

dated the 18th March, 1972, under section 14-A of the Aircraft 1934, together with an explanatory note [*Placed in Library. See No. LT—1812/72*]

ANNUAL REPORTS OF HINDUSTAN
ACRONAUTICS LTD., AND
BHARAT EARTH MOVERS
LTD.

SHRI K. R. GANESH : On behalf of Shri V. C. Shukla; I beg to lay on the Table a copy each of the following papers (Hindi and English versions) under sub-section (1) of section 619A of the Companies Act, 1956 :—

- (1) Annual Report of the Hindustan Aeronautics Limited, Bangalore, for the years 1970-71 along with the Audited Accounts and the comments of the Comptroller and Auditor General thereon [*Placed in Library See No. LT—1813/72*]
- (2) Annual Report of the Bharat Earth Movers Limited, Bangalore for the year 1970-71 along with the Audited Accounts and the comments of the Comptroller and Auditor General thereon [*Placed in Library See No. LT—1814/72*]

12 52 hrs.

RESIGNATION OF MEMBER
(SHRI GHANSHYAM OZA)

MR SPEAKER : I have to inform the the House that Shri Ghanshyambhai Oza, an elected Member of Lok Sabha from Rajkot constituency of Gujarat, has resigned his seat in Lok Sabh with effect from the 18th April, 1972.

PUBLIC ACCOUNTS COMMITTEE
FORTY-FIRST REPORT

SHRI SEZHIAN (Kumbakonam) : Sir, I beg to present the Forty-first Report of the Public Accounts Committee regarding Appropriation Accounts (Civil) 1969-70 and Report of the Comptroller and Auditor General of India for the year 1969-70, Central

Government (Civil) relating to the Ministry of Works and Housing.

COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC
UNDERTAKINGS

SIXTEENTH REPORT AND MINUTES

SHRI M. B. RANA (Broach) : I beg to present to following Report and Minutes of the Committee on Public Undertakings :

- (1) Sixteenth Report on Oil and Natural Gas Commission, and
- (2) Minutes of the sittings of the Committee relating to the above Report.

12 54 hrs.

DEMANDS FOR GRANTS
1972-73—Contd

MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS—Contd

MR SPEAKLR We will resume discussion on the Demands for Grants relating to the Ministry of Home Affairs We will try to finish the list There is an equally big list which has come today. This debate will be over before the Private Members' Business is taken up The Prime Minister will reply to the Debate on Manday after the Question Hour.

NOW, Shri Hari Singh.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE (Kanpur) : I wish to raise an important matter, Sir There is the strike coming up on the 25th by 42,000 LIC workers. We want to know what is going on. Let the hon. Minister make a statement, Sir. . .

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE
MINISTRY OF FINANCE (SHRI K. R.
GANESH) : I have no facts at the moment.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE : He knows about it. 42,000 employees are involved. . .

MR. SPEAKER : He has to collect the figures.

Now, Shri Hari Singh.

श्री हरी सिंह (खुर्जा) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं कल गृह विभाग की उपलब्धियों के सम्बन्ध में इस सदन में चर्चा कर रहा था। निश्चित रूप से गृह विभाग और पुलिस विभाग में प्रगति, उन्नति और सुधार की तरफ रुख हुआ है। प्रधान मंत्री ने इस देश के अन्दर बहुत सी चीजों में आमूल चूल परिवर्तन किया है। राज-नैतिक जड़ता को खत्म किया है। प्रजातंत्र और समानता की भावना को बल मिला है और आज देश प्रगति की ओर चल पड़ा है। लेकिन आज जो सारी हमारी उपलब्धियाँ हैं उन को भ्रष्टाचार का अजगर खा रहा है। आज किसी भी दफ्तर में आप चले जाइए, कहीं भी बिना सिफारिश के या पैसा घेना दिए बिना कोई काम नहीं हो पाता। तो मैं इस सदन में आग्रह करना चाहता हूँ कि जिस तरह से और चीजों को आप ने खत्म किया है उसी तरह से युद्ध स्तर के ऊपर ले कर यह जो हमारे देश के अन्दर भ्रष्टाचार व्याप्त है, उसको समाप्त करें, बरना सारा हमारा परिश्रम, सारी मेहनत और सारी दक्षता यह भ्रष्टाचार का अजगर खा जायगा।

इस अवसर पर मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि दिल्ली पुलिस में जो भर्ती होती है उसमें शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट के लोगों को जानबूझ कर छोड़ दिया जाता है। मैंने अनेक चिट्ठियाँ इस बारे में गृह विभाग को लिखी हैं। मेरी जानकारी में ऐसे भी लोग हैं जो दूसरे सूबों में सब इंस्पेक्टर के इम्तहान में पास हो गए लेकिन यहाँ पर कास्टेबल के लिए उन का चुनाव नहीं हो पाता है। यह यहाँ की व्यवस्था है। शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट की भर्ती और उन की नियुक्ति के सम्बन्ध में दिल्ली एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन एक अजीब रुख अपनाए हैं।

आज कल देहात के अन्दर, उत्तर प्रदेश में खास कर जो हरिजन देहातों में रहते हैं, गांव के बड़े बड़े लोग उन्हें तरह तरह से परेशान

करते हैं। जो उन का बेगार नहीं करते हैं, सुफ्त में उनका काम नहीं करते हैं या कम पैसे में उन के यहाँ मजदूरी नहीं करते हैं उन का झूठा चानान कर दिया जाता है। तो जहाँ पर प्रजातंत्र कायम हुआ है नये रूप में, वहाँ यह आवश्यक है कि शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट के भाई और जो गरीब लोग देहात के अन्दर रहते हैं उन पर भी इस तरह की निगाह रख कर पुलिस के भ्रष्टाचार से उन को बचाया जाय।

पुलिस में भ्रष्टाचार की बात मैं कह रहा हूँ लेकिन साथ साथ यह भी है कि अगर पुलिस को निष्पक्ष और ईमानदार बनाना है तो जो छोटे चतुर्थ श्रेणी के कर्मचारी हैं उन की तन-स्वाह को बढ़ाना भी बहुत जरूरी है। आप जानते हैं कि 5-6 रुपये मकान का किराया कास्टेबल को बहुत से सूबों में मिलता है। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि आज के वक्त में कौन आमदमी ऐसा है कि जो 5-6 रुपये से अपना मकान कास्टेबल को रहने के लिए दे देगा? एक तरफ जब हम यह चाहते हैं कि पुलिस विभाग स्वच्छ हो तो वहाँ यह भी आवश्यक है कि जो पुलिस विभाग के छोटे छोटे कर्मचारी हैं, नाजायज तौर से वह अपनी आमदनी न बढ़ाएँ, इस के लिए उन की तनस्वाहों में इजाफा किया जाय और उन को हाउस एलावेंस में और बढ़ोत्तरी दी जाय।

इस के साथ साथ आज हमारे देश में जो जुर्म और अपराध हो रहे हैं वह साइंटिफिक तरीके से हो रहे हैं और अपराधी आज इस में हम से बहुत आगे बढ़ गए हैं। पुलिस पीछे रह गई है। आज उन के पास पता नहीं कहाँ से लेटेस्ट टाइप के वेपन्स आ जाते हैं और पुलिस के पास वही पुराने तरह के हथियार हैं, वह उन का मुकाबिला नहीं कर पाते। मैं ने देखा कई जगहों पर पुलिस वाले एनकाउंटर में मारे जाते हैं। मेरा आग्रह है कि जो पुलिस कर्मचारी इस तरह ड्यूटी पर एनकाउंटर में मारे जायें,

[श्री हरी सिंह]

उन के बाल बच्चों को और स्त्री को जीवन भर पेशान दी जानी चाहिए। तभी जा कर इन सिपाहियों का और पुलिस के कर्मचारियों का साहस थामे बढ़ेगा। उन की हिम्मत बढ़ेगी और बुरी से बुरी परिस्थितियों में भी वह उन से मुकाबिला कर सकेंगे।

आज दिल्ली ऐडमिनिस्ट्रेशन जो झुगगी भोपडी के सबाल को ले रहा है, उसमें बहुत से लोग जिन के पास अपना प्लाट है, उन पर उनका अधिकार भी है, उस के, कागज-पत्र भी होते हैं, लेकिन शासन की तरफ से पुलिस के कुछ अफसर और उन के कर्मचारी जाते हैं, और उन को बेगुनाह तग करते हैं। उन को जेल में ले जा कर बन्द कर देते हैं जिस से उन का साहस टूट जाता है। तो मैं इस अवसर पर यही कहना चाहता हूँ कि हमारी पुलिस को बिलकुल माडर्नाइज होना चाहिए और हाई टेकनिकल स्कूल उन को सिखलाया जाना चाहिए। आज का अपराधी केवल साठी बन्दूक लिए हुए नहीं होता है, आज वह मनोवैज्ञानिक और पर बड़े उंचे ढग में अपराध करता है। इसलिए पुलिस का माइन्डिज्ड करने की बहुत आवश्यकता है।

इस अवसर पर मैं और अधिक न कहते हुए गृह विभाग की मांगों का अनुमोदन करता हूँ।

SHRI M SATYANARAYAN RAO (Karimnagar) It is a matter of great disappointment to me that this Ministry has failed to solve the longstanding problem of Telengana. The House is aware of the supreme sacrifices made by the people of Telengana during the Telengana agitation, and therefore, I would not go into the details of it. But, nevertheless, I would like to remind the House once again of those unfortunate persons who had laid down their lives and those persons who had laid down their lives and those persons who had sustained injuries and those lakhs of people who were killed for the sake of a separate Telengana.

When this agitation was in full swing, the hon. Prime Minister advised the Telengana people not to resort to violent methods, but to abandon violence and adopt peaceful, democratic and constitutional methods to achieve their object. The people of Telengana accepted her advice, and they have expressed their desire through the ballot papers by electing ten out of fourteen Members and they have sent us here. You are well aware of that. But unfortunately, their demand has not been conceded.

Of course, negotiations took place between the hon. Prime Minister and the President of the erstwhile TPS. They are said to have evolved a six-point formula. It was, of course, denied by the hon. Prime Minister when we met her at Simla during the AICC session. That is the reason why I am sitting here on this side of the House today. So, you know the whole background. I am very sorry for this.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE (Gwalior) Sorry for sitting on this side?

SHRI M SATYANARAYAN RAO No, I am sorry that there has been no solution to this problem.

One of the six points was to instal a Telengana man as Chief Minister. Of course, that has been conceded.

This agitation was not for making a Telengana man Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh. It was against certain injustices perpetrated against us, and we wanted redressal of these grievances. Unfortunately, that has not been done. I do not know why.

13 hrs.

On return from Simla, Shri Pant asked me not to precipitate matters. He assured me he would look into the matter and would do everything possible. As you know, before this agitation, there were some safeguards given to the people in Telengana in the shape of the Mulki Rules. But they were snatched away from us by the High Court of Andhra. It was struck down as *ultra vires* the Constitution. As

a result, the people became disappointed and frustrated.

Two days after the judgment, the Prime Minister came to Andhra Pradesh. Addressing a meeting in Warangal, she assured the people: 'Do not worry about it. Because of my preoccupations with the Bangla Desh problem, I could not devote my attention to it. I will consider it and solve it permanently, if necessary, by amending the Constitution.' On hearing this, the people became very happy. I also became very happy. I can say without any hesitation, that whatever she promised, she tried to implement and she had implemented. But I do not know why she is not implementing the main thing, regarding Telengana. I thought this session she would introduce a Bill to amend the Constitution in order to validate the Mulki Rules. But it has not come. I do not know. May be there may be some practical difficulties to amend the Constitution. If so, the only way out is formation of separate Telengana State. I think it is not wrong also. If Meghalaya, Mizoram, Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland, Manipur and Tripura can be formed into separate States, what is wrong in a separate State for Telengana. Even our friends in the Andhra region are now appreciating our demand. They also feel that with the formation of two States there, we can progress well.

In this connection, I would cite the example of Punjab and Haryana. Although they are small States, they are responsible for bringing about a green revolution in the country,

MR. SPEAKER : It is not due to that.

SHRI M. SATYANARAYAN RAO : I am only saying that the smallness of a State does not inhibit progress. Even being small, Punjab and Haryana have made considerable progress and brought about the green revolution.

Another argument adduced against us that the case of Andhra is different and it was formed on a linguistic basis. If six separate Hindi-speaking States can exist in the country, what is wrong in two Telugu-speaking States existing side by side?

If there is difficulty experienced in amending the Constitution to validate the Mulki Rules, the better course is to carve out a separate State for Telengana. That would be in the interest of the country also. We know the Prime Minister is a great leader. She is regarded as a leader of oppressed people. We are also an oppressed people. Why is she not considering our case? She must have some sympathy towards us. The time has come when the problem must be solved permanently. Otherwise, I warn the House that serious complications will arise. Let not the House think that the problem has subsided. May be because of so many things, it is lying dormant now. I tell you it is very difficult for us to go out into the bazar with our head high. We were heroes once upon a time. But now unfortunately, we are treated as criminals. Why do not Government consider our difficulties also? Why is Shri Pant not taking account of these things? I expected him to introduce a Bill to amend the Constitution this session. You had promised me that "Don't worry; I will do everything." I have not done anything further except resigning from the Congress Party and consequently sitting on this side of the House. That is all I have done. I believed him, and still there is time for you. You please do something to introduce a Bill for considering a separate Telengana, or amend the Constitution. It is left to you.

SHRI INDER J. MALHOTRA (Jammu) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the Demands of the Ministry of Home Affairs. The year 1971-72 has been a year of problems, strains and stresses. I am happy to go on record that under the dynamic leadership of our Prime Minister, we have been able to face all these problems as a united and one nation.

