

[Secretary]

rule 186 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in the Rajya Sabha, I am directed to return herewith the Haryana Appropriation Bill, 1968, which was passed by the Lok Sabha at its sitting held on the 20th March, 1968, and transmitted to the Rajya Sabha for its recommendations and to state that this House has no recommendations to make to the Lok Sabha in regard to the said Bill."

(iii) "In accordance with the provisions of sub-rule (6) of rule 186 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in the Rajya Sabha, I am directed to return herewith the West Bengal Appropriation (Vote on Account) Bill, 1968, which was passed by the Lok Sabha at its sitting held on the 22nd March, 1968, and transmitted to the Rajya Sabha for its recommendations and to state that this House has no recommendations to make to the Lok Sabha in regard to the said Bill."

(iv) "In accordance with the provisions of sub-rule (6) of rule 186 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in the Rajya Sabha, I am directed to return herewith the West Bengal Appropriation Bill, 1968, which was passed by the Lok Sabha at its sitting held on the 22nd March, 1968, and transmitted to the Rajya Sabha for its recommendations and to state that this House has no recommendations to make to the Lok Sabha in regard to the said Bill."

12.23 hrs.

### COMMITTEE ON PRIVATE MEMBERS' BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

#### TWENTY-FIFTH REPORT

श्री हरबयाल उबंगरा (पूर्वो दिल्ली) :  
श्रीमन् मैं गैर-सरकारी सदस्यों के विधेयकों तथा संकल्पों सम्बन्धी समिति का 25वां प्रतिवेदन प्रस्तुत करता हूँ।

12.23½ hrs.

### \*DEMANDS FOR GRANTS, 1968-69

#### MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS

MR. SPEAKER: The House will now take up discussion and voting on Demand Nos. 38 to 52, 117 and 118 relating to the Ministry of Home Affairs for which 8 hours have been allotted.

Hon. Members present in the House who are desirous of moving their cut motions may send slips to the Table within 15 minutes indicating the serial numbers of the cut motions they would like to move.

#### DEMAND NO. 38—MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS

MR. SPEAKER: Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,24,05,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1969, in respect of 'Ministry of Home Affairs'"

#### DEMAND NO. 39—CABINET

MR. SPEAKER: Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 55,86,000 be granted to the

\*Moved with the recommendation of the President.

President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1969, in respect of 'Cabinet'."

**DEMAND No. 40—ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE**

**MR. SPEAKER:** Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 2,11,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1969, in respect of 'Administration of Justice'."

**DEMAND No. 41—POLICE**

**MR. SPEAKER:** Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 37,94,22,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1969, in respect of 'Police'."

**DEMAND No. 42—CENSUS**

**MR. SPEAKER:** Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,09,58,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1969, in respect of 'Census'."

**DEMAND No. 43—STATISTICS**

**MR. SPEAKER:** Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 2,94,82,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending

the 31st day of March, 1969, in respect of 'Statistics'."

**DEMAND No. 44—PRIVY PURSES AND ALLOWANCES OF INDIAN RULERS**

**MR. SPEAKER:** Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,31,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1969, in respect of 'Privy Purses and Allowances of Indian Rulers'."

**DEMAND No. 45—TERRITORIAL AND POLITICAL PENSIONS**

**MR. SPEAKER:** Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 15,63,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1969, in respect of 'Territorial and Political Pensions'."

**DEMAND No. 46—DELHI**

**MR. SPEAKER:** Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 31,12,89,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1969, in respect of 'Delhi'."

**DEMAND No. 47—CHANDIGARH**

**MR. SPEAKER:** Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 4,98,17,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1969, in respect of 'Chandigarh'."

**DEMAND No. 48—ANDAMAN AND  
NICOBAR ISLANDS**

**MR. SPEAKER:** Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 5,96,87,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1969, in respect of 'Andaman and Nicobar Islands'."

**DEMAND No. 49—TRIBAL AREAS**

**MR. SPEAKER:** Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 20,56,51,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1969, in respect of 'Tribal Areas'."

**DEMAND No. 50—DADRA AND NAGAR  
HAVELI AREA**

**MR. SPEAKER:** Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 46,93,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1969, in respect of 'Dadra and Nagar Haveli Area'."

**DEMAND No. 51—LACCADIVE, MINICOY  
AND AMINDIVI ISLANDS**

**MR. SPEAKER:** Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 89,92,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1969, in respect of 'Laccadive, Minicoy and Amindivi Islands'."

**DEMAND No. 52—OTHER REVENUE EX-  
PENDITURE OF THE MINISTRY OF HOME  
AFFAIRS**

**MR. SPEAKER:** Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 8,95,40,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1969, in respect of 'Other Revenue Expenditure of the Ministry of Home Affairs'."

**DEMAND No. 117—CAPITAL OUTLAY IN  
UNION TERRITORIES AND TRIBAL AREAS**

**MR. SPEAKER:** Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 19,72,95,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1969, in respect of 'Capital Outlay in Union Territories and Tribal Areas'."

**DEMAND No. 118—OTHER CAPITAL  
OUTLAY OF THE MINISTRY OF HOME  
AFFAIRS**

**MR. SPEAKER:** Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 62,62,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1969, in respect of 'Other Capital Outlay of the Ministry of Home Affairs'."

This morning I saw at 10.30 A.M. a number of calling-attention-*notices* and other notices. Most of them are covered by these Demands. Hon. Members could discuss those things on these Demands. Many of the calling-attention-*notices* which are connected with the Home Ministry need not take precedence over these Demands. Now is the time to discuss them. 8 hours have been allotted for these Demands, and hon. Members could discuss all those matters now. Some Members came and discussed with me. I need not mention the names. They are present here and they can kindly take the opportunity of discussing those matters pertaining to the Home Ministry now.

SHRI HEM BARUA (Mangalore): But you have disallowed all of them.

MR. SPEAKER: Certainly not all of them. I shall consider them; I can admit only one. For the others, I am suggesting this. I am only giving an indication that here are the Home Ministry's Demands, and hon. Members can discuss all those points which have been incorporated as the subject-matter of the calling-attention-*notices*.

Now, Shri Piloo Mody.

SHRI PILOO MODY (Godhra)  
rose—

SHRI MANUBHAI PATEL (Dabhoi): The hon. Member does not stay in a tribal area but he has come in a tribal dress. But the garment which he is wearing is a lady's garment.

SHRI HEM BARUA: Would you please ask Shri Piloo Mody not to lean heavily against the desk because the leaders of groups are sitting on the front bench?

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE (Kanpur): May I bring to your kind notice the fact that calling-attention-*notices* had been tabled about the reported news in the press about the CIA activities? You may kindly ask the Home Min-

ister to give us the document, because if the report is there it can be discussed.

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order. He cannot raise it in this manner now.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE: He has made a statement in the other House already.

SHRI PILOO MODY: I know where Shri S. M. Banerjee is, but I do not know where the Home Minister is.

MR. SPEAKER: The Minister in the Home Ministry is there.

SHRI PILOO MODY: I cannot understand how he can ask for money without being present.

The Home Ministry particularly in today's context is the fulcrum of life in India. Therefore, it pains me all the more that I have to censure it for all its acts and failures, acts of omission and commission.

The budget of the Home Ministry has gone up. But in reading through the Demands I could not find any valid reason why the Home Minister needs more money. For giving Shri Y. V. Chavan more money, has he assured us in return greater unity or has he promised us wiser legislation? No. Instead, he has promised us greater inefficiency and slower despatch by increasing his courtiers by one secretary, one additional secretary, 10 joint secretaries and 22 deputy secretaries. The whole country is screaming for a reduction in administrative expenditure. Experts have said that we do not stand a dog's chance unless we can reduce our bureaucratic expenditure. Even an Administrative Reforms Commission has been appointed, but the Home Minister who generally considers himself above the law, both statutory and natural, is indulging himself, and to hell with Parkinson.

I am very glad to see that the Home Minister has finally come to accept money personally. Last year, unfortunately the Prime Minister has not



[Shri Piloo Mody]

done any better. Her secretariat has come to cost something like Rs. 18 to 19 lakhs and during the last year alone she has appointed four more Ministers. Last year, while initiating the debate on the provisional Finance Bill I had stated that 52 Ministers were really quite enough. However, I suspected at the time that the Prime Minister was going to appoint more Ministers. I had said that the deck of cards was complete and that the country was breathlessly awaiting the appointment of the joker. She surpassed our expectation. Now the Prime Minister's deck of cards contains four jokers, if you please, if at all, it is a very cruel joke on the country. Let me tender her a peice of advice. More Ministers mean more, not less, factions. And in any case it is wholly unconscionable to use Ministerships to appease party-men, and if some Opposition Governments have been doing the same thing elsewhere in this country it does not make it right. I would, therefore, like to suggest that there should be a statutory limit on Ministers. This is one control, I am sure, I and my party, will accept without any hesitation.

More Ministers also mean more expenditure, more inefficiency, more taxes, more deficit financing, more inflation and finally more oppression.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE: More confusion.

SHRI PILOO MODY: The Home Minister has demanded about Rs. 55.53 crores. Even a casual glance at the newspapers of the day will really make one wonder whether a Home Ministry does in fact exist. Riots, student unrest, mob attacks, burning, looting, strikes, walk-outs, gheraos, smuggling, and blackmarketing, spies, enemy agents, pickpocketing, robbing and even raping, all these activities have now become part of the common scene along with filth, poverty and squalor.

Not one of these activities has been checked, curbed or controlled. In fact, they are increasing. Has anyone been brought to book? Occasionally we hear of someone being convicted, some small fry, but the big fishes continue to swim in protected waters.

We are constantly told that law and order is a State subject. If so, it must lead to the obvious proposition: Do we really need a Home Minister at the Centre and that too at an expense of Rs. 55.5 crores? Or would it be better to send the Home Minister back to Maharashtra, although I am sure we all would miss him very much over here?

In fact, the predicament of the Home Minister reminds me of a story I recently read, about the Texas Police. Acting on information about a narcotics gang, the Texas police raided a primary school only to find one little boy confess that he had been emptying out vitamin capsules, filling them with powdered sugar and selling them as pep pills for 25 cents a piece.

What has been the record of the Home Minister this year? It started with Rajasthan, where, with constitutional piety, the Home Minister maintained that it was entirely right for a majority to be deprived of forming a Government, till what time a minority had had the time to purchase a majority.

Next came Haryana, where, in spite of purchase and re-purchase, the Chief Minister kept outsmarting the Congress till the Home Minister's patience were thin, and the Government was dismissed on the grounds of instability.

In Bengal, instead of dismissing the Government and declaring President's Rule, for a number of legitimate reasons like law and order, Naxalbari, gheraos, citizens' rights and security, and accepting the odium and braving

the political consequences of his action, the Home Minister contrived a constitutional crisis for the simple reason that the Congress was not in a position to face the electorate. Well, it backfired, but that was not part of their calculations.

In the past, Article 356 of the Constitution has been used more than a dozen times. The one singular peculiarity about proclaiming and revoking President's rule in all these years has been that the Congress has benefited as a result of it every time. For some strange reason, Article 356 seems to be tailor-made to the requirements of the Congress party.

All this, Sir, I beg to submit, arises out of a cult of power. We have heard a great deal about the concentration of power, but here facing us, Sir, is the largest accumulation of power in the world. This country may be called a democracy, with a democratic constitution, but in fact, for various reasons which I have no time to go into, it has functioned from the very beginning, as an oligarchy.

For twenty long years and disastrous years, I have seen this country go down the political drain, developing in the process strong currents of insatiable power, greed and megalomania, resulting in unbridled corruption, blatant nepotism and crash opportunism.

It is all very well to condemn today the disgraceful spectacle of Aya Rams and Gaya Rams—political lepers—who like diseased flies jump from one sweetmeat to the other. But who is responsible? Without any question of doubt, and with all the moral authority that I can muster, I accuse this Congress party for having started this plague. What a fall it has been for this party?

Sir, we may conjure the memories of Dadabhoj Naoroji, Lokmanya Tilak, Chittaranjan Dass, Lala Lajpat Rai, Rabindranath Tagore, Motilal Nehru and culminating in the glory

that was Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, called Bapu.

**SHRI SAMAR GUHA (Contai):** Have you forgotten other names like Netaji?

**SHRI PILOO MODY:** I am glad to be reminded. The name of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, Bapu, as he was affectionately called, was the inspiration of an age and the aspiration of billions of human beings. This was all done without authority or power. This was all done with love and they left behind a rich heritage which gave us a purpose, a meaning to our lives. And in twenty years it has come to this! The Congress party has confused the gratitude of the people for dynastic rights, and they have abused the trust and the faith that the people have placed on them. They are exploiting their ignorance and sharpening their communal feelings. They have replaced love with hate and freedom with fear. The intoxication of power has led to contempt for the people. Not satisfied with the omnipotent political power that they enjoyed by virtue of the brute majority that the people gave them they have started nibbling away at judicial power as well as judicial independence through political rewards for conforming judges. But their lust was not fulfilled till they had acquired economic power. So, under the guise of socialism and in the name of the people and by creating exaggerated fears about the concentration of power in a few hands, they launched us into the monumental tragedies which were the Five Year Plans, based on a pernicious system of permits, licences and quotas. But they did not stop at that, and they do not intend to stop at that. Now, the Congress party is determined, with the help of my hon. friend Shri Nath Pal, to swallow our only remaining safeguard, the balance of our Fundamental Rights. Not twenty Birlas, nor ten Tatas can match the power enjoyed by one Chavan.

[Shri: Piloo Mody]

I, Sir, started life venerating the Congress although I was never a member. I was an ardent admirer and fervent supporter. But every succeeding act of the Congress baffled me a little more.

**SHRI HEM BARUA:** How does Shri Nath Pai come in here?

**MR. SPEAKER:** There is the Constitution Amendment Bill. Shri Nath Pai comes in there.

**SHRI PILOO MODY:** I do not know whether Shri Nath Pai fully informs his party about what he is intending to do.

With every succeeding act of the Congress I was baffled more and more and as my amazement grew, rumour had it that a lot of people were making money, till it reached a stage when I ran out of apology, and I decided that nothing would make sense—I would never resume my sanity again—until I started ascribing motives. It was only then that the picture became clear. It was power, money and patronage that the Congress was seeking, and the laws, rules and regulations of the land for the last ten years confirm my belief. I would say that if all the money made by Congressmen and their families in the last twenty years were to be surrendered to the national exchequer, we could pay off our foreign loans, reduce the national debt and launch a Fourth Five-Year Plan with three Bokaro Steel Plants.

The whirligig of time has brought in its revenges. The fabric of our society is torn and the double evil of inflation and unemployment has released the frustration of our people into violence, no doubt, fanned by political opportunists without responsibility, threatening our democracy and in fact our Parliamentary system itself. In this very House, everything has been reduced to "teri-our-meri" yours and mine.

We are constantly saying that we must find typically Indian solutions for all our problems. Why not start right here and now? I have a suggestion to make. I have often heard Members speaking against a particular motion and then ultimately voting for it, hardly an edifying picture for Parliamentarians to present to the country. And, therefore, I would like to suggest, why don't we all but eliminate the whip. Why is it necessary that every Act has to have a whip behind it? Let the Congress Party bring forward legislation and if they found that 60 or 70 members of the Congress Party do not agree with any particular measure, let the Prime Minister and her Council of Ministers then approach 60 or 70 members of the Opposition and see if they are willing to support a particular Bill. This is not difficult to do, particularly, in a House constituted as we are. This will bring about a dialogue, a healthy dialogue and communication between the Government and the Opposition.

**SHRI SHEO NARAIN (Basti):** Good harmony!

**SHRI PILOO MODY:** And if I may continue without the hon. Member's in punctuation, any legislation which will then emerge will truly represent at the national consensus. And, if by chance or miscalculation, the Government loses a vote, it should not be replaced unless a proper motion of censure or re-confidence is brought in the House and the whip can then be applied and the Party can close its ranks and vote the Government back into power. It is a very reasonable, rational suggestion that I am making. Although I cannot get the Home Minister to crack a smile, I think his colleague at the back, the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs, is having a great guffaw at this suggestion.

Another example is the language issue. Why don't you create a common script first? I have already suggested Romanagri, but it could be anything, as a first step towards a

common language and postpone the language problem for wiser generations to solve.

Similarly, there are other aspects of our national life which, with purposeful thinking and a constructive attitude, can be resolved in a reasoned fashion, if only the ruling Party co-operates with the Opposition, such as it is. Instead the Home Minister, in my opinion, has been boxing at shadows like a political pugilist.

Last year he has fiddled with our Fundamental Rights, played pussy with Privy Purses and princely privileges, laboured with the language issue, contrived constitutional crisis, dithered with drought, involved ourselves with the Israeli-Arab war, and now we have been crushed by the Kutch award. This is the performance for which we have been asked to sanction Rs. 55½ crores. (*Interruptions*).

Sir, no country in the world could have started on a better wicket. When the British left this country we had enormous sterling balances abroad, to-day we have a debt of something like Rs. 6000 crores. We had a first class administrative service, to-day with the proliferation of political blocks within the services and its endless multiplication, bribery, corruption and inaptitude is its hallmark.

We had good communications and transport, to-day it has been shot to pieces.

We had a superlative army which made British Generals with cast-iron insides weep at the idea of leaving the Indian Army. Thanks to Mr. Krishna Menon, that Army has been turned into petty officers reporting directly to the Defence Minister behind their superiors, backs and it has considerably shrunk its spirit the *esprit de corps* that it had.

Many argue like Shri Morarji Desai, 'Let not anybody say that we have made no progress.' "We have made considerable progress", he said, just the other day.

AN HON. MEMBER: That is a fact.

SHRI PILOO MODY: It was inevitable. If you spend Rs. 4000 crores a year, something must come up. But the acid test of progress is: when difficulty comes your way, disaster comes your way, drought and aggression come your way, how do you withstand it? That is the true measure of your progress. I do not say that there has been no progress. I merely say that it has been unwise, not worthy of a pat on the back.

To-day we stand alone in the world. Our international prestige is at its nadir. Our economy is in recession. Our currency worthless and our morality the most degradable and every little country has started nibbling at our borders. How long I ask you, can we go on in this fashion? This Government may survive, for various reasons not connected with its intrinsic strength, but there is a country to think about. It is the people who suffer—suffering in which the so-called socialist egalitarian ministers do not participate.

Sir, we cannot have a Government without a will to govern. We cannot have a Government which makes laws which it will not enforce, and that I find, generally, because the laws are ill-conceived, illegal and politically motivated. We just cannot have a government with prevaricates.

Law and order is the principal function of this Home Minister—not the service of the Congress Party. At no time in the history of this country, has the law and order situation been as bad as it is today. Are we to conclude from this that our Home Minister is not doing his job? Hardly, I can hardly believe that. Our Home Minister has the reputation of being a tough guy. I just cannot understand why he is taking a soft line.

SHRI HEM BARUA: He is an amiable man also.

**SHRI PILOO MODY:** Again I have to start attributing motives. Our contention is that the Home Minister is manipulating politically for Party benefits, appearing this group here and pandering to that group there. In anything that they do there are always political considerations. Even in not enforcing law and order there are political considerations. Even in not enforcing a particular law political considerations come, in considerations for which this country is being allowed to go to pot.

I warn you, Sir, we are fast approaching the precipice. When production stops, money has shrunk and trains do not run function and the ports close down, even food will not grow in this country. Then it will be time for most of us to meet our tryst with destiny—only it will be at the barricades.

I hope at least the Home Minister will remember this day and cry in anguish—if only I had listened and read the writing on the wall.

In these words I reject the Home Minister's demands. This is not a democratic government of decent men., it is a kakistocracy—a government of bad men. Therefore, I recommend that we do not give them a single penny.

Thank you, Sir.

**MR. SPEAKER:** You said the Home Minister should be present to receive the money.

**SHRI PILOO MODY:** Then give him half.

**SHRI BRAHM PRAKASH** (Outer Delhi): Mr. Speaker, Sir, last year has been very difficult year and there were a spate of problems. As Mr. Mody himself has pointed out, how difficult, how complex was the whole year and the whole period.

I must give credit to the Home Minister. I am not in the habit of

giving just false credit. But I must give him credit that whatever the problems, whatever the difficulties, whatever the conflicts, he has brought his understanding and imagination to solve them. He has also shown tact and courage to find solutions. At least, in any matter here in the House or outside, he has not done anything which could add to the fire; rather he has tried to bring a sort of fire extinguisher even by his silence on certain very complicated matters, when actually tempers were very high. His job will continue in the coming year to be a difficult one and the same understanding, tact and imagination will be required.

Here I would like to pinpoint some of the outstanding problems and urge upon him to give his attention and understanding to them and solve them. I know that by himself he will not be able to do so; rather he would require the understanding and friendship of many sections of people including Opposition parties. One predominant question is the language question. No doubt, we have tried to solve some aspects of it, but we have yet to go a long way towards the complete solution so as to keep the integrity of the country intact. I would like him to tackle it much more vigorously. In this matter, I would beg of the Hindi protagonists, who have a great stake and a great responsibility to this country, who no doubt rightly claim a certain heritage and a certain culture, to be tolerant and giving and help solve this problem in such a manner that the non-Hindi-speaking people, those particularly who have opposed to Hindi, are entirely satisfied with the solution. I know the Home Minister's mind is working on these lines, but great support and help is necessary from this House and outside, particularly from the enlightened sections of the Hindi protagonists.

**SHRI M. L. SONDHI** (New Delhi): Is Shri Kamraj helping him?

**SHRI BRAHM PRAKASH:** The second very big problem is that of Assam and Nagaland. In these two issues also, sometimes very contradictory and harmful sentiments are expressed by extremists on both sides. There can never be a military solution to this and such like problems; there can never be a forced solution, forced on one group or the other. These complex problems, particularly when they arise in an area which is a border area, have to be solved on the same basis as the language problem. To this end also, extremists on both sides have to be both more understanding and more helpful; particularly we should try to see that the people living in the hill areas, people living in the tribal areas have really the satisfaction, the consolation that the whole country is behind them and their development and progress, because these people unfortunately had been pushed back for thousands of years into a life which is really intolerable.

The other important question—I really feel ashamed to talk about it; all the same I cannot help talking about it is that of minorities in this country. No doubt we are proud that we in the Congress Party as a whole and many other enlightened and progressive parties in this House have looked at this question with faith and understanding and have done a lot to safeguard the interests of minorities, their language and their culture. But there are sections, parties and papers in India who have a certain idea in their mind that culture is something which perhaps we had two thousand or three thousand years ago. Culture and civilisation are not built that way. So in this matter, I would like the Home Minister to be very strict and strong. If any person belonging to any party, if any party or group or any section or paper takes a stand or step in a manner which goes against the interests of minorities, their language and their culture, he should come upon them with a strong hand; he should mince neither words nor action, because that is a very basic democratic value which we have to

preserve. If we cannot do so, we cannot uphold our democracy.

The other question, I am sorry I have to point out, is about Delhi. For many reasons, I cannot avoid it because, fortunately or unfortunately, I happen to live in Delhi.

**SHRI HEM BARUA:** Delhi is the capital of India.

**SHRI BRAHM PRAKASH:** Delhi is also the capital of India.

I would say with all responsibility Delhi is administered neither democratically, nor bureaucratically nor autocratically; it is administered by chaos, conflict and confusion.

**SHRI BAL RAJ MADHOK** (South Delhi): Trisanku.

**SHRI BRAHM PRAKASH:** I say this not only because the Jan Sangh administration is there today; when the Congress was in power here, then also I had been saying it. Perhaps all the Home Ministers who have come to administer in Delhi, whoever they may be, except with one exception, that of, Shri Gopaldaswami Ayyangar, have never relished the idea when the people talked of the Delhi administration and the reforms needed here. I know the present Home Minister is not responsible for the past legacy. He has inherited it, but a man of his understanding, vision and courage should be able to look at it in a different way.

**MR. SPEAKER:** He may resume after lunch recess.

13 hrs.

*The Lok Sabha adjourned for lunch till fourteen of the clock.*

*The Lok Sabha reassembled after Lunch at five minutes past fourteen of the Clock.*

[**SHRIMATI LAKSHMIKANTHAMMA** in the Chair]

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** Shri Brahm Prakash may continue his speech.

**SHRI BRAHM PRAKASH:** When the House adjourned for lunch, I was

[Shri Brahm Prakash]

mentioning about the affairs in Delhi. Delhi is suffering from a long-standing malady. It requires a political solution. Since 1912, when Delhi was made the capital of India, all the administrators had been tinkering with the problem of Delhi, thus avoiding a correct and satisfactory solution. I shall no doubt suggest certain lines of action which in my opinion would pave the way for a solution of the problem of Delhi. Before doing so, I should point out how the Delhi Administration is functioning. During the last fifteen years we had thrashed out some good policies with great difficulty. They are now being set at naught. The Jan Sangh which is in charge of the Delhi Administration cannot shirk their responsibility for doing this. They cannot run away by saying that it is the Congress which runs the Centre. Once I had myself to face these problems—jhuggi and jhompri, slum clearance, law and order and land acquisition. I know the mind of the officers of the Government of India and the bureaucracy in Delhi. Even at that time they wanted to remove all the so-called bad spots by one stroke of the pen though it affected lakhs of people. They wanted to clear all the refugees, jhuggis and jhompri from those areas to some far off areas. I cannot describe now what struggle we had to put up, sometimes with the bureaucracy, and sometimes with our leaders also. We had laid down a policy of slum clearance but it had been put to naught. Certain policy had been laid down for land acquisition sometime before the Jan Sangh administration took over and it was decided that certain agricultural lands would not be acquired. Now that decision was scrapped and thousands of acres of land were acquired—the best pieces of agricultural land in the Delhi area. Thousands of people are being removed without being provided proper amenities.

श्री हुकम खन्ड कछवार : (उज्जैन) :  
जनसंघ प्रशासन नहीं आया था तब भी  
उन को हटाया गया था ।

SHRI BRAHM PRAKASH: That was under a regulated policy. I have no objection if according to that policy people are removed. They are being removed against this policy. I was sitting in a meeting where the Home Minister was presiding. I pointed out that only that land should be acquired which was required for a public purpose. The Chief Executive Councillor who was sitting in that meeting opposed that idea. I was stunned to hear it from a person who claims to speak in the name of the people of Delhi. He opposed the decision which was arrived at earlier. Too much politics had come to play in the matter of teachers. Such matters came earlier also and we tried to solve these problems. We did not act on the plea that this particular department or that particular area does not belong to us. We always tried to emphasise on the Government of India the problems of the people and to find out a solution.

श्री हुकम खन्ड कछवार : हारने के  
बाद अकल आई है ।

श्री ब्रह्म प्रकाश : हारने के बाद नहीं  
जीतने के बाद की बात कर रहा हूँ ।  
I know that regarding some of the steps which I, as Chief Minister and a responsible man of Delhi, suggested to the Government of India, they hesitated for some time and they did not agree. But the matter went up to the Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru. Whether it is acquisition of agricultural land or slum clearance or other important issues, the Jan Sangh administration in Delhi cannot just say that they are not responsible and only the Central Government is responsible. I say that the Jan Sangh administration is responsible and they should try to act in the interests of the millions of people in Delhi.

SHRI BAL RAJ MADHOK: The hon. member knows what is under the purview of the Centre and what is

under our purview. I would have admired if you had resigned when the solutions you suggested were not accepted.

**SHRI BRAHM PRAKASH:** I can say that the solutions in regard to jhuggi-jhompri and land acquisition were arrived at on my initiative. But when your Chief Executive Councillor stands up and talks against these policies . . .

**SHRI BAL RAJ MADHOK:** Tell me the areas which have been acquired for something which is not a public purpose.

**SHRI BRAHM PRAKASH:** Only those areas were acquired which voted against you. (*Interruptions*).

**SHRI BAL RAJ MADHOK:** General talk would not do. Tell us the particular areas. Was not Kelagodam required by the railways?

**श्री कंबर लाल गुप्त (दिल्ली सदर) :**  
माननीय सदस्य ने अभी कहा है कि जो मीटिंग हुई थी उस में माननीय सदस्य ने खड़े हो कर झुग्गी झोंपड़ियों के बारे में उसके खिलाफ राय दी थी। मैं उन से जामना चाहता हूँ कि क्या वह उस में स्वयं हाज़िर थे और क्या यह भी सही नहीं है कि इन्होंने सुझाव दिया था कि सरकार को एक प्राइडेंस निकालना चाहिये जिस में पुलिस को अधिकार दिया जाए कि वह सरकारी जमीन पर बैठने वालों को गिरफ्तार कर सकती है।

**SHRI BRAHM PRAKASH:** These very suggestions which are being carried out now by the Delhi Administration under the guidance of the Chief Executive Councillor were given to me since 1952 onwards upto 1967 by the bureaucracy and I always resisted them. It is not a secret that on one or two occasions even in 1952 and onwards, when I was Chief Minister, I had to tell the Government of India that if they continued with that attitude, I am not going to remain as Chief Minister.

**SHRI KANWAR LAL GUPTA:** But you never resigned. You continued to remain in office.

**SHRI BRAHM PRAKASH:** I can say with all the facts at my command that whether it is land acquisition or jhuggi-jhompri or teachers, it is not the Government of India which is responsible, but the executive Councillors sitting there who are responsible. If you are honest, you should resign on this issue.

**श्री श्री प्र० स्याम (मुरादाबाद) :**  
विधानों का जमीनें कौड़ियों के मूल्य पर ले कर इन्होंने नाखों करौड़ों रुपया बनाया है।

**श्री कंबर लाल गुप्त :** दर्द तो इसी बात का हो रहा है कि आपकी कुर्सी जा रही है। जो बुरी हार हुई है उसका दर्द अभी भले नहीं हूँ आप। लोगों की सेवा करिये तब कुर्सी पायेंगे।

**SHRI BRAHM PRAKASH:** जब कोई जवाब नहीं होता है You come immediately to the personal level. That is the meanest part of your party policies. You come to the dirty things.

धाना और मेरा दोनों का रुपया मिला कर बँच कर लीजिये।

**श्री हुकूम खन् बख्तबाव :** इनके और इनकी बीबी के नाम भी जो है ?

**श्री ब्रह्म प्रकाश :** बीबी बच्चों प्रादि सब का एक्सचेंज कर लें।

**श्री कंबर लाल गुप्त :** बैंकों से बहार जो हूँ वह भी ?

**श्री ब्रह्म प्रकाश :** वह भी।

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** Let there be some order. You cannot fight amongst yourselves. Please address the Chair.

**SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH (Nandyal):** Now that you have started speaking in English, you have broken your pledge. (*Interruptions*).



सभापति महोदय : मैं साफ कर देना चाहती हूँ। एक सदस्य की हैसियत से मैंने वह निर्णय लिया था। मैं अब यहाँ चेयरमैन की हैसियत से बैठी हुई हूँ।

**SHRI BRAHM PRAKASH:** I have a few suggestions. The Government of India and the Home Ministry should take steps to end this administrative and political chaos. They may keep New Delhi with them, if they like, as the seat of the capital, but for the rest of Delhi, they should give a full-fledged State. Without this political solution, this conflict between one authority and another authority will continue.

I would like to make two suggestions about the police. Sometime back there was some trouble in the police. Some cases are going on against some policemen. Now that the difficulty is over, I would request the Home Minister to consider giving a general amnesty to the policemen.

My second point is about recruitment to the police service. We are told that recruitment from the surrounding area has been stopped. This information has been given by very responsible persons. If this is so, it is a very bad policy and it will be very unjust to the people of the area around Delhi, because they would like to join the police.

