र के बार्डर पर हैं और इस



[श्री शिकरे]

विवाद पर हमारे गोवा का भविष्य अवलम्बित है। यहां के बहुत से सदस्य गोवा गये हैं। आप जानते हैं कि गोवा का सीढ़य कैसा है और वह भारत का एक सुन्दर टुकड़ा है। जो सदस्य वहां गये हैं उन्होंने लॉन्डा स्टेशन देखा होगा। लॉन्डा स्टेशन से जो पश्चिम में चार मील चौड़ा प्रदेश है उसको महाजन भ्रवाड ने महाराष्ट्र में डालने की सिफारिश की है। लेकिन वहां से पांच-छः मील पर गोवा की सीमा है, बाडर है। लॉन्डा की सीमा से बाडर तक का प्रदेश महाराष्ट्र को नहीं जायेगा। क्यों? मेरा सवाल होगा क्यों नहीं। मैं इतना ही कहूंगा कि लॉन्डा से रामघाट तक जो 22 मील का प्रदेश है वह सीमा पर है। यह जो 22 मील का कारीडोर रक्खा गया है जब उसका नक्शा मेरे सामने आता है तब मालूम होता है कि वह सीमा विवाद का भू-प्रदेश है। इस 22 मील लम्बाई के कारीडोर में चार मील चौड़ा ऐसा प्रदेश है जो मैसूर में ही रहेगा। इसलिये हमारे जैसे गोवा के लोग चिंतित हैं क्योंकि हम तो समझते हैं जो सहाद्रि पर्वत है वह नैसर्गिक सीमा होती है। उसके दूसरी तरफ से ऐसा कारीडोर रखना क्या पर्वस भ्रवाड नहीं हो सकता?

महाजन भ्रवाड जो है शायद उसकी जानकारी आपको नहीं है क्योंकि आप केवल भारत की दृष्टि से देखते हैं। हम भी भारत की दृष्टि से देखते हैं, लेकिन हम गोवा जैसे छोटे प्रदेश के लोग हैं, हमको गोवा की दृष्टि से भी देखना पड़ता है। जो इस तरह का कारीडोर रक्खा गया है उसके बारे में आपकी क्या राय होगी? मैं समझता हूँ कि लॉन्डा से अनमौड या लॉन्डा से कैसलराक तक का जो प्रदेश है उसके माने यह है कि 22 मील लम्बाई का और चार-पांच मील चौड़ाई का प्रदेश महाराष्ट्र को दिया जाता तो मैं समझता कि उसमें कोई तत्व है, लेकिन हम देखते हैं कि भ्रवाड में ऐसी चीज नहीं है।

एक और बात की ओर मैं आपका ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ। इस महाजन भ्रवाड में कहा गया है कि कोंकणी एक स्वतन्त्र भाषा है इसलिये वह मैसूर में रहना चाहिये। गोवा में मेरे जैसे बहुत से लोग हैं। मैं यहाँ आया हूँ तो मेरा एक कलम का प्रोग्राम था। मैंने अपने एलेक्शन मेनिफेस्टो में एक ही प्रोग्राम रक्खा था कि गोमान्तक की भाषा मराठी है, कोंकणी उनकी बोली है। इसलिये भाषा की दृष्टि से गोवा को महाराष्ट्र में जाना चाहिये। मैं समझता हूँ कि यहाँ पर श्री सेक्वीरा जैसे संसद सदस्य हैं जो कहते हैं कि गोवा की भाषा मराठी नहीं, गोवा की भाषा कोंकणी है। लेकिन हम तो ऐसा कहते हैं कि हमारी भाषा मराठी है और कोंकणी उसकी बोली अथवा डायलेक्ट है। लेकिन हम दोनों में कुछ तो साम्य है। मैं एक बात पर आपका ध्यान दिलाना चाहूंगा कि कोंकणी द्रविडियन भाषा या बोली है क्या? इसके बारे में आपकी क्या राय होगी? वह संस्कृत से आई भाषा है। संस्कृत से आई हुई जो मराठी और कोंकणी हैं उनको एक साथ रखना चाहिये और उनके बोलने वालों को एक साथ रखना चाहिये।