Sir, the Ministry of Home Affairs has done an excellent job in curbing the communal tendencies in this country, and has also been successful to a very large extent in avoiding or controlling the communal riots in the country. Though, unfortunately, at certain places in the country there have been communal riots during the last year, by and large, when we compare the extent of communal riots in the country with previous years, I am again happy to go on record that this Ministry has been able to control them, and I hope that certain further steps would also be

[Shri Inder J Malhotra]

taken to see that we are in a position to control the communal riots altogether

Now, I would like to make a few observations regarding the political and other situation in the Jammu and Kashmir State. I am again happy to go on record that with the creation of Bangla Desh, there has been a healthy influence of certain political elements in the State. There were some elements who previously for a number of years have been advocating that Jammu and Kashmir State should form part of Pakistan, and they were not recognising the legal, constitutional and practical accession of the State to India. A very important political leader of that State, Shri Kara, the founder President of the political conference who has been throughout advocating for the State's accession to Pakistan has publicly come out and has said that he accepts the accession of the State to India. This is a very healthy development although he has put certain riders in his statement by saying that more autonomy should be given to the State. But I am happy on one account that there is certainly a basic change in their attitude towards the State's relationship with the rest of India and with the Centre.

I am also told by certain quarters that there is a change in the thinking of Sheikh Abdullah also regarding the accession issue. If it is a fact then I would urge upon the Central Government to take a very serious note of this change in his attitude, and after Sheikh Abdullah accepts the State's accession to India as final, all types of restrictions should be removed—the restrictions on his movement—and he should be treated as any other political leader in this country, and he should be allowed to function as a political leader in this country.

One of the major problems which this Ministry has tried to tackle—that has also been reported in the Ministry's annual report—is regarding the utilisation of manpower, the unemployment of educated engineers and scientists and other technical personnel. This is a basic problem which our country faces today. I am happy that from the shelves of the Planning Commission this problem has come up before the Home Ministry. Whatever the Planning Commission could do, the Planning Commission

has done and it is for the Home Ministry to see the implementation part of this. It is really a matter of great concern to a country like India. We are trying to progress technologically, it is strange that while on the one hand we are going ahead with scientific projects and other technological projects, on the other hand we have thousands of engineers who are unemployed.

श्री हुकमचन्द कछवाय (मुरेना) अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आंकी व्यवस्था चाहता हूँ। सदन में गणपूर्ति नहीं है।

अध्यक्ष महोदय यह फैसला पहले किया हुआ है, आप क्या बरतते बार बार ?

श्री हुकमचन्द कछवाय सविधान के अनुच्छेद 100 (3) में साफ कहा गया है, उममें परिवर्तन हो जाये तो मुझे कुछ नहीं कहना है।

MR SPEAKER Let the Bell be rung—now there is quorum

SHRI INDER J MALHOTRA I was submitting, Mr Speaker about the problem of unemployed engineers in the country. I would very much like the Home Minister to take the House into confidence and spell out the measures they propose to tackle this problem. This problem has become acute as far as my State is concerned. There is a Regional Engineering College and the State Government is not in a position to give employment to all the engineers who come out from that college. I would, therefore, suggest to the Ministry of Home Affairs at the Centre that they should pay more attention and try to see that some kind of special scheme is evolved for giving employment to the engineers from the State of Jammu and Kashmir.

Another problem which is faced by the Jammu and Kashmir Government is this. The low-paid employees of the State have been agitating for revision of their pay scales so as to bring them on a par with the Central level. Our Chief Minister, Syed

Mr Qasim, is trying his best to tackle all the problems, but the State Government is not in a position by itself to provide all the finances to revise their pay scales. I would, therefore, urge upon the Central Government to come to the aid of the State Government so that the problems of the low-paid employees can also be solved.

During the last year, when millions of refugees came from Bangla Desh, there were officers and workers of the Ministry of Rehabilitation at the Centre who were posted in the various refugee camps, and they did an excellent job. After these camps have been wound up and the refugees have gone back to Bangla Desh, these officers have themselves become refugees. They have been called to Delhi, but no appointments have been given to them. I would, therefore, appeal to the hon. Home Minister that he should kindly see to it that they are appointed expeditiously.

In the end, I would appeal to the Ministry of Home Affairs to include the Dogri language in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution, for which there has been a demand for a long time. After the demand started, two or other languages have been included. In my opinion, this is the right moment for giving Dogri also representation in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution.

SHRIMATI GAYATRI DEVI (Jaipur) : In the Report of the Ministry of Home Affairs, Chapter VII which relates to manpower, about which the hon. Member was talking just now, is full of the usual schemes and data about committees to be formed, or that have been formed, to remove this very grave problem of unemployment. But there is no mention in the Report of any of the achievements or any progress made. It is a sad reflection on the working of the Government, and one is left to wonder whether they are really capable of finding a satisfactory solution. Some of the policies of the Government appear to hinder rather than encourage employment.

There is a lot of talk about increasing production. The Report says in two different places in the same Chapter that the

educated unemployed are being encouraged to start small scale industries, but it does not say how many of these have been started.

Every political party in India is against monopolies, but still the Government has only given 42 firms licences to expand in the current year and no new firms have been given any licences. How can this create jobs? There is such a shortage of cars, tractors and scooters in the country, to name only a few items, that people have to buy a Fiat car at Rs. 27,000 in the black market.

AN HON. MEMBER : People do not buy Fiat cars.

SHRIMATI GAYATRI DEVI : People do. If you produce more, you would give employment.

People have to purchase tractors at Rs. 15,000 more than the official price and scooters at Rs. 2,000 to Rs 2,500 more than the official price. I would beg the Government to urgently look into this matter of expanding the production of these items. It will help hold the price line and also create more jobs.

The report also says that there are several schemes to promote rural employment by way of minor irrigation schemes and road building. This should be given tremendous emphasis because the majority of villages in India are completely neglected and the only sign of the 20th century is the transistor radio. I should like to submit that good roads should be built in India and not tracks that blow away in the wind.

Wells for drinking water and irrigation and a crash programme of rural electrification can give immediate employment. As I said before, construction of roads will not only generate employment but also remedy the problem of communications. I am sure it is the lack of communications that keep rural India backward.

[Shrimati Gayatri Devi]

Talking about unemployment, I should like to draw the attention of the Home Ministry to a fact that I think they are well aware of. That is, with the passing of the Twenty sixth Constitution Amendment Bill, the pensions of many people, who were dependent on the old rulers and whose commitments were taken over by the different State Governments, have been stopped. These commitments were made as early as 1947 and 1949. I am sure the whole House will be sympathetic to these people who are now quite old. I am sure this was not done deliberately to take reprisals on these people by the Home Ministry. I hope this matter will be looked into.

Regarding the Border Security Force, by all accounts they have earned for themselves an excellent reputation. I hope that the Government will see to it that on the western Rajasthan border where these people are deployed adequate facilities for drinking water will be provided to them. Wells should be dug and enlivened.

As for the Central Reserve Police Force, it has been the opinion of many people that this force infringes on the autonomy of the States. Now it has been upheld by the Calcutta High Court. We would like to know why the Government of India is anxious to maintain a police force of its own to operate within the States. Is it that they have no faith in the competence of the State Governments?

This takes me to a point of very great importance and that is, the independence of our Civil Services, which includes of course the police force. I am sure that it will be accepted that the services including the Election Commission must function independently and also impartially if democracy is to be sustained in India. Unfortunately, this is not the case. This has been my experience, specially during the elections. There have been many complaints from people in every walk of life in the State to which I belong of revenge and animosity shown against them because they dared to oppose the ruling party. These tax payers have been deprived of their natural rights and we had hoped that the Vigilance Commission would look

into this. But they have failed to eradicate corruption and partisanship, which is the root of blackmail, coercion and corruption. We hope that the Lok Pal system will now function.

One of the main functions of the Home Ministry is to see that law and order is maintained throughout the country with complete impartiality. Therefore, it is a sad reflection on a democratic country like ours that there is violence during the elections. I would not speak of West Bengal, I had not seen what happened there. But in Rajasthan a Jan Sangh worker was shot dead by the police. They alleged that they thought he was a dacoit although that jeep was carrying two Jan Sangh flags. Shri Om Prakash Rajana succumbed to the bullet wounds. The CBI is now investigating the case, but so far nobody has been suspended. This leaves in the minds of the people a doubt as to whether their personal safety is secure if they oppose the ruling party. Though this is not a subject of the Home Ministry, I should like them to use their influence to prevail upon the Election Commission to simplify the election process by making the polls on one day alone. By this they can avoid any allegation against the government that they had meddled with the ballot box. Another change which is required is in the new system of signing the counterfoil where a voter can be pressurized. That system also ought to be done away with. If that system is continued, it means that the ballot is no more secret. Government must give a feeling of security to the people by proving that the elections are free, impartial and innocent of these allegations.

Similarly, citizens of India against whom there are direct or insinuated charges should be afforded a chance to clear their names by public inquiry. Crimes must be punished. It is sad to read in *the Frontier* of 8th April 1972 that such a responsible person as the present Chief Minister of Bengal brushed off a correspondent who wanted the probe report of the political murders of that State simply because he was an outsider. It does not say much for the efforts at integration. Sadder still is the insinuation that these murders will be let off scot-free even though the Chief Minister knows who they are.

Sir, if you will permit me. I would like to read out the correspondence. The correspondent asks him :

"Do you propose to order an investigation into the murders committed in the State during the past few years—the Barasat-Basirhat murders, the murders in prison, and the murders of many other people including some prominent political leaders, and find out who the culprits are ?

Siddhartha Ray : No. There is no need for any fresh investigation. We know who the murderers are.

Question : Do you propose to publish the findings of the investigations so that the people may know who the culprits are ? Are you going to punish the guilty ?

Siddhartha Ray : No. What has happened has happened. We want no recriminations. We are determined to see that the West Bengal we build is a glorious one.

Question : People would like to know who the real culprits are and what punishment is meted out to them.

Siddhartha Ray : No, the people of West Bengal do not want that. They have not asked for it. Only the CPI (M) has asked for it.

Question : Should murderers not be brought to book ?

Siddhartha Ray : They are your friends.

Question : I have friends in the Congress and in every party. What may it be that stands in the way of your punishing the guilty if you know who they are ?

Siddhartha Ray : You are not from West Bengal. You have no right ask for an inquiry or ask such questions."

I ask you, what does this imply ?

SHRI K. P. UNNIKRISHANA (Badagare) : He has contradicted this report in a section of the papers.

SHRIMATI GAYATRI DEVI : I am saying what has appeared in the newspapers. If it has been contradicted, the Minister will say so when he replies. It is not for the members of the House to do that. This is what has come to my notice from *Frontier* and I thought that as a citizen of India, as a representative of the people of India, it is my duty to put it before the House. As I was saying crimes must be punished.

In the Home Ministry there are several investing agencies, the CBI, the Intelligence Bureau the Enforcement Directorate, Income-tax Department, Company Law Department and so on. It seems so strange that with all these investigating agencies at the tip of their fingers, the Home Ministry does nothing to investigate the allegations of corruption insinuated against highly-placed persons. There are allegations of corruption against five ex-Chief Ministers. Yet, they have not been given the right to clear their names by a public inquiry. Similarly, there are several allegations against big business people. Why are they not brought to book ? If they are cleared by an inquiry, so much the better. Otherwise, just punishment should be meted out to them. When a small man is accused, immediately he is tried and if he is innocent, he is let off; if he is not innocent, he is punished. But if the name of a big person is involved, the file remains in the Home Ministry, obviously for the purpose of political black mail. I would request this Ministry that they must go into these allegations because, if they do not, the people will remain suspicious of this country becoming more and more a police state.

I will not say anything more but before I conclude I would like to remind this house of a very well known saying, a known enemy is better than an unknown friend. I say this in the context of reports appearing in the foreign press, which is really rather alarming. I hope that that our Intelligence will not let us down as it did in 1958, 1959 and 1962. I wonder why there are still 21 ships of the Soviet Union in Chittagong, Cox Bazar and other harbours of Bangla Desh. They were supposed to be there for clearing away mines. Surely, Indian Navy was capable of clearing away those mines !

SHRI SAT PAL KAPUR (Patiala) : They were for fishing. Here again she is misleading the House.

SHRIMATI GAYATRI DEVI : If I am misleading the House, it will be for the Minister to put me right.

SHRI K. MANOHARAN (Madras North) : Ladies will not mislead

SHRIMATI GAYATRI DEVI : At the same time, it has appeared in the press that two squadrons of MIG—21 were also being given to Bangla Desh. They have India on three sides, with sea below and I would like to know if our Intelligence has probed as to whom these are to be used against.

SHRIMATI MUKUL BANERJI (New Delhi) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am really surprised to hear Shrimati Gayatri Devi accusing the intelligence Bureau and the Home Ministry for not inquiring into the murder trials. I do not think she knows anything about West Bengal. In West Bengal so many inquiries have been held.

SHRIMATI GAYATRI DEVI : I do not know if the hon. Member knows that I come from West Bengal, my home.

SHRIMATI MUKUL BANERJI : But you were not quoting the facts. The facts are otherwise. Therefore, you know hardly anything about West Bengal.

SHRIMATI GAYATRI DEVI : I have not got Government indoctrinated facts; I have got them straight from the people.

MR. SPEAKER : Order, please; ladies should not quarrel.

I am getting out of their quarrel.
13.33 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER *in the Chair.*]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : He has left me a difficult legacy.

SHRIMATI MUKUL BANERJI : Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu has raised a lot of points

criticising the various intelligence and Central units under the Home Ministry who help the States in maintaining law and order on their requisition. I do not wish to go into the matter of increase in budget expenditure. We have other agencies to check on that in the Estimates Committee and the Public accounts Committee. No Central unit of Intelligence or Police could have sanctioned their own expenditure on their own sweet will. If any expenditure has been considered necessary in the public interest, we in this House in various ways had occasion to look into that and we shall continue to do that, but to mention out of context the total figures is an attempt to mislead the House. We should rather concentrate on the work done by these units and the need for such work in any civilised country instead of quoting such figures out of context.