श्री हरबचान बेवगुल (पूर्व दिल्ली) :  
श्रीर इसके लिए चक्राण साहब को त्यागपत्र दे देना चाहिए।

**SHRI BRAHM PRAKASH:** So, I would request them to consider this also.

**THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN):** May I give a piece of information? It is not true that recruitment to the police services from the surrounding area has been stopped. Only, recruitment all over India has started.

**SHRI BAL RAJ MADHOK:** But an impression has gone round that recruitment from surrounding areas has been stopped.

**SHRI KANWAR LAL GUPTA:** People from surrounding areas, particularly Haryana, are discouraged. So, please make enquiries.

**SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN:** I have made enquiries. It is not true that recruitment from surrounding area has been discouraged. But, naturally, the area of recruitment has been widened because Delhi police should have people from all other States.

**SHRI BRAHM PRAKASH:** I have no objection to extending the area; only, there should be no ban on recruitment of people coming from nearby areas. That is my only request.

So far as Himachal Pradesh is concerned, it should no longer remain a Union Territory. It should be declared a full-fledged State. In fact, it is long overdue.

Lastly, regarding privy purse I would urge upon the Home Minister to take energetic and strong steps for ending privy purse and other privileges attached to the princes.

In the end, as I have said earlier, perhaps I may have a different opinion from that of the Home Minister in regard to certain things in Delhi—I hope he will excuse me for that—but I do not agree with Shri Piloo Mody that the Home Ministry has deteriorated or has become ineffective. I could say that even when the opposition parties have been in power the Home Minister has handled all the issues with great dignity and great liberalism. I concede that point. Because, a person in power should not be vindictive, as some of the opposition parties in the States have become politically vindictive. Irrespective of whichever party has been in power, he has acted always with liberalism towards the opposition parties. Perhaps some people may accuse him of being too liberal. I will say that he has been liberal. It has been very good for Congress and for democracy.

AN HON. MEMBER: Very good for Congress?

SHRI BRAHM PRAKASH: Yes, very good for Congress. I am proud of him and I am proud of Congress, because Congress has more liberal values than many of the opposition parties.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Hon. Members may now move the cut motions to Demands for Grants relating to the Ministry of Home Affairs, subject to their being otherwise admissible.

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

"That the Demand under the Head Ministry of Home Affairs be reduced to Re. 1."

[Failure to lay down the policy of administrative reforms as a policy based on public well-being. (31)].

"That the Demand under the Head Ministry of Home Affairs be reduced to Re. 1."

[Failure of Delhi Flood Co-ordination Committee to prepare a successful flood control scheme. (32)].

"That the Demand under the Head Ministry of Home Affairs be reduced to Re. 1."

[Failure to reduce the number of high officials. (33)].

"That the Demand under the Head Ministry of Home Affairs be reduced to Re. 1."

[Failure to limit the pay of officers to a maximum of Rs. 1,000 per month. (34)].

"That the Demand under the Head Ministry of Home Affairs be reduced to Re. 1."

[Failure to put an end to top heavy administration. (35)].

"That the Demand under the Head Cabinet be reduced to Re. 1."

[Failure to reduce the expenditure being incurred on the Cabinet. (40)].

"That the Demand under the Head Administration of Justice be reduced to Re. 1."

[Failure to provide cheap and readily available justice. (43)].

"That the Demand under the Head Police be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Making use of Police in repressing agitations launched by farmers, labour, middle class employees and general public. (52)].

"That the Demand under the Head Police be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Making use of the police in protecting capitalists and landlords (53)].

"That the Demand under the Head Police be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Failure to prevent the use of Central Reserve Police in repressing popular agitations. (54)].

"That the Demand under the Head Police be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Giving freedom to the Central Reserve Police to cruelly suppress the public in West Bengal. (55)].

"That the Demand under the Head Police be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Making use of Central Reserve Police in suppressing popular agitations in West Bengal. (56)].

"That the Demand under the Head Police be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Failure to prevent repression by Police. (57)].

"That the Demand under the Head Police be reduced by Rs. 100."

[*Unsatisfactory work of C.I.D.* (58)].

"That the Demand under the Head Police be reduced by Rs. 100."

[*Failure of C.I.D. to catch or detect grain hoarders and profiteers.* (59)].

"That the Demand under the Head Police be reduced by Rs. 100."

[*Shadowing of political workers, especially those of progressive opposition parties by C.I.D. Police.* (60)].

"That the Demand under the Head Police be reduced by Rs. 100."

[*Forcing of the railway staff at Railway Stations by C.I.D. to tell them about the coming and going of Members of Parliament belonging to the Opposition.* (61)].

"That the Demand under the Head Police be reduced by Rs. 100."

[*Failure to make the activities of C.B.I. more effective.* (62)].

"That the Demand under the Head Police be reduced by Rs. 100."

[*Unsatisfactory working of C.B.I.* (63)].

"That the Demand under the Head Police be reduced by Rs. 100."

[*Need to reduce the salaries of Police Officers.* (64)].

"That the Demand under the Head Police be reduced by Rs. 100."

[*Failure to make policemen the servants of the public.* (65)].

"That the Demand under the Head Police be reduced by Rs. 100."

[*Failure to regulate absolute powers of police.* (66)].

"That the Demand under the Head Police be reduced by Rs. 100."

[*Failure to amend the Police Code.* (67)].

"That the Demand under the Head Police be reduced by Rs. 100."

[*Failure to remove the difficulties of policemen.* (68)].

"That the Demand under the Head Police be reduced by Rs. 100."

[*Failure to remove the causes of discontent among Delhi Police personnel by accepting their justified demands.* (69)].

"That the Demand under the Head Police be reduced by Rs. 100."

[*Failure to change the policy of repression of Delhi Police.* (70)].

"That the Demand under the Head Police be reduced by Rs. 100."

[*Need to raise the living standards of policemen.* (71)].

"That the Demand under the Head Police be reduced by Rs. 100."

[*Need to change the bureaucratic attitude of police officials.* (72)].

"That the Demand under the Head Police be reduced by Rs. 100."

[*Failure to make use of the Police in taking action against grain hoarders, blackmarketeers, profiteers, anti-social elements, dacoits, corrupt Ministers and officials.* (73)].

"That the Demand under the Head Police be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Failure to prevent the Police in repressing popular agitations. (74)].  
SHRI K. M. ABRAHAM (Kottayam): I beg to move:

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

[Growing links between C.I.A. officials and certain C.B.I. officials. (77)].

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

[Failure to stop sale of smuggled goods and liquor with the help of CD cars by some Embassy officials. (78)].

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

[Failure to tackle language agitation dispassionately by granting equality to all Indian languages. (86)].

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

[Failure to take strong action against communal elements resulting in widespread communal riots in different parts of the country. (87)].

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

[Toppling non-Congress Governments in various States. (88)].

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

[Award by Mahajan Commission on Kerala-Mysore and Maharashtra-Mysore border dispute. (89)].

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

[Gross interference in internal affairs of Kerala. (90)].

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

[Deteriorating Centre-State relations consequent to the vindictive policy of the Home Ministry towards non-Congress State Governments. (91)].

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

[Failure to consult Members of Parliament from Kerala on the matters connected with Kerala State. (92)].

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

[Need to stop the practice of tapping telephones of Members of Parliament and censuring their letters. (93)].

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

[Failure to absorb large number of employees of former River Steam Navigation Company in various public sector undertakings in spite of earlier assurances. (94)].

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

[Failure to grant separate Hill State for Assam. (95)].

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

[Failure to settle the problem of Naga and Mizo people in a peaceful manner. (96)].

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

[Failure to check activities of foreign secret agents in Hrishikesh. (97)].

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

[Arrest of trade union workers in Kashmir under the Preventive Detention Act in spite of the assurances of the Home Minister. (98)].

"That the demand under the Head Cabinet be reduced to Re. 1."

[Failure to check corruption at the Cabinet level. (99)].

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

[Growing corruption amongst high officials. (117)].

"That the demand under the Head Delhi be reduced to Re. 1."

[Non-implementation of the recommendation of Khosla Commission on the conditions of Delhi Police. (118)].

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

[Police excesses in Trade Union agitations. (119)].

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

[Reckless use of section 144 of Cr. P.C. against genuine trade union and democratic movements. (120)].

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

[Failure to prevent rise in rent of wooden takhta and chabutaras in front of shops in Chandni Chowk by 400 per cent. (121)].

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

[Failure to censure introduction of first point sales tax system resulting in loss of crores of rupees of revenue. (122)].

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

[Failure to prevent unauthorised collection of tax on shop keepers for displaying signboards in the premises. (123)].

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

[Failure to take action on the memorandum submitted by Delhi General Merchants Association. (124)].

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

[Corruption of the shop inspectors who encourage the shopowners to violate Shop and Establishment Act. (125)].

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

[Serious cases of corruption prevailing in the machinery for collection of sales tax in Delhi territory. (126)].

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

[Corruption in the industrial housing colony Najafgarh Road. (127)].

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

[Growing car and scooter thefts in Delhi. (128)].

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

[Increase in terminal-tax by the Delhi Administration. (129)].

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

[Need to improve the conditions in Tihar Jail. (130)].

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

[Failure to recognise Association of Policemen. (131)].

"That the demand under the Head Chandigarh be reduced to Re. 1."

[Delay in taking decision on the status of Chandigarh. (132)].

"That the demand under the Head Andaman Nicobar Islands be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Favouritism in Chief Commissioner's office. (133)].

"That the demand under the Head Andaman Nicobar Islands be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Suppression of civil liberties in the Islands. (134)].

"That the demand under the Head Andaman Nicobar Islands be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Police interference in industrial disputes in favour of employers. (135)].

"That the demand under the Head Tribal Areas be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Failure to stop immigration of non-tribals to the tribal areas in Tripura despite earlier assurances. (136)].

"That the demand under the Head "Tribal Areas" be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Use of funds meant for tribal people for non-tribal persons. (137)].

"That the demand under the Head Dadra and Nagar Haveli Area be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Failure to develop industries in Dadra and Nagar Haveli Area. (138)].

"That the demand under the Head Dadra and Nagar Haveli Area be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Failure to introduce land reforms in Dadra and Nagar Haveli Area. (139)].

"That the demand under the Head Dadra and Nagar Haveli Area be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Failure to distribute land to landless labourers and poor peasants. (140)].

"That the demand under the Head Dadra and Nagar Haveli Area be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Failure to provide adequate agricultural credit to poor peasants. (141)].

SHRI SURENDRANATH DWIVEDY (Kendrapara): I beg to move:

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

[Maintenance of communal harmony. (157)].

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

[Increase in lawlessness in the country. (158)].

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

[Ineffectiveness of the Central Bureau of Investigation in detecting serious crimes. (163)].

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

[Failure to strengthen the Border Security Force to effectively check infiltration and subversive activities. (164)].

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

[Failure of the police to check the sinister activities of the espionage agents of foreign power blocks. (165)].

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

[Failure of the police to check import and manufacture of arms by anti-social elements. (166)].

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

[Unsatisfactory conditions of service of the ordinary police. (167)].

"That the demand under the Head Cabinet be reduced to Re. 1."

[Unnecessary appointment of more Deputy Ministers. (168)].

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

[Shortcomings in the training of detectives in the Central Detective Training School. (175)].

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

[Continuance of grants made by the British Rulers. (190)].

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

[Failure of the Delhi Police to check the spate of crimes in Delhi. (205)].

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

[Uncalled for interference by Police with the freedom of the public. (206)].

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

[Failure to secure fair treatment for the labourers in Delhi. (207)].

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

[Failure to provide for education and hostel facilities for the disabled children. (208)].

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

[Failure to keep the buildings in good repair. (209)].

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

[Serious erosion of the soil in Delhi. (210)].

"That the demand under the Head Andaman and Nicobar Islands be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Slow rate at which the development of Andaman and Nicobar Islands is proceeding. (223)].

"That the demand under the Head Tribal Areas be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Neglect shown to the tribal areas in matters of education, communication and industry. (224)].

"That the demand under the Head Dadra and Nagar Haveli Area be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Failure of the administration during the last near famine situation in Dadra and Nagar Haveli. (225)].

"That the demand under the Head Laccadive, Minicoy and Aminidivi Islands be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Failure to improve the lot of the people in Laccadive group of Islands. (226)].

"That the demand under the Head Laccadive, Minicoy and Aminidivi Islands be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Delay in developing communication among the Islands in the Laccadive. (227)].

"That the demand under the Head Laccadive, Minicoy and

Aminidivi Islands be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Neglect in developing the fishing industry in the Laccadive group of Islands. (228)].

SHRI FRANK ANTHONY: I beg to move:

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

[Recession of the secular objective and the increasing insecurity to the life and property of minority communities. (229)].

SHRI VISWANATHA MENON (Ernakulam): I beg to move:

"That the demand under the Head Chandigarh be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Failure to introduce Rent Control Act resulting in higher rent and large scale eviction notices to tenants. (230)].

"That the demand under the Head Chandigarh be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Police interference in industrial disputes. (231)].

"That the demand under the Head Chandigarh be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Police interference in the peaceful struggle of university employees and their organisations. (232)].

"That the demand under the Head Chandigarh be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Excessive use of section 506 of Criminal Procedure Code against trade union workers working in public and private sectors and against Government employees. (233)].

"That the demand under the Head Chandigarh be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Excessive expenditure on Police Administration. (234)].

"That the demand under the Head Chandigarh be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Misuse of public money on rose gardens while neglecting elementary public conveniences. (235)].

"That the demand under the Head Chandigarh be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Demolition of Nehru Market, Janta Market and Randhawa Market with the help of bulldozers, uprooting more than 500 shopkeepers without any alternative arrangement or payment of compensation to them. (236)].

"That the demand under the Head Chandigarh be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Perpetual imposition of section 144 of Cr. P. C. throughout the city. (237)].

"That the demand under the Head Chandigarh be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Activities of police officials to serve the interests of certain officers of LIC, Chandigarh in suppressing trade union rights of employees. (238)].

"That the demand under the Head Chandigarh be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Failure to revive compensatory allowance to Central Government employees which was withdrawn in 1962. (239)].

"That the demand under the Head Chandigarh be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Inadequate provision of staff quarters to Central Government employees. (240)].

"That the demand under the Head Chandigarh be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Failure to provide either Municipality or Corporation to Chandigarh township. (241)].

SHRI C. K. CHAKRAPANI (Pon-nani): I beg to move:

"That the demand under the Head Andaman and Nicobar Islands be reduced to Re. 1."



[*Non-intervention of Chief Commissioner, Andaman and Nicobar Islands in favour of workers during the dispute between M/s. Andaman Timber Industries Ltd., and their workmen.* (242)].

"That the demand under the Head Andaman and Nicobar Islands be reduced to Re. 1."

[*Non-intervention of Chief Commissioner, Andaman and Nicobar Islands in the dispute of State Transport workers with the authorities regarding their demands.* (243)].

SHRI VISWANATHA MENON: I beg to move:

"That the demand under the Head Andaman and Nicobar Islands be reduced to Re. 1."

[*Policy regarding forcible collection of loans granted to refugees from East Pakistan settled after 1952.* (244)].

"That the demand under the Head Andaman and Nicobar Islands be reduced to Re. 1."

[*Lack of provision of drinking water facilities to the refugees settled in Borneol, Middle Andamans.* (245)].

"That the demand under the Head Andaman and Nicobar Islands be reduced to Re. 1."

[*Allotment of land to refugees settlers at Panchawati village which was unfit for paddy cultivation.* (246)].

"That the demand under the Head Andaman and Nicobar Islands be reduced to Re. 1."

[*Non-distribution of land to Moplas despite availability of land for distribution and paddy cultivation.* (247)].

SHRI C. K. CHAKRAPANI: I beg to move:

"That the demand under the Head Andaman and Nicobar Islands be reduced by Rs. 100."

[*Need to construct a three mile route from Uttara Jetty to the main settlement area of Kadamatata in Middle Andamans.* (248)].

"That the demand under the Head Andaman and Nicobar Islands be reduced by Rs. 100."

[*Need to construct a link road connecting the Dharmapuram village with the trunk road (Rangat-Mayabunder) at C. F. Nallah in Betapur area of Middle Andamans.* (249)].

"That the demand under the Head Andaman and Nicobar Islands be reduced by Rs. 100."

[*Discrimination in recovery of loans from the refugee settlers.* (250)].

"That the demand under the Head Andaman and Nicobar Islands be reduced by Rs. 100."

[*Plight of refugee settlers at Borneol and Panchawati in Middle Andamans.* (251)].

"That the demand under the Head Andaman and Nicobar Islands be reduced by Rs. 100."

[*Need to establish communication by constructing a small bridge at the old abandoned Betapur Jetty point.* (252)].

"That the demand under the Head Andaman and Nicobar Islands be reduced by Rs. 100."

[*Exploitation by mahajans who grab harvest of poor peasants by advancing paltry sums in times of difficulty.* (253)].

SHRI VISWANATHA MENON: I beg to move:

"That the demand under the Head Andaman and Nicobar Islands be reduced by Rs. 100."

[*Imposition of Hindi on the multi-lingual people of Andaman and Nicobar Islands without the wishes of the people.* (254)].

"That the demand under the Head Andaman and Nicobar Islands be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Failure to solve the language issue in Andaman and Nicobar Islands on the basis of Memorandum submitted by President Andaman Nagarik Samaj, Port Blair. (255)].

"That the demand under the Head Andaman and Nicobar Islands be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Failure to reopen supply stores in all parts of Nicobar group of Islands. (256)].

"That the demand under the Head Andaman and Nicobar Islands be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Failure to stop the malpractices indulged in by Akoojis by using the State machinery for their purpose. (257)].

"That the demand under the Head Andaman and Nicobar Islands be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Role of Government officials in permitting Akoojis to conduct business under the label of Nicobar Commercial Co., and Nancowry Trading Co., after not renewing licence in August, 1967. (258)].

"That the demand under the Head Andaman and Nicobar Islands be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to remove restrictions on entry of Indian citizens into Nicobar group of Islands. (259)].

"That the demand under the Head Andaman and Nicobar Islands be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Failure to take action on the Memorandum submitted by Andaman and Nicobar Kisan Sabha on 6th November, 1967. (260)].

"That the demand under the Head Andaman and Nicobar Islands be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to repeal Andaman and Nicobar Land Tenure Regulations, 1926. (261)].

"That the demand under the Head Andaman and Nicobar Islands be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Red-tapism and delay in payment of taccavi loans. (262)].

"That the demand under the Head Andaman and Nicobar Islands be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to develop road connections in the settlement area to facilitate the economic activities in Islands. (263)].

"That the demand under the Head Andaman and Nicobar Islands be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to fence the reserve forest to protect the paddy fields from the damages by deers and wild animals. (264)].

"That the demand under the Head Andaman and Nicobar Islands be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to take measures to feed the stray elephants and to protect property of people from damages caused by them. (265)].

"That the demand under the Head Andaman and Nicobar Islands be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to develop social relations between tribals and non-tribals in the Islands. (266)].

"That the demand under the Head Andaman and Nicobar Islands be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Failure to develop industries in Andaman and Nicobar Islands. (267)].

"That the demand under the Head Andaman and Nicobar Islands be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Absence of well planned settlement programme to settle refugees from East Pakistan. (268)].

"That the demand under the Head Andaman and Nicobar Islands be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Failure to set up a democratic set up for the people in the Islands. (269)].

"That the demand under the Head Andaman and Nicobar Islands be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Use of police against trade union and democratic movement in the Islands. (270)].

"That the demand under the Head Andaman and Nicobar Islands be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Misuse of power by the Chief Commissioner against the interests of the people. (271)].

"That the demand under the Head Andaman and Nicobar Islands be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to allot alternative land to people having land which is useless for paddy cultivation. (272)].

"That the demand under the Head Andaman and Nicobar Islands be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to provide ration cards to peasants not having land fit for paddy cultivation (273)].

"That the demand under the Head Andaman and Nicobar Islands be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to allot land to offshoots of the main families brought to Islands as settlers. (274)].

"That the demand under the Head Andaman and Nicobar Islands be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to provide alternative avenues of occupation to peasants and agricultural workers during off-season period. (275)].

"That the demand under the Head Andaman and Nicobar Islands be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to upgrade the middle school at Wimberlygunj (South Andamans) a higher secondary school during the ensuing academic year. (276)].

"That the demand under the Head Andaman and Nicobar Islands be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to establish a full-fledged hospital with sufficient number of beds at Wimberlygunj (South Andamans). (277)].

SHRI C. K. CHAKRAPANI: I beg to move:

"That the demand under the Head Andaman and Nicobar Islands be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to construct a four-mile route from Wrightmyo to Shoalbay in South Andamans. (278)].

"That the demand under the Head Andaman and Nicobar Islands be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to construct a three mile route from Kishori Nagar Jetty to the interior settlement area in South Andamans. (279)].

"That the demand under the Head Andaman and Nicobar Islands be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to construct a five mile route from Kalighat Jetty to Ramnagar in North Andamans. (280)].

"That the demand under the Head Andaman and Nicobar Islands be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to construct a three mile route from Kalighat to Kerala village in North Andamans. (281)].

"That the demand under the Head Andaman and Nicobar Islands be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to construct a three mile route at Havelock Islands from Jetty to the interior villages. (282)].

"That the demand under the Head Andaman and Nicobar Islands be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to construct a ten-mile route from Tugapur to Bajota in North Andamans. (283)].

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

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी (बलरामपुर): सभापति महोदय, 10 फ़रवरी की रात को भारतीय जनसंघ के नेता पंडित दीनदयाल उपाध्याय का शव मुजालसराय स्टेशन के पास रेलवे लाइन से लगा हुमा पाया गया था। आज 27 मार्च है। छः हफ्ते से

अधिक समय बीत गया लेकिन अभी तक उन की मृत्यु पर पड़ा हुआ रहस्य का पर्दा उठा नहीं है। सी० बी० आई० जांच कर रही है लेकिन उस की जांच की गति धीमी मालूम होती है।

पहले यह खबर दी गई थी कि उन की मृत्यु किसी रेल-दुर्घटना में हुई और हमारे बार-बार कहने के बाद भी कुछ स्थानीय अधिकारी इसी दुर्घटना की बात पर बल देते रहे। उस दिन इस सदन में श्रद्धांजलि अर्पित करते हुए मैंने कहा था कि जिन परिस्थितियों में शव पाया गया उस से दुर्घटना की बात पर विश्वास नहीं होता। ऐसा लगता है कि हत्या करने के बाद उन का शव वहां रख दिया गया। प्रश्न यह पैदा होता है कि यह हत्या किस ने की और किन उद्देश्यों से की।

अब एक नई और विचित्र बात कही जा रही है कि कुछ चोरों ने लूट-मार के इरादे से उन की हत्या कर दी। मेरा निवेदन है कि अभी तक जांच का जो परिणाम निकला है और जिस का उद्घाटन करना सार्वजनिक हित के प्रतिकूल नहीं है उस के सम्बन्ध में गृह मंत्री महोदय को एक वक्तव्य देना चाहिए। जांच अभी जारी है और हम चाहते हैं कि उसको शीघ्रता से पूरा किया जाये।

हम यह भी चाहते हैं कि हर एक दृष्टिकोण से इस मामले की जांच होनी चाहिए। मैं उस बात को फिर कहना चाहता हूँ कि जिस ढंग से शव पाया गया और उन के शरीर पर जिन चोटों के निशान लगे थे वे इस बात की ओर संकेत करते हैं कि यह चोरों का काम नहीं है बल्कि इस हत्या के पीछे कुछ और तथ्य हैं जिन को प्रकाश में लाना बाकी है। गृह मंत्री महोदय स्वीकार करेंगे कि जिन परिस्थितियों में उपाध्याय जी का निधन हुआ उस से सारे देश में बेचैनी फैली है। जनसंघ के कार्यकर्त्ताओं और समर्थकों की भावनाओं का भी वह सरलता से अन्दाज लगा सकते हैं। हम

हृदय पर पत्थर रख कर जांच के परिणामों की प्रतीक्षा कर रहे हैं। लेकिन हम यह आश्वासन चाहेंगे कि इस कांड के पीछे जिन का हाथ है जिन्होंने उन की हत्या का षड्यंत्र किया, उन को बचने नहीं दिया जायेगा। सभी दृष्टिकोणों से इस मामले की जांच की जायेगी और कोई भी प्रयत्न बाकी नहीं छोड़ा जायेगा।

मुझे अभी बताया गया है कि सी० बी० आई० के अधिकारी मि० लोबो इस जांच की देख-रेख के लिए नियुक्त हुए थे उन को कोई और काम दे दिया गया है। गृह मंत्री महोदय यह स्पष्ट करेंगे कि इस में कहां तक सचाई है। स्पष्ट है कि सरकार को इस जांच के काम को बड़ी गम्भीरता से लेना होगा। करोड़ों लोगों की भावनार्यों इस के साथ जुड़ी हुई हैं। इस बारे में सी० बी० आई० डिलाई से काम ले यह किसी को सहन नहीं होगा।

पिछले कुछ हफ्तों में देश के अनेक भागों में साम्प्रदायिक दंगे हुए हैं। ये दंगे भारत के नाम पर बढ़ा लगते हैं। ये दंगे विदेशों में हमें उपहास का विषय बनाते हैं। इन दंगों से राष्ट्रीय एकता के भाव को गहरी ठेस लगती है। स्वाधीनता के बीस साल बाद और पाकिस्तान के निर्माण के बीस वर्ष पश्चात् देश में इस तरह के दंगे क्यों होते हैं, इस पर गम्भीरता से विचार करना होगा।

मैं यह बात स्पष्ट कर देना चाहता हूँ कि हम देश में साम्प्रदायिक दंगे नहीं चाहते हैं। हम देश में साम्प्रदायिक शान्ति और भाई-चारा बनाए रखना चाहते हैं। और उसके पक्ष में हैं। अगर हमारे दल पर इस बारे में आरोप लगाए जाते हैं तो वे आरोप राजनीतिक कारणों से प्रेरित होकर लगाए जाते हैं। हम किसी भी निष्पक्ष जांच के लिए तैयार हैं अपने आचरण को शुद्ध प्रमाणित करने के लिए प्रस्तुत हैं।

लेकिन दंगे होते हैं, इस पर केवल चिन्ता प्रकट करके हम अपने कर्त्तव्य की

[श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी]

इतिश्री नहीं समझ सकते हैं। इस बात की गहराई में जाना होगा कि दंगे क्यों होते हैं, कौन करता है? अभी कांग्रेस के सदस्य कह रहे थे कि अल्पसंख्यकों को सरक्षण मिलना चाहिए। मैं उनकी बात से सहमत हूँ। अल्पसंख्यक फिर चाहे वह मजहबी हों या भाषायी, उनके अधिकारों की पूरी रक्षा होनी चाहिए। लेकिन इसके साथ मैं यह भी कहना चाहूँगा कि जहाँ अल्पसंख्यकों के अधिकारों की रक्षा होनी चाहिए, वहाँ अल्पसंख्यकों को इस देश के प्रति अपने कर्तव्यों का भी पूरी तरह से पालन करना चाहिए। अधिकार और कर्तव्य दोनों एक ही सिक्के के दो पहलू हैं और कर्तव्यों को छोड़ कर अधिकार की बात कोई विशेष अर्थ नहीं रखती।

महोदया, अभी जो दंगे हुए हैं और उनके बारे में जो समाचार मिले हैं क्या कोई इस बात से इनकार कर सकता है कि छोटी सी बात बड़ा रूप ले गई? क्या कोई इनकार कर सकता है कि अनेक जगहों पर दंगों का प्रारम्भ इसलिए हुआ कि अल्पसंख्यक समुदाय के कुछ लोगों ने धैर्य से और बुद्धिमत्ता से काम नहीं लिया। अभी अभी करीमगंज की घटना हुई। गृह मंत्री महोदय करीमगंज हो कर आये हैं। यह ठीक है कि बाद में अल्पसंख्यकों का नुकसान बहुत हुआ। इस तरह की रिपोर्टें और भी जगहों से आ सकती हैं। लेकिन दंगे शुरू कहां से हुए? करीमगंज की घटना यह है कि वहाँ एक लड़का एक गाय को कांजी हाँस में भर्ती करने के लिए ले जा रहा था। उस पर हमला किया गया और उससे दंगा हुआ। वह गाय एक मुसलमान की थी, किसी हिन्दू के घर में घुस गई थी और वह लड़का उसे कांजी हाँस में ले जा रहा था जिसे रोका गया और पीटा गया। यहाँ से चिन्गारी फैली। बात छोटी सी थी। लेकिन उसने भयंकर रूप ले लिया। देखना यह है कि वह प्रारम्भ कैसे हुई? क्या इससे कोई इनकार कर सकता है कि रांची

में दंगा तब हुआ जब उर्दू के विरोध में निकाले गये जुलूस पर हमला किया गया? क्या यह सत्य नहीं है कि रांची में दिन दहाड़े एक जनसंघ के कार्यकर्ता को मार डाला गया? अभी अभी मेरठ के दंगे की चर्चा की जाती है? शोख अब्दुल्ला कहीं जायें, उनके खिलाफ काले झंडे दिखाये जायें, इसे हम पसंद नहीं करते।

शोख अब्दुल्ला कोई इतने बड़े आदमी नहीं हैं कि उनको हर जगह काले झंडे दिखाने की जरूरत पड़ गई हो। मेरठ के हमारे जनसंघ के कार्यकर्ता आये थे और उनको हमने सलाह दी थी कि जनसंघ की तरफ से काले झंडे नहीं दिखाये जाने चाहियें। लेकिन फिर भी झंडे दिखाये गये। क्या काले झंडे दिखाना जुर्म है? अभी अभी गृह मंत्री महोदय महाराष्ट्र के दौरे पर गए थे। इनको जगह जगह जनसंघ ने, संयुक्त समाजवादी दल ने, प्रजा समाजवादी दल ने काले झंडे दिखाये, लेकिन कहीं दंगा नहीं हुआ.....