महाजन भ्रवाड में कहा गया है कि वहाँ की भाषा कोंकणी है और कोंकणी एक स्वतन्त्र भाषा मानी जाती है। अगर स्वतन्त्र भाषा कोंकणी मानी जाती है और कारवाड की स्वतन्त्र भाषा मानी जाती है तो उसका कारवाड, सुपा, हल्याड, माजाली का जो प्रदेश है वह मैसूर में रहना चाहिये। लेकिन वहाँ के लोग क्या कहते हैं? वहाँ के 90 प्रतिशत लोग कहते हैं कि हमारी भाषा मराठी है, बोली कोंकणी है, इसलिये वह प्रदेश महाराष्ट्र में जाना चाहिये। इस प्रश्न पर वहाँ की बाइस ग्राम पंचायतों ने एलेक्शन लड़ा। 22 में से 19 को दो तिहाई बहुमत उन्हें मिला और 3 में सीधा बहुमत मिला। इन सारी बातों को ध्यान में रख कर हमारे सामने

ऐसा प्रश्न आता है कि महाजन अवार्ड पर जोर देते हुए, बार-बार उनकी ओर निदेश करके यह कहा जाता है कि चूंकि महाजन आयोग ने कहा है इसलिये उसको हमें मानना ही पड़ेगा।

श्री पाटिल ने कहा कि सीमा प्रदेश और पानी के बारे में जो विवाद होता है उसको सुलझाने के लिये हम उसको सुप्रीम कोर्ट के सामने रख दें। यहां कठिनाई यह है कि जब यह महाराष्ट्र-मैसूर सीमा विवाद समस्या महाजन साहब को दी गई तब उनको कोई टर्म्स ऑफ रिफरेंस नहीं दिये गये। जब हम सुप्रीम कोर्ट के पास जायेंगे तब हम लोग कौनसे टर्म्स ऑफ रिफरेंस देंगे। टर्म्स ऑफ रिफरेंस तो पार्लियामेंट को ही देने पड़ेंगे। जब भी कोई विधान बनता है तब उस पर सुप्रीम कोर्ट अपनी राय दे सकता है क्योंकि हमारे संविधान में यह चीज दी हुई है कि सुप्रीम कोर्ट किस-किस विषय पर अपनी राय दे सकता है।

इसलिये मैं कहता हूँ कि महाजन अवार्ड की कीमत कम हो जाती है क्योंकि बुनियादी तत्व जो है, जो टर्म्स ऑफ रिफरेंस हैं वह उनको नहीं दिये गये। टर्म्स ऑफ रिफरेंस न देने के कारण हर एक आदमी यही चाहता है कि उसका जो मत है, जो उसका विश्वास है उसको मान लिया जाय।

**सभापति महोदय:** अब माननीय सदस्य का समय समाप्त हो गया।

**श्री शिकरे:** तब फिर मैं समाप्त करता हूँ।

**SHRI KRISHNA KUMAR CHATTERJI (Howrah):** Madam Chairman, I rise to support all the demands placed by the Home Ministry.

I am not surprised that Shri S. K. Patil accused this Government for the failure of law and order in every part of the country.

Unfortunately, he is not present here. I begin by reading the very first sentence that is in the Introduction of the Report for 1969-70. It says:

"The trend towards the growth of tension and violence in the country continued and the Ministry of Home Affairs was engaged not only in taking appropriate administrative measures in consultation, where necessary, with State Governments, but also in examining the socio-economic forces that lead to such tensions and violence."

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** The hon. Member may continue his speech tomorrow.

We have now to take up the Half-an-Hour discussion.

Shri Om Prakash Tyagi.

18.29 hrs.

#### HALF-AN-HOUR DISCUSSION

##### UTILISATION OF PL-480 FUNDS

**श्री ओम प्रकाश त्यागी (मुरादाबाद):** सभापति महोदय, मैं आज इस सरकार का ध्यान पी० एल० 480 की ओर आकर्षित करना चाहता हूँ। यों तो सरकार का ध्यान इस ओर आकर्षित है ही, परन्तु जिस ढंग से होना चाहिये वैसे नहीं है। भारतवर्ष का वह दिन दुर्भाग्य का था जिस दिन उसने आत्म-निर्भरता के सिद्धांत को छोड़कर धन तथा पी० एल० 480 के समझौते को स्वीकार किया। विदेशी सहायता और पी० एल० 480 के धन ने भारतवर्ष को बीस वर्षों में आत्म-निर्भर नहीं होने दिया। मैं यह कहना चाहूंगा कि इसमें सरकार की बुद्धिमानी नहीं कि आज देश आत्म-निर्भरता की ओर बढ़ रहा है, अपितु अमरीका के लोगों ने ही इस बात को अनुभव किया कि अगर पी० एल० 480 का अनाज देते चलेंगे तो भारतवर्ष भीड़ मांगता रहेगा और वह कभी आत्म-निर्भर नहीं होगा। यह कम्युनिस्टों के चक्कर में घा जायेगा।