The main burden of Shri Bosu's remarks was that the Foreign Intelligence Unit under the Government of India is being used by the Government for keeping watch on his party people and to advance the cause of the ruling party, particularly during the elections. It is a fantastic allegation. This kind of a general complaint is unworthy of a responsible Member. If there is any specific case of such misconduct of public servants, that should be reported for necessary action. Under the Government Servants' Conduct Rules, no service member, whether of Intelligence or of other units has any business to watch or censor anybody's papers or telephone on his own. Every department is independent. Any fault in the telephone line should not be read to mean that it is being tapped. In any case, instead of wasting time on such generalisation, we would make up our mind, everyone of us in this House, that in such cases we should report on specific instances so that the Government and the Home Ministry can have a look into it and we can also press for a full report and if we are not satisfied, we can ask for other details. There are various ways of redressing such actions, if any.

The Foreign Intelligence Unit has nothing to do with the internal work. There is Intelligence Unit for the internal work under a different Director. In fact, the Internal Intelligence Unit is under the Home Ministry and the Foreign Intelligence Unit

is under the Cabinet Secretariat. It is fantastic to suggest that the Foreign Unit is dealing with internal matters. This will not work in principle or in practice, because they will clash with the other unit. Be that as it may, here, again, I would suggest that specific instances of any Member of Mr Bosu's party having been violated by the activities of any unit, should be brought up and that can be adequately looked into. It will be wrong to create a cloud of suspicion during the budget discussions by such unfounded criticisms and allegations.

Every civilised country has to have Intelligence units. This is essential in the public interest and for the safety and security of the State. It is no wonder that such organisations must be maintained and in the present world when you have to obtain information from developed countries and their followers, the technique and personnel must be of a high standard. So, we must be prepared to bear the expenditure required for maintaining the minimum standards in these days if we want them to serve the State for which they have been raised,

I am sure, the Home Ministry will give more pointed reply to Mr. Bosu's criticisms but I wish to voice my protest so that the Members and the House do not get misguided by such unfounded generalised allegations.

I have a few more matters to point out to the Home Minister and the Department of Personnel. I know of a very deep-seated grievance among the members of the Air Force Employees Union on account of the policy of the Government to recruit outsiders through direct recruitment. This is causing a good deal of heart-burning and is really blocking promotion prospects of the people who are already working there. My information is that the Defence Ministry is also in favour of discouraging this recruitment, but the Department of Personnel is pressing for this. I would request the Department of Personnel to have this looked into and take such steps as are necessary to remove this apprehension of the loyal and good staff who are already in the Defence Ministry.

There is also another grievance of the Central Government employees which has come to our notice and, I think, it is my

duty to let the Government know before it takes any form of a big agitation. The Central Secretariat Service has been bifurcated into various cadres and zones. This may have some advantages, but what is causing the grievance is that these various cadres and zones have unequal promotion prospects. Sometimes, somebody who has to be assisted is put to a cadre where the senior people are few. Such mal-practices are bound to happen everywhere when cadres are separated. The need for having separate cadres and zones of Central Secretariat Service should be looked into once again. The Central Secretariat Service is the permanent basic service of the Government of India. We obtain the members of the All India Civil Service from the States on loan, but the permanent Government staff of the Central Secretariat Service continue to serve and maintain continuity in the Central Secretariat administration. Anything done to jeopardise the loyalty of this group of civil servants and to cause frustration in their ranks is fraught with grave possibilities. I would, therefore urge that this should receive due attention, and this matter of breaking it into various cadres should be reviewed and the old system of keeping the entire Central Secretariat Service in one cadre should be once again sympathetically considered.

The third issue which is a perennial issue is the question of keeping the temporary civil servants of Government of India to continue as such for indefinite periods. I understand there is a standing Government rule that anybody occupying a temporary post for more than three years should be held as quasi-permanent even if there is no permanent cadre, but in practice, no Department of the Government of India is looking into this matter with sympathy and understanding, in spite of this standing directive of the rules. This is causing a good deal of frustration and dissatisfaction. A large number of officers and men are in the employ of the Government of India on a temporary basis and the House will be shocked to know that such things continue for more than 10 years and even there are people who are holding temporary posts for more than 20 years. All this is happening because the departmental superiors or the Home Ministry, the Department of Personnel, as the case may be are not dealing with this matter which

[Shrimati Mukul Banerji] that thoroughness and understanding as this matter deserves in the interest of these thousands of temporary civil servants under the Government of India. My intention is to draw attention to this standing grievance so that something tangible is done to review these cases and to see that everybody is made quasi permanent after three years of service and as soon as possible the cadres of the units which must stay should be made permanent formally.

One point more, Sir, about the lower cadre of the police. I would like to say something about the police administration. The whole system should be changed. As Shrimati Sheila Kaul said we are still continuing the colonial system. We are giving so much of responsibilities to the police personnel, but we are not giving them enough facilities and enough emoluments so that we may attract intelligent and educated people into the cadre. I would therefore, request the Home Ministry to look into this matter and see that the whole system of police administration is improved and better people are attracted into the cadre. Better facilities should be given to the constables and other Class IV employees.

MR DEPUTY SPEAKER: Almost all the members of Opposition, in the list, are not to be seen in the House. I do not know what to do.

Shri Vayalar Ravi,

SHRI VAYALAR RAVI (Chirayinkil): I do support the Demands for Grants of the Ministry of Home Affairs. Of course every one knows that the work of this Ministry is a tedious one, and they are always the target of attack from every corner. I want to congratulate the Ministers for the excellent job done during the last few years.

I do not want to go into the details of the attack made by Shri Jyotirmay Bosu. But what else can he do? He has to blame somebody. He may be afraid of the people to blame them. So, all the allegations have been put on the police, in short he wants to find an excuse in the police for their crushing defeat in the last elections in West Bengal. The time is very short, Sir. I do not want to go into the details,

I want to know whether the duty of this Ministry is only to maintain law and order or to make some changes in the administration. I regret that, so far, no positive steps progressive of creative steps, have been taken to change the system in the country which may bring the poor people nearer to the administration. We are still continuing the old system which was inherited from the British hierarchy. We have not taken any steps to change it. Take, for example, the CBI. I have got the report here. Let me read out this portion from the report:

'On 31st December 1971 out of a total of 1357 cases pending trial, 461 cases were pending for a period upto one year, 283 for one year, 207 for over two years, 158 for over three years and 248 for over four years.'

In addition, there was one case started in 1963 against an army officer which is still pending in the court. All the big business houses in the country, Birlas, Tatas and Munthras are taking shelter behind the court. All the cases against them by the CBI are pending before the court. The CBI seems to be helpless to proceed against Birlas and Munthras. They always file writ petition or some petition or other. I want to know from the hon. Minister what steps he has taken to see that these loopholes are plugged, these hurdles put in by the courts are overcome. The judiciary have their own functions. It cannot be blamed. The duty of the Ministry is to find a way-out so that the functions of the CBI are not blocked step after step, the hurdles put by the courts are overcome.

Moreover, many examples have been pointed out. This is a very serious thing that they are taking shelter behind the judiciary by filing writ petitions. All these things must be looked into and necessary steps taken.

Mr Sen has complained that he has no place to sit. Leaving the previous building which belonged to some Maharaja, he has shifted to the Indian Express building where has no office room. Here again, I can't you give him a proper place? You can acquire the building of the Maharaja.

Again Mr. Sen has complained about the big business houses also. All these things should be taken into account.

I have to say one thing more. Sir, I have nothing against the ICS officers personally. Sir, we are not able to abolish the ICS privileges. I know there are certain very good ICS officers like Mr. T. N. Kaul, Mr. P. S. Menon, but, I think, there are certain people in the ICS cadre who are encroaching into the public sector. The Prime Minister has taken a bold decision that no extension will be given to the ICS officers but they are very clever. They are now trying to encroach into the public sector and thus defeating the policies of the Government that no extension shall be given to them. Moreover, what I wish to say about the abolition, of their privileges is --- I do not want to call them collaborators --- but they really betrayed out freedom movement. They have betrayed the country. The Congress Government has made a mistake by making them a nucleus of the administrative system of the country. They had their collaboration with the British hierarchy. Now, they are collaborating with the reactionary forces in the country. While enjoying all the facilities afforded to them by the Government, they are hand in glove with the monopoly houses. Now they want to go into the public sector and want to grab it as well.

I will point out one example. You know what is happening in the Thakru Commission? Before the Thakru Commission came, Mr Mangat Rai resigned. I want to know from the hon Minister who accepted his resignation. He might not have accepted his resignation but some of the ICS officers accepted it without your knowledge. Then, who are the officers facing inquiry by this commission? Mr P. R. Nayak, Mr Khera, Mr Damele, Mr Gopala Menon, Mr Kashyap etc, all big ICS officers. They all misused their power, still you are allowing them to continue. My humble request to the Minister and the Government is : you have to look into these matters and do't allow any ICS officers to grab or take any position in the public sector because they are defeating the policies of the Government.

So, I do support these demands

and I do appreciate the functioning of this Ministry in the last few years.

Thank you, Sir.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA (Contai): Nowadays you find even with massive majority of the Congress, the quorum bell rings almost every day. What does it indicate? It is not only a symptom of the careless absenteeism but something more....

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: That does not come under the Home Ministry.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: I am coming, Sir. It is a deep malady and it should be taken as a warning signal for the future of democracy in this country, because absolute power, if it is concentrated in a single point, creates a mood and that mood is now exhibited in this House and which we should take note of. I do not know whether the ruling Congress obsessed with this mood will turn into a grand psychagogue of political robots. The Challenge before the country to-day, particularly, those who profess democratic socialism is to see that in India the fundamental principles of human freedom and the democratic rights of the people are synthesised with the economics of socialism so that India may project a new social philosophy before the world and the country does not become a socialist country of the fascist type or the authoritarian type of the Communist countries. Unfortunately, the present exclusive pattern of controlling the levers of economy, without simultaneous decentralisation of political and economic power will lead to hyper-crystallisation of some kind of a totalitarian authority in the hands of the Government. The ruling Congress today is willy-nilly heading towards some kind of a totalitarianism we should be careful about the mechanics of socialism. The ruling congress now is at the height of, at the summit of its power. I wish the Government proves true its profession of *Garibi Hatao*--- I further wish its commitment to the goal of democratic socialism does not turn into a political hypocrisy. But, I am afraid, there are certain tendencies which might lead to generating dangerous forces of totalitarianism in our country. The freedom of expression of the sovereign will of the people or, in other words, scrupulously defending

[Shri Samar Guha]

mechanics of free and fair election, is absolutely essential for building a real democratic society in a socialist order. The prerequisites for this are (i) freedom of the press, (ii) non-partisan radio publicity (iii) impartial administration, (iv) an organisation of election commission above suspicion, (v) equal opportunities for election propaganda, (vi) equitable basis for election expenditure, and (vii) a peaceful atmosphere for holding a free and fair election without any shadow of fear from any quarter.

I have no doubt that the Congress would have won the last election even without campaigning by the Prime Minister. The last election was not a political election it was in vanity an emotional election. In the milieu of emotional upsurge of the people after the victory over the military junta of Pakistan the mood of national glorification was so powerful that the people cared very little to judge the socio economic programme of the ruling congress. The congress leader Mrs Indira Gandhi succeeded very shrewdly to exploit the image of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, which was built up with the support of all political parties and the whole country and the whole nation.

The ruling congress in its thirst for absolute power has started a process of dangerous erosion of the mechanics of a democratic election.

Firstly, it has resorted to differential distribution of the Government advertisements, financial advances and other favours and used covert threat to break monopoly press. The press in India has been sufficiently terrorised to be subservient to the ruling power.

Secondly, by mistake once the All India Radio Akashvani bulletin printed the name of All India Radio as All Indira Radio,—ironically it was almost like an inadvertent foreboding and it has now come to be true.

Thirdly, the administration has been deliberately utilised to influence the course of election by the ruling congress.

Fourthly, the Election Commission is no longer considered as above suspicion.

Fifthly, the Government air and land transports have been exclusively used by the Prime Minister and other Central Ministers under cover of certain set rules and by patently mixing official programmes with election programmes.

Sixthly, by using public sector distribution machinery for permit, licence and contracts, huge election funds have been collected by the Ministers. Opposition candidates were simply swept away by the tidal flow of 'Riyea chunao'.

Lastly, in the case of West Bengal as also of Bihar, forces of violence, intimidation and the technique of physical capturing of polling booths were let loose by the ruling congress to terrorise the voter to serve its election objectives.

Some of the political parties believing in the technique of violence and the politics of insurrectionary seizure of power are today crying horse against violent rigging of elections in West Bengal. I would like to say that it is they who started the wind and now they have got back the whirlwind. They have no justification to say so. Whatever be the quantitative measure of the election misdeeds committed by the Congress in West Bengal such acts have indirectly strengthened the philosophy and justification for violent means of those who believe in the politics and philosophy of insurrectionary seizure of power.

Also, by this process of erosion of the mechanics of democratic elections, they will engender a mentality in the minds of the common people who have directly witnessed what has happened during the elections you may call it fantastic nonsense, but they have witnessed it—whereby they will lose their faith in the future process of democratic elections.

It is a strange thing that Mr Biswanath Mukherjee, the Deputy Leader of the Ruling Front of West Bengal said on the floor of the House that "the democratic function of Opposition is a bourgeois concept". Not a single Congress Leader and not a single Congress Member opposed it.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Now the hon. Member should try to conclude,

SHRI SAMAR GUHA : Kindly give me two minutes more.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : I cannot apply different rules to different Member.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA : Yesterday, Members were given five minutes or three minutes only but they were given ultimately 15 minutes.

I shall finish within two minutes.

To keep the flag of Indian democracy flying, it is high time that firstly, a judicial inquiry is instituted to go into the allegations of the rigging of elections, particularly in West Bengal, Bihar and Jammu and Kashmir.

Secondly, the People's Representation Act should be drastically amended so that the Central Government in the case of the Lok Sabha elections and the State elections resign at least one month before the date of the elections.