श्री यशबन्त राव चव्हाण : यह बड़प्पन की निशानी मुझे दे रहे हैं।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : ठीक है। शोख अब्दुल्ला और चव्हाण साहब में बड़प्पन की तुलना अगर करनी हो तो मैं जरूर उन्हें बड़प्पन देने के लिए तैयार हूँ।

स्पष्ट है कि काले झंडे दिखाना कोई जुर्म नहीं है। जब प्रदर्शनकारियों पर हमला हुआ तब दंगा शुरू हुआ। अब काले झंडे दिखाने पर हमला क्यों होना चाहिए? शोख अब्दुल्ला एक विवादग्रस्त व्यक्ति हैं? उन्हें किसी सम्मेलन में क्यों बुलाया जाना चाहिए? उन्हें भारत के मुसलमानों के नेता के रूप में खड़ा करने का प्रयत्न क्यों होना चाहिए? पहले वह राष्ट्रीय जीवन के साथ अपने को एकाकार कर लें, तब उनको योग्य स्थान मिलेगा। नहीं तो कोई कितना भी बड़ा व्यक्ति क्यों न हो अगर वह राष्ट्र के विरोध में चलेगा तो राष्ट्र उसको सहन नहीं करेगा।

माननीय गृह मंत्री महाराष्ट्र से आते हैं। जब कभी गणेश उत्सव होते हैं तो चाहे वह मालेगांव हो, चाहे अहमदनगर हो, दंगे हो जाते हैं। जुलूस निकलता है, उस पर पत्थर फेंके जाते हैं। कहीं होली का रंग फेंका जाता है, दंगे हो जाते हैं। आखिर कलकत्ते में 14 मार्च को दंगा क्यों हुआ? कुछ हिन्दू महिलाएं रंग खेलने के बाद तालाब में स्नान कर आ रही थीं। उन पर छीटाकशी की गई, उनको छेड़ने की कोशिश की गई। तब वहां पर दंगे शुरू हुए। कहीं और लोग भी गलतियां कर सकते हैं। लेकिन हर एक सम्प्रदाय को, हर एक समूह को, अपना दायित्व समझना होगा। जब हमारे पड़ोसी हमारी प्रत्येक कमजोरी का लाभ उठाने के लिये तैयार हैं तब देश के भीतर कोई ऐसा काम नहीं होना चाहिए जो राष्ट्रीय एकता को कमजोर करे, जो हमारे पड़ोसियों को हमारे मामलों में दखल देने का हौसला बढ़ाये। गृह मंत्री महोदय, इस बात की जांच करें कि इलाहाबाद के दंगों की खबर पाकिस्तान के रेडियो से एक बजे के समाचारों में कैसे प्रसारित हुई? अभी इलाहाबाद के दंगों की खबर सारे शहर में भी नहीं फैली थी कि पाकिस्तान रेडियो मुहल्लों के नाम ले ले कर बोला कि इलाहाबाद की कोतवाली के सामने 200 मुसलमानों की लाशें पड़ी हुई हैं। जरूर इलाहाबाद में किसी के पास गुप्त ट्रांसमीटर है जो पाकिस्तान को खबरें देता है। यह प्रश्न देश की सुरक्षा का है। यह किसी सम्प्रदाय का प्रश्न नहीं है। महोदय, भारत को एक असाम्प्रदायिक राज बनाने का निर्णय हमने स्वेच्छा से किया है। इस बात को भूलना नहीं चाहिए कि यह निर्णय हिन्दू समाज का निर्णय है। मुसलमानों को भीक था कि वह पाकिस्तान में एक सेकुलर स्टेट बना कर दिखाते। मगर जो मुसलमान वहां चले गए उन्होंने इस्लामिक स्टेट बनायी। लेकिन वह भारत में इस बात पर जोर देना चाहते हैं कि इस को सेकुलर होना चाहिए। हम उन के कहने से सेकुलर स्टेट बनाने वाले नहीं हैं। यह हमारी संस्कृति का अंग है। हमने प्रारंभ से

कहा है कि पूजा के तरीके अनेक हो सकते हैं मगर ईश्वर एक है। प्राप्ति के मार्ग भिन्न हो सकते हैं मगर परम सत्य एक है। अलग अलग मार्गों से भी वहीं तक पहुंचा जा सकता है, सेकुलरवाद का अर्थ आध्यात्मिक है। हमारी सहिष्णुता में से सभी मार्गों से ब्रह्म को प्राप्त करने की हमारी तैयारी में से सेकुलर स्टेट का विचार निकला है। मगर सेकुलर स्टेट का अर्थ यह नहीं है कि राज्य धर्म विरोधी होना चाहिये। सेकुलर स्टेट का अनुवाद में धर्म-निरपेक्ष भी नहीं करना चाहता। धर्म एक व्यापक शब्द है। उस से कोई निरपेक्ष नहीं हो सकता। सेकुलर का अर्थ है सम्प्रदाय-निरपेक्ष। देश में अनेक मत मतान्तर हैं। स्वयं हिन्दू समाज में अनेक उपासना पद्धतियां हैं। सब के अधिकार समान होने चाहिये। सब को समान सुविधायें मिलनी चाहिये। भारत के सब पद भारत के सभी नागरिकों के लिए खुले रहने चाहिये। शिक्षा में, व्यापार में, उद्योग धंधों में, लाइसेंस में किसी तरह का भेदभाव नहीं होना चाहिये और अगर मत या मजहब के आधार पर भेदभाव होता है तो हम उसके खिलाफ हैं। इस तरह की शिकायतें आती हैं तो उनका निराकरण होना चाहिये। लेकिन मजहब के आधार पर पक्षपात का भी समर्थन नहीं किया जा सकता। किसी को अगर इसलिये नौकरी नहीं दी जाती है कि वह हिन्दू नहीं है तो यह गलत है। लेकिन किसी को इसीलिए नौकरी दी जाय कि वह हिन्दू नहीं है यह भी गलत है। अभी मांग हो रही है और मुझे ताज्जुब है कुछ कांग्रेस के सदस्य भी प्रधान मंत्री के पास गए थे यह कहने के लिए कि मुसलमानों को एक निश्चित अनुपात में सर्वश्रेष्ठ में लिया जाना चाहिये। महोदय, नौकरियों का चुनाव योग्यता देख कर होगा या सम्प्रदाय देखकर मजहब देख कर? स्पष्ट है कि नौकरियों में योग्यता देखी जायेगी। अगर कोई योग्य मुसलमान ठुकराया जाता है तो वह गलत है। लेकिन कोई मुसलमान इसीलिए ले लिया जाय कि वह मुसलमान है वह भी गलत है। इसलिये असाम्प्रदायिक राज्य का आदर्श

## [श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी]

सामने रख कर हमें जहाँ अधिकारों पर बल देना है वहाँ कर्तव्यों के परिपालन पर भी जोर देना चाहिए और गृह मंत्री महोदय विचार करें। राष्ट्रीयता का भाव उत्पन्न करने के क्षेत्र में हमारी असफलता सब से बड़ी असफलता है। आर्थिक क्षेत्र में पिछड़ापन हम दूर कर सकते हैं। हम अकाल पर विजय पा सकते हैं। अवमूल्यन से होने वाली हानि को जीत सकते हैं। मगर बीस वर्षों में हम राष्ट्रीयता के भाव को दृढ़ नहीं कर सके यह हमारी सब से बड़ी पराजय है। इसका यह अर्थ नहीं है कि हमारी परिस्थिति ऐसी है कि हम निराश हो जायें। हमें यह नहीं भूलना चाहिए कि भारत के लाखों गांवों में लोग आपस में भाईचारे से रह रहे हैं, मित्रता से रह रहे हैं। मगर साम्प्रदायिक दंगे एक भद्दे दाग हैं जो दिखाते हैं कि कुछ कमी आ गई है। एक कारण तो यह भी है कि हवा में हिंसा है। वह हिंसा कभी भाषा के नाम पर प्रकट होती है, कभी भेदभाव के नाम पर और कभी मजहब के नाम पर सामने आती है। इसलिए सार्वजनिक जीवन से हिंसा का बहिष्कार करना होगा। उपाध्याय जी ने अपनी मृत्यु से पहले यह सुझाव दिया था कि सभी दलों को मिल कर, बैठ कर इस बात पर विचार करना चाहिए कि किस तरह हम अपने सार्वजनिक आन्दोलनों में से हिंसा को निकाल दें। लोकतंत्र में आन्दोलन चलेंगे। शांतिपूर्ण तरीके से कानून भी तोड़े जायेंगे। मगर कोई भी हिंसा का आश्रय नहीं लेगा, इस तरह की एक आचार संहिता बननी चाहिए। सब दलों को मिल कर उस आचार संहिता के बनाने और उसके पालन करने पर जोर देना चाहिए।

मगर क्या कांग्रेस के हमारे मित्र इसमें आदर्श रख रहे हैं? अभी अभी चौधरी ब्रह्म प्रकाश बोल रहे थे। हम जनसंघ वाले दिल्ली में प्रशासन चला रहे हैं। मैं उनकी आलोचना समझ सकता हूँ और हमारे मित्रों को बिगड़ना

नहीं चाहिए। जब हम आलोचना करते हैं तो हमारे चव्हाण साहब भी इतने नहीं बिगड़ते। कभी बिगड़ जाते हैं मगर धैर्य से सुनते हैं। जो प्रशासन में आयें हैं उनको जरा खरी खोटी सुनने के लिए तैयार रहना चाहिए। लेकिन मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ और गृह मंत्री महोदय खाली गृह मंत्री नहीं हैं, वह कांग्रेस के वरिष्ठ नेता भी हैं, एक दृष्टि से भारत के भाग्य विधाताओं में उनका प्रमुख स्थान है और आने वाला कल उनके ऊपर और भी जिम्मेदारियाँ डाल सकता है, मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ चव्हाण साहब से, इस सदन में जनसंघ वाले जिस तरह से आचरण कर रहे हैं क्या दिल्ली की मेट्रोपॉलिटन कौंसिल में और दिल्ली के कारपोरेशन में कांग्रेस वाले भी इसी तरह का आचरण कर रहे हैं? वे दिल्ली के कांग्रेसी मित्रों से जरा स्वस्थ विरोधी दल का आचरण करवा कर दिखलायें। चव्हाण साहब के यहाँ एक बैठक हुई थी, जिसमें यह निश्चय हुआ था कि झुग्गी-झोंपड़ी के मामले को राजनीतिक सवाल नहीं बनाया जायगा। क्या हम आन्दोलन नहीं कर सकते थे! मैं दिल्ली के कांग्रेस के मित्रों से कहना चाहता हूँ कि राजनीति दुधारी तलवार की तरह है, यदि वह एक तरफ चल सकती है तो दूसरी तरफ भी चल सकती है। अगर दिल्ली प्रशासन के खिलाफ आन्दोलन हो सकता है, तो केन्द्र में बैठे हुए कांग्रेस शासन के खिलाफ भी आन्दोलन हो सकता है। . . .

एक माननीय सदस्य : वह आप करते हैं

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : झुग्गी-झोंपड़ी की बात हो रही है। अब हमने दिल्ली में टैक्स बढ़ाया है, कांग्रेस वाले आन्दोलन करें, मुझे शिकायत नहीं है, क्योंकि टैक्सों के बारे में आन्दोलन नहीं करेंगे, ऐसा निर्णय नहीं लिया गया था, केवल झुग्गी-झोंपड़ी के बारे में निर्णय लिया

गया था। क्या यह सच नहीं है कि आन्दोलन इस लिये किया गया कि उस आन्दोलन से साम्प्रदायिक भावना भड़के, दिल्ली में इलाहाबाद और कलकत्ते की तरह से दंगे हों—यह खुला आरोप लगाना चाहता हूँ—जिस क्षेत्र से जलूस निकाला जा रहा था, अगर जलूस निकलने दिया जाता, तो अप्रिय घटनाएँ हो सकती थीं। जो लोग उजाड़े गये हैं—उन को कहा जाय कि यहां दिल्ली में जनसंघ का शासन है, यह मुसलमानों को उजाड़ रहा है, तो उजाड़ने वाले हिन्दू भी हैं, हम भी उन से कह सकते हैं कि केन्द्र में कांग्रेस का शासन है, वह हिन्दुओं को उजाड़ रहा है—यह राजनीति का घटिया स्तर है . . . .

श्री प० ला० बालूपान (गंगानगर) : लेकिन, वाजपेयी जी, आप ने उन को उस समय उजाड़ा, जब वर्षा चल रही थी, ठण्ड पड़ रही थी।

श्री अटल विहारी वाजपेयी : बालूपान जी, मैंने उस दिन बक्सर हाउसिंग मिनिस्टर से सवाल पूछा था कि कम से कम बरसात में उजाड़ने का काम बन्द होना चाहिये, क्या सरकार इस पर विचार करेगी ? उन्होंने कहा—नहीं, ऐसा विचार करना हमारे लिये सम्भव नहीं है। और अब, राजनीतिक दबाव में आ कर केन्द्र सरकार ऐसे कदम उठाने जा रही है, जिससे दिल्ली के उपराज्यपाल के लिये अपने पद पर बना रहना मुश्किल हो जायगा ; और जगहों पर तो राज्यपाल केन्द्र में बैठे हुए कांग्रेस के नेताओं के इशारों पर काम कर रहे हैं इसलिये वे राज्यपाल ठीक हैं मगर दिल्ली के उपराज्यपाल ने चूंकि स्थानीय कांग्रेस के कार्यकर्ताओं के इशारों पर चलने से इन्कार कर दिया है इसलिये उन का पद पर बना रहना मुश्किल बनाया जा रहा है। अभी मैट्रो-पोलिटन कौन्सिल का उद्घाटन करते हुए उन्होंने जो भाषण दिया है—उस में उन्होंने

लिखित भाषण से अलग कहा कि हो सकता है कि यह मेरा अन्तिम भाषण हो। गृह मंत्री महोदय जानते हैं कि दिल्ली में क्या चल रहा है। अब अगर दलगत स्वार्थों के लिये प्रशासन में हस्तक्षेप किया जायगा, जिस योजना को कार्यान्वित करने के लिये आप तैयार हैं—उसे यदि दलगत स्वार्थों के कारण आप छोड़ देंगे तो फिर कोई आचार संहिता, कोई स्वस्थ परम्परा जिसे स्थापित करने के लिये हम प्रयत्नशील हैं वह नहीं कर सकेंगे और फिर जिसका जैसा मन होगा वैसा करेगा फिर देश के ऋषि के साथ खिलवाड़ होने से नहीं रोका जायगा।

महोदय, गृह मंत्री महोदय इस बात को स्वीकार करेंगे कि देश के अनेक भाग इस समय गृहोदबाव का सामना कर रहे हैं—ये भाग विशेषकर हमारे सीमावर्ती भाग हैं। असम की स्थिति बड़ी संकटापन्न है। इस बात की प्राज्ञंका है कि असम में विदेशी षडयंत्र सफल हो जाय और हमारी एकता पर गहरी चोट पड़े। मेरा निवेदन है कि हमें कुछ कठोर कार्यवाही करना पड़ेगी—एक कार्यवाही तो यह होनी चाहिये कि जो विदेशी मिशनरी वहां अपने कार्यक्षेत्र से बाहर जा कर काम कर रहे हैं उन विदेशी मिशनरियों से कहा जाय कि वे सीमावर्ती क्षेत्रों से विज्ञे कर असम के सीमावर्ती क्षेत्रों से हट जाय। भारत में रहने वाले ईसाई अपने धर्म का प्रचार करने में समर्थ हैं उन्हें अपने धर्म का प्रचार करने की पूरी सुविधा मिलनी चाहिये लेकिन विदेशी मिशनरी यहां आकर देश में विघटन पैदा करें इस बात की इजाजत नहीं दी जा सकती।

इस बात की भी जांच होनी चाहिये कि गोहाटी के उपद्रवों में क्या किसी विदेश का पैसा लगा है। असम पर चीन की दृष्टि है, असम में पाकिस्तानी पंचगांधी सक्रिय हैं—यह बारबार कहा जा चुका है। अब यह कहने का भी वक्त आ गया है कि अमरीका से प्राप्त



[श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी]

घन को लेकर कुछ लोगों ने असम में गड़बड़ करने का यत्न किया। इस आरोप की गम्भीरता से जांच होनी चाहिये। जो विदेशी वहां चाय-बागानों पर जमे बैठे हैं, वे शायद परिस्थितियों के कारण जाना चाहते हैं—भारत सरकार और असम सरकार को उनके जल्द से जल्द जाने का प्रबन्ध करना चाहिये। इस प्रकार के सामरिक महत्व के क्षेत्रों में हम उन को वहां बने रहने नहीं दे सकते।

सब से बड़ी बात यह है कि केन्द्र सरकार पहले अपनी समस्याओं को हल करने के बारे में अपना दिल बनाये, दिमाग बनाये। 13 फरवरी को जब देश चुनाव के लिये जा रहा था—प्रधान मंत्री महोदया ने असम के पुनर्गठन के बारे में ऐसा वक्तव्य दिया जो किसी प्रधान मंत्री को नहीं देना चाहिये था। चुनाव में सरकार का भविष्य क्या होगा, यह कोई नहीं कह सकता। क्या नीति विषयक वक्तव्य चुनाव के पहले दिया जाता है? और अब उस वक्तव्य से भारत सरकार कठिनाई में पड़ गई है, उस के कारण असम के हमारे कुछ मित्रों को मौका मिला है कि वे सरकार पर आरोप लगायें कि सरकार अपने वचन से मुकर रही है और मुझे भरोसा है कि अब मरारजी भाई यह नहीं कहेंगे कि—प्राण जाई, वचन न जाई, क्योंकि देश का हित पहले है, व्यक्ति या सरकार द्वारा दिये गये वचन बाद में हैं। असम का कोई भी ऐसा हल जो विघटन को बढ़ाये, जो पाकिस्तान और चीन के मनसूबों को पूरा करे—असम के सम्बन्ध में लागू नहीं किया जाना चाहिये। सरकार को इस सम्बन्ध में दृढ़ता के साथ फैसला करना होगा।

महोदय कभी-कभी मुझे लगता है—चिन्ता की बात काश्मीर की घाटी में शेख अब्दुल्ला की गतिविधियां नहीं हैं, चिन्ता की बात बापू नायाबों का चीन के लिये जाना और

आना भी नहीं है, चिन्ता की बात मद्रास में—भारतीयों बाहर निकल जाओ—इस तरह के पोस्टरों का प्रकटीकरण भी नहीं है, चिन्ता की बात बम्बई में शिव सेना की विजय भी नहीं है, चिन्ता की बात यह है कि नई दिल्ली की समस्याओं का सही आंकलन कर के दृढ़ता और विवेक के साथ निर्णय लेने को तैयार नहीं है। प्रश्नों को लटकाने रहने की मनोवृत्ति हमें छोड़ देनी चाहिये। समस्याओं के सांपों की पिटाई को बन्द कर के मदारी की तरह से उनसे खेलने का बंग नई दिल्ली के शासकों को त्याग देना चाहिये। हमारी दुर्बलता, हमारी कमजोरी, निर्णय न करने की हमारी क्षमता—ये समस्याओं को उलझाने के लिये दोषी सिद्ध हुई हैं। समस्या शेख अब्दुल्ला नहीं है, समस्या बागी नागा नहीं है, समस्या हमारे केन्द्र में बैठे हुए नेता हैं—ये शान्ति से विचार कर के दृढ़ता के साथ निर्णय करें—इस बात की आवश्यकता है। हमारी एकता खतरे में है, हमारे लोकतांत्रिक ढांचे के लिये भी संकट पैदा हो रहा है, इन संकटों से हमें हताश होने की आवश्यकता नहीं है, इन पर गम्भीरता से विचार करने और निर्णय लेने की आवश्यकता है।

हम मांग करते रहे हैं कि भारत में यू.नॉटरी स्टेट होनी चाहिये और अब देखिये, गृह मंत्री की कृपा से कम से कम आधे भारत में यू.नॉटरी स्टेट हो गई हैं . . .

श्री मधु लियये (मुंगेर) : घटिया किस्म की।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : हां, घटिया किस्म की। उधर से आयेगी तो घटिया किस्म की ही होगी। लेकिन दिल्ली में बैठ कर राज्यपालों के पदों का दुरुपयोग—यह लोकतंत्र को मजबूत करने का तरीका नहीं है। दिल्ली में बैठ कर दल के स्वार्थों को बढ़ाने के लिये संविधान की अवहेलना—यह भी लोक तंत्र

को स्वस्थ परम्पराओं को जन्म देने का तरीका नहीं है। मुझे आश्चर्य है कि कांग्रेस हार्ड कमाण्ड ने फैसला किया है कि गिल सरकार का समर्थन करेंगे। कानूनी और संवैधानिक पहलुओं के अलावा पंजाब के मामले में कोई नैतिक पहल भी है या नहीं? विरोधी दलों ने कैसा भी गठबन्धन किया हो, मगर ऐसे किसी व्यक्ति का समर्थन नहीं किया जो विधान सभा में पुलिस बुलाकर अपना बहुमत कायम रखना चाहता है। कांग्रेस के नेता एक ऊंचा निर्णय ले सकते हैं—कानूनी बारीकियों में जाने के बजाय, संविधान को कतर-भ्यौत करने के बजाय, नैतिक धरातल पर खड़े हो कर कांग्रेस नेता गिल सरकार का समर्थन वापस लेने का निर्णय कर सकते हैं। लेकिन इसके उत्तर में गृह मंत्री कहें कि अन्य दल नैतिकता से कोई निर्णय नहीं लेगा, तो अकेले मेरे ऊपर ज़िम्मेदारी क्यों लगाई जाय।

सभापति महोदया, अभी भी कांग्रेस देश में सब से बड़ी पार्टी है। कांग्रेस जब तक सत्ता में रहेगी, तब तक लोकतंत्र का प्रेम प्रकट करेगी, लेकिन विरोधी दल में आते ही लोकतंत्र पर कूटाराघात शुरू कर देगी—यह तो कांग्रेस के लिये अच्छा नहीं है और देश के लिये भी अच्छा नहीं है।

एक नये अध्याय का श्रीगणेश करने का समय आ गया है। दस महीने में हमने बहुत कुछ देखा है, सुना है। मैं यह मानने के लिये तैयार नहीं हूँ कि हमें परिवर्तन से घबड़ाना चाहिये। परिवर्तन प्रकृति का नियम है, परिवर्तन होगा, देश आगे बढ़ना चाहता है, उसे कोई रोक नहीं सकता है लेकिन परिवर्तन कल्याणकर हो, इस बात की सावधानी हमें रखनी होगी और इसके लिये, जो स्वस्थ परम्परायें हैं उनको प्रारम्भ करने का समय आ गया है। मैं फिर उस बात को दोहराना चाहता हूँ कि पहले कांग्रेस ने गलती की और अब विरोधी दल गलती करें तो समस्या हल

नहीं होगी। कहीं न कहीं मिल कर बैठना होगा और चर्चा करनी पड़ेगी। देश की एकता के लिए, लोकतंत्र के लिए ऐसे खतरे पैदा हो रहे हैं, उनको हल करने का रास्ता निकालना होगा।

महोदया, इस शिकायत में बड़ा बल है कि जब सरकार मुसीबत में फँस जाती है तभी विरोधी दलों का सहयोग निम्नित करती है। देखिये, भाषा के सवाल पर गृह मंत्री को याद होगा, मधु लिमये यहाँ बैठे हैं, हमने लिखकर गृह मंत्री जी को भेजा, उप-प्रधान मंत्री को भेजा, प्रधान मंत्री को भेजा कि किसी तरह का बिल पास करने से पहले चर्चा कर लें लेकिन उस समय वे चर्चा न करने के निर्णय पर डटे हुए थे। चर्चा के बाद आगे बढ़ने का वह निर्णय संकट पैदा कर रहा है। भाषायी संकट कुछ आघात है, कुछ निराघात है। राजनीति को लेकर भाषा का प्रश्न हल नहीं होगा। जो हिन्दी नहीं जानते उन्हें कठिनाई में डाला जाये, यह हम नहीं चाहते। भाषा एक साध्य है, साधन नहीं है, एक मार्ग है मंजिल नहीं है। हम ऐसा कोई काम नहीं करेंगे जिससे देश की एकता खतरे में पड़े। भाषा की समस्या का हल हो सकता है इस आघात पर कि जो अंग्रेजी में काम करना चाहत हैं उन्हें अंग्रेजी में काम करने की छूट हो और जो हिन्दी में काम करने की कुशलता प्राप्त कर चुके हैं या क्षमता रखते हैं उन्हें अनिवार्यतः हिन्दी में काम करने दिया जाय। इस आघात पर समझौता हो सकता है। लेकिन इसके लिये सभी दलों की बैठक होनी चाहिये। जहाँ तक मेरे दल का सवाल है, राष्ट्रीय हितों को ध्यान में रख कर उपयुक्त निर्णयों पर पहुंचने के लिए जिम्मेदार महामायरा हम कर सकते हैं, हम कच्चे को तैयार हैं। मैंने ही कांग्रेस अपने कर्तव्य का पालन न करे, देश बड़ा है कांग्रेस छोटी है, इस देश के प्रति हम अपने कर्तव्य का पालन करेंगे। लेकिन जो विरोधी दल यह कहते हैं कि संकट में

[श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी]

विरोधी दलों की याद आती है, उनकी शिकायत में भी बल है और इस शिकायत को दूर करने के लिए स्वयं गृह मंत्री जी को प्रयत्न करना पड़ेगा।

एक बात कह कर मैं समाप्त कर दूंगा। सभी इस बात को स्वीकार करते हैं कि हमारी सेवायें प्रामाणिकता से अपने कर्तव्य का पालन करें, यह आवश्यक है। सार्वजनिक जीवन में भ्रष्टाचार न चले, ऐसा वातावरण बनाना होगा। लेकिन सेवाओं के साथ-साथ राजनीति पर पूंजी का प्रभाव पड़ रहा है। चुनाव मंठगे होते जा रहे हैं। या तो पूंजीपतियों के दरवाजे पर खड़े होकर उनसे धन मांगिये या जैसा कुछ मित्र करते हैं कि विदेशों से धन लाइये। इस समस्या का हल सारे दलों को मिलकर ढूँढना पड़ेगा। गरीब आदमी और गरीब पार्टी किस तरह से चुनाव लड़ेगी? गृह मंत्री ने कहा है कि चुनाव में विदेशी धन की शिकायत की उन्होंने जांच की है। जांच सी० बी० आई० की है। वह प्रकाश कब देखेगी? गृह मंत्री उसके बारे में विरोधी दलों से चर्चा करना चाहते हैं। मेरा निवेदन है कि किसी सुप्रीम कोर्ट के जज को नियुक्त करके विदेशी धन के आरोपों की सार्वजनिक जांच खुले ढंग से करानी चाहिए। सी० बी० आई० द्वारा की गई जांच संतोष नहीं दे सकती है। वह दलों के साथ न्याय भी नहीं कर सकेगी। जो व्यक्ति विदेशों से धन लेते हैं उन्हें चौराहे पर खड़ा किया जाना चाहिए, उनके पापों का भंडाफोड़ होना चाहिए, जनता की आंखों के धागे उनको लाना चाहिए। इस दृष्टि से हम खुली जांच की मांग कर रहे हैं।

जांच का सवाल आया इसलिये एक बात और जोड़ दूं। साम्प्रदायिक दंगों की जांच के लिए रघुबर दयाल कमीशन बना है। उसके गठन के बारे में मैं अधिक नहीं कहना चाहता। जस्टिस रघुबर दयाल हिन्दू हैं, एक मुसलमान सशस्त्र हैं और एक क्रिश्चियन हैं। यह कोई बड़ा स्वस्थ दृष्टिकोण नहीं है, पुराना तरीका

अपनाया जा रहा है। लेकिन जांच जिस तरीके से चल रही है उससे मुझे शिकायत है। कमीशन ने फैसला किया है कि जांच कैमरे में होगी। साम्प्रदायिक दंगों की जांच खले में हो, यह बात शायद हम भी पसन्द नहीं करेंगे। लेकिन जिस तरह की उन्होंने प्रश्नावली बनाई है उसमें एक प्रश्न है कि क्या आपके क्षेत्र में कोई दल या संगठन ऐसे काम करतै रहते हैं जिनसे तनाव बढ़ता हो। मुझे इस पर शिकायत है। या तो आप सभी दलों को मौका दें, दंगों के बारे में सभी दल अपने बयान रखें और सभी दलों को कमीशन के सामने उपस्थित होने का मौका दें। कुछ लोगों ने कमीशन से पत्र-व्यवहार किया तो कमीशन ने कह दिया कि आपने जो एफिडेविट दे दिया, दे दिया, अब हम आपको बुलायेंगे नहीं, आप कमीशन के सामने नहीं आ सकते हैं। किन तिथियों को कमीशन कहाँ जा रहा है, यह भी पता नहीं। क्या यह जांच का तरीका ठीक है? जांच ऐसी होनी चाहिए जो सभी क्षेत्रों में विश्वास पैदा कर सके। अगर माननीय गृह मंत्री इस सम्बन्ध में कदम उठावेंगे तो ऐसी जांच हो सकती है जो तथ्यों को प्रकट करे और जो किसी पूर्वाग्रह को लेकर न चले।

डा० गोविन्द बास (जबलपुर) : श्री चौधरी बहादुर प्रकाश जी ने श्री चव्हाण साहब की उदारता पर उनको बधाई दी है, मैं उनसे सर्वथा सहमत हूँ। चव्हाण साहब ने अपना काम जितनी उदारता से किया है उसके लिये बे बधाई के पात्र हैं। मैं श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी जी से भी सहमत हूँ कि कुछ बातों का निर्णय हमें दलों से ऊपर उठकर राष्ट्रीय दृष्टि से करना होगा। इसके लिये उन्होंने कांग्रेस सरकार को दोष दिया और उन्होंने कहा कि कांग्रेस सरकार जब किसी कठिनाई में पड़ती है तभी विरोधी दलों की बात उसे सूझती है। मैं उनसे इस बात में सहमत नहीं हूँ। मैं हमेशा से इस बात को कहता रहा हूँ

कि देश के नवनिर्माण के संबंध में और कुछ अन्य बातों के संबंध में सब दलों को मिल कर काम करना है। अगर सरकार को इस बात का दोष दिया जाता है कि सरकार केवल कठिनाई के समय में विरोधी दलों की बात सोचती है तो मैं विरोधी दलों को भी इस बात के लिये दोष देना चाहता हूँ कि उन्होंने कभी भी नव-निर्माण के कामों में और राष्ट्रीय कामों में स्वेच्छा से सरकार को कोई सहयोग नहीं दिया। सरकार का इस संबंध में कोई दोष नहीं है, यह मेरा कहना नहीं है लेकिन विरोधी दल दूध के धुले हुए हैं, यह बात भी नहीं कही जा सकती। मेरा यह मतलब है कि इस संबंध में विरोधी दलों का, सरकार को अपेक्षा अधिक दोष है। यदि इस प्रकार का वायु-मंडल शुरू से तैयार करने का प्रयत्न किया जाता तो आज देश की यह अवस्था न होती। कुछ बुनियादी बातें ऐसी हैं जो चाहे क्षणिक घटनाओं के कारण धुभिल दीखती हों लेकिन वे ऐसी बुनियादी बातें हैं जिन पर हमें ध्यान देने की जरूरत है। मैं इस बात को सदा कहता रहा हूँ और फिर दोहराता हूँ कि केवल भीतिक दृष्टि से इस देश की समस्याओं का हल होने वाला नहीं है। इस देश की सबसे बड़ी विशेषता इस देश का आत्म-चिन्तन रही है। हम उसे भूलते जा रहे हैं, बहुत दूर तक भूल गये हैं। जब हम पराधीन थे उस समय भी हमारे भारत के आधुनिक नेता, संसार के अद्वितीय महापुरुष महात्मा गांधी ने हमें उस बात का ध्यान दिलाया था। उनके जाने के बाद हमने वह बात बिल्कुल विस्मृत कर दी। तीन, तीन पंचवर्षीय योजनाएं चलीं। उन पंचवर्षीय योजनाओं में हम नई पीढ़ी को अध्यात्मिक स्तर पर किस तरीके से ला सकते हैं इस बात पर कभी विचार नहीं किया गया। हिन्दू-मुस्लिम दंगे हों, भाषायी दंगे हों, कोई भी दंगे हों, इन से निबटारा तब तक

नहीं हो सकेगा जब तक हमारे चिन्तन में अध्यात्म भी नहीं आयेगा। भारतवर्ष की सदा से यह विशेषता रही है और मैं उस ओर सब से पहले ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ।

15 Hrs.

फिर, दो, एक बातें हैं जिन्हें मैं बड़ी बुनियादी बातें मानता हूँ। उन के संबंध में भी मैं हमेशा कहता रहा हूँ और आज फिर कहना चाहता हूँ। एक भाषा का प्रश्न है दूसरा गोरक्षा का प्रश्न है। लोग कहा करते हैं कि मैंने भाषा को और गोरक्षा को क्यों मिलाया है? इन दोनों चीजों में आपस में क्या संबंध है? लेकिन मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि इन दोनों चीजों में आपस में जितना संबंध है उतना किसी और दूसरी चीजों में नहीं है मानव इस सृष्टि का सर्वश्रेष्ठ प्राणी इसलिए है कि निसर्ग ने जो ज्ञानशक्ति मानव को दी है वह किसी दूसरे प्राणी को नहीं दी है। इसलिए जिस प्रकार की भाषा मनुष्य बोलता है अन्य कोई जीव नहीं बोलता। मानव के कार्यों में सब से अधिक भाषा का सवाल रहता है और भाषा से हमारे मस्तिष्क का सम्बन्ध है। हमारे मस्तिष्क का विकास विदेशी भाषा के द्वारा नहीं हो सकता वह हिन्दी और भारतीय भाषाओं के द्वारा ही हो सकता है।

इसी प्रकार गोरक्षा का हमारे शरीर से संबंध है। इस देश में हमारा शरीर हूण्टपुण्ट और स्वस्थ तब तक नहीं रह सकता जब तक कि गाय का प्रश्न हल न हो। इस सवाल को हल करने के लिये आज एक कमेटी बंठी हुई है लेकिन मैं चव्हाण साहब से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि वह कमेटी बैठे काहे के लिये थी? कमेटी इस बात को देखने के लिये बैठी थी कि वह गोवध किस तरीके से बंद हो सकता

[डा० गोविन्द दास]

है उस की वह प्रणाली देखने के लिये बैठी थी। वह कमेटी इसलिये नहीं बैठाई गई थी कि वह इस बात पर विचार करे कि गोवध बंद हो सकता है या नहीं। वह कमेटी, जो अधिकार उस को दिये गये थे, उस के विपरीत जा रही है। इस कमेटी का काम यह देखना है कि गोवध किस प्रकार बन्द हो सकता है, यह नहीं कि गोवध बन्द हो सकता है या नहीं हो सकता।

जब तक गाय की रक्षा नहीं होगी तब तक हमारे देश के अन्न का उत्पादन नहीं बढ़ सकता। आप ट्रैक्टरों से इस देश की खेती करना चाहते हैं, यह क्या संभव है? क्या भैसें इस देश के हल चला सकते हैं?