श्री हुकम चन्द कछवाय : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मेरा पायंट आफ आर्डर है। हाउस में कोरम नहीं है।

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Now, the hon. Member Shti Samar Guha has to cooperate. He has taken double the time due to him. This cannot go on always. We are here bound by time. We have to run the House according to a time schedule.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA : I shall finish within two minutes.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : But two minutes should not become eight minutes. All right. I shall give two minutes. But after two minutes, I shall shut him out.

SHRI K. S. CHAVDA (Patan) : There is no quorum, and a point of order has been raised by an hon. Member.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : When the hon. Member has drawn my attention to it, it is my duty to satisfy myself that it is correct and then I shall take action. I am not deaf ; I have heard what he has said, and the quorum is being checked up.

SHRI K. S. CHAVDA : But meanwhile the dialogue is going on,

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Why does he not understand what I am saying ? When a Member draws my attention to that fact, it is my duty to check up whether there is quorum or not. When I am satisfied, I shall take action on it. He does not have to tell me again and again. I have heard what the hon. Member has said. As long as I do not order that the quorum bell be rung, the proceedings of the House will continue. When I am satisfied that there is no quorum, then I shall have the quorum bell rung. It is only then that the proceedings come to a stop.

SHRI K. S. CHAVDA : How can we know that you have done accordingly, when you have not taken the count ?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : I have my means of taking the count in the House.

SHRI K. S. CHAVDA : But we also have been counting,

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Since the hon. Member has drawn my attention to it I am taking the count. As long as I do not order the quorum bell to be rung, the proceedings will continue.

Now, let the quorum bell be rung—

Now, there is quorum, Shri Samar Guha may now continue his speech. He has already taken 10 minutes instead of 4 minutes. He can take 2 more minutes, if he wants, but after two minutes, I shall shut him out.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA : I was saying that the State Government or Governments, as the case may be should resign at least one month before the date of the elections.

Then, a three-man committee of retired judges should be constituted to supervise the functioning of AIR at least a month before the elections. A special Committee of the Press Council should be formed to

[Shri Samar Guha]

see that all political parties get a fair deal in the press during the elections. The use of transport except in the case of sick voters should be strictly prohibited. Impersonation of voters should be brought under severe penal measures of three years' imprisonment. All acts of violence, intimidation and terrorisation should be the subject-matter of extreme punishment. Election expenditure should be made accountable to the Election Commission. Election cases should be completed within two months of the filing of the cases. No candidate should be allowed to use more than three transport vehicles in the case of State elections and eight in the case of Lok Sabha elections. No booth office of any political party or candidate should be allowed to be set up before the polling stations, and no canvassing during the election day should be permitted, in order to avoid terrorisation of voters and booth-capturing. Lastly, a statement should be signed by each candidate before the returning officer at the time of scrutiny of the nomination papers to the effect that the candidate would not spend more than the permitted amount as election expenses, and he would not make any appeal to communalism, casteism, regionalism or resort to any type of violence. It is high time the Representation of the People Act was drastically amended before the mechanism of democracy is subverted to such an extent that the people lose their faith in democracy, and the faith of the people is overpowered by some kind of totalitarian authority that we are witnessing today growing inside the Congress.

*SHRI K. BASAPPA (Chitradurga) : Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, while supporting the Demands for Grants relating to Ministry of Home Affairs, I would like to place before the House a few points.

In the first place, even though 16 years have elapsed after the States Reorganisation Act has come into force the inter-state seniority of officers working in some of the states has not been finalised as yet. This has created a lot of frustration and discontent among those officers resulting in inefficient administration of the States concerned. I hope the Ministry would look into the question and take early steps to finalise the seniority.

In regard to All India Services like I.A.S., Government have taken a decision to constitute similar services in the spheres of Forest, Education, Medical and Engineering. But it is only in the Forest Department that this scheme has been implemented and in the other three Departments, the services have not been established as yet because certain states have not given clearance for the implementation of the scheme. I do hope that the Ministry will do something to implement the scheme at the earliest.

Further, Agriculture is a very important subject in that Department, I feel that the constitution of an All India Service on the lines of I.A.S. of paramount importance, I am confident that the Centre will take initiative in this matter.

A disquieting feature in the I.A.S. is the steady decline in the number of 1st class graduates inducted into the service as would be seen from the figures which I quote here. In 1967 out of 141 taken into the service, there were only 50 first class graduates. In 1968 out of 122, the figures of 1st class graduates came down to 39 and in 1969 out of 100 there were only 32 first class graduates. This means that hardly 1/3 of the posts are held by first class graduates. From this it is patently clear that many of the first class graduates are not entering into the Government service as they seem to be finding better prospects in the private sector. In the interest of efficient administrative services, it is desirable to find out the reasons for the I.A.S. not being to the best talents in the country. I would like the Home Minister to look into the matter and improve the conditions of service of All India Services.

It has been noticed that the I.A.S. officers, within a period of 5-6 years service, are appointed as Collectors or Deputy Commissioners of the Districts. I feel that this practice of appointing them as Collectors is not good for the efficient administration. In my opinion these I.A.S. officers should be asked to work in the various departments of the Government as Under Secretaries and Deputy Secretaries for a period of at least 10-12 years. It is only after they gain sufficient experience, they

* The original speech was delivered in Kannada.

should be posted as collectors to the Districts. I would like the Home Ministry to examine this question.

In our country, there are only three Forensic Science Laboratories situated at Delhi, Calcutta and Hyderabad. The delay in the investigation of a large number of criminal cases is mainly due to the fact that these three laboratories are not in a position to cope with the volume of work. I, therefore, consider it necessary to have such laboratories at least one in each State. I hope the Ministry would look into this question and take necessary action.

In regard to the Central Vigilance Commission the Estimates Committee in their 84th Report recommend as follows —

“Considering the fact that the Central Vigilance Commissioner has to study each and every case personally and take decision himself, the Committee feel convinced that it is humanly impossible for one person to handle the large volume and variety of work transacted by the Commission. The Committee also note from the Annual Reports of the CVC that in the discharge of his duties the Commissioner has also to attend conferences and meetings and visit places outside Delhi. This takes away a portion of the Commissioner's time. The Committee therefore recommend that if the Commission is to discharge the onerous duties entrusted to it, it should be enlarged and at least one more member added to it.”

I would like to know the action taken by the Government in the matter of appointing an additional Commissioner to cope up with the volume of work and expedite the cases referred to the Vigilance Commission.

Lastly, I would like to draw the attention of the Government about the pension scheme of the freedom fighters. At present, the Government have prepared a scheme according to which a freedom fighter who had undergone imprisonment of six months is entitled to get a pension. This condition is rather very rigid and should not be

insisted. Even a political detenué is entitled to a pension in Mysore State. Such being the case, I want this condition to be relaxed. Such of those who had taken part in the freedom movement should be given a certification of recognition of his services to the country. Not only that family of those freedom fighters should be entitled to free medical treatment and certain percentage of seats say 5-10 be reserved for their children in the Medical, Engineering and higher technological and Agricultural Colleges.

Lastly, it was answered in reply to a question in Lok Sabha on 5.12.69 that the Government would put up a Memorial in memory of those freedom fighters who lost their lives in the freedom struggle between 1857-1947 and that the Memorial would be ready by April 1972. I would like to know the stage at which the matter stands.

श्री अश्विनी प्रसाद (बलिया) . माननीय उपाध्यक्ष महाराज, गृह मंत्रालय की उपस्थित मांगा का मे समर्थन करना है। आदरणीय प्रधान मंत्री दश म आर्थिक और सामाजिक क्रान्ति लाने के लिए योजनाओं को जितनी तीव्र गति से कार्यान्वित करना चाहती है उस में सफलता नहीं मिली है। उस का मुख्य कारण हमारा अधिकारी वर्ग है। हमारे अधिकारियों का हमारी नीति में विश्वास नहीं है। इसलिए मैं चाहता हूँ कि वार्षिक परीक्षा प्रणाली को बदल कर उस के स्थान पर देश की आर्थिक और सामाजिक क्रान्ति के उपर आधारित परीक्षा ली जाय, और उस में पास होने के बाद उन की नियुक्ति हो।

देश के शासन की नीति रही है कि देश के जो उपक्षित और पिछड़े हिस्से हैं जो कमजोर हैं, गरिब हैं, उन की सहायता की जाय। लेकिन देश का हमारा पिछड़ा हिस्सा, उत्तर प्रदेश के पूर्वी जिले और बिहार के पश्चिमी जिले जहाँ पर कि भूखमरी व्याप्त है, बेरोजगारी है, निरक्षर बाढ़ आती है, सूखा-प्रद है, जहाँ अन्न का

[श्री चन्द्रिका प्रसाद]

होते रहे हैं, वह हिस्सा ज्यों का त्यों पिछड़ा पड़ा है। हरिजन जिन को चकबन्दी में आबादी की जमीन दी गई मकान बनाने के लिए और गांव समाज की जमीन दी गई खेती करने के लिए, आज तक न वहा उन के घर बन रहे हैं न खेती हो रही है। शासन हमारे गरीब आदिमियों की मदद नहीं कर पा रहा है, वहा पर दिन-रात बेकारी और भुखमरी व्याप्त है। इस का एक कारण यह भी है कि हमारे अधिकारियों के दृष्टिकोण में आजादी के 25 वर्षों के बाद भी परिवर्तन नहीं आ पाया है। मेरा गृह मंत्रालय से अनुरोध है कि आप इस सम्बन्ध में सख्त से सख्त कदम उठाये और ऐसा वातावरण पैदा करें जिस से हमारे अधिकारी इन गरीब मजदूरों और हरिजनों के प्रति अपने कर्तव्यों का पालन करें। हमारे जो हरिजन मजदूरों के लिये संघर्ष करते हैं, आज उन को मारा जाता है, पीटा जाता है, पुलिस उन की मदद नहीं करती है यहा तक कि घाने में रिपोर्ट भी दर्ज नहीं की जाती है। अगर रिपोर्ट लिखी भी जाती है तो दफा 323 के अन्तर्गत लिखी जाती है, जो अदम-तफतीश होती है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि जो रिपोर्ट लिखी जाय, उसका पूरी तफतीश हो।

हमारे देश में साढ़े पांच लाख गांव हैं, जिन में 50 करोड़ की आबादी है। हमारी जनशक्ति जिस तरह से गरीबी को दूर कर म में लगनी चाहिए, वह लग नहीं रही है। यादों के अन्दर अनेक असुविधायें व्याप्त हैं—न स्कूल हैं, न अस्पताल हैं, न सड़कें हैं, न मकान हैं, न सिंचाई के लिये पानी की व्यवस्था है। अगर सिंचाई के ही साधन उपलब्ध हो जायें तो गांव के अन्दर पर्याप्त खेती हो सकती है, जिस से हमारे गांवों की बेकारी को दूर किया जा सकता है। गांवों के अन्दर अगर कहीं अस्पताल है तो उन के अन्दर डाक्टर नहीं हैं। मैडिकल कालिजों में शहर के लड़के-लड़कियों को भरती किया जाता है, लड़कियां शादी के बाद गृहणी बन

जाती हैं और लड़के जो प्रायः शहरी क्षेत्रों के होते हैं, डाक्टर बनने के बाद विदेश चले जाते हैं। आज दस हजार युवक, हमारे भारतीय युवक, जो हमारे खर्च पर पढ़े, जिन की पढ़ाई पर हमारे देश का धन खर्च हुआ, वे विदेशों में पढ़े हुए हैं। यही हालत इन्जीनियर्स की है, जो अच्छे घरों के लड़के होते हैं, देहात में काम करने के लिये आना नहीं चाहते हैं। अगर मैडिकल कॉलेजों में देहात के लड़कों को भरती किया जाता, तो वे लड़के अपने क्षेत्र में काम करते और हमारा गरीब एरिया उपेक्षित न रहता। इस लिये मैं चाहूंगा कि या तो उपेक्षित क्षेत्रों में मैडिकल कालिज खोले जायें या देहात के लड़कों की कालिजों में भरती के लिये संख्या निर्धारित की जाय, उन की भरती में पर्याप्त दी जाय।

आप ने मदन में गृह मंत्रालय की जो रिपोर्ट प्रस्तुत की है उस के पृष्ठ 68 पर गरीबी दूर करने के लिये, बेकारी दूर करने के लिये योजनायें दी गई हैं। मेरे पास समय नहीं है कि उनको पढ़ सकूँ, लेकिन मैं अनुरोध करना चाहता हूँ बरोजगारी कम करने की इन योजनाओं को पिछड़े क्षेत्रों में लागू करना चाहिये।

उत्तर प्रदेश और बिहार की सीमा का विवाद हमारे स्वर्गीय प्रधान मंत्री प० जवाहरलाल जी नेहरू के वक्त से आरम्भ हुआ था। उस के लिये त्रिवेदी आयोग बना, उस लिये कुछ कानून बना, लेकिन आज भी वहां पर तनाव ऐसा बना हुआ है जैसे हिन्दुस्तान और पाकिस्तान में है। अभी 28 मार्च को वहां पर शोली चली। डिस्ट्रिक्ट मैजिस्ट्रेट श्री मलिक कुछ फोर्स ले कर वहा आये और हमारे भूमी के बलिया जिने के किसानों की खेती लुटवाई गई, फसल को लुट लिया गया। गत वर्ष जबही दियारा में बिहार सरकार ने फोर्स लेकर उत्तर प्रदेश किसानों की फसल लुटवा ली थी। उमर-

पुर-दियारा के 14 आदमी मारे गये। आज 25 वर्ष की आजादी के बाद भी यह मुलज नहीं रही है। हमारे लिये दोनों सूबे बराबर हैं, लेकिन इस तरह की समझौतों का बना रहना, कानून की अवहेलना उचित नहीं है। अगर भारत सरकार को इस की जानकारी नहीं है तो जानकारी करनी चाहिये और वहाँ रिजर्व पुलिस का सेन्टर बना कर इन घटनाओं को रोकना चाहिये और जो अधिकारी इस लूट-खमोट में मदद करते हैं उन के खिलाफ सख्त कार्यवाही करनी चाहिये।