क्या घोड़े ऊंट और खच्चर हल चला सकते हैं? वे नहीं चला सकते। स्पष्ट है कि इस देश की खेती के लिये आप को बैलों की जरूरत है। बैल बिना गायों के नहीं मिल सकते। फिर इस देश में निरामिष-भोजियों की जितनी बड़ी संख्या है उतनी अन्यत्र कहीं नहीं है। मैं दुनिया के सभी देशों में घूमा हूँ और मैंने देखा है कि संसार में निरामिषभोजियों की इतनी बड़ी संख्या और कहीं नहीं है जितनी कि हमारे देश में है। हमें अधिक घी चाहिये अधिक दूध चाहिये। क्या ट्रैक्टर और मशीनरी हमको घी दुध दे सकते हैं? गायों से जैसा मैं ने आप से निवेदन किया हमारे शरीर का संबंध है। मस्तिष्क जिससे हिन्दी भाषा और भारतीय भाषाओं का संबंध है उन के उत्कर्ष के बिना हमारे मस्तिष्क का विकास नहीं हो सकता। बिना गोरक्षा के हमारा शरीर ह्रष्ट पुष्ट नहीं रह सकता हमारा शरीर स्वस्थ नहीं रह सकता। मस्तिष्क बिना शरीर के निरर्थक

है और शरीर बिना मस्तिष्क के निरर्थक है। अब आप देख लीजिये गोरक्षा और हिन्दी का संबंध है या नहीं। जितना संबंध हिन्दी और गोरक्षा का है उतना किसी दूसरी चीज का नहीं है। इन दो बातों के संबंध में मैं चव्हाण साहब से कहना चाहता हूँ कि उन की नीति बड़ी अस्पष्ट है। जिस समय उन्होंने भाषा के प्रश्न को हल करने के लिये यहां पर विधेयक उपस्थित किया, उसके विषय में एक अपना प्रस्ताव उपस्थित किया, मैं श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी से सहमत हूँ मैंने भी उस विधेयक का विरोध करते हुये यह बात कही थी कि मंत्री महोदय किस को प्रसन्न करने के लिये यह विधेयक ला रहे हैं? मैंने कहा था कि ऐसा करके वह उस बैल वाले की कहावत चरितार्थ करेंगे जोकि अपने लड़के के साथ एक बैल को लेकर जा रहा था...

श्री पशवन्तराव चव्हाण : यह हिन्दी और गोरक्षा का क्या संबंध है?

डा० गोविन्द दास : मैंने अभी कहा है कि हिन्दी और गोरक्षा का आपस में इसलिये संबंध है कि हिन्दी का संबंध हमारे मस्तिष्क से है और गोरक्षा का संबंध हमारे शरीर से है। बिना मस्तिष्क के शरीर बेकार है और बिना शरीर के मस्तिष्क बेकार है। इसलिये हिन्दी और गोरक्षा का संबंध है। इन दोनों बातों से मंत्री महोदय के मंत्रालय का संबंध है।

मैं बतला रहा था कि जिस सभ्य यह विधेयक आया था उसका विरोध करते हुए मैं ने उस समय कहा था कि वह इस विधेयक से किस को प्रसन्न कर रहे हैं...

श्री यशवन्तराव चव्हाण : क्या और कोई दूसरी भाषा मस्तिष्क को मदद नहीं करती है ?

डा० गोविन्द बास : मैं ने अकेले हिन्दी के लिये नहीं कहा है। मैंने हिन्दी और सभी भारतीय भाषाओं के लिये कहा है। मैं शुरू से कह रहा हूँ कि हिन्दी और भारतीय भाषाओं का हमारे मस्तिष्क के साथ संबंध है और गोरक्षा का हमारे शरीर के साथ संबंध है। अगर अन्य भारतीय भाषाओं का विकास नहीं हो सकता तो हिन्दी का विकास निरर्थक है और होना नहीं चाहिये। हिन्दी व अन्य सभी भारतीय भाषाओं का विकास साथ साथ होना चाहिये . . . .

SHRI AMRIT NAHATA (Barmer):  
On a point of order. I learn from the radio and the Press that the hon. Member Seth Govind Dass has raised this question of language in the Supreme Court. Since he has himself done it would it be proper on his part to raise it here?

डा० गोविन्द बास : मैंने सुप्रीम कोर्ट में जो सवाल उठाया है वह अलग है। यहां प्रश्न बिलकुल अलग है। गृह मंत्रालय का सुप्रीम कोर्ट से कोई संबंध नहीं है। यहां भी उठाया जा सकता है और वहां भी उठाया जा सकता है क्योंकि वहां जो सवाल उठाया है वह अलग है और यहां हाउस में जो प्रश्न उठाया है वह भी अलग है।

श्री स० मो० बनर्जी : श्री ए० पाण्ट ऑफ आर्डर। इस लैंग्वेज बिल या उस के रेजोल्यूशन के बारे में माननीय सदस्य ने यदि सुप्रीम कोर्ट में अपील की हुई है, वहां उन्होंने केस दायर किया और वह सुप्रीम कोर्ट में वकील की हैजियत से अपने पक्ष में आर्गुमेंट करेंगे और यदि

माननीय सदस्य द्वारा वह आर्गुमेंट्स यहां अभी किये जा सकते हैं तो फिर सुप्रीम कोर्ट में ले जाने का कोई मतलब नहीं रह जायेगा। जब भी कोई मामला सुप्रीम कोर्ट या हाईकोर्ट आदि में दायर होता है तो वह मीटर सबजूडिस हो जाता है और उस के बारे में हाउस में डिस्कशन करना और उस की मीटिंग पर जाना उचित नहीं है। मैं इस पर सभापति महोदय आप को व्यवस्था चाहता हूँ।

डा० गोविन्द बास : मैं ने सुप्रीम कोर्ट में जो प्रश्न उठाया है वह सबाल भाषा का नहीं उठाया है। मैं ने वहां पर जो प्रश्न उठाया है वह यह है कि 1967में जो विधेयक स्वीकृत किया गया वह संविधान के विरुद्ध है। मैंने विधेयक का सवाल उठाया है भाषा का प्रश्न नहीं उठाया है। वह प्रश्न बिलकुल अलग है और यहां हाउस में जो मैं कह रहा हूँ वह उस से बिलकुल अलग है। दोनों एक दूसरे से अलग सवाल है।

श्री अमृत नाहाटा : इन के अनुसार गोरक्षा और भाषा का प्रश्न तो परस्पर संबंधित है लेकिन भाषा विधेयक और भाषा का प्रश्न संबंधित नहीं है।

सभापति महोदय : कोई पाण्ट ऑफ आर्डर नहीं है।

डा० गोविन्द बास : मैं यह बात कह रहा था कि जिस समय चव्हाण साहब वह विधेयक लाये थे उस समय मैंने कहा था कि वह किस को संतुष्ट करने के लिये यह विधेयक ला रहे हैं? क्या कोई भी इस से संतुष्ट होने वाला है? हम ने देख लिया कि किसी की भी संतुष्ट नहीं हुआ। अब इस विधेयक और इस प्रस्ताव को लाने के बाद चव्हाण साहब भी कहने लगे हैं हां इस प्रस्ताव से जो अहिन्दी भाषा भाषी हैं उनका कुछ अहित हो रहा है। क्या

[डा० गोविन्द दास]

इस प्रस्ताव से यह प्रश्न कभी हल हो सकता है ? मेरा स्पष्ट आपसे यह कहना है ।

श्री क० ना० तिवारी (बेतिया) :  
भाषा बड़ी है या देश बड़ा है ?

डा० गोविन्द दास : देश बड़ा है लेकिन इस देश में सब से बड़ा प्रश्न भाषा का है ।

सभापति महोदय : देश भी बड़ा है आत्मगौरव भी बड़ा है ।

डा० गोविन्द दास : मैं गृह मंत्री जी के सामने एक प्रस्ताव रखना चाहता हूँ कि यदि वे हिन्दी भाषियों को सन्तुष्ट करने का प्रयत्न करेंगे तो अहिन्दी भाषी लोग सन्तुष्ट नहीं होंगे ।

अगर अहिन्दी भाषा भाषियों को सन्तुष्ट करने की कोशिश करेंगे तो हिन्दी भाषा भाषी सन्तुष्ट नहीं होंगे । सारा झगड़ा 300, 400 या 500 सरकारी नौकरियों का है । सारा सवाल नौकरियों का है । हिन्दी को इस देश की राष्ट्रभाषा और राज भाषा नौकरियों के लिये नहीं बनाया गया । राजा राम मोहन राय से लेकर महात्मा गांधी के नेतृत्व तक राष्ट्रीयता की दृष्टि से हिन्दी को राष्ट्रभाषा और राज भाषा बनाया गया था । यदि आज नौकरियों का सवाल आ गया है तो देश की आबादी के अनुसार और राज्यों की आबादी के अनुसार हर राज्य के लिये सरकारी नौकरियों का कोटा कायम कर दिया जाये । आपको मालूम है कि यह प्रश्न जो पार्लियामेन्टरी कमेटी बंठी थी उसमें भी आया था । बार बार यह सवाल आता है । इस प्रश्न का

निपटारा एक रास्ते से हो जाता है, और वह रास्ता यह है कि जिस राज्य की जितनी आबादी है उसके अनुसार उसकी नौकरियों की संख्या केन्द्र में मुकर्रर कर दी जाये । इस तरह से हर एक के प्रति न्याय हो जायेगा और कोई झगड़ा नहीं रहेगा ।

इसी प्रकार मैं गोरखा के सम्बन्ध में आपसे कहना चाहता हूँ कि जिस ढंग से आप ने एक कमेटी इसके लिये मुकर्रर की है, वह कमेटी चल रही है । उसका समय बढ़ाया जा रहा है । लेकिन उस कमेटी के सामने जो गवाहियां हो रही हैं, जिस प्रकार प्रश्न वहां होते हैं, मैं स्वयं गवाह के रूप में वहां गया था, वे इस बात को सिद्ध करने के लिये किये जाते हैं कि इस देश में सम्पूर्ण शोवध बन्द नहीं हो सकती । मैं आपको आगाह करना चाहता हूँ । लोग रुके हुए हैं, शान्ति रख रहे हैं, आपकी उस कमेटी की रिपोर्ट के लिये जो मैं भी हिंसा के विरुद्ध हूँ, गांधी जी के चरणों में मैंने सारी जिन्दगी व्यतीत की है और इस देश में किसी तरह से मनसा वाचा अर्पणा हिंसा होनी चाहिये, इसका मैं घोर विरोधी हूँ । लेकिन मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि जैसी नीति आप स्वीकार कर चुके हैं कि इस देश में शोवध सम्पूर्ण रूप से बन्द होगा, अगर आपने इसके लिये वह कमेटी बनाई है कि वह शोवध किस प्रकार बन्द हो सकता है तो इसके लिये सुझाव दें, न कि इस बात पर विचार करें कि शोवध बन्द हो सकता है या नहीं । इस कमेटी की जो रिपोर्ट होगी, अगर वह सन्तोषजनक न हुई, तो मुझे इस बात का भय है कि उत्तर से दक्षिण और पूर्व से पश्चिम तक बड़ा भारी आन्दोलन उठेगा, और वह आन्दोलन इस प्रकार का होगा जिस प्रकार का आन्दोलन शायद देश ने इसके पहले कभी नहीं देखा होगा ।

यहां पर जं. प्रदर्शन हुआ था, आपको मालूम है कि वह किस प्रकार का था ।

उस में हिंसा हुई यह बहुत बुरी बात हुई, लेकिन आपने जी कमेटी मुकर्रर की है उस को आप को इस बात के लिये आदेश देना चाहिये कि उस कमेटी का एक यही काम है, दूसरा नहीं कि वह यह देखे कि संपूर्ण गोवधबंधी करने के लिये किन-किन बातों को करने की आवश्यकता है, यह नहीं कि गोवधबंदी हो सकती है या नहीं इस पर विचार करे। इस प्रकार से आप को उस कमेटी से कहना चाहिए, और इस संबंध में कोई निर्णय आप को लेना चाहिये ?

अब जो बात मैं आप से कहना चाहता हूँ वह यह है कि विदेशी धन यहाँ पर आ कर इस देश में अशान्ति उत्पन्न कर रहा है। इस की बहुत सी बातें आप के सामने आई हैं। भाषा के संबंध में भी मद्रास में आंध्र में, मैसूर में जो दंगे हुए उन के संबंध में मैसूर के मुख्य मंत्री ने जो कि आज कल हमारी कांग्रेस के अध्यक्ष हैं कहा कि बाहर के लोगों ने आकर मैसूर में इस प्रकार के दंगे कराये। आंध्र में तैलुगु के बड़े बड़े विद्वानों ने भी इकट्ठा हो कर यह बात कही। आंध्र हिन्दी के खिलाफ नहीं है, लेकिन आंध्र में जो कुछ हुआ है वह बाहर के लोगों ने आकर किया इस प्रकार भाषायी दंगों के भी पीछे कुछ बाहरी द्रव्य है, बाहरी धन है और बाहरी धन आकर इस प्रकार की परिस्थितियाँ यहाँ पर उत्पन्न कर रहा है। मैं श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी से इस संबंध में सहमत हूँ कि इसको खुली और गहरी जांच होनी चाहिए कि आखिर बाहरी रुपया कहां कहां से आता है और किस किस काम में किस प्रकार खर्च होता है। जिस प्रकार से यह भाषायी दंगों के संबंध में आवश्यक है, उसी प्रकार असम के दंगों के संबंध में भी आवश्यक है और दूसरी बातों के विषय में भी आवश्यक है।

आप आज इस प्रकार का कानून बनाना चाहते हैं कि किसी भी राजनीतिक दल को चुनावों के लिये रुपया न मिले लेकिन पोशीदा टरीके से इस देश में फूट पैदा कर के जो दंगे कराये जाते हैं, उन में जो बाहरी धन आता है वह कहां से आता है और किस प्रकार आता है, इस पर ज्यादा से ज्यादा ध्यान देना आवश्यक है।

अन्त में मैं फिर भी चव्हाण को उनकी उदारता के लिये धन्यवाद देता हूँ और वधाई देता हूँ। परन्तु इस के साथ मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि कुछ बुनियादी बातें ऐसी है जिन पर आप को ध्यान दे कर मंभिरता से विचार कर के कड़ाई के साथ उनका हल सोचना पड़ेगा। इस काम में आप को भी जो हमारे विरोधी दल हैं, उन का सहयोग लेना चाहिये और विरोधी दलों को भी अपनी राजनीति को एक तरफ रख कर इस तरह के राष्ट्रीय कार्य जो हैं उन में हमारी सरकार को सहयोग देना चाहिये।

SHRI S. KANDAPPAN (Mettur):  
Madam Chairman, the job of the Home Minister is onerous and he is shouldering a heavy responsibility. Of course, at times, it looks like an impossible task of making this country a unified nation.

Madam Chairman, it is to the credit of the British that they have united India at least politically. They did not attempt to integrate India otherwise—socially or culturally or on other planes. Probably, had they attempted that, they would have left India earlier than they did.

After two decades of Independence, I think, a practical man like our Home Minister, Mr. Chavan, would appreciate the trends and the emerging forces and the pull for federalism in this country. Unfortunately, the Constitu-



[Shri S. Kandappan]

tion-makers in a festive mood did not appreciate the realities of this nation and they have made a constitution which, I should say, Madam, is more unitary than federal. I am not a constitutional pundit. Some people call it a federal constitution. Some say, it is quasi-federal. Any way, the fact remains that it is more unitary and it gives sweeping powers to the Centre. Even at the time of one-party era before the Fourth General Elections, there were quite a number of conflicts and confrontations between the Chief Ministers of States and the Centre here in Delhi. It was actually because of that kind of a confrontation, on the National Development Council was constituted and then the Zonal Councils were evolved. I need not dilate on these things. I am sure Mr. Chavan who was himself once a Chief Minister would appreciate the real difficulties. I think the present Administrative Reforms Commission has set up a Study Team which is going into the problem and I hope they would make a real appraisal of the whole matter and make the Government come forward to overhaul the whole Centre-State relations.

Madam, I was astonished to hear people still demanding a sort of unitary constitution for this country. After all, all the ills and the malady that we are facing to-day are due to over-centralisation. It is not the divisive forces, the centrifugal tendencies but I should rather say they are an association of various homogeneous units, wellknit culturally developed units in this country which are crying for freedom of action, which are crying for development. We need not decry these tendencies. Actually we should see how to channelise the emerging forces and only that kind of attitude can really make a stronger India.

I find in this Report that in 1960 or 1961 they have decided to introduce some more Central Departments like Forestry, Agriculture, Education, Engineering, Medicine, Health, etc.

I think the time has come to reduce the departments and not to proliferate and go on adding more departments at the Central level. I feel that the Home Minister should take the matter up with the various States and see to it that we do not go on increasing the departments at the Centre to the detriment of the administration at the State level. Even as it is, the revenues of the States and the powers conferred on the States are not commensurate with the duties that have been enjoined upon them by the Constitution.

I would like to point out one thing with regard to this matter. Even in the Southern Zonal Council's meeting this point was raised, and in fact, there has been mention of this in the report submitted by the Home Ministry here that there was a reference to the question of enhancement of dearness allowance to the employees of the State. I think that almost all the States, whether they are non-Congress or Congress, have been claiming for quite some time that the dearness allowance to their employees should also be borne by the Centre and there must be some sort of sharing of the expenditure by the Centre as well. If you look at it objectively, I admit that it may be difficult for the Centre to bear it, and constitutionally also the Centre is not bound to increase the dearness allowance of the State employees. I know all these things.

If we look at the whole picture in India, who do we find? What is the financial position? And who has got the purse? Ours is a controlled economy, full regimented. The Centre along with the Reserve Bank of India fully controls all the resources in this country. I just looked into some figures. In 1964 alone, the dearness allowance of the Central Government employees was increased twice and in 1965 it was increased thrice. Let us bear in mind the fact that the monster of inflation is spreading its fangs like an octopus and there is no know-

ing how far it will spread. But of late we hear that they are going to put so stop to this. But still the employees in the State Government are going to the same market where the Central Government employees are going. So, if the whole economy is regimented and controlled by the Centre and it is the Centre's policy that has provoked the price increase or whatever happens in the economic sphere, and it is the Centre's fiscal policies which add to this, then is it not justifiable on the part of the States and does it not give them a greater right to demand that the Centre should also bear this burden? Further, is it possible for any State simply to increase the dearness allowance for their employees on their own just as the Central Government did for their employees in 1964 twice and in 1965 thrice? It would be impossible. There are many cases like this which need a thorough perusal. Unless that is done, I am afraid that the present friction will continue and the Centre-State relation will suffer.

When we say that we need more autonomy for the State, we need not, therefore, be dubbed as secessionist and we need not be reminded of our past history. It is a well known fact that in the whole country, the forces that were there before 1967 were resolved, because the same party was in power at the Centre as well as in the States, because behind the curtain many things were resolved and things did not come to the open. But after the fourth general elections, naturally, the States which are ruled by the non-Congress Governments are making their claims and their proposals quite openly and their demand is somewhat more vocal.

There is a very interesting passage or comment in the *Parliamentary Studies*, April issue of 1967. I would just quote the relevant passage for the benefit of the House. This journal does not belong to any party but it is a bulletin of the Parliamentary Study Group. The passage runs as follows:  
3856 (A) LSD—7.

"There is a growing urge for federalism in all the States, even those controlled by the Congress; eye-brows need not be raised when the DMK emphasises the need for federalism in practice and a greater role for the States in the formulation and implementation of the national plans. It looks like it is the Centre which will have to unlearn some of the dead habits of the past, picked up in the one-party era".

I think the hon. Minister will agree to this kind of appraisal made by this journal.

Actually, what has happened in Assam? There was really a cry for more autonomy. Many people had expressed this in different ways. So, the fact remains that the people there feel that they do not enjoy their culture, they do not have a full social life and they do not get a proper share of their earnings and income.

There is a very interesting evidence given by one Assamese, who is a responsible person, and who I am told is a nationalist. He appeared before the parliamentary committee on the Industrial, Security Force Bill and gave evidence before it. He is the general manager of the Namrup Fertiliser Factory. There is a very interesting piece of evidence which he gave before that committee. It was not very strictly relevant to the issue under discussion there. But still in answer to a question put by Shri Bhupesh Gupta, he said:

"My feeling is that if you give more powers to the States and keep only Defence, External Affairs and Communications and leave the rest to the States, then we shall be one nation again."

This was what was stated by Mr. Phukan, the general manager of the Namrup Fertiliser Factory. Then he added:

"This security matter is linked up with this. I am giving my personal opinion. I sometimes weep

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as to what is happening that I cannot protect my own people.

This was the opinion of Mr. Phukan. There are many other men who feel likewise. They may not have been called before our committees, but there are many men who feel alike, but who may not have had opportunities to express their view or whose expression may not have carried much weight. But still the fact remains that there is a growing tendency and there is a growing demand, and a very justifiable demand, for more federalism. That is the only trend that can satisfy the various regional aspirations of the people in this vast mosaic of our country. His cry for federalism is not going to impair the unity of the country in the least; rather, I feel that this is the only healthy way to strengthen the unity of this country and make this country a strong nation.

I would come to a specific question now with regard to the relations between the States and the Centre after the general elections. There are many things which have to be considered in this connection. Our Chief Minister had recently said that the Centre was very co-operative and he appreciated some of the approaches to the problems by the Centre, but he had his own reservations. I would like to point out one or two things by way of example.

Soon after we assumed power in Madras, we passed a unanimous resolution in the Assembly naming the State as Tamil Nadu. I ask the Home Minister what harm is there if the Central Government brings forward a Bill here to that effect as soon as the Assembly has passed such a resolution, and put its seal of approval on it? But they have not done that. A private Member's Bill has been introduced in the Rajya Sabha. I hope it will be carried. But if the Government themselves could have brought

forward a Bill, I am sure they would have shown a gesture of good-will towards the State.

SHRI C. DASS (Tirupathi): A lot of Telugu people also live in Madras. So, why not name the State as Telugu Nadu?

SHRI V. KRISHNAMOORTHY (Cuddalore): Let him have a resolution passed to that effect in the Andhra Pradesh Assembly.

SHRI S. KANDAPPAN: Then, there is the question of Dalmiapuram. A lot of wrong impression has been created over this that the DMK has been agitating for changing the name. Actually, it is not a question of changing the name of the place at all. The place is called Kallakudi, and we only wanted that name to be restored to the railway station there. But the people of the Congress gave a different colour to it; even on the floor of the House, some time back, a Congress Member from my State said that it was because it was named after a North Indian capitalist that the DMK wanted to change the name. I would submit that that is not so at all. After all, there is no South Indian who has given his name to a particular place and which place we have called after him. This has never happened there.

Now, let me mention another case. Sahu Jains have got a factory near Tuticorin and they have given their name to that place. The place has already got a name, but they have given the name Sahupuram to that place.

If it is literally translated, it will mean 'abode of death.' Probably that gentleman did not know Tamil and could not appreciate the meaning in Tamil. So he gave that name to that place. It is not a very healthy symptom in this country for individuals to go and start some industry somewhere and give their own names to that place. Actually, what we wanted

was that the real name should be restored. After all, it is not a very big thing.

What was the reply from the Railway Ministry? First they said there is another place by the name 'Kallikudi'; so we cannot accept your request. This was a request made by my State Government. Kallakudi and Kallikudi are vastly different. Still I would say this, There is a place in Maharashtra, the State of which the Home Minister has the honour to belong. It was called Chanda previously. In 1962-63 when I travelled in train through that area, I always used to see the place named Chanda. It is a junction. But after sometime, it was changed to Chandrapur. There is another place in Assam called Chandrapur. I have no quarrel with the change of name from Chanda to Chandrapur. Since there is another place of the same name in Assam, what they did was that after the name Chandrapur, they added in brackets 'Maharashtra'. I have no quarrel with that. If the Railway Ministry and the Home Ministry could accept this change because there is another station of the same name why not accept this reasonable demand of ours? Is not refusal to do so a case of showing different faces to different people like the Cuddappa clock tower? As you know, recently it appeared in the papers that there is a clock tower in Cuddappah which shows 4 different times at different faces at the same time. The clock could not be mended, but the Government can be. This is not the way to treat a non-Congress Government. The Home Minister should show a gesture of goodwill in these small matters at least. I do not know whether their refusal to do so is politically motivated. What else can be the real reason for objecting to this kind of reasonable demand made by a State?

There is another very important thing, a little more serious than this. There is a public undertaking in the State, the State transport undertaking. I was not made a public sector undertaking by the DMK. It was there

as a public undertaking when the Congress was in power. They had started plying their own buses under the State Transport Department. But to our regret though the private operators were earning very good profit by running their own buses, when Government entered the held they incurred very heavy losses. So when we took over, we thought that this state of affairs must be improved, otherwise there was no use in asking the exchequer to pay for the follies of the Government. We wanted to improve matters. So on long-distance routes, we reduced the fare, more traffic was offering and purely on the basis of competitive functioning we ran it with the result, you would be astonished to know, that within ten months the loss of Rs. 60 lakhs was reduced to s. 10 lakhs, and we hope to earn a profit in the coming months. That was the position, when we wanted to improve things. But there was the Motor Vehicles Act which came in the way. That Act derives its power from the Concurrent List. So the State Government drafted an Ordinance and wanted to obtain the concurrence of the Central Government. They represented the matter to the Centre. I am sorry to say that in spite of our State Ministers coming and seeing the Home and other Ministers, the Centre has not conceded this reasonable demand for the purpose of operating their own fleet in various sectors. They have said it is a matter of high policy. I do not know what policy it was. It was not going to infringe the rights of other States or the rights of other people. But still they said 'no' unless we amend the Motor Vehicles Act, you cannot do it. So you wait till we do it.' I do not know in what good time they are going to do it. This is a very clear and very glaring example where this Government, directly or indirectly, is involved in the promotion of Congress politics in administration in the State. Because the Congress was mainly dependent on the bus owners' money. So by alienating them, they will lose all their chance at the polls

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So this is what the so-called votaries of socialism did. They should have some respect for socialism at least by which they swear; when we stand by the very same principle and say that we are going to bring about effective implementation of it, what is the harm in accepting our demand? But they did not accept it.

These are a few things I have cited. I wanted to cite more of them, but I have no time and I have now to come to this language business (*Interruptions*). It has become a very sad business now.

I am glad that today at least the tone and trend of the speeches were quite mild and moderate. Shri Vajpayee sounded very reasonable and other members also will, I hope, follow suit.

**SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE:** Let him also be reasonable.

**SHRI S. KANDAPPAN:** I would like to go to the root of the problem. When people say that 'we want a language of the people to rule this country', I am afraid it is a fallacious argument. After all, the people of this country speak various language and there is no one language that is the people's language all over the country. This fact is not at all appreciated. Then again it is said, 'It is the majority language; so you have to accept it. The myth of majority was blown by the reply given by our Prime Minister when she said that 'Hindi is a new language to us also.' I do not know if it was to be taken seriously. I characterised it as childish. Then she was very angry.

**SHRI K. N. TIWARI:** Hindi is known in Madras also. People are learning it in Madras.

**SHRI S. KANDAPPAN:** The Prime Minister herself said in the Rajya Sabha as well as here that Hindi is not the language of North Indian peo-

ple and it is a new language. I take it very seriously. If this argument is accepted, the whole ground for making Hindi as the only official language is shattered. But whatever that is, I leave it apart.

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** She said that about learning of the new language.

**SHRI S. KANDAPPAN:** Please do not try to defend it. The important thing to remember is this. Even here we find it often repeated that when you speak in Hindi, you are very much applauded; but if we do not do that, it is very strongly objected to. It happened a few hours back even today. If it is so simple as that; if the DMK members could learn Hindi, and by that could solve the language problem we will never hesitate to learn Hindi. But it is not that simple. What we have to consider is the feeling of three crores of Tamilians, three crores of Telugus and how they feel, what are the real hardships of our own people. It is not a question of a few members here learning Hindi and pleasing Shri Vajpayee. If that were so, we would do it, because they are our best friends and we would like to be friends with them. But that is not going to solve the problem.

The equation of English with Hindi is a very clever propaganda offensive cunningly launched by the protagonists of Hindi. In what way, Hindi and English can be equated? I am asking this very seriously. My relation with English is as thick or as thin as Shri Vajpayee's relation with that language. My language is Tamil. It is not for anybody to say 'I do not love my language.' If anybody does so, I would take it as the greatest affront. I would even go further and say that if there is any language in this country which you can use to impart scientific knowledge, it is Tamil, and that will be the leading language of this country, thanks to the richness of the language. I am proud of my language.

**AN HON. MEMBER:** What about Telugu?

**SHRI S. KANDAPPAN:** It cannot be Telugu. Tamil is a flowery language. There is only one other language that can compare with Tamil in rich vocabulary, and that is Sanskrit.

**SHRI J. B. KRIPALANI (Guna):** Has he asked Bengalis?

**SHRI RANDHIR SINGH (Rohtak):** Why not Haryanvi?

**SHRI S. KANDAPPAN:** It is not a question whether we love our language; whether we feel attached to that language. We feel attached to our language; in fact we feel more attached to our language; in fact we feel more attached to our language than even the hard core of the Hindi protagonists feel attached to their own language. I am saying this to emphasise the fact. When we say that we want English to continue, it is for the sake of living with you, for the sake of having a dialogue with the northern parts of the country and carrying on the administration of this country. When I plead in this House that something should be expressed in an understandable language, in English, we are hooted down. Is it fair and proper? We want our own language to flourish in our place. But when you have to talk to other people, in other parts why should we object to using the language which we had been using hitherto, namely, English? I hope the hon. Home Minister will not be so naive to tell us that it does not belong to this country.

**SHRI D. N. TIWARY (Gopalganj):** What percentage of people of Madras speak, read or write English?

**SHRI S. KANDAPPAN:** We are a cultured people, well-knit and from a homogenous unit; we have got our own traditions and our own history and without sacrificing our self-respect we have got every right to de-

mand the retention of our cherished ideals in this country. I am prepared to converse in this language which had been learnt by us. English is not foreign. Only the language that you do not know is foreign; that is how philologists define a foreign language. We demand English only for the specific purpose of linking various language groups. In these circumstances, it is for the Hindi-speaking people to search their hearts and consider whether they are acting in the interest of the unity of the country when they decry the use of English even for the minimum purpose of a dialogue between the States. If English is not going to be retained for this purpose, I am afraid this country can never be united. Unless and until some language of our own develops and grows into an all India language—let it be Hindi or Tamil or Telugu or whatever it is—and until that stage arrives, we must have this link language. I am painfully aware of the provisions of the Constitution which may be thrown at my face. That is not going to solve the problem. The actualities have to be taken into account. After the passing of the resolution in the Madras Assembly, the Home Minister is sitting tight over the Madras Government's appeal and some non-Hindi Governments have also passed unanimous resolutions in their legislatures. Unless the resolution attached to the Language Act is repealed or suspended or cancelled, not even the atmosphere for sitting round and talking will be created. This is what the Chief Minister of Madras has stated. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* in its editorial of March 21, 1968 has this to say on the language resolution:

"The resolution appended to the Official Languages Act has practically divided India on the basis of language, the non-Hindi-speaking people having been reduced to the status of second class citizens. The Resolution goes against the letter and the spirit of Mr. Nehru's and Mr. Lal Bahadur's assurance which envisaged bilingualism. Withdrawal of the Resolution would have

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gone a long way in assuaging feelings and promoting national integration."

This is not our paper; it is a Congress-minded paper. Government should consider this suggestion.... (Interruptions.)

The position in Madras is very serious and grave though the atmosphere is apparently calm. We are sitting on a volcano. It may blow up at any time. If anything happens in Tamilnad over the language issue, I am afraid it would not be possible for the State or for the Centre to tackle the situation because the feeling is so intense in this matter. Two or three days back there was a conference at Trichy; it was a conference sponsored by Congress-minded students and it was attended by none other than Mr. Kamaraj once the guardian-angel and now an untouchable.... (Interruptions.)

SOME HON. MEMBERS: No.

SHRI S. KANDAPPAN: He blessed the conference and tendered some advice to the students. That conference adopted a resolution and I shall quote from the *Hindu* of 25th March, 1968:

"On the language issue, the Conference felt that the resolution adopted by Parliament along with the Language Amendment Bill was not in conformity with the assurance given by Mr. Jawahar-Lal Nehru and called on the Union Government to withdraw the resolution which placed additional burden on the people of non-Hindi States and warned that nationalist-minded students would be forced to resort of direct action if the just demands of non-Hindi States were not met."

I do not know what direct action they are going to take, against whom? Against the DMK Government? Whatever it is, it had the approval of Kamaraj. I may add that all students in

Tamilnad are national-minded students. These students of Trichy called themselves 'nationalist-minded' only to differentiate themselves from others and to show that they belong to the Congress colour, and not to other colours. I want to place this problem before Mr. Chavan. If there is another trouble in Tamilnad, in Madras, probably the situation would be impossible to control even for the DMK Government. It is quite possible. Probably, the Congress may be happy over that situation. I am sure that if Mr. Chavan knows anything about Madras—he knows much—he will appreciate that if the DMK Government was not there the situation would have been uncontrollable by now. I say it without any fear of contradiction. You may recall what happened in 1965. All of a sudden, the whole thing erupted.

AN HON. MEMBER: 300 were shot dead.

SHRI S. KANDAPPAN: Apart from that, eight persons burnt themselves alive. Such is the intensity of their feeling. They were all young men. This feeling for language has no barriers of part or religion or caste. The people there love their language and they feel so intensely for the language. This should never be forgotten.

Reference was made to the various elements showing their heads in various parts of the country. Some persons brought in Tamilnad years ago even at the height of our demand for separation, when we were agitating over that question, no North-Indian settlement was affected. Again, recently, even in 1965 language agitation not a single citizen belonging to other parts of India was affected.

I can categorically say that it is not in our tradition and culture to ask them to go out. Let nobody have that kind of feeling. But with regard to the language issue, the people of Tamilnad feel very keenly and some

suitable measures must be taken immediately.

The Home Minister controls the central services. The Presidential Order dated 27th April 1960 made training in Hindi obligatory for all Central Government employees aged less than 45 years. It must be immediately scrapped, pending further solution of the language problem, if you are going to retain it, then don't say to us that you are not imposing Hindi or discriminating against non-Hindi people with regard to jobs. Shri Seth Govind Das said that we should have a quota system. I do not know what he is driving at. If this country is one and if the recruitment to the services is going to be on the basis of merit, the introduction of the quota system will only lead to compartmentalisation. People say that Madrasis are occupying a big chunk of the Secretariat. It is not so. If a true appraisal is made, it will be found that it has been reduced very much. I am not saying it on that account. If you want to say that this is one country and merit is going to be rewarded, there is no use bringing in other issues saying they are the sons of the soil and they must be given some privileges. Let the Home Minister take a firm stand on this. I would plead with him, please scrap this kind of instructions and see that pending further solution of the language problem, nothing is done to hamper or dampen the interests of the non-Hindi officials working in various Central Government offices including P & T and Railways.

SHRI J. B. KRIPALANI: I have been hearing about assurances given by Jawaharlal Nehru. Does anybody know what those assurances are. Are they written anywhere?

SHRI S. KANDAPPAN: It is there in the records of Parliament. He said, till the non Hindi people want fit Hindi is not going to be imposed on them.

SHRI J. B. KRIPALANI: So far as I know, he did not talk about Hindi. He said, English would be retained as long as even one State wants it to re-

main. That is all. Is it right, Mr. Home Minister?

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: I think you are right.

श्री अहमद अगगा (बारामुला) : सदर साहब, जो वरस गुजर गया है, वह बड़े मार्क का बरस रहा है, इस में बहुत सी ऐसी उलझनें जो पहले सतह पर नहीं आई थीं, इस साल सतह पर आई हैं और जो खास तौर पर सतह पर आई हैं—वह है फिरकेबाराना फिसादात। इस सिलसिले में बाजपेयी जी ने फरमाया कि इन की पहल इस तरह से हुई, उस तरह से हुई, में इनकी तफसील में नहीं जाना चाहता, पहल क्योंकर हुई, कैसे हुई—इस के तफसील में जाने की जरूरत नहीं है, मगर यह बात सही है कि यह क्लंक का टीका है जो हिन्दुस्तान के हर शहरी के माथे पर लगा है और इस को जिस कदर जल्द हो सके अपने देश से खत्म करना जरूरी है। यह एक बहुत गलत चीज है, जो हमारे देश में फैली हुई है। हम ने यह भी देखा कि असम, बंगाल, नागालैंड और मिजो हिल्स में कुछ सैशेनिस्ट टेन्डेन्सीज भी पैदा हो गई हैं, हम ने इसी साल यह भी देखा कि लैंग्वेज के सवाल को लेकर बहुत बड़े मार्क हुए। ये सब चीजें अलामत हैं—एक मर्ज की और हमें देखना है कि वह मर्ज क्या है। हम दरख्त की पत्तियों को देखते हैं, उस की टहनियों को देखते हैं, लेकिन तना हमारी नजर से घोसल हो जाता है। हम ऐसे बख्त में इस बड़े देश में रहते हैं जहां दो तबके हैं—एक अमीर और एक गरीब और उन में बहुत बड़ा फर्क है। हमने आईन बनाया। हमारी कांग्रेस ने हमेशा कोशिश की और अभी भी हमारे सामने 10 प्वाइन्ट प्रोग्राम है कि हम यह जो फर्क अमीर और गरीब में है, उस को मिटावेंगे, हम ऐसे कदम उठाते जा रहे हैं और भागे की तरफ बढ़ते चले जा रहे हैं। मगर इस के बावजूद भी यह चीज यहां पर मौजूद है।



[श्री ब्रह्मसद आगा]

सवाल यह है कि नागालैंड में, मीज़ोरम में या असम में माओ के आइडियाज क्यों इन्फ्लेटेड हुए ? इस लिए इन्फ्लेटेड होते हैं कि वहां पर इस तरह का माहौल मौजूद है, जो इस तरह के आइडियाज ले सकता है। अगर वहां पर हम खुशहाली पैदा करें, तो इस तरह के आइडियाज पैदा नहीं हो सकते। अभी कुछ देर हुई, मैंने पढ़ा था—एक सर्वे हुआ है नैशनल कान्सिल आफ एप्लाइड इकॉनॉमिक रिसर्च के जरिये, जिममें कहा गया है कि 3 लाख 20 हजार लोग नेफ्रा में ऐसे हैं जो इस मर्ज में मुतला हैं। आज जब हम यह कहते हैं कि हम हल और बैल की एज से आगे चले जाय, हम ट्रेक्टर का इस्तेमाल करें, उस के जरिये हम जमीन से सोना उगल-बायें—मगर जब हम यह देखते हैं कि वहां हल और बैल भी मुयसिर नहीं हैं, इस कद्र पशेमान्दा वे लोग हैं, तो फिर यह शिकायत करें कि वे लोग बदअमनी क्यों करते हैं—इस में हमारी गलती है। इस लिये यह बहुत जरूरी है कि हम अमीर और गरीब के फर्क को जल्द से जल्द मिटायें। असली मर्ज यही है और इस को मिटाना हमारा काम है।

फिरकेवाराना फिसादात जो होते हैं—ये सब क्लास स्ट्रगल की तबज्जह हटाने के लिये किये जाते हैं। इस के बारे में जैसा वाजपेयी साहब ने कहा—मैं उन के साथ कुलीयतन इत्फाक करता हूँ कि कोई सियासी पार्टी ऐसी नहीं है जो फिसादात कराती है या उकसाती है। मैं इस बात को मानता हूँ, तसलीम करता हूँ क्योंकि हकीकत भी यूही होनी चाहिये। चन्द लोग खूनी हैं, ऐसे हैं जो सूटेरे हैं, हर शहर में खून करना चाहते हैं, वे ऐसे फिसादात कराते हैं—लेकिन ये सब चीजें इसलिये बढ़ती जा रही हैं क्योंकि हम असली मकसद से दूर चले जा रहे हैं।  
रा -  
हालात अच्छे हो सकते हैं। आज बहुत बड़ी

तादाद पेवमन्ट्स पर बसर करने वालों की है। मैं काश्मीर का रहनेवाला हूँ, वहां इन्तहाई सर्दी में वे लोग नहीं मरते। यहां इसलिये मरते हैं क्योंकि पेवमेन्ट्स पर रहते हैं। ऐसा क्यों है ? व क्यों पेवमेन्ट्स पर सोयें—यह चीज हमको मिटानी है और इस सिल-सिले में हमें तेजी के साथ आगे कदम बढ़ाना है, इस को मुलतवी नहीं करना है।

मैं आपको काश्मीर की मिशाल देता हूँ—कहते हैं कि काश्मीर में सियासी प्रावलम्ब है—कोई सियासी प्रावलम नहीं है, वहां जितनी भी है इकतनादी प्रावलम है। मेरे पास एक किताब है—इण्डिया इरिगेशन एण्ड पावर प्राजेक्ट्स—फाइव ईयर प्लान—इस में लिखा है—मैं जम्मू-काश्मीर के बारे में जिक्र कर रहा हूँ—पहला प्लान—निल, दूसरा प्लान—निल, तीसरा प्लान—निल, चौथे प्लान में कहा है—ऊज स्कीम हैं . . . (व्यवधान) . . . मगर अभी यह फंसला जेरे गौर है कि कब शुरू करना है।

अब म पावर की तरफ आ रहा हूँ :

Power projects Completed I, II and III Plans — nil.

Continuing I and II Plans — nil.

III Plan — Chenami Hydel Project and Kalaket Thermal station.

New Schemes IV Plan — Lower Jhelum Hydel Project Sind Hydro-electric project, Sumbel.

सवाल यह है कि ये स्कीमें बहुत देर से बटार्ड में पड़ी हुई हैं। सिध हाईड्रो एलेक्ट्रिक और लोअर जेलम प्रोजेक्ट से ही हम काफी बिजली पैदा कर सकते थे लेकिन हम नहीं कर रहे हैं।

हमारे यहाँ जियोलाजिकल सर्वे गया था, उसने सर्वे किया और कहा कि हमारे यहाँ ग्राल्म्यूनियम, बाक्ससाइट, लाइम स्टोन है। कश्मीर की वादी में कापर है। मुगलों के बक्त से मालूम था, यह कोई नयी बात नहीं है लेकिन उसे निकालने का काम नहीं हुआ। हम उसकी तरफ कोई कदम नहीं उठा रहे हैं। कश्मीर में ट्रामवेज के जरिये ट्रान्सपोर्ट बहुत सस्ता हो सकता है लेकिन उसकी तरफ हम कोई कदम नहीं उठा रहे हैं। हम सलाल में विजली पैदा करें तो ऐसा हो सकता है। आज कश्मीर की प्रब्लम जो पोज की जाती है जिससे हर एक गलत फायदा उठाता है उसको हर एक बड़ा चढ़ा कर कहता है, वह न रहे लेकिन हम वह कदम नहीं उठा रहे हैं। वह कदम अगर हमने 20 साल पहले उठाये होते तो बहुत आगे चले गये होते। आपने कहा कि फाइव ईयर प्लान्स पर बहुत खर्च किया, यकीनन बहुत खर्च किया। आपने सड़कें बनाईं लेकिन किसान और मजदूर को सड़क से फौरी इम्पैक्ट नजर नहीं आता। व्यापारी उस पर माल ले जाते हैं, वह कुछ सस्ता पड़ेगा लेकिन वर्ल्ड मार्केट में प्राइसेज आगे चली गईं इसलिए किसान और मजदूर के लिए तो कीमतें 1947 के मुकाबले में बढ़ गईं मगर व्यापारी के ऊपर कोई इम्पैक्ट नहीं पड़ा। हमने वहाँ पर ऐसे काम नहीं किये जिससे किसान पर, मजदूर पर इम्पैक्ट पड़े। हमने 7 मजिल की सेक्रेटेरियट इमारत बनाई लेकिन उसके कोई माने नहीं हैं। वह सेल्फ जेनरेंटिंग एकोनामी नहीं है। हमने दुकानें बनाईं लेकिन कोई हुकूमत दुकानें नहीं बनाती। हमने फ्लैट बनाये। किस लिये? किराये के लिए फ्लैट दुकानें तो प्राइवेट सेक्टर में भी बन जातीं। सेल्फ जेनरेंटिंग एकोनामी पर पहले दो और तीसरे प्लान में खर्च नहीं किया गया। इसीलिए यह अड़चनें सारी की सारी सामने आती हैं।

मैंने अपनी बात कहने के लिए होम मिनिस्ट्री डिमान्ड्स को इसलिए चुना क्योंकि

यह कहा जाता है कि वहाँ पर सियासी मसला है। मैं कश्मीर का हूँ, मैं कहता हूँ कि वहाँ पर कोई सियासी मसला नहीं है।

16 Hrs.

एक माननीय सदस्य : रोज झगड़े होते हैं।

श्री अहमद अगगा : बहरहाल यह बात नहीं है।

हमको बहुत जल्द वहाँ तामीरी किस्म के काम करने चाहिए। वह काम करने चाहिए जो कि सेल्फ जेनरेंटिंग एकोनामी की तहत हों।

इसी सिलसिले में मैं यह भी कहना चाहता हूँ कि शेख साहब के मुताल्लिक हम कोई फौरी कदम न लें इसमें कोई जल्दवाजी की जरूरत नहीं है। मुझे होम मिनिस्टर साहब से पूरा इत्तफाक है कि यह इमोशनल बात नहीं है। इमोशनस इस बात का इलाज नहीं होते। हमको स्टेट्समैनशिप से काम लेना है और तभी आगे चलना है। मैं शेख साहब को बहुत अच्छी तरह से जानता हूँ। वह मेमार हैं इस इलहाक के जो हमने किया है। अब वे क्या कहते हैं? वे बहुत सी मुतजाद बातें हैं, आज का अखबार है नेशनल हेराल्ड, मैं उसकी कटिंग लाया हूँ। तीन चार बातें उन्होंने कही हैं :

"We can then stand on to Pak-istan and if Pakistan does not accept, it will be isolated."

वे यह भी कहते हैं:

"At the same time, nothing should be done to weaken the secular character of India because Kashmir's survival depended upon India's stability."

फिर वे कहते हैं जो कि पहले भी कहा करते थे:

"Barring defence, foreign affairs and communications, the State was conceded full autonomy."

[श्री अहमद भागा]

यानी उनके जहन में क्या बात है ? वह एटोनामी है, और कुछ नहीं है । यह अलग बात है कि उससे हमको इत्फाक है या नहीं । उन्होंने सन् 48 में बहुत अच्छा कदम लैंड रिफार्म्स का लिया था । . . . (व्यवधान)..... मगर एटोनामी जो थी उसने इसे फेल कर दिया । जमीन तो किसानों को दे दी लेकिन उनको रुपया नहीं दिया क्योंकि रिजर्व बैंक आफ इंडिया ऐक्ट वहाँ लागू नहीं था । ऐसी एटोनामी को क्या करना है । कुछ दिन पहले मैंने यहाँ कहा कि उन तमाम कवानीन का फायदा उठाना हम को भी चाहिए जो कि मुल्क में लागू हों । यह गलत बात है कि हम यहाँ का हिस्सा तो बनें मगर कानून अपने ऊपर लागू न करें । इसलिए ऐसी एटोनामी से कम से कम मुझे इत्फाक नहीं है और न होना ही चाहिए, क्योंकि वह हमको रोकती है, तरक्की से, आगे नहीं बढ़ाती है । मगर एक बात नजर आ रही है कि अगर वक्त दिया जाये तो हो सकता है कि शेख साहब हालात का जायजा लेकर अपने खयालात में एक बेहतर तब्दीली ला सकें । इसलिए हमको किसी जल्दबाजी की जरूरत नहीं है ।

दूसरी बात जैसा मैं ने अर्ज किया, वह यह है कि सारा मसला जो है वह एक्टिसादी है । यह सिर्फ यहीं की बात नहीं है कि सारे हिन्दुस्तान में गरीब और अमीर में बहुत ज्यादा फर्क है । तमाम दुनिया में यही सूरत है कि काले लोग वह हैं जो गरीब हैं और जो डेवलपिंग कन्ट्रीज को बिलौग करते हैं । और सफेद लोग वे हैं जोकि अमीर हैं । उन्होंने यह अमीरी हासिल कैसे की ? यूँकी कि हम उनकी कालोनीज थे । उन्होंने यहाँ से दौलत समेटी और ताकतवर बन गए । ताकतवर बनने के बाद आज उनको यह बात बहुत गरीब गुजरती है अगर हम कहते हैं कि हमको कोई ट्रेड प्रिफरेंस दो । वह ऐसा नहीं करते । इकबाल का एक शेर है :

है जुमें जईफी की सजा मर्गे मफ़ाजात ।

रोडेशिया में क्या हो रहा है ? अयान स्मिथ जो हैं उन्होंने 5 काले लोगों को फांसी दी । मगर इतनी बड़ी दुनिया में हम सब रंगदार बेकार हो गये । हम सबका काम है यह कि एफ्रो-एशियन कन्ट्रीज सब एक हों और उनके मुकाबल में खड़े हों जिन्होंने कि हम पर आज तक हुकूमत की । ऐसे वक्त में, जिसे कि थर्ड वर्ल्ड कहा जाता है, हमको एक हो जाना चाहिए । एक वक्त था जबकि पंडित जी चाहते थे कि इन तमाम लोगों को लीड करें । मैं आज भी यही समझता हूँ कि हिन्दुस्तान एक ऐसा मुल्क है जोकि लीड दे सकता है और उसको लीड देनी चाहिए । उन तमाम मुल्कों को जोकि कालोनियल मूल की वजह से आज तक दबते रहे हैं, उनको लीड देनी चाहिए और आवाज उठानी चाहिए ताकि वह बेइन्साफियाँ मिट सकें ।

मैं समझता हूँ कि यह उम्मीद करना कि वे लोग (यानी तरक्की याफता मुल्क के) खुद से ऐसा करेंगे और हमारे साथ एक बेहतर इंसफ़ाफ़ करेंगे, ऐसी चीज की उम्मीद करना बिल्कुल एक गलत चीज है । हम को यह प्रीफ़रेंस हासिल करने चाहिए और वह तभी हासिल होंगे जब तमाम काले लोगों को हम लीड दें और हिन्दुस्तान ही इन सबका लीडर बने । चूँकि दो मर्तबा घंटी बज चुकी है इस लिए मैं सिर्फ टैगोर का एक जुमला सुना कर अपनी बात को खत्म करना चाहता हूँ ।

"People who grow accustomed to wield power over others are apt to forget that by so doing they generate unseeing forces which some day rends that power into pieces." (Tagore)

[شری احمد آغا (بازار مولانا) - صدر  
 صاحبہ - جو برس کزر گیا ہے وہ بڑے  
 معرقہ کا برس رہا ہے - اس میں بہت  
 سی ایسی الجھنوں جو پہلے سطح  
 پر نہیں آئیں تھی اس سال سطح پر  
 آئیں ہیں اور جو خاص طور پر سطح  
 پر آئی ہے - وہ ہے فرقہ دارانہ فسادات -  
 اس سلسلے میں واجپتی جی نے  
 فرمایا کہ انکی پہل اس طرح سے ہوئی  
 اس طرح سے ہوئی کہ میں انکی تفصیل  
 میں نہیں جانا چاہتا کہ پہل کھونکر  
 ہوئی کہ سے ہوئی - اس کے تفصیل میں  
 جانے کی ضرورت نہیں ہے - مگر یہ  
 بات صحیح ہے کہ یہ کلک کا ٹھکانا  
 جو ہندوستان کے ہر شہر کے ساتھ ہر  
 لگا ہے اور اسکو جس قدر جلد ہو سکے  
 اپنے دیہ میں ختم کرنا ضروری ہے کہ  
 یہ ایک بہت فلتا چیز ہے جو ہمارے  
 دیہ میں پھیلی ہوئی ہے کہ ہم نے یہ  
 بھی دیکھا کہ آسام - بنگال - ناگالینڈ  
 مہاراز میں کچھ سسپنسٹ ٹیلڈ  
 ہسٹری بھی پیدا ہو گئی ہیں کہ ہم نے  
 اسی سال یہ بھی دیکھا کہ لہنگویج کے  
 سوال کو لیکر بہت بڑے معارکے ہوئے  
 یہ سب چیزیں ملامتوں میں ایک  
 مرض کی اور ہمیں دیکھنا ہے کہ وہ  
 مرض کہا ہے - ہم درخت کی پتوں کو  
 دیکھتے ہیں کہ اس کی تہوں کو  
 دیکھتے ہیں کہ لیکن تباہی نظر سے  
 اوجھل ہو جاتا ہے - ہم ایسے وقت سے

ہیں اس بڑے دیہ میں رہتے ہیں  
 جہاں دو طبقہ ہیں ایک امیر اور ایک  
 فریب اور ان میں بہت بڑا فرق ہے -  
 ہم نے انہیں بدلایا کہ ہماری کانگریس نے  
 ہمیشہ کوشش کی اور ابھی بھی  
 ہمارے سامنے ۱۰ پوائنٹ پروگرام ہے کہ  
 ہم پر جو فرق امیر اور فریب میں ہے  
 اس کو مٹائیں گے کہ ہم ایسے قدم اٹھائے  
 جائیں کہ ہمیں اور آگے کی طرف بڑھتے جا  
 رہے ہیں کہ مگر اس کے باوجود بھی یہ  
 چیز یہاں پر موجود ہے

سوال یہ ہے کہ ناگالینڈ میں -  
 مہسور میں ہال آسام میں آسام کے آئیڈیاز  
 کوئی انفلٹریٹ ہوئے - اس کے انفلٹریٹ  
 ہوئے کچھ آسام پر اس طرح کا ماحول  
 موجود ہے جو اس طرح کے آئیڈیاز نے  
 سکتا ہے کہ وہاں پر ہم پخششالی  
 پیدا کریں تو اس طرح کے آئیڈیاز پیدا  
 نہیں ہو سکتے - ابھی کچھ دیر ہوئی  
 میں نے پڑھا تھا کہ ایک سروے ہوا ہے  
 نیشنل کانسٹریٹ آف ایمپلائڈ اکانامک  
 ریسرچ کے ذریعہ جس میں کہا گیا ہے کہ  
 ۳ لاکھ ۲۰ ہزار لوگ بھنگا میں ایسے  
 ہیں جو اس مرض میں مبتلا ہیں کہ  
 آج جب ہم یہ دیکھتے ہیں کہ ہم ہل  
 اور بھل کی ایج سے آگے چلے جاتے ہیں -  
 ہم ٹیکٹر کا استعمال کریں - اس کے  
 ذریعہ ہم زمین سے سونا اگلوائیں - مگر  
 جب ہم یہ دیکھتے ہیں کہ وہاں ہل  
 اور بھل بھی مہسور نہیں ہیں - اس قدر  
 ہمساندہ وہ لوگ ہیں تو پھر یہ

[ شری احمد آغا ]

شکایت کریں کہ وہ لوگ بدامنی کہیں کرتے ہیں۔ اس میں ہماری غلطی ہے۔ ہماری کسی ہے۔ اس لئے یہ بہت ضروری ہے کہ ہم اسپر اور غریب کے فرق کو جلد سے جلد مٹا دیں۔ اصلی مرض یہی ہے اور اس کو مٹانا ہمارا کام ہے۔

فرقہ وارانہ، سادات جو ہوتے ہیں وہ سب کلاس سٹیل کی توجہ ہٹانے کے لئے کئے جاتے ہیں۔ اسکے بارے میں جھسا واچھٹی صاحب نے کہا۔ میں ان کے ساتھ کلہن اتفاق کرتا ہوں کہ کوئی سیاسی پارٹی ایسی نہیں ہے جو فسادات کو اکساتی ہے۔ میں اس بات کو مانتا ہوں۔ ٹسلم کرتا ہوں کہونکہ حقیقت یہی ہوں ہی ہونی چاہئے۔ جلد لوگ خونری ہوں۔ ایسے جو ہوں لٹھری ہوں۔ ہر شہر میں خون کرنا چاہتے ہوں۔ وہ ایسے فسادات کرتے ہوں۔ لوگوں سے ہم چھڑیں اسلئے بڑھتی جا رہی ہیں کہونکہ ہم اصلی مقصد سے دور چلے جا رہے ہیں۔ اگر ہم یہاں خوشحالی پہنچائیں تو صورت حالت اچھے ہو سکتے ہیں۔ آج بہت بڑی تعداد پھولتس پر بسر کرنے والوں کی ہے۔ میں کشمیر کا رہنے والا ہوں۔ وہاں کی انتہائی سردی میں وہ لوگ نہیں مرتے یہاں اس لئے مرتے ہیں۔ کہونکہ پھولتس ایسا ہوتے ہیں۔ ایسا

کہوں ہے۔ وہ کہوں پھولتس پر سوئیں۔ یہ چیز ہم کو مٹانی ہے اور اس ہے اور اس سلسلے میں تیزی کے ساتھ آگے قدم بڑھانا ہے۔ اسکو ملتوی نہیں کرنا ہے۔

میں آپ کو کشمیر کی مثال دیتا ہوں۔ کہتے ہیں کہ کشمیر میں سیاسی پرابلمز ہیں۔ کوئی سیاسی پرابلم نہیں ہے وہاں جعلی ہی ہے اقتصادی پرابلم ہے۔ میرے پاس ایک کتاب ہے۔ انڈیا آرگنائسمن ایلڈ پراجیکٹس۔ فائر اپر پلان۔ اس میں لکھا ہے۔ میں جمو کشمیر کے بارے میں ذکر کر رہا ہوں۔ پہلا پلان۔ نل۔ دوسرا پلان۔ نل۔ تیسرا پلان۔ نل۔ چوتھا پلان۔ میں کہا ہے آج سکیم ۰۰۰ (انٹریشن) ۰۰۰ مگر ابھی یہ فیصلہ زیر غور ہے کہ کیا شروع کرنا ہے۔

[ اب میں پاور کی طرف آ رہا ہوں۔ ]

Power Projects completed I, II and III  
[ Plans—nil.

Continuing I and II Plans - nil.  
III Plan - Chynami Hydel Project  
and Kaly Ket Thermal Station.

New Schemes IV Plan - Lower Jhelum  
Hydel Project  
Sind Hydro-  
electric project,  
Sumbel.