25 वर्ष की आजादी के बाद इस वर्ष हम अपनी आजादी की गजल-जयन्ती मनाने जा रहे हैं। लेकिन देश का वह भाग जो आजादी की लड़ाई में अगुवा रहा है, आज भी उपेक्षित है। मैं इस समय उत्तर प्रदेश के पूर्वांचल भाग—बलिया क्षेत्र का उल्लेख कर रहा हूँ, जिस की एक-एक इंच भूमि देश की आजादी की कहानी बता रही है, लेकिन आज तक वहाँ पर जिला स्तर पर कोई शहीद स्मारक नहीं बन पाया है। 1857 की आजादी की लड़ाई के प्रथम मैनापति शहीद मंगल पाण्डे उसी क्षेत्र के रहने वाले थे, आज तक उन का भी कोई स्मारक वहाँ पर नहीं बना। 1942 की आजादी की लड़ाई में बलिया पुलिस थाने के सामने 19-20 सत्याग्रही गोली से मारे गये, उन की स्मृति में जो शहीद स्मारक वहाँ पर बना है, उस पर कुत्ते पेशाब करते हैं, सरकार की तरफ से उस की कोई देखरेख नहीं हो रही है। आजादी की लड़ाई के इन सेनानियों के प्रति यदि हम कुछ भी नहीं कर पाते हैं तो हमारा रजत-जयन्ती मनाने का कोई लाभ नहीं है।

हिन्दी की आज बड़ी दयनीय स्थिति है। हमारे लोक-सभा की तीनों कमेटियों में—पब्लिक अण्डरटेकिंग कमेटी, एस्टीमेट्स कमेटी और पब्लिक एकाउन्ट्स कमेटी—जो सदस्य ऐसे हैं जो हिन्दी-भाषी प्रदेशों से आते

हैं और अंग्रेजी नहीं समझ पाते हैं, वे वहाँ पर अपनी भावना को व्यक्त नहीं कर पाते हैं। वहाँ पर जो मैटीरियल दिया जाता है वह भी अंग्रेजी में दिया जाता है। इतना ही नहीं हमारे मंत्री लोग जो हिन्दी जानते हैं, यदि उन से हिन्दी में सवाल करते हैं, तो उस का जवाब हिन्दी में न दे कर अंग्रेजी में देते हैं। गृह मंत्रालय की विज्ञप्तियाँ अंग्रेजी में दी जाती हैं इस संसद भवन में मंत्रियों के कमरों के आगे जो नाम की प्लेट लगी हैं, वह भी अंग्रेजी में है, जबकि अंग्रेजी के साथ हिन्दी में भी होनी चाहिये। हम किसी पर जबरदस्ती हिन्दी लादना नहीं चाहते, लेकिन जो सूबे हिन्दी भाषी हैं और जहाँ आजादी से पहले हिन्दी में काम होता था, आज वहाँ भी अंग्रेजी में काम हो रहा है। जो प्रदेश हिन्दी में काम करना चाहते हैं, उन को छूट मिलनी चाहिये, वहाँ पर सारा काम हिन्दी में होना चाहिये।

आइ० ए० एस० में भरती के लिये एडमिनिस्ट्रेटिव रिफार्मिंग कमीशन की सिफारिश के अनुसार 26 वर्ष तक उमर बढ़ा दी गई है, लेकिन तीन बार के बजाय अब दो बार चास कर दिया गया है। यह उचित नहीं है। हम चाहते हैं कि 26 वर्ष तक का अवस्था तक जितने भी चास उस को मिल सकते हैं, वे दिये जाय, तीन से अधिक उन को मिलने चाहियें।

देश में पिछड़े वर्ग के लोगों की आबादी 70 फीसदी है, उन के अनुमान सविस्तर में उन का प्रतिनिधित्व ठीक नहीं हो पा रहा है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि इस को बढ़ाया जाय। हरिजनों के लिये 18 प्रतिशत के बजाय 25 प्रतिशत किया जाना चाहिये।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी (ग्वालियर):
उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, पाकिस्तान के साथ 13 दिन के युद्ध के बाद भारत सरकार ने जो युद्ध-

[श्री भटल बिहारी बाजपेयी]

विराम किया था, उसे चलते अब चार मास के ऊपर का समय बीत गया है। छुट-पुट घटनाओं को छोड़ कर, पश्चिमी मोर्चे पर इस समय सब कुछ शान्त है। बंगला देश के निर्माण के कारण हमारा पूर्वांचल भी सुरक्षित हो गया है। इस स्थिति में संकटकालीन परिस्थितियों को जारी रखने का कोई औचित्य नहीं है। जब शस्त्रों की झंकार रुक गई है तो मूलभूत अधिकारों की पुनरस्थापना होनी चाहिये। नागरिकों के लिये अदालत के द्वार खुलने चाहिये। चुनाव के पूर्व सरकार स्वयं आपतकालीन स्थिति को सीमावर्ती क्षेत्रों तक सीमित करने के लिये तैयार हो गई थी। अब तो आंशिक रूप से भी आपतकालीन स्थिति बनी रहे, इस का कोई कारण नहीं दिखाई देता।

उपाध्यक्ष जी, यह बड़े खेद का विषय है कि सरकार द्वारा स्पष्ट आश्वासन दिये जाने के बावजूद कि जिन कार्यवाहियों के सामान्य कानून उपलब्ध हैं, उन के लिये भारत सुरक्षा अधिनियम का सहारा नहीं लिया जायगा, राज्य सरकारों ने कर्मचारियों और मजूदूरों के संघर्षों से निपटने के लिये भारत सुरक्षा अधिनियम का आसरा लिया है। इसी नई दिल्ली में, केन्द्रीय सरकार की नाक के नीचे खाद्य निगम के कर्मचारियों के संघर्ष को दबाने के लिये भारत सुरक्षा अधिनियम का उपयोग करने की घोषणा की गई थी। जब एक बार असाधारण अधिकार सरकार को प्राप्त हो जाते हैं तो वह सामान्य स्थिति में आने के लिये तैयार नहीं होती। सामान्य कानून किसी भी परिस्थिति का सामना करने में समर्थ है। मैं समझता हूँ कि आपतकालीन स्थिति की घोषणा को वापस लेने का समय आ गया है। गत वर्ष गृह मंत्रालय के अनुदान की मांगों पर बर्खा का उत्तर देते हुए प्रधान

मंत्री जी ने कहा था--मैं उनके शब्दों को उद्धृत करना चाहता हूँ:

"Every political party, therefore, needs to examine seriously whether its faith in democracy is a durable one and not a mere tactic to undermine democracy through violent means. Can all parties represented in Parliament not join together to combat this violence and those who believe in it, instead of trying to battle amongst ourselves, each blaming the other?"

उनके इस भाषण में जो भावनायें निहित हैं वह आश्चर्य में नहीं आईं। क्या कोई इस बात से इनकार कर सकता है कि सत्तारूढ़ दल ने भी पश्चिम बंगाल में उन्हीं तरीकों का उपयोग किया जिन तरीकों की वे निन्दा करते रहे हैं? जिन तरीकों से लड़ने के लिए सारे देश की जनता का घाव-हान करते रहे हैं? कल कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी (दक्षिण पंथी) के प्रवक्ता श्री भोगेन्द्र झा ने जो कुछ कहा वह मेरे इस आरोप की पुष्टि करता है कि मार्क्सवादियों का सामना करने के लिए मार्क्सवादियों के ही हथकण्डे अपनाये गए। मैं उनके शब्दों को उद्धृत करना चाहता हूँ:

"अभी पिछले चुनाव के मौके पर पश्चिम बंगाल के मामले में हमारे मित्र उद्योति बासु बोल गए हैं। यह सही बात है कि वह एकतरफा बोल गए हैं क्योंकि जो व्यवहार उनके दल के लोगों ने कुछ समय पहले किया था वह व्यवहार, उसमें कुछ गलत है, उनके साथ भी हुआ।

मैं आशा करता था कि वह इस तरह के व्यवहार की निन्दा करेंगे। तिरुफ कांग्रेस पार्टी ने किया उसी निन्दा नहीं करें बल्कि ऐसा आश्वासन देंगे... आदि आदि।"

श्री भोगेन्द्र झा उस पार्टी से सम्बंधित हैं जिसका सत्तारूढ़ दल से गठबंधन है।

श्री डी. एन० तिवारी (गोपालगंज)
गठबंधन नहीं है। . (व्यवधान)...

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी श्री भोगेन्द्र सा का कहना है कि बंगाल में कांग्रेस पार्टी ने भी साध्य को महत्व दिया, साधन को महत्व नहीं दिया। मैं नहीं समझता फिर माक्सिस्ट पार्टी में और कांग्रेस पार्टी में क्या अन्तर रह जाता है? क्या हिंसा के उत्तर में हिंसा उचित है? क्या राजनीतिक हिंसा के उत्तर में राजनीतिक प्रतिहिंसा ठीक है? इस तर्क को अगर आगे बढ़ा जायेगा तो क्या साम्प्रदायिक हिंसा के उत्तर में साम्प्रदायिक प्रतिहिंसा उचित नहीं है? क्या हिंसा के अलग अलग मापदण्ड होंगे? एक और हिंसा को परित्र्याग करने की अपीलें और दूसरी और कुछ सोंटों के लिए उही तरीकों का अपनाना—यह लातत्र में अडिग भास्वा का परिचायक नहीं है।

मे कुछ मीटों की बात इसलिए कर रहा हूँ कि अगर सत्तारूढ़ दल यह तरीका न भी अपनाना तो भी परिदृश्य बंगाल में उसकी विजय होती। परिस्थिति बदली हुई थी, बंगला देश के निर्माण ने श्रीर पाकिस्तान की पराजय ने लोगों के दिल और दिमाग पर एक अग्रिम छाप छोड़ी थी। लेकिन सत्तारूढ़ दल को न जनता पर विश्वास था और न अपनी विजय पर विश्वास था। इसीलिए ऐसे तरीके अपनाये गये जिनका इस सदन में कोई समर्थन नहीं कर सकता। मैं चाहता हूँ कोई हिम्मत के साथ कहे कि हमने बंगाल में जो कुछ किया है वह ठीक किया है? ... (व्यवधान) ..

श्री सतपाल कपूर जनता ने ठीक किया है।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी जनता की बात मत करिए। अपनी बात करिए... (व्यवधान) .. बात केवल बंगाल की नहीं है। कल इस सदन में सत्तारूढ़ दल के एक वरिष्ठ

सदस्य प० द्वारिका नाथ तिवारी ने भाषण दिया था। वे केवल संसद के ही एक सम्मानित सदस्य नहीं हैं, सत्तारूढ़ दल में भी उनका एक महत्वपूर्ण स्थान है। मुझे उनके भाषण को पढ़कर एक ओर आनन्द भी हुआ और दूसरी ओर दुःख भी हुआ। आनन्द इसलिए कि उन्होंने सत्य का बालन का साहस दिखाया। लेकिन दुःख इसलिए कि जो कुछ हम कहा करते थे और जिसे प्रचार करके टाला जाता था वह प्रचार नहीं है, वह नास्तिकता है और किसी एक दल के माथ पर नहीं, सारे देश के माथे पर बसब है।

प० द्वारिका नाथ तिवारी के शब्दों को भी मैं उद्धृत करना चाहता हूँ

“बिहार में चुनाव में पहले भी कुछ बोगस वोट पड़ते थे, इम्पॉनिशन होता था। लेकिन अब बदल में जाने की बात नहीं है, आदमी नहीं जाता है, बूथ कैंप्वर करके दो चार दस आदमी छापा मारते हैं। यह बात हुई 1967 में। मिडल्टन में इलवशन में दस-बीस आदमियों ने बूथ को घेर लिया और जाकर छापा मार दिया और करप्शन इतना बढ़ा कि प्रिजाइडिंग अफसर और पालिंग अफसर को सी, दो सी रुपया दे देते थे, वह चुप हो जाते थे।”

अगर श्री द्वारिका नाथ तिवारी ने भरे हृदय से कहा है, मैं उनके शब्दों को उद्धृत करना चाहता हूँ

“डिमोक्रैसी खतरे में है। मैं कह रहा था कि 72 के चुनाव में इतना लार्ज स्केल पर हुआ कि इसकी इक्यायरी करना जरूरी है।.. यहाँ तक हुआ कि प्रिजाइडिंग आफिसर ने पोलिंग बूथ कैंप्वर करके बैलेट पेपर पर अपने से ठप्पा लगा दिया।”

[श्री घटल बिहारी वाजपेयी]

इसी आशय के विचार बिहार के दूसरे वरिष्ठ सदस्य श्री बिभूति मिश्र ने प्रकट किए हैं। वे इस समय सदन में नहीं हैं। उनका लेख आज नयी दिल्ली से प्रकाशित एक प्रमुख हिन्दी दैनिक समाचार-पत्र में छपा हुआ है। क्या ऐसी स्थिति में चुनावों को निष्पक्ष और स्वतंत्र कहा जा सकता है? जांच की मांग केवल बिरोधी दल नहीं कर रहा है, जिनकी आत्मा जागृत है, जो लोकतंत्र के भविष्य के प्रति सचेत है—इस चुनाव में जो प्रवृत्तियाँ दिखाई गई हैं—उनके मन में चिन्ता होना स्वाभाविक है। .. (व्यवधान) .. मैं इस तरह की हलकी टोका टाकी पसन्द नहीं करता हूँ। यह ससद है, यह दरबार नहीं है। (व्यवधान)

श्री इन्द्रजीत मल्होत्रा रामलीला ग्राउन्ड भी नहीं हैं।

श्री घटल बिहारी वाजपेयी रामलीला ग्राउन्ड पर बोलने के लिए हिम्मत की जरूरत होती है। हमारे श्री इन्द्रजीत मल्होत्रा आज तक हिम्मत नहीं कर सके।