سوال یہ ہے کہ ہمیں بہت دیر ہو گئی - سید ہانڈرو الیکٹرک پروجیکٹ سے ہی ہم کافی بجلی پیدا کر سکتے ہیں - لیکن ہم نہیں کر رہے ہیں -

ہمارے یہاں جنیولوجیکل سروے کیا تھا - اس نے سروے کیا اور کہا کہ ہمارے یہاں المونیم - باکسائٹ - لائم سٹون ہے - کشمیر کی وادی میں کاپر ہے - مٹلوں کے وقت سے معلوم تھا یہ کوئی نئی بات نہیں ہے - لیکن اسے نکالنے کا کام نہیں ہوا - ہم اسکی طرف کوئی قدم نہیں اٹھا رہے ہیں - کشمیر میں ٹرانسمیٹ کے ذریعہ ٹرانسمیوٹ بہت سستا ہو سکتا ہے - لیکن اسکی طرف ہم کوئی قدم نہیں اٹھا رہے ہیں ہم سال میں بجلی پیدا کریں تو ایسا ہو سکتا ہے - آج کشمیر کی پراہم جو پوز کی جاتی ہے - جس سے ہر ایک فلفا فائدہ اٹھاتا ہے اسکو بڑھا چوہا کر کہتا ہے وہ نہ رہے - لیکن ہم وہ قدم نہیں اٹھا رہے ہیں - وہ قدم اگر ہم نے ۲۰ سال پہلے اٹھائے ہوتے تو بہت اچھے چلے گئے ہوتے - آپ نے کہا کہ فائو لہر ہلانز پر بہت خرچ کھد - تقیباً بہت خرچ کیا - اچھے سڑکیں بنائیں لیکن کسان اور مزدور کو سڑک سے فوراً اسپیکٹ نظر نہیں آتا - وہاں اس پر مال لہجاتے ہیں - وہ کچھ سستا پڑھتا - لیکن ورلڈ مارکیٹ میں پرائسز آگے چلی

گئیں اسلئے کسان اور مزدور کے لئے تو قیمتوں کے مقابلہ میں بڑھوں مگر وہاں اس کے اوپر کوئی اسپیکٹ نہیں پڑا - ہم نے وہاں پر ایسے کام نہیں کئے جسے کسان پر - مزدور پر اسپیکٹ پڑے - ہم نے سات منزل کی سیکریٹریٹ عمارت بنائی لیکن اس کے کوئی معلی نہیں ہیں - وہ سلف چھلریٹنگ اڈونسی نہیں ہے - ہم نے ہوٹا نہیں بنائیں - لیکن کوئی حکومت دوکانوں نہیں بنائی - ہم نے فلیٹ بنائے - کس لئے - کرائے کے لئے فلیٹ دوکانوں تو پرائیویٹ سیکٹر میں بھی بن جائیں - سلف چھلریٹنگ اڈونسی پر پہلے دوسرے اور تیسرے پلان میں خرچ نہیں کیا گیا - اس لئے یہ اڑچلن ساری کی ساری سامنے آئی ہیں -

میں نے اہلی بات کہنے کے لئے ہوم منسٹری ڈیپارٹمنٹس کو اس لئے چنا کہونکہ یہ کہا جاتا ہے کہ وہاں پر سیاسی مسئلہ ہے - میں کشمیر کا ہوں - میں کہتا ہوں کہ وہاں پر کوئی سیاسی مسئلہ نہیں ہے -

ایک سالانہ سیمینار : روز چھوڑے ہوتے ہیں -

سری احمد آغا : بہر حال یہ بات نہیں ہے -

ہم کو بہت جلد وہاں تصویب قسم کے کام کرنے چاہئیں - وہ کام

[ شری احمد آغا ]

کرنے چاہتوں - جو کہ سلف  
 جوبلی ہتنگ اکانسی کے تحت ہوں -  
 اس سلسلے میں میں یہ بھی  
 کہنا چاہتا ہوں کہ شیخ صاحب کے  
 متعلق ہم کوئی فوری قدم لیں اس  
 میں کوئی جلد بازی کی ضرورت نہیں  
 ہے - مجھے ہوم منسٹر صاحب سے  
 پورا اتفاق ہے کہ یہ اموشل بات  
 نہیں ہے - اموشل اس بات کا علاج  
 نہیں ہوتے ؟ ہم کو سٹیٹسمینٹ سے  
 کام لینا ہے اور تبھی آگے چلنا ہے -  
 میں شیخ صاحب کو بہت اچھی  
 طرح سے جانتا ہوں - وہ معمار ہوں  
 اس الحاق کے جو ہم نے کیا ہے -  
 اب وہ دہا کہتے ہیں - وہ بہت سی  
 متضاد باتیں ہیں - آج کا اخبار ہے  
 نیشنل ہیرلڈ - میں اس کی کٹنگ  
 لایا ہوں ، تین چار باتیں انہوں نے  
 کہیں ہیں -

"We can then stand on to Pak-  
 istan and if Pakistan does not  
 accept, it will be isolated."

وہ یہ بھی کہتے ہیں -

"At the same time, nothing  
 should be done to weaken the  
 secular character of India be-  
 cause Kashmir's survival depended  
 upon India's stability."

پھر وہ کہتے ہیں جو کہ پہلے بھی کہا  
 کرتے ہیں -

"Barring defence, foreign affairs  
 and communications, the State  
 was conceded full autonomy."

یعنی ان کے ذہن میں کہا بات  
 ہے - وہ اتانامی ہے اور کچھ نہیں  
 ہے ، یہ الگ بات ہے کہ اس سے ہم  
 کو اتفاق ہے یا نہیں - انہوں نے  
 ستمبر ۲۸ میں بہت اچھا قدم لہذا  
 دینارمس کا لیا تھا - ( ویردھان )  
 مگر اتانامی جو تھی اس نے اسے فیل  
 کر دیا - زمین تو کسانوں کو ہے  
 دی لیکن ان کو روپیہ نہیں دیا  
 کیونکہ رزرو بھنگ آف انڈیا ایکٹ  
 وہاں لاگو نہیں تھا - ایسی اتانامی  
 کر کہا کرنا ہے - کچھ دن پہلے میں  
 نے یہاں کہا کہ ان تمام قوانین کا  
 خالہ اٹھانا ہم کو بھی چاہئے جو کہ  
 ملک میں لاگو ہوں - یہ غلط بات  
 ہے کہ ہم یہاں کا حصہ تو ہوں مگر  
 قانون اپنے اوپر لاگو نہ کریں - اس لئے  
 ایسی اتانامی سے کم از کم مجھے  
 اتفاق نہیں ہے اور نہ ہونا ہی چاہئے  
 کیونکہ وہ ہم کو روکتی ہے ترقی سے  
 آگے نہیں بڑھائی ہے - مگر ایک بات  
 نظر آ رہی ہے کہ اگر وقت دیا جائے تو  
 ہو سکتا ہے کہ شیخ صاحب حالات کا  
 جائزہ لے کر اچھے خیالات میں ایک  
 بہتر تبدیلی لاسکوں - اس لئے ہم  
 کو کسی جلد بازی کی ضرورت نہیں  
 ہے -

دوسری بات جیسا میں نے عرض

کیا وہ یہ ہے کہ سارا معاملہ جو ہے  
 بڑا اقتصادی ہے - یہ صرف یہیں کی

بات نہیں ہے کہ سارے ہندوستان میں فریپ اور امپر میں بہت زیادہ فرق ہے۔ تمام دنیا میں یہی صورت ہے کہ کالے لوگ وہ ہیں جو فریپ ہیں اور جو ڈولہیلنگ کنٹریز کو بلانگ کرتے ہیں اور سفید لوگ وہ ہیں جو کہ امپر ہیں۔ انہوں نے یہ امپری حاصل کی ہے۔ ہوں کی کہ ہم ان کی کالہز تھے۔ انہیے یہاں سے دولت سمیٹی اور طاقت ور بن گئے۔ طاقتور بننے کے بعد آج ان کے کو یہ بات بہت گران گزرتی ہے۔ اگر ہم کہتے ہیں کہ ہم کو کوئی ٹریڈ یونینس دو۔ وہ ایسا نہیں کرتے۔ اقبال کا ایک شعر ہے۔

ہے جرمِ شععی کی سزا مرگِ مفاجات  
روڈیہیا میں کیا ہو رہا ہے۔ این  
سلتہ جو ہیں انہوں نے پانچ کالے  
لوگو و پھانس دی مگر اتلی بیوی  
دنیا میں ہم سب رنگدار بھکار ہو گئے  
ہیں۔ ہم سب کا کام ہے یہ کہ  
ایہڑ ایہی کنٹریز سب ایک ہوں  
اور ان کے مقابلے میں کھڑے ہوں۔  
جلہوں نے کہ ہم پر آج تک حکومت  
کی۔ ایسے وقت میں۔ جیسے کہ  
تھریڈ "ورلڈ" کہا جاتا ہے۔ ہم کو  
ایک ہو چاہئے۔ ایک وقت  
تھا کہ پلڈس جی چاہتے تھے کہ ان  
تمام لوگوں کے لہڈ وہ رہیں۔ میں  
آج بھی یہی سمجھتا ہوں کہ ہندوستان

ایک ایسا ملک ہے جو کہ لہڈ ہے  
سکتا ہے۔ اور اس کو لہڈ دینی  
چاہئے۔ ان تمام ملکوں کو جو کہ  
کولونیل رول کی وجہ سے آج تک  
دیتے رہے ہیں ان کو لہڈ دینی  
چاہئے۔ اور آواز اٹھانی چاہئے تاکہ  
وہ پرائنسیپل سب سے سکیں۔ میں  
سمجھتا ہوں کہ یہ امپر کرنا کہ  
وہ لوگ (یعنی ترقی یافتہ ملک کے)  
خود سے ایسا کویلیٹی اور ہمارے ساتھ  
ایک بہتر انصاف کریلیٹی۔ ایسی  
چیز کی امپر کرنا بالکل ایک غلط  
چیز ہے۔ ہم کو یہ پریفرنسز حاصل  
کونے چاہئے اور وہ تبھی حاصل ہونگے  
جب تمام کالے لوگوں کو ہم لہڈ دیں  
اور ہندوستان ہی ان سب کا لہڈر  
ہے۔ کیونکہ دو مرتبہ گھلتی بیج  
چکی ہے اس لئے میں صرف تھکور  
کا ایک جملہ سنا کر اپنی بات کو  
ختم کرنا چاہتا ہوں۔

"People who grow accustomed to wield power over others are apt to forget that by so doing they generate unseeing forces which some day rends that power into pieces." (Tagore.)

DR. RANEN SEN (Barasat): Mr. Chairman, the Home Ministry has demanded a grant of nearly Rs. 172 crores. Before granting such a huge amount of money to the Ministry we should look at the record of the Ministry. According to us, the record of the Ministry is an unbroken record of failures, bungling, subterfuge and appeasement of vested interests. I want to illustrate the last point first.



[Dr. Ranen Sen].

There was a discussion here in this House—and there was a public discussion also—that the Home Ministry will deal with the question of privy purses. Now for months together Shri Chavan is dealing with the question of privy purses. How? By simply humouring those gentlemen, the ex-princes, by trying to persuade them, by cajoling them. Ultimately, we are quite sure, the Home Ministry will appease them and do away with the main demand of the country to do away with privy purses.

Then, I was speaking of bungling by the Home Ministry. The way the language question has been dealt with by the Home Ministry is a glaring example of such bungling. When we were hearing the speeches in this House I was thinking whom the Language Resolution and the Language Bill—now it is an Act—have satisfied. Has any section of the country been satisfied by the Bill? Nobody is satisfied. This is thanks to the attitude taken by the Home Ministry, by the bungling done by the Home Ministry and the whole country is today facing a grave crisis which nobody can deny. When the Language Bill was being discussed and after the Language Bill was passed, riots took place throughout India, north and south; we saw a series of riots and disturbances simply on this issue. It is an undoubted fact that it is the Government's policy which is breeding fissiparous tendencies in India today. Today, to speak of integration of the country, to speak of national unity has become moonshine. Nobody believes in that.

I may refer here to the question of communal disturbances and the failure of secularism. What has happened to secularism? One of the first casualties in India today is secularism. From the experience that we have had of communal disturbances in the last one year there is no doubt about that. In this report it is admitted that compared to last year

the year 1966-67 has seen more communal riots, nearly 67 per cent increase in communal riots in one year.

In all these communal riots the main blame has to be laid on the shoulders of the administration. I come from a State where a few days back there was some communal disturbance. We were there on the field and we saw how the administration was absolutely neglectful and completely callous in dealing with the communal elements who mostly came from the Hindu community.

SHRIMATI SUCHETA KRIPALANI (Gonda): The Prime Minister went there and the administration took prompt action.

DR. RANEN SEN: The Prime Minister went there and it is also known, if Shrimati Sucheta Kripalani reads Bengali newspapers, that most of the Congress newspapers have written editorials denouncing her going there. She should remember that. She is a Bengali and she must be reading Bengali newspapers also.

In the Congress there is a section of communal elements who, in our city and in all parts of India, are fostering this communal feeling so that the minority today has no protection, has no sense of protection at least. Also, in Calcutta we have seen a section of the RSS—I am born and brought up in Calcutta and I know some of them—also took part in that.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE: Nonsense.

DR. RANEN SEN: It is a fact.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE: It is not a fact.

DR. RANEN SEN: We were assaulted there. No less a person than the ex-Chief Minister, Shri Ajoy Mukerjee, myself, Shri Bhupesh Gupta and other people of the United Front

went there and the Muslims pleaded before us for protection.

**SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE:** May I know who stabbed the Congress worker who went with Shri A. K. Sen?

**DR. RANEN SEN:** I do not want to be interrupted. I do not yield.

I would not have said that but for the speech made here a little while ago by Shri Vajpayee that Pakistani elements are coming and creating disturbances. This is the sense that he tried to convey. But we know who are the people. I was in Calcutta. People were assaulted before the police—the armed police—and the Deputy Commissioner. We pointed out the people and asked, "What are you doing?" They said, "What can we do, Sir?" This is what has taken place.

Therefore I say that the original sin begins there when during these 20 years the Congress Government failed to inculcate the spirit of non-communalism among the people. It is the Congress Government which has failed.

**SHRI SHEO NARAIN:** You have beaten a Member of Parliament.

**DR. RANEN SEN:** This is the original sin committed by the Congress Party during the 20 years' rule.

Now I come to the question of Centre-State relations. Today they are very much estranged. I was listening to Shri Kandappan and from his speech one could understand the feeling of Tamilnad and not only the feeling of Tamilnad but others also. In this report on page 35 there are two or three paragraphs relating to Centre-State relations. The Congress, having enjoyed the majority at the Centre and in the States, wanted to keep power in its own hands. When there is a change in the political si-

tuation, the Congress Party and the Home Ministry could not adapt themselves to it. Coming from West Bengal I stand here to show the example of West Bengal. I have seen that when the United Front Government was formed, the Central Government and the Home Ministry tried to break up that ministry.

I now come to the question of the police. A grant of Rs. 45 crores has been asked for the police. The Intelligence Bureau and the Police Department as a whole have failed to find out the sources of adulteration of drugs and foodgrains. They have not been able to find out or track down communal elements, the goonda elements and the provincial chauvinistic elements in our country. Foreign espionage is going on in our country but both the Central Intelligence Bureau and the Central Bureau of Investigation are quite ignorant or innocent about these things. On the 21st March there was a report published in the *Delhi Statesman* which said that the Intelligence Bureau's report on Smith's charges has been given to the Central Government and a part of the alleged report appeared in the newspaper. As yet neither the Government of India has denied the report published in the *Statesman* nor laid on the Table of the House any report given by the Intelligence Bureau which was entrusted with the work of investigating into C.I.A. activities and other foreign agencies as revealed by Mr. John Smith.

Then, I come to other activities of the police. The Border Security Force and the Central Reserve Police have been, in the main, used not for the security of the borders but for the security of the Congress regime. In 1966, these forces were used in West Bengal to quell down food movement and in November, 1967, these forces were withdrawn from the border leaving the border at the mercy of the enemy elements. These forces were used to suppress the West Bengal people since November, 1967. Therefore,

[Dr. Ranen Sen]

I do not find anything to support the Demands of the Home Ministry.

Then, two or three days back, we found in Calcutta newspapers that the Calcutta Tramways Co. authorities, Mr. P. J. Griffiths, Mr. Webb and Mr. Gaiskell have come to Calcutta and they have started discussing with the West Bengal Government and want to sell the Calcutta Tramways to the West Bengal Government. What is the position of the Calcutta Tramways? The Calcutta Tramways Co.'s assets are really liabilities. They are mere junk and, for this junk, they are trying to influence the West Bengal Government officials so that the West Bengal Government can purchase the junk for Rs. 6.77 crores, to be precise. I draw the attention of the Home Ministry to this and ask them to immediately put a stop to this. The Home Ministry should see that after a responsible Government is established, that is, after the elections only, such a deal can be entertained by a responsible Government, the Ministry that will be installed after the elections, not by Shri Dharma Vira or the Chief Secretary who happens to be the I.C.S. man. This is the national interest; this is not a party interest. India should not be deprived of, cheated of, Rs. 7 crores by purchasing the junk.

I would deal with one or two points more. As I was saying, there is the failure of the Home Ministry. One example of the failure of the Home Ministry is in regard to the services for the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. There is a quota but, according to that quota, even the Class III officers are not recruited from the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. If they have not got that merit, it goes not to the credit of the Home Ministry. For twenty years what has the Government done in regard to the upliftment of the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes? It is a total failure.

Lastly, what I want to mention is about upgrading the Union Territories. For long, the small Union Territories like Manipur, Tripura, Himachal Pradesh, etc., have remained the zamindari of the Central Government. Now it is time to do away with the zamindari so that they also get their Statehood, their full Assembly, their full powers and everything.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Shri Shanaranand; not here. Shri P. K. Ghosh.

SHRI P. K. GHOSH (Ranchi): I thank you for giving me an opportunity to speak on the Demands of the Ministry of Home Affairs.

Just now my hon. friend was mentioning that the Congress has done nothing to check communal riots. I wish to point out that during the last one year, mostly in non-Congress States, there have been communal riots, as for instance in Ranchi. In Ranchi, it was not the Congress Government responsible for that. Why could not these people check the communal riots? The Minister of Police himself was in Ranchi city. In his presence, the communal riots took place. He failed to check it. (*Interruption*) Of course, it is because of our interference that they were compelled to take steps. I was saying that the Minister of Police was inside the control room and the reports were coming from places where arson was taking place where murder was taking place. I was also sitting in the control room. I requested him, "For God sake, please give orders to open fire." He said, "I am not going to give order to open fire." The law and order cannot be maintained like that. It is very unfortunate to see that our brothers—they worship different gods but they are our brothers—are being butchered, whoever they may be and the Police Minister sitting in the thana, in the kotwali, doing nothing.

SOME HON. MEMBERS: Shame, shame!

**SHRI P. K. GHOSH:** In spite of our repeated requests that whoever is found there should be shot, nothing was done. If this was done, if at the first instance, the police had been ordered to open fire, the situation could have been controlled. I have some friends in the police. They said, "We are helpless unless the Minister gives orders. If he was not there, we would have controlled the situation. But, unfortunately, the Minister is sitting before us. We have to get his orders. Unless he give orders, what can we do?" This is the Police Minister in Bihar of a non-Congress Government. He did not want to be unpopular. He feels that if he asks the police to open fire . . . (Interruptions).

**SHRI S. M. BANERJEE:** I rise on a point of order. In this House, the practice is that whenever any Member refers to a particular name or even to a particular Minister in a State . . . (Interruption). He is mentioning the name of a Minister . . . (Interruption).

**SHRI SHEO NARAIN:** He has not mentioned any name; he says the Minister of Police . . . (Interruptions).

श्री स० मो० बनर्जी: मैं हिन्दी में उनको समझा देता हूँ ।

बिहार में संविद की सरकार में श्री रामानन्द जी शास्त्री पुलिस मंत्री थे । उनके बारे में माननीय सदस्य फर्मा रहे हैं कि वे कंट्रोल रूम में बैठे हुए थे । और कोई आदेश पुलिस को नहीं दे रहे थे । यह एक सीरियस आरोप है जो लगाया गया है जब कि फैक्ट यह है कि उन्होंने रायट्स की रोकथाम करने की पूरी कोशिश की । उस मंत्रिमंडल के बाद मंडल साहब का मंत्रिमंडल आया और वह भी खत्म हो गया । अब माननीय सदस्य जिस तरह से कह रहे हैं इस तरह से कहना क्या सही होगा ? अगर यह सही हो तो हम भी कह सकते हैं कि रांची में सेंट्रल प्राजैक्ट में जब रायट हो रहे थे तो यहाँ पर चह्वाण

साब बैठे हुए थे और इन्होंने कुछ नहीं किया । आप से व्यवस्था चाहता हूँ कि क्या माननीय सदस्य जो यह कह रहे हैं कह सकते हैं या नहीं कह सकते हैं ?

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** You can speak about the administration but please try to avoid bringing in the names.

**SHRI P. K. GHOSH:** I was mentioning about the administration. I have not meant that Mr. Ramanand Tiwary did not try to stop these riots. But his method was wrong. He failed in that. When they charge the Congress Party of failures, I am, certainly, competent enough to charge them for their failures.

Then the riots cleared up. Ultimately after seven days, when lots of persons were butchered and after repeated requests were made to the Chief Minister, the Chief Minister ordered for 'shoot at sight'. Ultimately what we suggested was resorted to. In the past, I know—I have been in Ranchi for so many years, I was born and brought up in Ranchi—whenever riots broke out during the Congress regime, they were immediately controlled. But this time Ranchi has seen the worst riots in the history . . .

**SHRI UMANATH (Pudukkotai):** Congressmen were rioting.

**SHRI P. K. GHOSH.** It is not Congressmen who are rioting; it is you who are rioting. You failed to control.

I do not deny that they might have had very honest intentions, they wanted to stop the riots, but they failed. But they are inefficient; this is what I want to point out. They are not efficient enough to run the administration. Every where there is failure, there are riots, and they cannot control. What happened in Calcutta? So many industries have suffered during their regime . . . (Interruptions). The Central Reserve Force Bill has already been passed by the Parliament. The

[Shri P. K. Ghosh]

Central Reserve Police should be stationed in every part. We should not depend on irresponsible people for the maintenance of peace in this country. The Centre should interfere in every case; whenever we find any indication of any riot, the Centre should send their force and see that it is controlled before anything worse happens.

The next point that I want to raise is about corruption. These people used to abuse us for corruption. Let me tell you what they did . . . (Interruptions). About corruption in government offices, our friends used to criticise the Congress Party. In Bihar, corruption was going on openly during these people's regime . . .

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE: During Mr. Mandal's regime.

SHRI P. K. GHOSH: Mr. Mandal was there only for a few days. During these people's regime, corruption was rampant; openly they were asking for money in offices . . .

AN HON. MEMBER: Corruption is corruption, whether it is open or secret.

SHRI P. K. GHOSH: Therefore, what I suggest to our Home Minister is that the Central organisations which are responsible for checking corruption may be geared up and they should be instructed not to spare anybody, whether it is a State Government employee or a Central Government employee. They should see that the public is not harassed; due to corruption, a lot of harassment of the public is going on . . . (Interruptions).

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE: There should be an Inquiry Commission!

SHRI P. K. GHOSH: What can be Inquiry Commission do? Only deterrent punishment is required. Therefore, I would suggest that the anti-corruption department and the vigilance department under the Centre should be geared up; they should be

asked not to depend on the State Governments, because the State Governments, wherever there is no Congress regime, have proved to be a failure in this regard. For the maintenance of welfare in this country, it is the responsibility of the Centre, and I would request that these organisations should be geared up and they should be asked to check corruption and bring out the cases so that we can stop these things.

SHRI FRANK ANTHONY (Nominated—Anglo-Indians): My Cut Motion refers to the recession of the secular objective and the increasing sense of insecurity in respect of life and property to the minority communities. As the previous speaker has just mentioned, almost every day we see from the Press reports of increasing communal incidents. As I said, the previous speakers just referred to the unpardonable happenings in Ranchi. Ranchi is not the only place. What happened in Karim Ganj, Meerut, more recently in Calcutta and Allahabad? These are not only unpardonable but I feel that they are a matter of unspeakable shame and should be, to every decent self-respecting Indian. In my view, a reprehensible, and indeed a sinister, feature is the undoubted evidence of organisation behind many of these attacks. I would not tell you where I got the evidence from, but I believe that, *prima facie*, in Meerut, if the District Magistrate leading the civil administration did not abet, at least he connived at the murder of the members of the Muslim community there. What I am afraid of is this that communalism today—Government is concerned rightly—is a disease which is contagious and is spreading throughout the country, and tragically it is enveloping members of other minority communities and not only the Muslims.

What happened in November, 1967 you may remember, there was an organized, deliberate attack on three

churches—they were desecrated and burnt to the ground—in Berhampur. In February, 1967, in Srinagar, there was the deliberate, organized destruction of two churches. What happened in both the places In Berhampur, the police, the civil administration, were conspicuous by their absence. The destruction of these three churches took three hours and nobody turned up. In Srinagar, obviously, the local administration—I do not say, the Chief Minister—the local administration connived at the destruction of the two churches in Srinagar.

People talk of communalism in the old conventional terms, but in my respectful view, casteism is a variant of communalism. Recently, I think, it was the Home Minister who referred to the shameful atrocities committed against Harijans, called Satnamis, in the Bilaspur district of Madhya Pradesh. I say this: let us get to the basic causes. It is not good banding charges and counter-charges, Congress against the non-Congress Parties, and non-Congress Parties against the Congress. Basically what is the reason? In my respectful view, I say this with all respect, petty, self-seeking, unprincipled politicians are increasing in number and they are the scourge of the country. If you analyse it, if it is analysed, these are the people who are behind most of these organized attacks. Let us ask ourselves these questions honestly and try to answer them honestly.

Politics today is dominated not only by parochial issues but also by caste and communal considerations. I am not here to apportion the blame; all the Parties, not the non Congress parties, not the Congress Party, but all the parties have competed in selecting candidates brazenly on caste and communal considerations. With a predominantly illiterate electorate, you have the unashamed exploitation of caste and communal differences, with what result? The Legislatures everywhere—I would not say Parliament—the Legislatures everywhere are being filled increasingly by petty,

unprincipled politicians. They have a vested interest in communalism; they not only perpetuate it but also fan it. That is the tragedy of the Indian politics today. Politics is institutionalising—because all parties are party to it—casteism and communalism in India. Let us ask ourselves that question and answer it honestly. I know the Home Minister wants to answer it honestly, because, these petty, unprincipled easily purchasable politicians—and their number is increasing—not only dominate, but also contaminate every aspect of public life in this country.

SRI JAGANNATH RAO JOSHI (Bhopal): Hold free election for the Anglo-Indian community.

SHRI FRANK ANTHONY: I may tell my hon. friend that he has to live many incarnations before he represents his constituency as I do, my community.

I say this, because, we have this contamination by the politicians, this contagion is spreading to the Services. My hon. friend has just told us what happened at Ranchi. What happened? Everywhere we get evidence of this. If the district officials, the civil servants and the police are present, they look the other way. Usually they drag their feet and they come after all the damage has been done. Who will punish the erring officials? Will the Home Minister do it? He will probably say, 'How can I? I am helpless in the matter; it is a State subject'. Let us realise this too. Here, I am not pointing a finger at any party, but we know that there are certain parties, brazenly communal, avowedly committed to communalism. Sometimes I read the publicity organs, and because I happen to know a little Hindi, I read the Vernacular papers. They drip communal poison and hatred. Who is to be blamed in this regard? The Home Minister will say that he is helpless, as it is a State subject. We

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find that some of the State Government are dominated by these brazenly communal parties who approbate communal killings. I say this regretfully that the press also is being contaminated by this contagion of communalism and casteism. There are certain honourable exceptions but you will find that the majority of the newspapers in India, some of the leading English-medium newspapers deliberately mute facts or suppress them. I speak to certain Editor friends of mine, and they say: The Central Government compels us to suppress facts because they do not want this ghoulishness to be exposed in all its nakedness. We seem to forget this. In my own way, I have been a student of anthropology. India is a country of minorities. The majority of the people in this country fall into one minority or another, either ethnic, linguistic or religious. And, if this disease of communalism is allowed to spread in this way to the Services, the inevitable consequence will be not only instability, but the inevitable consequence will be the disintegration of the country.

I know the remedy is not easy. But I appeal to the parties, and even to the communists. I do not agree with them on many occasions, but at least in this matter, they are one with me in regard to their attitude against communalism. At least let those parties that are committed to democratic decencies in public life stop giving tickets to people on brazenly communal and caste lines. And I would ask the Hon. Home Minister to do this. What is the difficulty of setting up a convention, at least? Whatever there is an attack on a minority community—not only in respect of members of the Muslim community or the Harijan community—wherever such an attack is there on the life and property of any of the minority communities, there should be a judicial probe. And, I do not say in every case, but generally, in order to collect necessary evidence, if

it appears that the local officials and the police would interfere with the collection of that evidence, they should be transferred. I know, Madam, there is a certain reluctance to call out the Army. We still act on the assumption that our Civil administration is adequate. In some cases they prove broken reeds. The military is not called out when they should be called out. In the mean time the life and property of the minority community is not only in jeopardy, but all the damage has been done. And I say this to the Home Minister, as I expect a great deal from him in this matter. If this system is not attacked at the base, this system of giving tickets by the various parties to unprincipled and communal minded politicians and, degeneration of the civil administration, what is going to happen in this country? I am glad that we continue to profess this objective of secularism, but let me say this to the hon. Home Minister, that more and more there is this sense of fear, this sense of insecurity affecting all the minorities in this country. For them today, in the face of this spreading communalism, this profession of secularism is an empty mocking profession.

I will now come to another issue. I am glad the hon. Home Minister is present here. I read in the newspapers a report of a consensus by the Congress Working Committee that the three-language formula would be introduced in the recruitment to the Central Services. I do not know which is the body and which is the tail. But the Congress Working Committee's decisions usually become the decisions of the Central Government, and there was the decision of having the three-language formula for recruitment to the Central Services. Now, my only objection is this, that these vital decisions are taken as snap decisions, superficial decisions, on the most crucial issues. You, Madam

Chairman, may not agree with me; because of certain statements, contradictory statements and irresponsible statements made by Dr. Triguna Sen, the Education Minister, the Hindi States were encouraged to bury the three-language formula. The Hindi Herren volk the new ruling race, arrogated to themselves the privilege of having a single language—Hindi. What were the reactions in the various provinces? What has happened? Tamil Nad had its own response. They were provoked, they were provoked by this type of organised campaign of terror, intimidation, inspired language riots in the Hindi States. When I speak to the people in Tamil Nad, I could gather that they were provoked also by the fact that the Central Government in this House surrendered to the Hindi lobby in respect of the Official Languages (Amendment) Bill and the Resolution. So, Tamil Nad made its own response. This three-language formula already dead and buried by the Hindi States, Tamil Nad has raised a tomb-stone on it. Hindi has been banished from Tamil Nad.

Now, some members of the Congress Working Committee think that they can keep alive the ghost of the three-language formula by imposing it at the level of the Central Services. I think Shri Chavan will recall this—I do not know whether he has studied the subject as closely as I have done—that the three-language formula imposed at the stage of recruitment will be a brazen violation of the Nehru Assurance. It was on my Resolution in this House that on the 7th of August, 1959, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru announced this formula, with regard to the non-Hindi speaking people. On the 4th September, on the discussion of the Parliamentary Language Committee's Report, of which I was a member, Shri Jawahar Lal Nehru went further. He reaffirmed the Nehru formula. Shri Chavan may remember that the Parliamentary Committee had recommended at para 34 that there should

be a compulsory test in Hindi for entry into the Central Services. Shri Jawaharlal Nehru said, No. He said: 'I give this assurance categorically to the non-Hindi speaking people that at the stage of recruitment to the Central Services, superior or subordinate, there will be no compulsory test in Hindi.' And now, perhaps because they do not know the background, they are brazenly violating the Nehru Assurance. Then Madam, what are the educational implications? Mr. Chavan certainly should have some idea,—though he is not an educationist, as to what will be the educational implications? Will any person who has even remotely any association with education endorse a formula like this? What are we supposed to do? At the universities what are the Graduates and Post-graduate students supposed to do? They are supposed to pursue their studies in depth. They are supposed to specialise either in the Humanities, the exact Sciences or the Social Sciences. Now we are going to make them learn three languages at the University stage, and the students tell me, 'Now we are going to be committed to becoming a compound of ignorance and semi-ignorance.' (*Interruptions*). May I reply, Madam? My time is running out.

As I said, the three-language formula at the recruitment stage will mean this—the students tell me, professors tell me—semi-illiteracy....

THE MINISTER OF FOOD AND AGRICULTURE (SHRI JAGJWAN RAM): You are also confused.

SHRI FRANK ANTHONY: Not confused, semi-illiteracy in three languages and semi-ignorance in science or the Humanities. Madam, I will finish in two minutes.

I just wanted to refer to the suggestion which, I think, emerged from the Home Minister, of having a multiplicity of media for the combined competitive examinations. I cannot see any responsible Member of



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the Union Public Service Commission endorsing a suggestion like this. It is an utter impossibility. I have something to do with the examinations. It is an utter impossibility—co-ordinating the standards and marking answer papers in 14 or 15 languages completely disparate in their content and development—an utter impossibility. This should be evident to the meanest intelligence. Then may I ask Mr. Chavan? This was a matter which was posed before the Parliamentary Language Committee. What will be the language at the training institutions? Will you have two languages? Nobody will have it, not in my life-time, not in Mr. Chavan's will people accept Hindi as the sole language in the training institutions. Long before that the country will disintegrate. Then you will have 14 streams of trainees or two streams of trainees. If you take the two streams, you will divide India into Hindi-India and English-India. You will have conflicting streams, you will have two hostile sets of trainees, duplications of expenditure and confusion, confusion worse than at present.