उपाध्यक्ष जी, लोकतंत्र मूल रूप में एक नैतिक व्यवस्था है। अगर खेल के नियमों का पालन नहीं किया जायेगा तो लोकतंत्र पर से लोगों की आस्था उठने की आशंका है। मेरी मांग है और मैं इस मांग को दोहराना चाहता हूँ कि एक सर्वदलीय ससदीय समिति का गठन होना चाहिए जो भविष्य में चुनावों में इस तरह की अनियमितताओं को रोकने के सुझाव दे सके और इस चुनाव में जो अनियमितताएँ हुई हैं उनकी ठीक तरह से जांच कर सके। प्रश्न केवल एक पार्टी का नहीं है। ५० दारिद्र्यकारी ने कहा और हो सक्ता है इसमें सच्चाई हो कि अगर बूथों पर कब्जा करने की घटना न होती तो शासक दल के सदस्य अधिक सख्या में आ सकते थे। कुछ भी हो बूथों पर कब्जा रोकना जरूरी है। हम चाहते हैं इसकी गहराई

में जाकर जांच करने के बाद भविष्य में कौन से उपाय किये जा सकते हैं इसका विचार होना चाहिए। (व्यवधान)

उपाध्यक्ष जी, राजस्थान में जिन परिस्थितियों में जनसंघ के कार्यकर्ता को पुलिस ने गोली मार दी वह घटना हृदयविदारक है। कल उसकी विधवा पत्नी का पत्र मुझे मिला है। श्री आम प्रकाश राजौरिया, एडवोकेट, जो ग्वालियर म्युनिसिपल कार्पोरेशन के मेम्बर थे, कांग्रेस के विरोध में धौलपुर में प्रचार के लिए गए। वह जीप पर बैठे थे, उनकी जीप पर झडा लगा था। आधी रात को धौलपुर नगर के निकट रेलवे क्रॉसिंग पर पुलिस ने उन्हें गोली मार दी। कहा गया कि उनका ड्राइव समझ कर गोली मार दी। (व्यवधान)। जांच क्या होगी? जो पुलिस अफसर हत्या में शामिल है उनको अभी तक हटाया नहीं गया है। उनकी पत्नी लिख रही है कि "हत्या को करीब डेढ़ माह हो चुका है, न ता हत्या करने वालों को निलंबित करके गिरफ्तार ही किया गया और न कोई और कार्यवाही हो रही है। दूसरी ओर पुलिस के वरिष्ठ अधिवारी श्रीनारायण सिंह, एस० पी०, भरतपुर व राजाखंडा का धानेदार श्री राजवीर सिंह हमारे चरमदीय गवाहियों को रोजाना परेशान कर रहे हैं और उनसे कहते हैं कि सच्ची गवाही मत दो, हम कहे जैसे दो।"

मृत व्यक्ति वापस नहीं आ सकता, विधवा को सूनी मांग को सुहाग के सिद्धर से भंडित नहीं किया जा सकता, अनाथ बच्चों को पिता नहीं मिल सकता, लेकिन भविष्य में राजनीतिक द्वेष के आधार पर चुनाव में अपनी विजय सुरक्षित करने के लिए किसी के प्राणों का प्रदीप नहीं बुझाया जाएगा, यह देश में गारंटी होना चाहिए। कोई यह कहकर इस मामले को टालने की कोशिश न करे कि मामला

हुआ है। एक मामला क्यों होना चाहिए ? राजनीतिक हत्या का आश्रय क्यों लिया जाना चाहिए ?

उपाध्यक्ष जी, प्रधान मंत्री जी ने गत वर्ष बहस का उत्तर देते हुए एक बात और कही थी। मैं उनके शब्दों को उद्धृत करना चाहता हूँ

"The other point which is of concern to the entire country is that of unprincipled defections. We fully share the concern for this malady in our body politic and we are determined to take steps to check it."

साल भर हो गया, अभी तक कोई कदम नहीं उठाया गया। सरकार इस आधार पर जिम्मेदारी से नहीं बच सकती कि विरोधी दलों की उसे सहमति प्राप्त नहीं हुई है। क्या सारे कदम विरोधी दलों की राय से उठाये जाते हैं ? जब कोई काम नहीं करना होता तो विरोधी दलों के मतभेद का फायदा उठाने को कोशिश की जाती है। सरकार को एकतरफा युद्ध-विराम से किसी ने नहीं रोका तो एकतरफा दल-बदल के विरुद्ध कदम उठाने से किसने रोका है ? बड़े कदम एकतरफा उठाये जा सकते हैं, छोटे कामों के लिए विरोधी दलों की सलाह जरूरी है। विरोधी दल अपना मतभेद स्पष्ट कर चुके हैं कि दल बदल भ्रमण घोषित कर दिया जाना चाहिए। दल-बदल को किसी निश्चित समय तक मंत्री नहीं बनाया जाएगा, इतना पर्याप्त नहीं है। मंत्री बनाने की आवश्यकता ही नहीं है। किसी कमीशन का चेयरमैन बनाया जा सकता है। पिछले लोकसभा के चुनाव में जनता ने अनेक लोगों को ठुकरा दिया, आज वह किसी न किसी कमीशन के मੈम्बर बनकर जो वर्तमान संसद सदस्य हैं, उनसे भी ज्यादा गहरी छान रहे हैं। कभी कभी उन्हें देखकर लगता है कि सत्यता का तो कोई मूल्य ही नहीं है। चुनाव

में हारकर किसी कमीशन का अध्यक्ष बन जाना कही ज्यादा अच्छा है।

उपाध्यक्ष जी, इस दल-बदल में सत्तारूढ़ दल का निहित स्वार्थ है। चुनाव हो गये, भारी भरकम विषय मिल गई ... (व्यवधान) ...। आपका स्वार्थ है, इसीलिए तो जनसभ के सदस्यों को दो दो लाख रुपया देकर खरीदने को कोशिश की गई। आप निष्पक्ष जांच करे, हम साबित करने के लिए तैयार हैं। ... (व्यवधान) ...।

श्री बी० पी० मोर्य (हापुड़) . वह गलत बात है, यह गलत बात है। . .

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी. राज्य सभा के चुनाव में कांग्रेस दल के विधान सभा में सदस्यों की जितनी संख्या मध्य प्रदेश में थी उसके हिसाब से एक अधिक व्यक्ति खड़ा कर दिया गया। वह उम्मेदवार बिना दल बदल करायें जीत नहीं सकता था। वह मुख्य मंत्री सेठी का सम्बन्धी सेठी था, वह पूंजीपति था। क्या सत्तारूढ़ दल जानता नहीं था कि वह बिना दल बदल किये हुए, बिना ईमान का सौदा किये हुए नहीं आ सकता ? मगर सत्तारूढ़ द्वारा प्रयत्न किया गया एक सदस्य घोर खड़ा करके कि जनसभ को अपने बल पर एक सदस्या ला सकता था उसके आने का दरवाजा रोका जाये। यह बात अलग है कि उस प्रयत्न में उनको सफलता नहीं मिली। दुनिया में हर कोई बिकाऊ नहीं होता है। हर किसी की कीमत नहीं लगई जा सकती है। यही खेल उत्तर प्रदेश में किया गया। मेरा निवेदन है कि दल बदल लोकतंत्र को दूषित कर रहा है, विह्वल कर रहा है।

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : You have taken 18 minutes.

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी आप कहे तो मैं अभी समाप्त कर देता है, आप थोड़ी सी कृपा करिये, थोड़ा सहयोग दीजिए।

उपाध्यक्ष जी, आज चुनाव के बाद की जो स्थिति बनी है, उसमें विरोधी दलों से यह आशा की जा रही है कि वह सहयोग करेंगे, पुनर्निर्माण में हाथ बंटायेगे। लेकिन युद्ध काल में जो सहयोग दिया गया उसका चुनाव जीतने के लिए ज़िम तरह से लाभ उठाया गया, यह देखकर सहयोग की अपाले आज वानो को अच्छी नहीं लगती है।

उपाध्यक्ष जी, कुछ कल सदस्य कह रहे थे कि अगर प्रधान मंत्री को एक नेता कहा जाता है तो क्या आपत्ति की बात है, वाजपेयी जी न भी तो इस सदन में कहा था कि प्रधान मंत्री एक नेता है। मेरा निवेदन है कि मैं ऐसा नहीं कहा। उपाध्यक्ष जी, मैं जो कुछ कहा, वह मैं सुनाता हूँ यह सदन की कार्यवाही है, मेरे हाथ का लिखा हुआ दस्तावेज नहीं है।

‘हम आशा करते हैं कि ई हास की घड़ी को बदलने का दायित्व जिन हाथों में है और प्रधान मंत्री जी सकट की घड़ी में देश को नेतृत्व देने के लिए सामने आ रही है। हम चाहते हैं कि यह देश विजयी हो, और प्रधान मंत्री जी के नेतृत्व में हम एक नये इतिहास का निर्माण करें।’

इसमें एक नेता की बात नहीं है (व्यवधान)

कुछ माननीय सदस्य इसमें भी ज्यादा है।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी ज्यादा हो सकती है मगर एक नेता की बात नहीं है। मगर एक नेता की बात कह दी गई, आल इंडिया रेडियो से तथा समाचार-पत्रों में भी छाप दी गई। हमने उसका खंडन नहीं किया। खंडन

इसलिए नहीं किया कि युद्ध के समय हम देश को बाटना नहीं चाहते थे।

श्री बी० पी० नौयं वह आशुकी महानता है।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी हमने तारीफ की, इसका हमें गम नहीं है। गम इस बात का है कि जिनकी तारीफ की, उन्होंने अपने को उस तारीफ के लायक सिद्ध नहीं किया।

उपाध्यक्ष जी, चुनाव में विजय प्राप्त करना एक बात है और अपने आचरण से महानता का परिचय देना दूसरी बात है। सफलता अलग होती है और महानता अलग दुआ करती है। मैं इस विवाद में ज्यादा जानना नहीं चाहता, लेकिन एक बात स्पष्ट है। (व्यवधान)... अगर केन्द्र और प्रदेशों के सम्बन्धों पर नये ढंग से विचार करने की बात की जा रही है तो उसकी जिम्मेदारी से प्रधान मंत्री जी नहीं बच सकती। चुनाव में उन्होंने भाषण बिये जिनमें जनता में कहा गया कि अगर इस क्षेत्र का विकास चाहते हो तो मरी पार्टी को बोट दो। क्या विरोधी दल को बोट देना यह जुर्म है? अगर जनता न विरोधी दल को बोट दिया तो क्या बुरा किया? क्या इसकी यह सजा दी जायगी उस क्षेत्र का विकास नहीं होगा? क्या यह देश की एकता का रखने का तरीका है?

श्री संपाल कपूर यह गलत बात है, मिसलीड करने वाली बात है।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी. आपकी ओर से उत्तर देने वाले मौजूद हैं।

उपाध्यक्ष जी, आज चुनाव के बाद यह माग बढ़ रही है कि प्रदेशों को अधिक अधिकार मिलने चाहिए। आल इंडिया रेडियो का जिस तरह में दुषयोग किया जा रहा है, उसे देखते

हुए मुझे ऐसा सन्देह है कि कल कोई माग करेगा कि राज्य का अपना अलग रेडियो होना चाहिए।

श्री बी० पी० मौर्य: आल इंडिया रेडियो बार बार आपकी बात ज्यादा कहता है।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी: यह भी गलत है। आप भी हमारी बात की पुष्टि ही कर रहे हैं कि ठीक है।

उपाध्यक्ष जी, आज सत्ता नहीं दिल्ली में केन्द्रित हो गई है। लोकतंत्र के विकास के लिए यह ठीक नहीं है। सत्ता का विकेन्द्रीकरण होना चाहिए। केवल प्रदेशों तक ही सत्ता की विकेन्द्रीकरण उचित नहीं है। सत्ता कारपोरेशन, जिला परिषद्, पंचायत तक बटनी चाहिए। आज पंचायत, जिला परिषद्, नगरपालिका, कारपोरेशन, सब प्रादेशिक सरकार के हाथों का कठपुतली है। प्रादेशिक सरकारें केन्द्र के हाथ की कठपुतली हैं। केन्द्रीय सरकार और कोई नहीं है, खाली प्रधान मंत्री ही प्रधान मंत्री हैं। मैं एक बात कह कर खत्म कर दूंगा। श्री जी. के. रेड्डी एक प्रमुख पत्रकार हैं। वह कहते हैं:

"The whole system of Government at the Centre is such that almost the entire range of decisions relating to policies or personnel has to be taken or at least approved by the Prime Minister who is always hard-pressed for time. As a result, she is often obliged to put off decisions until the last moment, whether in relation to a Cabinet reshuffle, appointment of Governors, selection of Service Chiefs, posting of Ambassadors or promoting senior officials to key positions in the Government."

प्रधान मंत्री प्रधानमंत्री हैं, गृह मंत्री हैं, सूचना और प्रसारण मंत्री हैं, आणविक शक्ति मंत्री हैं। सारी गुप्तचर इकट्ठी हो गई हैं। मैं

यह बात बलपूर्वक कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस चुनाव में गुप्तचर विभाग से यह पाता लगाया गया कि कांग्रेस पार्टी का कौन उम्मीदवार उपयुक्त हो सकता है और कौन कांग्रेस जन पार्टी के खिलाफ काम कर रहा है। इस के लिये भी गुप्तचर विभाग के लोगों से रिपोर्ट मांगी गई।

एक माननीय सदस्य आप का कोई गुप्तचर विभाग नहीं है ?

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी अगर मेरा गुप्तचर विभाग होता तो भी मैं ऐसा काम नहीं करता।

बट माननीय सदस्यों ने भ्रष्टाचार और उस के निराकरण के सम्बन्ध में चर्चा की है। अगर मेधाओं में से भ्रष्टाचार को निकलना है तो राजनैतिक नेताओं को आचरण का आदर्श रखना होगा। महाजनो येन गता सपन्था। अगर गंगोत्री गन्धी है तो प्रयाग में गंगा पवित्र नहीं मिल सकती।

हरियाणा के मुख्य मंत्री के विरुद्ध जो आरोप लगाये गये हैं क्या वे सप्रमाण नहीं हैं ? क्या उन आरोपों के बारे में अटारनी जनरल की राय नहीं मांगी जा सकती ? मैं यह समझने में अग्रमूर्ख हूँ कि उस गन्दगी में प्रधान मंत्री अपना नाम क्यों घसिटावना चाहती हैं। आज इस सदन में कहा गया कि हरियाणा के मुख्य मंत्री नहीं दिल्ली को भी अपने भ्रष्टाचार से स्पर्श कर सकते हैं इस लिये जांच नहीं हो रही है। मैं कहूँगा कि यह मामला ऐटारनी जनरल को सौंप दिया जाये।

कल इस सदन में आप के एक मंत्री के विरुद्ध भी आरोप लगाये गये हैं, और लगाने वाले विरोधी दल के नहीं थे, सत्तारूढ़ दल के थे। अब प्रधान मंत्री को शक्ति मिल गई है।

[श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी]

अब वह भ्रष्टाचार का निमूलन करे, देश में लोकतन्त्र को सफल बनावे और स्वस्थ परम्पराये चलाये। केवल चुनाव जोतना ही काफी नहीं है। चुनाव के साथ राष्ट्र और उस के भौतिक तथा नैतिक आबार को दृढ़ करने की आवश्यकता है क्या हम उस के उपयुक्त स्वयं को सिद्ध कर सकेंगे ?

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI K. C. PANT) : Sir, I listened very carefully to the debate both yesterday and today, and while listening to the debate I was reminded of the great events we had seen in the year gone by. These events have been historical events. They had posed one of the most difficult challenges we have faced as a nation after independence. All the events in Bangla Desh, which I need not recount, and the presence of ten million refugees in our country certainly posed a great challenge to us as a nation and to our leadership. Sir, it is a matter of great satisfaction that this country has emerged from this test with flying colours and with added confidence. Listening to Shri Vajpayee, I was surprised that he also repeated what many members of the Opposition are prone to say, that we won the elections because of this victory. Would Vajpayeeji have been happy if we had lost the war so that the Jana Sangh might have won ?

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : Otherwise, we would not have co-operated with you. It is hitting below the belt.

SHRI K. C. PANT : I thought he had struck me below the belt and I was replying to that. The elections were held . . .

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : So you are not better than me.

SHRI K. C. PANT : They were to have been held in 1972 and postponement of the elections would have been abnormal. When conditions are normal and the elections were held.....(Interruptions) according to the normal schedule, then

there should be no surprise and I thought he would be happy that the country had won a big victory and if, as a result of that, there is a sense of exuberance and a sense of self-confidence in the country, that is to be welcomed.

The elections that were held to the States were in themselves a giant operation and they were also concluded successfully. Throughout the country the administration saw to it that the elections were conducted by and large peacefully, and as a result of these elections and the last elections which saw a re-affirmation of the faith of the people of this country in the policies and programmes of our Party and the Prime Minister and which were an index of the faith reposed by the people in the leadership of the Prime Minister, the country has emerged stronger. I think there is no gainsaying that, and no section of the House, no one in the country, can to-day say that the country is weaker than it was a year or two years ago.

The people have rejected both communalism and extremism and the prophets of doom who were predicting at one stage this country would break up that democracy would collapse, have been confounded by the events of the last two years and, therefore, we can look back with some satisfaction on the year gone by as a year of success, a year of dramatic achievements and a year during which the challenges were bravely and successfully met.

My friend, Shri Inder J. Malhotra, referred to the problems of Jmmu & Kashmir. I do not want to go into details, but I shall assure him and I think he knows it, that the Central Government is conscious of the problems of Jammu & Kashmir and it is doing its best to assist that State in overcoming these problems.

The Rajmata of Jaipur made a speech. She is not here. . .

SHRI B. P. MAURYA : There is no Rajmata now.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE : You can call her 'Mata'—I don't mind, but no 'Rajmata'.

SHRI K. C. PANT : All right. She is not here and she had come here earlier just for the speech. She has gone away. I do not know if I can meet any of her points in her absence. But I would like to say this. She referred to the presence of Soviet ships near Chittagong and the purchase of Mf's by Bangla Desh. I do not really know the purport of these questions. We are here talking of two independent sovereign countries, both friendly to us and I don't think anything should be said in this House that is likely to be misconstrued by either country or by those abroad or within the country.

Shri Vajpayee just referred to the Emergency. I may inform him and the House that so far as the Central Government is concerned, immediately after the case-fire we had advised all the Ministries of the Central Government as well as of the States that the powers conferred by the Defence of India Act and the Rules should be exercised with the greatest of restraint and circumspection so that there is the least interference with the normal day-to-day life of the citizen of this country, with the enjoyment of fundamental rights guaranteed by the Constitution. This has been our approach all through. In fact, enforcement of no fundamental right has been suspended under Art. 359. By and large this approach was adhered to. And now, the only question is, whether we have reached a stage where we can withdraw the emergency, my hon. friend and the House knows that even today our forces are standing on the vigil on the western border. The events of the last year are too fresh in our minds to forget the need for such vigilance or to be caught unawares in any situation. It is our considered opinion that the time is not yet ripe for the complete abrogation of all the enabling powers available under the Defence of India Act. We hope that it will be possible for Government in the near future to inform this House that these enabling provisions are no longer needed. I can tell the hon. Members and the House that Government will not delay the announcement even a day longer than is necessary.

I was surprised by the speech of Shri Shyamnandan Mishra. He is not here.

But he, as a senior Member, knows the Rules of Business of the House. No Member while speaking is to reflect upon the conduct of persons in high authority. He was referring to the Governor. It obvious, while he was referring to Governors, he was referring to the Governor of Bihar and what he was doing, or saying, or what he spoke. I thought the misunderstanding in his mind was that he felt that under President's rule the Governor should act as caretaker and not take any decisions. Now, Sir, this is not a correct interpretation. Under the President's rule the Governor does not merely become a caretaker. This has been clarified in this House more than once. When the State is under President's rule, the Government here, that is in Parliament here is fully responsible to this House. And therefore, President's rule is also a form of responsible Government and decisions have to be taken, they have been taken and they will be taken. His objection was to the Governor changing the I. G. or suspending the D. I. G. or some such thing. I thought he was insinuating that elections in Bihar took a certain trend because a few officers at the top were charged. I am surprised that any one who professes respect for the judgement of the people of this country could think that this is possible. He forgets, and I would like to remind him that his party was in charge of three State Governments, when we had elections to Lok Sabha in 1971. In those States our party won, in spite of his party being in power. We also lost in some States when we were in power . . .

SHRI BHOGENDRA JHA (Jainagar) :
You were in power with Mishra . . .

SHRI K. C. PANT : Always out of step. Therefore it is that I was surprised, that he felt that the verdict of elections was dependent upon such things.

He also referred to the Jantar Mantar again. I do not want to go into this matter. It has been thrashed out in this House, and the Jantar Mantar is now in possession of the Congress (O). While in his absence, I

[Shri K C Pant]

do not want to get into an argument, I hope he will consider the larger question of political morality. Whether he will abide by the verdict of the magistrate or the verdict of the people is the question that he has to answer.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE

But his party did not wait for the verdict of the people.

SHRI K C, PANT Now, the verdict of the people is very clear, and I may tell Shri Atal Bihari Bajpayee that this is not his quarrel.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE

But he is talking of morality.

SHRI K C PANT I am talking of political morality which is preferable to political obstinacy.

Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee as well as some others referred to the charges levelled against the Chief Minister of Haryana. Much was sought to be made of this as though this were a new discovery and a lot was built on it. Some could not do it as ably as Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee because he has rhetoric and oratory at his command, but the attempt was made. And what are the facts? This House knows the facts. It has been discussed here. Questions have been asked and answers have been given. Certain memoranda were received. One was received on the 16th May, 1969, a supplementary memorandum was received in July, 1969. Both were examined carefully, and the allegations contained in these two memoranda were found not to have been substantiated. Then, a memorandum signed by Shri Bhagwat Dayal Sharma and 19 other MLAs and exMLAs of Haryana was presented on 27th October, 1971. The comments of the Chief Minister of Haryana were obtained. These comments have been received with his letter on 17th January, 1972 and these are under examination. They have not been dropped but they are being examined.

PHRI B. P MAURYA By whom?

SHRI K. C. PANT : By the Government, as is only right.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : Why not by the Attorney-General?

SHRI K C PANT . Then, another letter signed by MPs etc enclosing copies of the memorandum has also been received by the Prime Minister. A copy of the memorandum of 24th February, 1972 was sent to Shri Bansi Lal on 17th March, 1972, for his comments which are awaited. So, why all the this song and dance? It is not as though every memorandum and every allegation made is capable of being disposed of quickly. There are some complicated matters. Some require the scrutiny of a large volume of papers.

I would like to remind Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee and others who referred to this matter that the memorandum submitted against Sarvashri Veerendera Patil and Shri Njalngappa in April, 1970 and that against Shri Bandodkar in August, 1971 are still under examination. So, why attribute political motives in this matter?

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE So, there is all round delay.

SHRI K C, PANT So, even if there is much delay, he should admit that there is no discrimination, there is no political discrimination.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE What about Punjab? There is discrimination.

SHRI K C PANT That was what I said that certain things could be handled quickly, they are capable of being handled quickly. In the case of Punjab, the Ministers were not there in office at that time. The Governor went into the papers, and the Governor came to certain *prima facie* conclusions, on the basis of which a commission of inquiry could be set up. He may wish that the same were the situation in Haryana, but unfortunately it is not.

15 hrs.

This debate has lost much of its combativeness because my hon friend Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu is not here. He made a long speech and he had many things to say also about the verdict of the polls.

I was not aware that he had such an abiding faith in democracy and such love of it as he now professes. This was a revelation to me. If the change is genuine, even now it is welcome. One criterion by which one can judge any party's or individual's faith in democracy is to see how they behave when they lose, because it is the first of the disciplines of democracy to be able to take defeat as well as victory in one's stride. Because if you go and play a game of cricket, as Shri Banerjee knows, once you are declared out but you refuse to leave the crease, the game cannot go on.

SHRI S.M. BANERJEE : The point is that body-line bowling should not be done.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : The last election was not cricket.

SHRI K. C. PANT : Even body-line bowling can be dealt with—depends on the skill of the batsman (*Interruption*) I am talking of sports; I do not expect him to understand it. In this case, the CPI (M) and some others are just refusing to accept the verdict of the umpire. The umpire in this case is the people of this country. They have given the verdict. But they refuse to accept the verdict.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE (Betul) : They have left the crease all right, (*Interruption*).

SHRI K. C. PANT : I can understand the difficulty of my hon friend of the CPI (M) who is interrupting. I can understand his difficulty, because he does not really have faith in democracy. He does not really understand the processes of democracy. He participates in it because his party wants to subvert democracy.

SHRI KRISHNA CHANDRA HALDER (Aurangabad) : This is your personal opinion.

SHRI K. C. PANT : When his party was in power, it did not hesitate to use violence, terrorism and intimidation; it did not hesitate to infiltrate its men into the administrative machine and the police. All of us know this. Therefore, they would like to use democracy for their ends. But I am sorry that the people of this country have seen through this and now have

refused to oblige them. What can we do about it? If they are frustrated, if their political plans have not borne fruit, in this frustration they should not talk about rigging. That is not the right approach. They talk of rigging because they cannot talk against the people for their verdict.

SHRI S. P. BHATTACHARYYA (Uluberia) : Why not an inquiry?

SHRI K. C. PANT : Why inquiry? The people have given their verdict. When the people are against their party, their party gets against democracy. This is a very strange sequence, but every time it happens. Their criterion is simple: If they win, the elections are fair; if they lose, they are unfair. It seems the weaker a party's basic faith in democracy, the louder its protestations against the fairness of the elections become in case it loses.

Shri Jyotirmoy Basu made a lot of noise about our intelligence set-up. As he went on speaking in that vein, I felt sorry for him. He sees the spectre of intelligence agents all over, even in the Central Hall where only MPs and journalists are allowed, only a selected number of journalists. I do not know which MP or which journalist he was referring to when he said there are agents in the Central Hall. He should remember that in India, even today there is need for an intelligence apparatus. That is obvious. In particular, there is need because there are elements in the country who believe in destroying democracy, elements which seek to subvert the State, disturb communal peace and so on. There are such elements. And while we are a free country, while we have an open society of which we are proud, we have institutions like freedom of speech, freedom of association, freedom of press, we have an independent judiciary, we have all these things—But we also have those elements of which I spoke. Therefore, the need for such intelligence is obvious, and it has its uses even for the CPM, because, even Shri Jyoti Basu had some advantage of our intelligence network as well as the CRP; when he needed protection we have not failed to provide it to him. You can understand our efficacy was more because of the intelligence system. Therefore, it has its uses, and its uses must be recognised.

[Shri K. C. Pant]

I am only concerned about one aspect of this problem. We have found in the past that there was a pattern in the propaganda campaigns of the CPM. When they decided to go in for violence in West Bengal and other places, that decision was accompanied by a sustained campaign to smear the police and the CRP and the BSF and the agencies of law and order which were likely to stand against them and their programme of violence. And now, the focus seems to have shifted and now the smear campaign is being carried on against the intelligence agencies.

Sir, an obvious conclusion can be drawn. I would not like the House to draw the obvious conclusion. I would like some CPM spokesman now or in the future to assure this House and the country that they do not intend to do anything which is likely to prove vulnerable to the vigilance and probing of intelligence agencies. We would like to be assured and to have their assurance in this regard. This is the disturbing part of the very vivid and colourful detective story which Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu placed before the House.

Sir, he is past-master in the old technique of the lie being often enough repeated so that it can be taken for truth. This technique was tried quite a few years ago—30 or 40 years ago in some other country—and it was perfected and those who perfected it said that the bigger the lie the more it is likely to go across. And Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu seems to believe in this technique. But unfortunately this technique did not pay in the past; it has not paid now, and I assure him it will not pay him in the future.