AN HON. MEMBER: What is your suggestion?

SHRI FRANK ANTHONY: Madam, you were not then in the House, I was in the House. I stood alone. Even in those days I sat in the front benches. I stood almost alone in this House when I opposed Jawaharlal Nehru—he did not like it—that it was a tragic blunder, it was an egregious blunder, the re-organisation of States on a linguistic basis. I hope I won't be alone to-day, Madam, in opposing this, to my mind, this is not only egregious, but even more egregious blunder—this formula of having three languages for recruitment to the Central Services and 15 languages as media for the combined competitive examinations.

SHRI J. N. HAZARIKA (Dibrugarh): Madam, Chairman, I thank

you for giving me an opportunity to speak on the Demands for Grants of the Ministry of Home Affairs. I find that the Home Ministry has done very well during this year. The country had to face many problems. You take Assam, Bengal, Bihar, Kerala, Madras, Maharashtra, Punjab and all the States, there were a lot of difficulties in the country in the past year. I am proud that our Home Minister, Mr. Chavan, has very squarely managed them all to his credit. I wish he should be successful in all the outstanding problems. I want to suggest, therefore, that he will put his best efforts to solve the problem of Assam too.

At present Assam is facing a tremendous problem about which the whole country is concerned and people of Assam are to a great extent perturbed as to know what would be the future of that State. There are plains people, there are hill people who are at present politically divided and they want to go on in their own way. A very strenuous effort has no doubt been made by the Home Ministry and also by the Prime Minister who took personal interest in the matter. Yet the problem has not been solved.

Here, Madam, we must see that in solving this problem we must not disappoint the people of the Hills. Also at the same time we must not divide the country in such a way that it creates a bad precedence. The Hill people want a federation. The Government in all its goodness want to give them federation. Then this federation proposal was more or less accepted by the Hill people, but the plains people would not accept it. And then the Home Minister was kind enough to invite them all. They came here and discussed the matter. They could not come to any agreement. Thereafter, the Ashoka Mehta Committee was appointed to go into this

matter. It made certain recommendations. Madam, if I go into all those details, I will only be taking the time of the House, so I will not go into them. But I want to point out that in this federal proposal, immediately Assam will be divided into two or more units, both are equal: On the one side there is the 11 million population in the plains and on the other side about 3/4 million people in the hills. It was very difficult for the plains people to be equated this way and ultimately power is divided in such a way that it will lead to separation.

After all, what is the Asoka Mehta formula? Asoka Mehta formula has also basically accepted the principle of federation, not in the name of federation, but not now. In a federation it is said that immediately you have 2 or 3 units equal to each other and Asoka Mehta formula says that in course of time if two or more District Legislatures as envisaged in the Asoka Mehta plan, come together by two-thirds majority in each legislature, then they can also come together. So ultimately it may be that under the Asoka Mehta formula also the hill people may get what they are wanting i.e. the federal formula. Therefore, in my opinion, the difference is on the time. If the people of Assam can pull together, I mean, the plains people of Assam can pull together with the Hill people under the Asoka Mehta formula, then it may be that one day they will all be friends as they are now and they will pull together in the common administration. Well, I want that the present administrative structure of Assam should not be disturbed because after all what was the intention of the Constitution-makers? They wanted that the level of administration of the Hill Areas should be brought to the level of the general administration. That was the aim and object of the Sixth Schedule under which District Councils have been formed. Therefore, if the

matter goes just the reverse, then it is for this House where it should control it. It is not always a question of aspirations only. People may aspire anything and everything. But this House must consider whether any aspiration should go against the interests of the nation as a whole. I do not immediately say that the Hill people want to go against the national interest or against the country. But, at the same time, we must see that the Hill people get a better administration than is given under the Sixth Schedule under the existing structure.

17 hrs.

If you go through the Pataskar Commission's report you will find that there are a lot of lapses on the part of the district councils; their establishment expenditure is very high and they have not come to a perfection in respect of the district councils administration. I am just pointing these out by the way in order to emphasise that all these things have to be considered in solving the whole problem. After all, who are the Assamese people? The hill people must not think that the Assamese people are against them; they are always friends and brothers to them. They never think in terms of exploitation of the hills people. You can go to Shillong and you will find that there are just about 50,000 non-tribal people; you can go to the district council headquarters of the Garo Hills and you will find how many Assamese are there. It will be a travesty of facts to say that the plains people go to the hills for exploitation. That is not at all true. Again, anybody can easily see how many industries are held by the people of Assam or the Assamese people. If you go into the economic structure of the State you will find out for yourself who dominates the economy of Assam and who exploits whom. If you go to Shillong or any other place you will find that there is not a single shop which is held by the so-called Assamese people. After all, who are the Assamese people? They are Hindus, they are Muslims, they are

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Christians, they are Buddhists and the like; among the Hindus there are a lot of Scheduled Tribes whose number is more than about a million; then there are tea garden tribes who will be about two million. Then, there are backward classes whose proportion is more than 60 per cent. There are even Begalis there. All the plains people will be constituted of a large mass of Indian people. In what way are they exploiting the hills?

I cannot agree when many people say that the plains people are exploiting the hills. If you go through the Pataskar Commission's report paragraph by paragraph you will find that every charge that has been levelled against the people of Assam by the hills people is not correct. It may be true to some extent, because as Shri Pataskar has said, 'in spite of all efforts, the Assame Government have not been able to do to the extent which is required'. Therefore, the decision of the Government of India in respect of the solution of the Assam problem must not be guided by these allegations and they should always see the necessity of the present times for development.

After all, what is the basic problem of the hills? The basic problem of the hills is the problem of economic development. And how can the basic problem of development of economy change with the time? Does it at all change? Prime Minister Jawarharlal Nehru took a lot of time and he gave much of his valuable time to see that the hills problem were resolved. He gave certain suggestions and the suggestions were considered by the hill leaders. Then, they agreed to a certain form. Then, Prime Minister Nehru said 'All right, let it be decided by an impartial commission which is not biased and whose decisions would not be influenced by political intrigues'.

The Pataskar Commission has not given any kind of wider autonomy be-

yond what now the district councils are enjoying. But, for economic development, the commission has suggested that there should be different kinds of arrangement so that the hills could be improved in good time.

Therefore, I should like to request the Home Minister that the decisions of the Pataskar Commission should guide the Home Ministry in getting the problems of Assam solved. In page 30, para 71 of the report, the commission on the hill areas of Assam has stated:

"The State Government have treated the hill districts fairly in respect of development within the resources available to them."

Then, at page 126 the commission has observed:

"There is no evidence of any deliberate neglect of the hill areas in the matter of development."

This is the verdict of the impartial commission. At another place, the commission says that 'there has been no failure or the part of the State Government to take cognizance of the difficulties of the hill districts'. At yet another place, the commission has said that 'the basic problem of the hills areas is that of economic development, for which the two regions of Assam, the hill areas and the plain areas are interdependent'.

Likewise, there are many other observations and recommendations which have not been influenced by any political consideration. I am in the Congress and I may be influenced by political considerations; another person may belong to another party and he may be influenced by other considerations. But when an impartial commission like this makes such observations they should be accepted as basically true.

Then, we have to see whether by creating certain divisions in Assam

there will be an end of the problem. As I have said earlier, there are other tribes and other elements, whom I do not mention here, who are also likely to raise similar demands. In fact, they are raising such demands and they will raise such demands if the proposal for federation is finally accepted by this House. The people who are known as Ahoms who ruled Assam once say that if the federation idea is accepted, then we shall have to give them also a unit.

Then, there is a memorandum presented by the Muttocks who constitute an indigenous tribe in Assam, and they want separation from Assam and in their memorandum, they have stated that:

"The humble memorialist most respectfully begs to submit that in consonance with public opinion resounding in Upper Assam, a separate State carving the entire Dibrugarh subdivision along with North Lakhimpur sub-division to the south of Duphla Mountain (93°) and a part of Sibsagar sub-division up to Disang river be created as soon as possible."

This is one of the demands which they have made in the memorandum which they submitted to the President some time back.

Then, there are people in Goalpara and Kamrup district, who have said that they had a kingdom earlier known as Kamatapur and if the hills are given a separate unit then they would also like to have a separate unit.

Then, there are plains tribals who also have made similar demands. There are the Bode and the Miri tribes who are living in the sub-mountainous areas, and they have created some organisations and they have said that if a federation is created giving the hills one unit, then that should be applicable to them equally. Therefore, all these demands and troubles will crop up if a fed-

eration is created. Therefore, I would request the Home Minister to look into all these difficulties. Otherwise it will be very difficult for Government to control the situation. We have already received threats in this regard and, therefore, we must be cautious now. If on account of political pressure or on account of the aspirations of a particular section of the population we give certain concessions which are not commensurate with the provisions of the Constitution, then we must consider that there are others also who can create equally difficult problems in this country.

One word more. If in spite of these things, Government want to go in for a federation, then it should be open to the whole country. If in different parts of the country, people are not satisfied, make India a confederation. Give every State a federal form. Then it will be easy to have regional federation for each of them. I am talking this in the wider context of uniformity of political arrangements. If you create only in one region this kind of federation, there will be no end of trouble in the whole country.

Therefore, while supporting the Demands of the Home Ministry, I want our Government to go very cautiously. We will give our full co-operation in the Minister's efforts so that the hill regions are not neglected, at the same time the majority of the people of Assam are also satisfied. If such a happy solution is found by the Home Minister, not only the people of Assam but the whole country will be grateful to him.

श्री निद्राल सिंह (बन्दौली): सभापति महोदय मैं गृह मंत्रालय की मांगों का विरोध करने के लिये खड़ा हुआ हूँ। सुरक्षा और एक सुन्दर प्रशासन के नाम पर अधिक पैसे की मांग करने का श्रौचित्य मेरी समझ में नहीं आता। ऐसा लगता है कि यदि कांग्रेस दल में और असंतोष बढ़ा तो यह संस्थानों की संख्या और अधिक बढ़ा कर

## [श्री निहाल सिंह]

अधिक पैसे की मांग कर सकते हैं। पैसे की अधिक मांग करने से अच्छा होता कि हम मंत्रियों की संख्या घटाते। आज गृह मंत्री जिन पर सुरक्षा का भार दिया गया है सुरक्षा का कार्य न कर के घर के जलाने का कार्य कर रहे हैं। आज सम्पूर्ण भारतीय जन जीवन अस्त-व्यस्त, अस्त, और घोर-उपद्रवग्रस्त हो चुका है। आज ऐसा लगता है कि भारत में जनतंत्र नाम की कोई चीज नहीं रह गई है बल्कि तानाशाही हुकूमत चारों तरफ व्याप्त हो गई है। प्रान्तों में जनता का शासन गवर्नरों के हाथ में चला गया है। गवर्नर कांस्टिट्यूशनल हेड न रह कर आज केन्द्र के एजेंट के रूप में काम कर रहे हैं। जहां जहां पर प्रान्तों में राष्ट्रपति शासन लागू हुआ है वहां जन-प्रतिनिधियों तथा जन-कार्यकर्ताओं का जीवन अत्यन्त नाजुक हो गया है। आज नौकरशाही खुल कर खोज रही है।

मैम्रष्टाचार की तरफ आप का ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहता हूँ। म्रष्टाचार को रोकने के लिये सदाचार समिति बनी हुई है। परन्तु हालत ऐसी हो गई है कि बिना घूस के एक भी काम नहीं हो रहा है। एक मंत्री महोदय जो पहले केन्द्र में थे उन्होंने म्रष्टाचार का उन्मूलन करने का ठेका ले लिया था आज वह मंत्री के रूप में नहीं हैं लेकिन म्रष्टाचार आज भी इस देश में कायम है। आज कीचड़ गंगोत्री में जमा हो गया है। जब तक गंगोत्री साफ नहीं होगी तब तक मैदानी इलाके को साफ करने से सफाई नहीं हो सकती है। आज चारों तरफ चोरी, डकैती और हत्याकाण्ड का बोलबाला है।

अमीर और अमीर हो गया, गरीब और गरीब हो गया है। अमीर और गरीब के बीच जब तक गहरी खाई रहेगी तब तक इस देश का सुधार नहीं

होगा और म्रष्टाचार दूर नहीं होगा। समाजवाद का नारा यह सरकार रोज लगाती है लेकिन इस सरकार के चलते अमीर और अमीर हुआ गरीब और गरीब हुआ। अमीर की तोंद को पिचकाने के लिये और गरीब की ठठरी पर मांस चढ़ाने के लिये इस केन्द्रीय सरकार ने कोई उपाय आज तक नहीं किया।

श्रीवी पर्स का मामला ले लीजिये। गृह-मंत्री जी ने देखा कि श्रीवी पर्स के मामले को ले कर वह समाप्त हो सकते हैं। वह लोग ऐसे सर्प हैं जिन के डसने से वह बच नहीं सकते हैं। वह नत-मस्तक हो गये क्योंकि इन को लगा कि गद्दी उन के हाथ से छिन जायगी। जब तक गद्दी का व्यामोह रहेगा तब तक देश का सुधार नहीं होगा।

भाषा का मसला कोई बड़ा मसला नहीं था। कांग्रेस का इतना बहुमत था इतनी मैजोरिटी थी कि भाषा की समस्या मूल-झाई जा सकती थी लेकिन बीस वर्षों में भाषा की समस्या नहीं मूलझी। मैं हिन्दी प्रदेश से आता हूँ परन्तु मैं नहीं चाहता कि हिन्दी जबदस्ती देश पर लादी जाय लेकिन मैं यह जरूर चाहता हूँ कि जिन के हम गुलाम थे, जिनकी विदेशी भाषा अंग्रेजी है उनको इस देश से हटाया जाय। मगर आज बीस वर्षों में उस को नहीं हटाया गया, जैसा हमारे डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया ने कहा था कि हिन्दी जहशुम में जाये, लेकिन अंग्रेजी हटनी चाहिये। आज तक वैसा नहीं हुआ।

श्री कंडपन ने तमिल भाषा की बात कही। वह बहुत अच्छी है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि तमिल, तेलगू, मलयालम, बंगला, हिन्दी, सभी भाषायें फलें फूलें। लेकिन अंग्रेजी भाषा इस देश से हटनी चाहिये। उस को निकालना चाहिये। अंग्रेजी के चलते इस देश की तरक्की नहीं हो सकती और यह देश गुलाम होता जायेगा।

प्रान्तवाद बड़े जोरों से चल रहा है, लेकिन गृह-मंत्री जी का उधर ध्यान नहीं जा रहा है। प्रान्तों में कहीं शिव सेना, कहीं लाल सेना और कहीं हिन्दी सेना कायम हो रही हैं। इस तरह के विघटन की प्रवृत्ति वाले देश में पैदा हो रहे हैं कि हर जगह प्रान्तीयता की बदबू आ रही है। मैं गृह मंत्री जी का ध्यान खींचना चाहूंगा कि ऐसे संगठनों को बे रोकें। उस को राजनीतिक रूप देकर बढ़ावा न दें।

सीमा की सुरक्षा आज नहीं हो रही है, सुरक्षा खतरे में पड़ गई है। सीमा पर बसे लोग सोचते हैं कि पता नहीं कल हमारी जिन्दगी रहेगी या नहीं। यह हालत आज देश की हो गई है। मैं साम्प्रदायिक दंगों की बात कोलेता हूँ। 26 मार्च के "आज" पत्रिका में छपे समाचार की तरफ आप का ध्यान मैं खींचना चाहता हूँ। भारतीय क्रांति दल के प्रादेशिक मंत्री ने यह आरोप लगाया है कि मेरठ और इलाहाबाद के इन साम्प्रदायिक दंगों के पीछे कांग्रेस का हाथ है। उन्होंने बतलाया कि आम चुनाव में मुसलमानों ने सामूहिक रूप से कांग्रेस का बहिष्कार किया। कांग्रेस मुसलमान को अपनी ओर लाने के लिये साम्प्रदायिक विद्वेष फैला कर उन की भयभीत कर देना चाहती है ताकि वह पुनः कांग्रेस के हक में हो जायें। इस प्रकार के कार्यों को गृह मंत्री को रोकना चाहिये। लेकिन ऐसा नहीं हो रहा है।

मेरी कांस्टिट्यूएन्सी मोगल सराय है। मोगल सराय में पं० दीनदयाल उपाध्याय की हत्या की गई। पं० दीन दयाल उपाध्याय की हत्या के एक वर्ष पूर्व श्री मधु लिये की हत्या की चेष्टा की गई, परन्तु हत्यारा असफल रहा। आज देश में हत्यारा की जमात है, जिनका कार्य राजनीतिक व्यक्तियों की

हत्या करना होता है। एक वर्ष होगया, मधु लिये पर घातकण करने वाले का सरकार पता लगा नहीं सकी और न दीन दलायल जी की हत्या के बारे में ही कुछ पता लगा सकी। इन सब बातों से पता चलता है कि गृह-मंत्री अपना उत्तरदायित्व निभाने में कामयाब नहीं रहे हैं, इस लिये उनको तत्काल त्यागपत्र देना चाहिये।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं इन मांगों का विरोध करता हूँ।

SHRI RANE (Buldana): I rise to support the demands of the Home Ministry. The Home Ministry does not deal only with the law and order situation but there are several matters which are under its jurisdiction. I take this opportunity to congratulate the Home Minister and the Home Ministry on the last year's creditable performance. Several speakers from the Opposition benches accused the Home Minister of failure to maintain law and order in the country. I think they are forgetting two factors firstly, law and order is a State subject, according to our Constitution, and as such Home Minister's responsibility is a limited one. Secondly, they also forget that several non-Congress Governments came into being after the last general election and some of the ministers in those State cabinets, incited the people to lawlessness and they themselves took part in illegal and unconstitutional activities. Some of the Chief Ministers had also played their part in all these things. With all this, they are now blaming the Home Minister. It is they who must take the responsibility upon themselves. If anybody is responsible for this kind of a situation, it is the non-Congress Governments and their ministers. This is happening even today. In Kerala the State Government itself was responsible for gharaoing a rayon factory and about 400 families were unable to get the necessaries of life. Even the Governor of Kerala could not do

[Shri Rane]

anything for three days and after three days he became successful and the gherao was lifted. How can you blame the Home Minister for this? The Opposition Members must have some self-introspection and view things in the proper perspective, in a charitable way.

Then, I wish to make a few observations on the Mahajan Commission report. I was against the principle of formation of linguistic States; I am not a fanatic on this point. The Home Minister should not accept the Mahajan Commission's report as it is. It should accept or modify it after taking the consensus of the Lok Sabha and the Rajya Sabha. If Parliament decides that it should be accepted, the Home Ministry or the Government should accept it and if Parliament suggests any modifications, the Government should accept it with those modifications. I appeal to the people of Mysore and Maharashtra to accept the decision of Parliament gracefully.

Last year I made some points about Prohibition. I have a grievance against the Home Minister and his Ministry as they had been indifferent to the enforcement of Prohibition.

**THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA):** That subject is now being dealt with in the Department of Social Welfare.

**SHRI RANE:** You can convey it to them.

The first speaker today was Mr. Pilo Mody; his speech was a tirade against the Home Ministry, the Home Minister, the Congress Party and the Congressmen. He makes allegations; but gives no facts or figures. In a casual way he makes sweeping statements. He went to the length of saying that the property of the Congressmen was worth an amount equivalent

to reply the foreign loans; 6,000 crores, or so. I shall be grateful if he could give us details. Shri Vajpayee, Anthony and Ranen Sen referred to communal troubles. It is a sorry state of affairs to have communal trouble every year. Last there were 133. It is more than 200 this year; in 1964 the number was over 1000. Though the number has been decreasing, it is still there and it is not a healthy sign. I agree with Mr. Vajpayee that it is shameful for us. Of course there are causes; sometimes flimsy and minor causes; yet these troubles erupt in a big way. As my friend Mr. Ghose said the trouble this year had been in States governed by non-Congress Governments. Hence, it is they who must accept responsibility for them. Since other Members may refer to other problems, I do not want to deal with all of them. Shri Kandappan, Anthony and others said that the Government had bungled on the language question. I think they have not read or completely understood the implications of the Language Act. If any State wants English to continue, it can do so. It gives them the power. What is the harm? They have complained about the resolution, about the three language formula. I feel that the three language formula should be implemented by the Government; there is no other way.

17.28 hrs.

[SHRI BAL RAJ MADHOK *in the Chair*]

**SHRI SHEO NARAIN:** Only two language formula.

**SHRI RANE:** I do not agree with Mr. Sheo Narain, Maharashtra and Gujarat are States which are non-Hindi speaking. I read a news item that they had written to the Governments of Rajasthan and other Hindi speaking States that they would correspond with them in Hindi. I think

some hon. Members have got a prejudice against Hindi. I am glad that Mr. Kandappan said that he was prepared to accept Hindi after it developed scientific terminology, etc. I am glad to know it.

**SHRI S. KANDAPPAN:** You are putting your feeling in my mouth. You should retain English; that is what I pleaded for.

**SHRI RANE:** I have already stated that the Bill itself gives you the liberty to continue English as long as you like.

**SHRI S. KANDAPPAN:** I am sorry the Bill does not give that liberty. In the central services, they are being compelled to learn Hindi.

**SHRI RANE:** Read the Act. I am not speaking about the resolution.

**SHRI S. KANDAPPAN:** I have read every word of it.

**SHRI LOBO PRABHU (Udipi):** Let us stick to the Act and give up the resolution.

**SHRI RANE:** Shri Vajpayee defined secularism as सम्प्रदाय-विरहित But the interpretation put by Vinobaji is "सर्वथा सम" i.e. equality of all religions. I think that will be a very healthy definition and we must understand it in that sense.

With these words, I support the demands and congratulate the Home Minister for his creditable performance during the last year.

**SHRI VISWANATHA MENON (Ernakulam):** Sir, I was trying.....

श्री श्रीहर लाल बेरवा (कोटा) :  
सभापति महोदय, सदन में कोरम नहीं है।

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** We have already decided about it. The hon. member may continue.

श्री श्रीहर लाल बेरवा : जो  
निर्णय किया गया है, वह छः बजे के बाद

का है। अभी तो साढ़े पांच बजे हैं। इस समय सब सदन में कोरम होना चाहिये।

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** The bell may be rung. Now, there is quorum. He may continue.

**SHRI VISWANATHA MENON:** Sir, I was trying my level best to find out a single point at least on which I could congratulate the Home Minister for his work during last year. But I could not find a single point. At least about privy purses, I expected he would do something. Although as a revolutionary, our Home Minister indulged in tall talk saying: "We are going to stop these privy purses", he has not done anything in that matter. He is running after the princes to appease them.

On the question of State-Centre relationship, the attitude taken by the Home Ministry is undemocratic and against all principles of democracy. After the 1967 elections when non-Congress Governments came into power in several States, the first attack was on Rajasthan. The Home Minister played the game and managed to have a Congress ministry there. I charge him personally that on behalf of the Congress Party, he played the game to save the prestige of the Congress and wherever the Congress had lost the majority, somehow or other the Home Ministry is trying to recapture them one after the other. Everybody knows the game they played in Bengal. The Central Government was trying to influence the legislators and purchase the defectors; somehow they tried to instal the puppet government of Dr. Ghosh there, but unfortunately, Mr Chavan could not succeed in the final run. Dr. Ghosh and his puppets could not rule the country. Mr. Chavan had to eat the humble pie and come before the House with the presidential proclamation. The same thing happened in other States



[Shri Viswanatha, Menon]

also. I do not want to repeat all these things. We know the Mandal drama. In Bihar, Bengal, Rajasthan and other States where non-Congress governments were in power, Mr. Chavan dubiously tried to intervene and smart the non-Congress governments. Now they are trying against my State of Kerala. That is why the former speaker from the Congress benches said that the Chief Minister was responsible for some gherao in some factory in Kerala. Such kinds of false stories are being created to create an atmosphere so that the Kerala Government also may be toppled. On the question of language, they want to topple the DMK Government in Madras. In this way, Congress wants to come to power through the backdoor. Because of your 'achievements' during the last 20 years, the people have thrown you out and voted into power the opposition parties in almost all important States. Without facing the challenge of the electorate, you try to come back to power through the backdoor. In Bengal you tried it, but because of the Speaker, you could not do it and you came before this House with the presidential proclamation. Now I do not know whether the Congress Party will dare face the challenge of the people of Bengal in the next elections? If they are going to have mid-term elections, I am sure the Congress will not get as many seats as they have got last time. In Kerala also they tried this game, not once but five times, one after another. In each mid-term election the number of seats captured by the Congress in the State Legislature went on diminishing. Now they have got only 9 seats. From a stage when they enjoyed 100 per cent membership and all the opposition party candidates were losing even their deposits, now they have come to a stage where their total membership in the Assembly is a paltry figure of 9. How has it happened? The reason is not far to seek. You cannot dupe the people for

all time to come. You can do it once or twice but, after that, they become wiser. That is why I said that the Home Minister is specialising in this. So, I could not find even a single case where I could congratulate him for his action as Home Minister.

Coming to the question of language, somehow or other the Central Government managed to get passed the Language Bill and the Resolution. If they think that by the mere passing of those enactments the problem has been solved, they are very much mistaken. They are very wrong. The problem has not yet been solved.

If they really want to solve this problem, then, first of all, they must recognise the equality of all the Indian languages. Are they prepared for that? I must not be made to feel that I am a second class citizen of this country because I am speaking Malayalam and I do not know Hindi. The equality of all the Indian languages must be recognised and all the Indian languages must become the official languages of this country. Are you prepared for that? Are you prepared to amend the Constitution in which Hindi alone has been given a commanding position? Are you prepared to change it and give all the 14 language equal status?

Suppose I write a letter to the Central Government in my mother tongue, I must get a reply in my mother tongue. Why can you not do that? What is wrong in doing that? Why should you allow or perpetuate the domination by Hindi? The feeling of domination by Hindi should end. Because our friends of the DMK are putting the problem in a particular way, the problem is seen by certain Hindi friends as a problem of English versus Hindi. No, that is not the problem. The problem is Hindi

versus other Indian languages; not English versus Hindi. English is only a temporary phase. I must get a chance to speak here in Parliament in my mother tongue, in Malayalam and it must be translated simultaneously in other languages. Are you prepared to do that? If I write a letter to the Central Government or the Home Minister in Malayalam I must get the reply in Malayalam. The correspondence between the people in each and every State must be continuously done in the languages of those States. Are you prepared to do that? Instead of doing that, you ask the people to study Hindi. That is not possible.

Then the question that we will have to decide is whether we must have a link language. My humble submission in this connection is this. You recognise all the 14 languages as equal and develop them. During that development a stage will come when one language will be evolved which will be known as the link language. Why do you not wait for that stage? Why should you impose Hindi on us? The language which may be so evolved may be the most ancient language, Tamil, or the most beautiful language, that is, Urdu or the so-called majority-speaking language, Hindi, Raghuvira-Hindi or Mahatma Gandhi's Hindustani. Why can you not wait for that?

First of all, you at least try to give us confidence that we will be treated as equal citizens like the Hindi people here. You should give us a chance to study this language and allow this language to develop. Without doing that, if you want to impose Hindi on us, you will not succeed. On the other hand, it will create a sense of hatred on that language because it is sought to be imposed. I am making this humble submission to the Home Minister so that because of linguistic intolerance this country is not cut into 14 pieces.

Coming to another aspect of the functions of Home Ministry, if you look at the performance of Home

Ministry last year, it is most undemocratic. The Home Minister was trying to smash the democratic sentiments of the people. He made the legislators a laughing stock by purchasing them and by making them defectors. The greatest scandal in the history of the parliamentary democracy of India is the attempt by the Home Minister to topple each and every non-Congress Government. The Home Minister tried to achieve this objective by resorting to all types of dubious means. He has massacred the democratic sentiments of the people. If he wanted to achieve this nefarious objective, why did he not wait for five years? He could have then faced the electorate and come back to power, if he had the courage. But he did not wait for that. He has tried to smash the democratic sentiment in a different way.

Even on the question of language he wants to split or divide the people. He is trying to do that. By his own action he is trying to smash the integrity of this country. Although in his Report the Home Minister has stated that he is going to revive the Committee for National Integration, if you look at last year's performance, actually speaking he has smashed the spirit of integration by passing this Resolution on language. Previously, there was this spirit of integration. Personally speaking, when I came to Parliament the first time, I made a resolve that I must speak in Hindi, at least in five years' time. But now what is my feeling? Because of the activities of champions of Hindi like Shri Sheo Narain I feel that I must speak only in my mother tongue. I do not want to speak even in English; I want to speak only in my mother tongue. That is the feeling that is being generated in the non-Hindi people by the action of the Hindi fanatics. If the Home Minister really wants to do something for the people at least progressively, let him try to revoke this Resolution passed by Parliament on the language issue and let him call a conference of all

[Shri Vishwanatha Menon]

opposition parties and try to evolve a new language formula in which all the Indian languages will be equal. The equality and the official status of all the Indian languages must be recognised, including that of Marathi and, if necessary, Konkani. That is the only way to solve this language problem.

One word about Tripura and I am done. In Tripura all the leaders of my party have been put behind the bars. For what purpose? Because, they are championing the cause of the people of that area, the hill peoples. They have gone from the plains to the hill areas and they are fighting for their own rights for a long time. Without considering that position, without conceding their demand, all these people, all the leaders of my party, including women, have been put in jail. So, my submission is that they must be released immediately and democratic set up must be brought back in Tripura at an early date.