Shri Satyanarayan Rao referred to Telengana. I would not take the time of the House in going into details because my friends from Telengana and I have opportunities to meet fairly often and exchange notes. But he knows that various steps have already been taken which I need not repeat, and he knows that the result of these steps in the developmental field has been at least visible. For instance, in 1969-70, the expenditure in Telengana on development was 97.5 per cent of the outlay as against 87.9 per cent in the rest of the State. Now, in 1971-72, the percentage of expen-

diture, up to January, 1972, was 71.6 per cent of the year's outlay in Telengana, while it was 69.1 per cent for the rest of the State. This only shows that the mechanism for development that has been set up and the mechanism to ensure implementation is functioning, and Telengana is developing at a slightly faster rate if one is to judge by these figures of expenditure.

On service grievances also, progress has been made in the last three months. I do not want to go into the figures. But I have all the figures with me. I would only be happy to give Shri Rao all these figures should he be interested in them.

SHRI M. SATYANARAYAN RAO

What about the restoration of the Mulki Rules?

SHRI K. C. PANT: His main point is the restoration of the Mulki rules. He knows that the State Government intends filing an appeal in the Supreme Court. That has been announced by the State Government. I have said it in this House also. Once the State Government is going in appeal, should we not await the verdict of the Supreme Court before deciding what to do next in the matter?

Does it not stand to reason that it is the most obvious course to follow?...
(Interruptions)

SHRI M. SATYANARAYAN RAO

You know what will happen in courts.

SHRI K. C. PANT: He seems to know. I am surprised that he should deal with the subject so lightly. Therefore, there is absolutely no point in making a grievance of Government not having taken any position in the matter. As a matter of fact we are anxious that the problem of unemployment in Telangana should be tackled and that the safeguards that were provided under the Public Employment Requirement of Residence Act should be available to the people of Telangana and that regionalisation should take place in accordance with the spirit of that Act. For that already the Government of Andhra Pradesh is taking steps. All these things are being done. It is not as though every-

thing is kept in abeyance till the Supreme Court gives its decision. It is not so. Positive steps are being taken and Shri Rao should not harbour any sense of grievance. He should see the facts as they are. The Government of Andhra Pradesh and we here are doing our best to tackle this matter in the interest of both Telangana and of the united Andhra Pradesh.

There was some reference to violence in elections. I can assure the House that we are as anxious as anyone in this House and outside about the need to see that the use of violence and intimidatory tactics in elections do not take place. It is obvious that wedded as we are to democracy we are even more concerned in this matter. Before 1967 the elections in this country were remarkably peaceful. In 1967 there was violence and inter-party clashes, and this process went on till 1971 and reached a certain peak in the 1971 midterm elections to the Lok Sabha, when as many as 258 persons were killed in inter-party clashes and incidents of violence, of which 223 were in West Bengal alone and 35 in other States.

It is a matter of some satisfaction that his trend has been reversed in the recent elections, still valuable lives have been lost. That is a matter of deep concern. It is completely wrong to think that elections took place in an atmosphere of violence, all of us in our own constituencies know that it is not a fact. In some restricted areas there was violence. We are confident that the State Governments will deal with the incidents of violence which have come to their notice in which ever State it might be. The Government is also considering further steps that can be taken to strengthen the provisions of law to deal with the problem of violence in elections. In this matter the co-operation of all political parties is required and it is of crucial importance in maintaining a proper atmosphere in which free and fair elections can take place. This is not a partisan matter. We are interested in the survival and strengthening of democracy in this country and therefore we attach the greatest importance to this aspect of the problem.

Shrimati Joshi and some other friends referred to the problem of communal vio-

lence. From the point of view of stresses and strains on the administrative machinery in respect of communal violence or the possibility of communal violence, the year gone by had been a year of great strain. To begin with if I may remind the House, there was the hijacking of our plane from Jammu. Then there were attempts to exploit the communal politics and communal passions in the course of electioneering for the Lok Sabha. Then come the atrocities of the Pakistani forces in Bangla Desh resulting in the influx of a large number of refugees into India.

While this struggle in Bangla Desh was going on, the Pakistani military regime tried its best to infiltrate saboteurs, spies and agents provocateurs into this country. So, all through the year we were subjected to stresses and strains and, if I may say so, we were apprehensive lest a small spark somewhere should lead to bigger trouble. The manner in which our people rose to the occasions and demonstrated their abiding faith in secularism and communal harmony is something which should inspire and strengthen all of us in our future efforts. The exemplary upsurge of national unity and solidarity in the face of the serious threat to our security is an example which should guide our efforts in the direction of completely eradicating the forces of communal disharmony in our country. It is a matter of satisfaction that the administration at all levels remained vigilant and did not take any chances, and this combination of popular awareness of the deeper stakes involved in the keeping of communal peace as well as vigilance on the part of the administration must continue, because although there has been improvement, and this has been remarked upon by various Members who spoke during the debate, I would not say that the improvement has been such as to allow us to be complacent. The number of communal incidents even in the year 1971 was considerable as shown in our Report for 1971-72. Many of them were of a serious nature. Therefore, I do not want the House to go away with the impression that the kind of solidarity and cooperation between the people and the administration in tackling this menace that was exhibited in the year gone by will not be required in future. This is something we will have to continue to watch. The Government is

[Shri K C Pant]

determined to deal firmly with the problem of communal violence and through the State Governments all possible steps are being taken to contain the menace

Members have often expressed in this House their dissatisfaction at the slow and tardy manner in which criminal cases against persons guilty in communal riots are dealt with. The Government have prepared legislative proposals providing for the setting up of special courts and for a speedier procedure for the trial of cases arising out of disturbances. The proposals will be shortly brought before the House for its consideration

The Government have also taken note of the demand made by various sections of the House for the enactment of legislation to deal with the activities of the communal organisations whose propaganda and activities pose a serious threat to our secular polity. The House is aware that in September, 1970, the Government had brought forward a Bill for this purpose. However in view of the objections raised by the opposition parties the Bill had to be withdrawn at the introduction stage. In the light of the objections then raised, the proposal has been further processed and a revised draft has now been prepared. We hope to bring this revised draft before the House very shortly, may be in the current session itself

You will recall that in almost every session in the last couple of years we used to have a long debate on the Naxalite menace. It speaks for itself that this time there has been no such debate. The Naxalite problem has been tackled for the present, and when I say tackled I mean that there are far fewer instances of Naxalite violence coming to notice. The situation has markedly improved not only in West Bengal but also in Bihar, Punjab and Andhra Pradesh, but the capacity of these elements to indulge in mischief remains and the Government is fully aware of this and is vigilant. The other aspect to which I would like to draw the attention of the House is that in West Bengal two factors have mainly contributed to the containment of this menace for the present. One is that people's participation has been forthcoming

in a much larger measure of late. And ever since the people decided that they would stand up against this kind of extremist violence and would not allow their lives to be disturbed, it has been possible to curtail the excesses and to gradually bring violence under control.

The second aspect in West Bengal that is noticeable is that the people have seen that the Central Government as well as the State Government do not take a very narrow view of the problem. We realise that some of the young men who have gone into the bad company of Naxalites and other extremists may have been frustrated. Some may have been lured away. Some may have taken to violence because of exploitation by anti-social elements. All these things are there. It is not a simple picture. Therefore we have often said and the West Bengal Government is now taking measures to see that the basic socio-economic problems are tackled whether they be problems relating to agrarian unrest, unemployment or neglect of tribals. It is not for me to go into those details. It is for the various ministries. They have drawn up various plans and schemes. But I would like to say on behalf of the Home Ministry that we do not take a narrow law and order view of the problem. We take a broader view. We are not oblivious to the existence of the deeper socio-economic challenges that the represent and we do not feel content merely to tackle symptoms. We want to go to the root of the problem and we want to help West Bengal in tackling the root.

Some reference was made to the CRP force and the recent judgment of one Judge of the Calcutta High Court in a certain case holding that the CRP Act is *ultra vires* of the Constitution. We understand that the order will take effect after 12 weeks of the passing of the order. We have asked for a copy of the judgment. We have not got the judgment yet. As soon as we get it, we shall study in detail the grounds on which this has been declared *ultra vires*. But I would like to mention, because this is an important force, that the legality of the Central Reserve Police Force Act has been questioned earlier before the High Court of Madras and again before the High Court of Jammu and Kashmir and full benches of

both the High Courts have held that the C R P Force is an armed force of the Union and that it was well within the competence of the Centre to raise and maintain such a force. As soon as we receive a copy of the judgment from the Calcutta High Court, we will examine the ground on which the Act has been found bad in law and we will take suitable remedial measures in the matter. I am mentioning that only to point out that this is one judgment, but there are two other judgments before it which have held that the Act is valid.

The C R P really has been doing very good work. It has assisted the army and the State Government. I underline the word "assisted". Whenever the State Government wanted its assistance, it has gone to their help in maintaining law and order and it has functioned in such situations under the direction and control of State Governments. Thirdly, it has been used on the border during the recent crisis. If I may say so, both the forces under the Home Ministry—the Border Security Force and the Central Reserve Police Force—have acquitted themselves excellently during the recent crisis, all along the border.

SHRI BHOGENDRA JHA Why keep two separate forces? Why not combine them?

SHRI K C PANT Because their functions are completely different. In this particular instance for a particular period, some of the C R P units had to go on the border, but not the bulk of the C R P units. The bulk of C R P units were used for the maintenance of law and order. For election purposes also, this was used. The State Governments which asked for them have been all praise for the work they have done.

Shri Dhandapani, Shrimati Kaul and Shrimati Banerji raised the question of the modernisation of the police force. Over the years we have been very anxious to help the State Governments in modernising their law and order machinery and in equipping them on modern lines. The first step was taken over 16 years ago by provision of funds for police housing. This is a subject in which many friends are interested. I

would like to tell them that so far about Rs. 45 crores have been given to the State for building houses for the non-gazetted ranks in the police force. In the current budget also Rs. 4 crores have been provided for this purpose.

The second major scheme is to provide assistance to the States for forensic science laboratories, finger print bureaus, better communication facilities, greater mobility etc. This scheme was started in 1969-70 with a sum of Rs. 50 lakhs. It was increased to Rs. 1 crore in 1970-71 and Rs. 7 crores during the last year. Another Rs. 7 crores has been provided in the current year's budget. The State Governments themselves work out their different plans for modernisation and project their requirements for additional funds. Our endeavour has been to accommodate all the State Governments as much as possible. A third scheme of this nature is to provide special assistance for difficult problem areas like Chambal valley, about which we have had questions and answers, calling attention notices and so on in this House.

In addition to providing direct financial assistance to States other facilities are also being made available to the State Governments. One of these is the Central Police Research and Development Bureau, which was established a year ago, designed to provide the State Governments the results of modern research and development in the diverse fields of technology, operational techniques, communications, etc. Recently, the Central Institute of Forensic Science and Criminology has been established to train officers and of the State police forces in the various branches of forensic sciences. The regional forensic science laboratories, the Central Finger Print Bureau, the Detective Training School, the training institutions for examination of documents and the training courses in the Police Academy at Mount Abu are all again intended to provide facilities to the personnel of the State police forces so that the police becomes the guide and friend of the people and enjoys the respect and confidence of the people as the police in some other countries.

While saying this I must point out mere equipments and mobility cannot bring about

a kind of police force which we are aiming it. It is not merely a matter of equipment. We want the police force in this country to have an attitude which will be recognised by the people, which will make them the friends of the people. It is a matter of attitude. For this the role of the police has to be re-defined in terms of the present-day requirements of our social and economic objectives in order that this kind of harmonious relationship can be brought about between the police and the people. In this the House can help and assist by giving suggestions, by acting as a bridge between these within their own areas. Because, in the modern context, in the context of today, we do want the police force to be modernised with modern equipments and modern technology. At the same time; we want them to have the right approach and the right attitude. In this I would certainly welcome the assistance of all sections of the House.

We have appointed a high-power training committee to go into all aspects of training because it is at the training stage that the policeman's personality is moulded, so to speak. Therefore, we attach great importance to this Committee.

In the end, I would like to remind the hon. Members that on the 15th August this year our country would be celebrating the 25th anniversary of our independence. One of the schemes relating to these celebrations has been referred to by some hon. friends, that is, the payment of pension to freedom fighters. I have already spoken in this House on that aspect. Therefore, because of shortage of time I would beg of the indulgence of the House that I need not refer to it now.

But it is our earnest hope that celebrations of the Silver Jubilee of our Independence would leave an unforgettable impact on the minds of the children and youth of this country to whom our struggle of independence is now a matter of history. We have drawn up a tentative programme which has also been sent to State Governments. It is our purpose to have not only festivities but also promote activities that may be of permanent and continuing value to the people. There will be strong emphasis

upon improving the quality of life and environment. The mood of self-confidence, the urge towards self-reliance and self-sufficiency and progress towards social justice and economic prosperity will also be reflected in various exhibitions, seminars, monuments etc., proposed for the year beginning on the midnight of 14th August, 1972, with a re-dedication to the pledge of service to the people in the Central Hall of Parliament. A number of programmes have been proposed for the youth, for it is in their hands that the responsibility lies for continuing the process of nation building. It is our earnest desire that the vision and the ideal that inspired the stalwarts of our national struggle should continue to be a source of similar inspiration for generations to come,

15.32 hrs.

COMMITTEE ON PRIVATE MEMBERS'
BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS
TWELFTH REPORT

SHRIMATI JYOTSNA CHANDA
(Cachar) : I beg to move :

"That this House do agree with the Twelfth Report of the Committee on Private Members' Bills and Resolutions presented to the house on the 19th April, 1972.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : The question is :

"That this House do agree with the Twelfth Report of the Committee on Private Members' Bills and Resolutions presented to the House on the 19th April, 1972."

The motion was adopted.

15.33 hrs.

RESOLUTION RE: COMMUNAL
PARA-MILITARY ORGANISA-
TIONS—Contd.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : The House will now take up further consideration of the Resolution of Shri Inder J. Malhotra for which two hours had been allotted and