**श्रीमती लक्ष्मीकांतम्मा (खम्मम) :**  
 अध्यक्ष जी, गृह मंत्रालय की मांगों का मैं अनुमोदन करती हूँ। आज जब कि देश में गृहच्छेद का खतरा है बड़े भयानक रूप में दिख रहा है, गृह मंत्रालय का दायित्व पहले की अपेक्षा कई गुना बढ़ गया है। गृह मंत्री भारत की एकता रखने वाले हैं और इस दृष्टि से मेरा उन से अनुरोध है कि दृढ़ता और फुर्ती से काम लें। कभी कभी ऐसा लगता है कि भारत सरकार पृथक्करणवादी शक्तियों से निपटने में कुछ आनाकानी और संकोच प्रदर्शित करती है। भारत की सीमाओं पर विदेशियों की दुष्प्रेरणा से जो पृथक्करणकारी कार्यवाहियाँ हो रही हैं उनका दमन होना चाहिए। कहा जाता है कि जनतंत्रीय प्रशासन में एक प्रकार की दुर्बलता होती है, एक प्रकार का ढीलापन होता है जिसके कारण निराज उत्पन्न करने वाली शक्तियों को काफ़ी

प्रोत्साहन मिलता है। इस आलोचना का पूरा पूरा निराकरण होना चाहिए।

आज देश में दो प्रकार की पृथक्करणवादी शक्तियाँ काम कर रही हैं। एक वे शक्तियाँ जो अन्य देशों से गठजोड़ बनाए हुए हैं और भारत के जनतंत्र में स्वयं पनपती हुई उसी जनतंत्र का गला घोट कर देश को अन्य देशों के राजनैतिक सिद्धांतों का अड़डा बनाना चाहती हैं। वह देश की भीतरी प्रशांतता और सुव्यवस्था को भंग करके निराज का वातावरण उत्पन्न करना चाहती हैं। वह हिंसायुक्त षडयंत्रों द्वारा जनसाधारण को, विशेष कर भोली भाली पहाड़ी जातियों को भड़का कर देश भर में जहाँ तहाँ "नक्सलवाड़ी" की आवृत्तियाँ खड़ी करना चाहती हैं। इसी प्रकार की कारस्तानियाँ न केवल हमारे सीमावर्ती प्रांतों में, बल्कि देश के भीतर के एजेंसी प्रांतों में भी बड़े पैमाने पर हो रही हैं। मैं गृह मंत्री जी से कहना चाहती हूँ कि इन घटनाओं को साधारण या स्थानिक घटनायें समझने की भूल सरकार से न होने पाये। मैं चाहूंगी कि इन सभी घटनाओं की पूर्ण छानबीन करके उन की श्रेणी में जो राजनैतिक तथा देश विद्रोहकारी शक्तियाँ कार्यशील हैं, उन की पोल खोली जाय और उन्हें जनमन से मूल उखेड़ दिया जाय।

मैं जानती हूँ कि किसी राजनैतिक पार्टी को अवैध करार देना सरकार की नीति के विरुद्ध है। ऐसी स्थिति में सरकार का काम और भी कठिन हो जाता है। अवैध करार न देने की नीति तभी सार्थक हो सकती है जब कि ऐसी पार्टियों की विद्रोहकारी कारस्तानियों को सरकार काबू में लाने में पूर्ण सफलता प्राप्त करे, अन्यथा लोगों की यही मांग होगी कि देश की एकता तथा जनतंत्रीय सिद्धांतों की रक्षा के लिये कोई भी इन्कम उठाने पड़े, किसी भी

पार्टी के विरुद्ध कार्रवाई करनी पड़े, सरकार को निस्संकोच उसे करना चाहिए।

किसी पार्टी को अवैध करार देना जनतंत्र के सिद्धान्तों के विरुद्ध हो सकता है। परन्तु जिस पार्टी की हरकतों से जनतंत्र ही समाप्त हो सकता है ऐसी पार्टी को जनतंत्र के नाम पर ही, क्यों नहीं वैध रखना-जनतंत्र के हित में उचित न होगा? मैं आशा करती हूँ कि इस आपद्धर्म को सरकार सदैव दृष्टि में रखेगी।

दूसरी पृथक्करण शक्तियाँ वे हैं जो भाषा के नाम पर, राष्ट्रभाषा के नाम पर, उत्तर और दक्षिण के नाम पर देश में फूट डालने की चेष्टा कर रही हैं। मैं ने इन शक्तियों के आशय को जानने की भरसक कोशिश की पर सफल न हो सकी। आखिर ये लोग चाहते क्या हैं। कहते क्या हैं? करते क्या हैं? इन तीनों में कोई मामंजस्य है क्या? संविधान की पुस्तक जलाना, राष्ट्रीय झंडा जलाना, रेलगाड़ियाँ जलाना, इस प्रकार की हरकतों से ये क्या हासिल करना चाहते हैं? क्या वे इतने अनजान हैं कि इन विध्वंसकारी कामों से भारत सरकार और भारत की जनता पर अपना अतंक जमाने और अपनी बात मनवाने की आशा रखते हैं? मेरी मम्मति में यह बात सच नहीं है। सच्ची बात यह है कि दक्षिण के एक राज्य में लोगों को भाषा के नाम पर जो भड़काया जा रहा है, उस के पीछे एक तो भारत से अलगगैरी की प्रवृत्ति काम कर रही है और दूसरे एक प्रकार के ब्लैकमेल की प्रवृत्ति काम कर रही है। क्या यह आश्चर्य की बात नहीं है कि जिस एकमात्र राज्य के विकास में केन्द्रीय सरकार के खजाने से अरबों रुपया पानी की तरह बहाया गया और बहाया जा रहा है उसी राज्य के लोग आज केन्द्रीय सरकार के विरुद्ध, राष्ट्रभाषा के विरुद्ध, राष्ट्रपताका के विरुद्ध, राष्ट्र के

संविधान के विरुद्ध, एक प्रकार के उन्नाद-पूर्ण आंदोलन में जुटे हुए हैं? परन्तु इस में आश्चर्य की कोई बात नहीं है। केन्द्रीय सरकार का रवैया यही रहा है कि विरोधकों की आवभगत करो, चापलूसी करो और समर्थकों की उपेक्षा करो। यह बात हर प्रकार सिद्ध की जा सकती है।

केन्द्रीय सरकार की दृष्टि में दक्षिण भारत का एक मात्र प्रतिनिधि एक ही राज्य है। फिर भला वह राज्य दक्षिण के नाम पर क्यों न नारे लगायेगा? क्यों न शोर मचायेगा? क्यों वह केन्द्रीय सरकार पर दबाव नहीं लायेगा? पृथक्करणवाद का हौआ दिखा कर बीस वर्ष से उस एक राज्य ने केन्द्र सरकार से मुहं मांगी सहायता प्राप्त की। अनुचित दबाव डाल कर अनेक केन्द्रीय उद्योगों को एँठ लिया। वहाँ के लोगों को प्रायः केन्द्र सरकार को डरा धमका कर अपना उल्लू सीधा करने की आदत सी पड़ गयी है, चसका सा लग गया है। मैं गृह मंत्री जी से स्पष्ट कहना चाहती हूँ कि आज दक्षिण भारत के अन्य राज्यों में लोग खुले आम कह रहे हैं कि पृथक्करणवाद से ही किसी राज्य का फायदा हो सकता है अन्यथा नहीं। मैं केन्द्रीय सरकार से कहूँगी कि भगवान के लिये विरोधियों के आगे घुटने टेक कर उन की खुशामद करने की गलत नीति को अब भी त्याग दीजिये ताकि अन्य राज्यों को भी वही लत न लग जाय। देश और राष्ट्र का अपमान करने वाले व्यक्तियों और शक्तियों का डट कर मुकाबला कीजिये। आप में दुड़ता होगी तो अन्य सभी राज्य आप का साथ देंगे। आप ढीले पड़ जायेंगे और ब्लैकमेल के आगे जवाब दे देंगे तो मेरी यह चेतावनी याद रहे कि आप ही भारत की एकता का अंत कर रहे हैं।

अब मैं भारत के कई राज्यों की राज-नैतिक अनिश्चयता के बारे में दो शब्द कहना चाहूँगी। खेद की बात है कि कुछ राज्यों

## [श्रीमती लक्ष्मीकान्तम्मा]

में जनतन्त्रीय व्यवस्था समाप्त हुई और अन्य कई राज्यों में वह समाप्त की और तेजी से बढ़ रही है। मासिक सरकारों का मिल-सिला भी कहीं-कहीं शुरू हो गया है और ऐसा लगता है कि राज्यों के विधायकगण सरकारों को लगातार ऐसे षड़ते और तोड़ते जा रहे हैं जैसे बच्चे खिलौनों को षड़ते और तोड़ते हैं। यही कहना पड़ता है कि कई राज्यों में हमारा राजनीतिक बालपन देखने में आ रहा है। प्रश्न यह है कि हम इस दृष्टि से कब बयस्क होंगे। कहीं-कहीं तो हमारे बालपन को हद यहाँ तक पहुँची है कि विधान सभा के अध्यक्ष भाँ दलादली के दलदल में फँस जाते हैं और अपनी निष्पक्षता को खँर-बाद कह देते हैं। यह हमारे जनतन्त्र के लिये कोई शुभ लगन नहीं है। जब अध्यक्ष पद पर विराजमान व्यक्ति ही ऐसा व्यवहार करने लगते हैं तो आवश्यकता इस बात की है कि अध्यक्ष के अधिकारों को परिमार्ण इस प्रकार लाँकी जाय कि विधान सभा का कार्यक्रम किसी एक व्यक्ति के कारण, चाहे वह सभा का स्पोकर ही क्यों न हो, रुक न जाए। इस दिशा में संविधान का संशोधन होना चाहिये।

## 18 hours

अब मैं उम बीमारी की योग्य मदद का ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहती हूँ, जिसे दल-बदल का नाम दिया गया है। यह दल-बदल की बीमारी पिछले एक वर्ष में कई राज्य सरकारों को खी चुकी है, कई मध्य मन्त्रियों और मन्त्रियों को "एक दिन का सुल्तान" बना चुकी है। आरम्भ में यह सोचा जा रहा था कि प्रायः यह बीमारी केवल कांग्रेस में होती है अतएव कांग्रेसीतर दलों के लिये यह बरदान बनेगी। परन्तु थोड़े ही समय में देखा गया कि यह बीमारी

बड़ी ही संक्रामक है और कोई भी दल इस से सदा के लिये मुक्त नहीं रह सकता। दल बदलते ही मंत्री पद मिलने की प्रथा एक बार चल पड़े तो फिर पूछना क्या है? दल बदलना कोई ब्रह्मविद्या तो है नहीं जिस के लिये वर्षों तक साधना करनी पड़े। दल बदलना क्या, चोला बदलना क्या, दोनों एक समान हैं। मैं समझती हूँ कि दल-बदल से होने वाले हानि लाभ सभी दलों के लिये समान और सामान्य हैं, यह बात सब के ध्यान में आ गई होगी। राज्यों में जो राजनीतिक अस्थिरता और अनिश्चितता है, प्रशासन जिस प्रकार अस्त व्यस्त हो रहा है, इन सब परिणामों को ध्यान में रख कर मैं निवेदन करती हूँ कि इस दल-बदल के दलदल से राजनीतिक जीवन को मुक्त करने की आज अतीव आवश्यकता है।

राजनीतिक दल की कल्पना आज इतनी क्लृप्त तथा ओछी हो गई है कि इस हिसाब से दलीय जनतंत्र का पनपना ही आज कठिन जान पड़ता है। अतएव राजनीतिक दलों को पुनः अपनी सैद्धान्तिक नींव पर सुस्थिरता से खड़े करना है। पद और अधिकार के प्रलोभनों से ऊँचा उठाना है, सेवा परायणता की भावना को पुनः प्रस्थापित करना है।

आज हमारे संविधान में जो चुनाव विधि में राजनीतिक दलों को मान्यता नहीं दी गई है। अतएव आज किसी न किसी रूप में यह मान्यता दी जानी चाहिये परन्तु हमारे गृह मंत्रालय को कोई लजिस्लेशन ला कर दल-बदल को रोकना चाहिये।

SHRI SAMAR GUHA (Contd.): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I want to raise a few pointed questions about a few very urgent matters for pointed reply from the Home Minister.

Firstly, the question is about the Indian enclaves in East Pakistan and the fate of the Indian citizens there. The total number of Pakistani enclaves in Cooch Behar and Jalpaguri districts is 95 covering a total area of 12,151.90 acres and having a population of 10,954 persons. The total number of Cooch Behar enclaves in East Pakistan is 131, their total area being 20,463.05 acres and the total population being 12,601 persons.

The Indian citizens in the Indian enclaves, in the territory, are being deprived of the right of Indian citizenship. At the moment, they have neither the right to exercise citizenship nor they have the security of life, honour and property there. More than that, the Indian citizens there have been subjected to continuous loot, arson, conversion, murder and even rape of their womenfolk. The most disgraceful aspect is that in the Indian territory, the Indians have no freedom of movement from the Indian territory to the mainland of India. No Indian police is there in the Indian enclaves and on the Government offices in the Indian territory, in the Indian enclaves, the Pakistani flags are flying over there. The most scandalous, I should say, the most disgraceful, aspect is this that although the Indian citizens are completely debarred from any freedom of movement and from exercising their right as Indian citizens, yet the Pakistani police, the Pakistani citizens are allowed to have free movement in their enclaves in the Indian territory in Cooch Behar. The Pakistani citizens have been allowed to bring their rations and everything that is required.

My pointed question is whether, so long as Indian enclaves and Pakistani enclaves are exchanged, those 131 Indian enclaves in East Pakistan belong to Indian territory. If these enclaves belong to Indian territory, I want to know whether the Government of India have the right to pro-

tect the life, the property and the honour of the Indian citizens there and whether the Government of India has any responsibility also to protect the Indian sovereignty in their territory.

Then, I want to draw your attention to another point. Yesterday, in the Kerala Assembly, Mr. Namboodripad disclosed an information that a Marxist Communist is getting money, by a money order, from the Chinese Embassy in New Delhi for publication of his books on Mao's thoughts. When Mr. Namboodripad was asked whether he will take any steps about the treasonable act of that gentleman, he said, "The responsibility lies not with the State Government but with the Centre." So, I want to know whether the Government of India is going to take any steps about that treasonable act.

18.08 hrs.

[MR. SPEAKER in the chair]

Another very urgent matter that I wants to raise is this. Two days back, a report appeared in the newspapers that a team of Indian surveyors, when they went to visit Narkandam Island, 50 miles north of port Cornwallis in north Andamans, surprisingly found Burmese pillars in that Island. I want to know from the Government what instructions have been sent to that team, either to quit that Island or to stay there or to exert to say that that territory belongs to India. That is a very important Island from the standpoint of Indian naval base and also petroleum may be found there. I want to know what instructions have been sent to that team and also whether that territory is an Indian territory or not. The Home Minister must reply to that.

In this House, several times, it was alleged that a circular, purported to be a document, was circulated on the

[Shri Samar Guha]

eve of last elections about Shri Atulya Ghosh when he was a sitting Member of this House, implicating that Shri Atulya Ghosh had certain political complexity with the Pakistan High Commissioner. It has appeared in the newspapers that the Central Intelligence Bureau has completed the investigation and they have submitted their report to the Government. I want to know what is the content of that report. If it is found that that document is correct, may I know whether the Government is going to take any steps against Shri Atulya Ghosh for his treasonable act and, if that document is found to be a forged one, that is, I should say, some sort of a character assassination of a Member of Parliament. Although I share the happiness of the people of West Bengal because Shri Atulya Ghosh got defeated, the point has to be looked into from a different aspect. This is an attempt, a sinister attempt, on character assassination of a Member of Parliament. It is rumoured that a big businessman, belong to Congress, but belonging to another group opposed to Shri Atulya Ghosh, financed for the circulation of that document and more than a million—it is printed in a very costly paper—were circulated in West Bengal.

MR. SPEAKER: May I point out to the hon. Member that he is taking away his leader's time?

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: I will finish in a minute.

Therefore, this is a serious thing. The Government must disclose the report of that Central investigation board.

My last point is this. Yesterday I talked on Nagaland problem, when I

tried to draw the attention of this House that these Nagas valiantly fought along with Netaji Subash Chandra Bose and his INA as Indians, sharing the glory of the freedom struggle of India. I would like to know from the Government whether they will take any step in the form of raising a martyr tomb in which a plaque should be there including the names of all the INA people and all those Nagas who were associated with the INA as INA soldiers; I want to know whether that tomb is going to be erected there. I also want to know whether a brochure will be published giving the details about Nagas having participated in thousands in the freedom struggle along with the INA, so that they may have a feeling that, as Indian people, they shared the tradition of freedom struggle of India. I also want to know whether the Government is going to publish a short life of Netaji Subash Chandra Bose in the language of Nagaland people for the school children, particularly the primary and secondary school children, so that they may share the glory of Indian struggle, Indian freedom movement, as Indians.

श्री शिव नारायण (बस्ती): अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं प्रातः काल से बैठाने हुआ हूँ। मेरा नाम भी लिस्ट में था। अब आप आए हैं तब मुझे बोलने का मौका मिला है। मैं आपको इसके लिए धन्यवाद देता हूँ। माननीय सदस्यों से मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि चेंबर पर जो अटैक किये जाते हैं, वह बहुत ही अनुचित बात है। ऐसा उनको नहीं करना चाहिये।

52 करोड़ रुपये की जो मांग रखी गई है, इनका मैं समर्थन करता हूँ। मैं मिनिस्टर साहब से कहना चाहता हूँ कि आज मुल्क के अन्दर ला एंड आर्डर की पोजिशन बहुत खराब है। आज हरिजन मारे जा रहे हैं। आप देखें कि आंध्र प्रदेश में क्या हुआ है।

वहां पर हरिजनों को नंगा करके उनकी बेइज्जती की गई है। इसकी रिपोर्ट मेरे पास है। आप हरिजनों को प्रोटेक्शन नहीं दे सकते हैं। मध्य प्रदेश में जो घटनायें घटी थीं और जिन में हरिजनों को जान से मार डाला गया था वह भी अभी हाल की ही घटनायें थीं। हमको प्रोटेक्शन मिलना चाहिये। आप नहीं देंगे तो कौन देगा। नेहरू और गांधी ने हमें प्रोटेक्शन दिया था। लेकिन आज हमारी यह हालत हो रही है। हम को चौथी क्लास का ममजा जाता है, हमारी कैटेगरी मुल्क में फोरथ क्लास की है। हमको आप से बड़ी आशायें थीं। अंग्रेज गए, मुसलमान गए और गांधी और नेहरू ने हमको प्रोटेक्शन दिया। मंत्री महोदय मध्य प्रदेश से आते हैं। मैं उनको ये नग्न चित्र दिखा सकता हूँ। उनके पिता को मैं जानता था जब वह मध्य प्रदेश के चीफ मिनिस्टर थे। आज शुल्क जी के नेतृत्व में यह होम मिनिस्ट्री चल रही है और वह मध्य प्रदेश से आते हैं। मैं उन से प्रार्थना करता करता हूँ कि वह जरा इस बात को देखें कि कितने हम पर अत्याचार हो रहे हैं और इनको रोकने की कोशिश करें। हमारा और इनका बहुत पुराना सम्बन्ध है।

आज देश में बड़ी अराजकता फैली हुई है। हिन्दू मुस्लिम रायट्स हो रहे हैं। आप से मैं कहूँगा कि शेख अबदुल्ला को अननिसेसरी प्रोटेक्शन दे रखा है। मैं मांग करता हूँ कि उनके खिलाफ सख्त कार्रवाई की जाए। एक आदमी पर आपने हजारों लाखों रुपया खर्च किया है और उस आदमी को आपने इतनी फ्रीडम आफ स्पीच दे रखी है कि कुछ हिसाब ही नहीं है। वह जो चाहे बक सकता है। उस पर कोई कंट्रोल ही नहीं है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि उस आदमी को जरूर गिरफ्तार किया जाए। हिन्दू मुस्लिम दंगे बहुत हो रहे हैं और इसकी वजह से भी हो रहे हैं। मेरठ में हुए हैं। इनको आप बन्द करें। ये जो बलबे हो रहे इनकी

रोकथाम होनी चाहिये। आप स्ट्रॉंग मेराज लें।

हमारे एंगनी साहब चले गए हैं, इसका मुझे अप्सोम है। वह लैंगुएज प्रोब्लेम पर ही बोलते रहे। मैं उनको बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि अंग्रेजी को तोड़ कर हम किसी भी भारतीय भाषा का समर्थन करने के लिए तैयार हैं। अंग्रेजी का मैं घोर विरोध करता हूँ। यह हिन्दुस्तान की भाषा नहीं है। जिस किसी की रंगों में भारतीयता का खून बहता है वह भाषा का समर्थन नहीं कर सकता है। भारत को एक सूत्र में बांधने के लिए अगर आप चाहें तो संस्कृत की राष्ट्रभाषा बना सकते हैं। अगर आपने ऐसा किया तो मलयालम वाले भी इसका स्वागत करेंगे आंध्र वाले भी करेंगे और उत्तर प्रदेश वाले भी करेंगे। मुत्तकालीन भारत में संस्कृत यहां बोली जाती थी। यह यहां की भाषा है। लेकिन मान्यवर आज मुझे यह देख कर दुःख होता है कि मद्रास में मंदिरों आदि में संस्कृत के श्लोक जो लिखे हुए थे उनको पोता जा रहा है। मैं मद्रास में घूमा हूँ। मैं वहां के नक्शे को जानता हूँ। मैं जानता हूँ कि वहां हर आदमी हिन्दी जानता है। लेकिन वहां क्या हालत है? वहां पर हिन्दी बोलने की मुमानियत है। वहां एक ड्राइवर ने मुझे कहा कि हिन्दी बोलने पर यहां रोक है। यह अनूदराय साहब का हुक्म है जो अपने आपको देशसेवक और लोक सेवक कहते हैं उनकी आज वहां सरकार है। उनके आदमियों का यह षडयंत्र है जो रचा गया है।

18.15 hrs.

[SHRI G. S. DHILLON in the Chair]

हमारे वाजपेयी जी ने कहा है कि दीन दयाल उपाध्याय जी को जो हत्या की गई है उसकी जांच प्रचंडी तरह से होनी चाहिये।



[श्री शिव नारायण]

हत्यारों को पकड़ने में जल्दी होनी चाहिये। मैं उनकी इस बात का समर्थन करता हूँ। यह कोई मामूली मर्डर नहीं है। यह कैंनेडी टाइप मर्डर है। जिस किसी ने भी किया है ही शक हीं बाट टू बूक। इसकी ओपन जांच होनी चाहिये। मैं कांग्रेस वाला हो कर यह माँग करता हूँ।

हमें तो बहुत गालियाँ दी जाती हैं कि हम ने यह नहीं किया और वह नहीं किया लेकिन आप देखें कि जब उपाध्याय जी की हत्या हुई तब वहाँ किस की सरकार थी। इन्हीं की सरकार तो वहाँ थी। तब वहाँ उत्तर प्रदेश में कांग्रेस की गवर्नमेंट तो नहीं थी। इन्हीं की पार्टी का वहाँ होम मिनिस्टर था। वहाँ पर उनके होम मिनिस्टर की इयूटी थी कि उनको वह प्रोटेक्शन देते। गांधी जी को जब सरदार पटेल प्रोटेक्शन नहीं दे सके थे तब हमने यहाँ मवाल पूछा था और उनको कहा था कि यह उनकी इयूटी थी। अब क्या यह इनकी इयूटी नहीं थी कि उनको वह प्रोटेक्शन देते। क्या यह हमारी जिम्मेदारी थी। हमें गालियाँ देना इनके लिए आसान है...

श्री राम जी राम (अकबरपुर) :  
हजारों अछत जो मारे जा रहे हैं इनके बारे में भी तो कुछ कहा कि इसकी जांच होनी चाहिये।

श्री शिव नारायण : आप से ज्यादा मैं कह रहा हूँ।

अभी हमारे रानेन सेन साहब ने कलकता की ट्रामबेज के बारे में कहा है कि इसको बेचा जा रहा है। मैं उन से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि जब इनकी वहाँ पर हकूमत थी तब क्या ज्योति बसु इसको कंट्रोल नहीं किये हुये थे। और क्या यह भी सच नहीं है कि वहाँ के च.फ मिनिस्टर श्री अजय मुकुर्जी ने यह कहा था कि उनको कंसल्ट किये बगैर उन्होंने यह कहा था। नीम हकीम सतारे जान

जो कुछ भी हमारी गवर्नमेंट ने बीस साल में किया था वह तो किया ही था लेकिन आप तो दस महीने में ही फेल हो गए। डा० घोष को आप गालियाँ देते हैं क्या यह सही नहीं है कि यह आपकी ही मिनिस्ट्री में फड मिनिस्टर थे और आप ने ही उनको बनाया था। जब आपने उनको लात मार कर भगाया तभी वह हमारे पास आए। ये जो हमारे उधर भाई बैठे हुए हैं ये फूटे दर्तन हैं कोई चीन के पीछे हैं तो कोई अमरीका या रूस के। मैं अपने आपको हिन्दुस्तानी समझता हूँ। आई वाज बान इन बेंस्ट इडीज। मैं देश भक्त हूँ, देश का सेवक हूँ, इनकी तरह विदेशियों का पक्ष मैं नहीं लेता हूँ, भारत का पक्ष लेता हूँ।

मैं सरकार से एक माँग और करता हूँ। जो पैसा विदेशों से यहाँ आता है उसकी जांच करो। उसकी लिस्ट सब को बताओ फिर चाहे वह कांग्रेसी हो या गैर-कांग्रेसी हो। सब की कलाई आप खोल दो। मैं वाजपेयी जी की माँग का समर्थन करता हूँ कि चौराहे पर लिस्ट को रखा जाए।

यह कहा जाता है कि कांग्रेस अलोक-प्रिय हो रही है। लेकिन मैं आपको बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि पब्लिक ओपिनियन हमारे फेवर में है। मैं और कुंटे साहब पूना जा रहे थे। ट्रेन में एक मिलिट्री आफिसर ने हम को कहा :

Today the Congress is in a better position than any of the opposition parties.

इसका सुन कर उनका मुँह फीका पड़ गया।

फिर भी कुछ बातें हैं जो कि बहुत महत्वपूर्ण हैं और उनकी तरफ सरकार को ध्यान देना चाहिये। ये कौन कौन सी बातें है इसको आप सुन लें।

There is administrative looseness in all walks of life. None is conscious of his duties and responsibilities. Everybody is only hankering after authority, and ostentation and show. There is scant respect for law. Politicians and executive should play their respective role and should not interfere in each other's work. Code of conduct is necessary for every one, for Ministers, for Congressmen, for socialists, for communists and so on.

मंगल अगला मुझाव ग

There is need of a scheme to remove ostentation. Then, there should be a coordinated scheme for compulsory military training to all adult without any fear of military coup. Then, law and order problem should be treated above party considerations. Then, the Centre should ensure effective application of law.

मैं ने यह जो पार्लियामेंट वताए हैं गवर्नमेंट उस पर अमल करे और उनको प्रैक्टिकल रूप दे। इस में किसी पार्टी या कांग्रेस का सवाल नहीं है। अपोजीशन की तरफ से ये छोटी बातें कही जाती हैं।

जिन लोगों ने राष्ट्रीय झंडे को फूंक कर उस का अपमान किया है, वे आज हिन्दी के नाम पर हम को गालियां दे रहे हैं। अभी तक माननीय सदस्य "हिन्दी कैनेटिक" की बात कर रहे थे।

I was born in the British West Indies. English is my mother-tongue. I learnt English before I learnt Hindi. But I have come over here and I have learnt Hindi afterwards.

लेकिन मैं उन को बताना चाहता हूँ कि मैं अंग्रेज या अंग्रेजी भाषा का गुलाम नहीं हूँ। अभी भारतीयता इन रंगों में बाकी है। मैं गांधी और नेहरू की शपथ ले कर आया हूँ। मैं ने इस संविधान की शपथ ली है। हम ट्रैटर या देश-द्रोही नहीं हैं। हम इस देश के शुभचिन्तक हैं। मैं होम मिनिस्टर साहब से कहना चाहता हूँ कि वह हम गरीब हरिजनों को प्रोटेक्शन दें। हम दलित और नीचे थे। उन्हीं ने हमें उभारा। अभी हम बहुत पीछे हैं लेकिन हम ने हिम्मत नहीं हारी है। हम उन में से हैं जिन का नारा है "बड़े चलो बहादुरों"। हम कमजोर नहीं हैं। कमा कर हम खिलाते हैं। जो यहां पर मफेद जैकट कोट पहन कर घूमते हैं वे नहीं। हम हल चनाते हैं। खेती हम करते हैं। हम अन्न पैदा करते हैं। "नाजां रहेगा तुम पर प्यारा चमन हमारा।" "न पंशाशिकन हैं न गद्दार हैं हम बतनपरवरी के खतावार हैं हम।" हम रीयल हिन्दुस्तानी हैं।

मद्रास की जो पृथकरण की, अलगाव की नीति है, उस के सम्बन्ध में मैं मद्रास को रिमाइंड करना चाहता हूँ—डी० म० के० के लोग सुन लें—कि 1757 में जिन्होंने कलाइव की फौज ले कर हम पर मार्च किया था अगर हम बंगाल में प्लासी की लड़ाई में हारे थे, वे उस को रिपीट न करायें। उन के कारनामों हम को मालूम हैं। जो लोग अमरीकन डालर के पीछे, फारेंज के पीछे धम रहे हैं वे जरा सोचें।

दल-बदल की नीति अनचित है। यह कानून बनाना चाहिए कि जो मेम्बर किसी पार्टी के टिकट पर इलेक्ट हो कर आया है, अगर उस ने मां का दूध पिया है, तो किसी दूसरी पार्टी में जाने से पहले वह रिजाइन करे। कांग्रेस वालों ने इस का नमूना पेश किया है। हाफिज इब्राहीम—भगवान उन क आत्मा को शान्ति दे—मुस्लिम लीग के टिकट पर इलेक्ट हो कर आए थे। लेकिन जब

[श्री शिव नारायण]

वह मिनिस्टर बने, तो उन्होंने रिजाइन किया और फिर कांग्रेस के टिकट पर इलेक्शन लड़ कर आए।

लोग नेशनल इन्ट्रिग्रेशन का नमूना हमारे यहां देखें। हम ने अपने यहां उत्तर प्रदेश में बंगाली, मद्रासी, पंजाबी, सब को बसा रखा है और बिना भेद-भाव के हम उन को बेलकम करते हैं। पिछली बार दादा भी हमारे यहां से एम० पी० हों कर आए थे। श्रीमती सुचेता कृपालानी ने भी हमारे यहां इलेक्शन लड़ा और हम ने उन को चीफ मिनिस्टर बनाया। यह हमारी उदारता है। उत्तर प्रदेश में राष्ट्रीय एकता का नमूना देखा जा सकता है।

वहां पर हमारे लीडरों ने कहा, "We are not in a hurry to topple down this Government." लेकिन चरण सिंह और उन के साथी आपस में लड़ पड़े।

मैं होम मिनिस्टर साहब से कहना चाहता हूँ कि वह होम मिनिस्ट्री को टाइटन करें, देश की रक्षा करें और हरिजनों की रक्षा करें, क्योंकि हम उन के सहारे पर हैं, हम इस देश को छोड़ कर कोई पाकिस्तान बनाने वाले नहीं हैं।

सरकार को बोर्डर पर भी सचेत और सजग रहना चाहिए। हम नेपाल बार्डर से आते हैं। सरकार के अफसर स्मगलड माल इधर मंगाते हैं। इसको चेक करना चाहिए। व्यरोकेसी अग्रेंज की ज्यादा लायल है, सरकार की कम।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं होम मिनिस्ट्री की डिमांडज का समर्थन करता हूँ। चव्हाण साहब ने अभी हाल में बम्बई में नमना दिखा दिया है। हम वहां पर 66 सीट्स जीते हैं। उस के बाद शिव सेना है। एम० एस० पी० वाले तो "जय सियाराम" हो गये, साफ हो

गये। यह चव्हाण साहब का नमूना है। जिस का जो चाहे वह देख ले।

श्री नधु लिनबें : पाटिल का।

श्री शिव नारायण : पाटिल का भी है। पाटिल ने इन को दिखा दिया है।

श्री मधु लिनबें : हम ने पाटिल को दिखा दिया है।

श्री शिव नारायण : मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि : Coming events casts their shadows before

अब जितने भी इलेक्शन होंगे उन में हम जोतकर आयेंगे, इस का हमें पूरा विश्वास है।

18.25 hrs.

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair]

\*MAP OF KASHMIR PUBLISHED  
IN "INDIAN EXPRESS"

MR. SPEAKER: This is a very good ending after a tiresome day. We shall begin the half an hour discussion now.

SHRIMATI TARKESHWARI SINHA (Basti): Mr. Speaker, Thank you very much for calling me to initiate this discussion.

I had given notice for the half an hour discussion on the problem of the Indian map. I was going through some of the records available in Parliament Library and was surprised to find that this problem has not only not been tackled so far but has been allowed to percolate in a way which has gone completely against this country, whenever the occasion has come.

This morning you were yourself very much concerned about the reply given by Government. You yourself felt that it could not satisfy the