

of the Arms Act, 1959. [Placed in Library. See No. LT--525/69].

- (2) A copy of the Indian Forest Service (Pay) Amendment Rules, 1969, published in Notification No. G. C. R. 770 in Gazette of India dated the 15th March, 1969, under sub-section (2) of section 3 of the All India Services Act, 1951 [Placed in Library. See No. LT--526/69].

MESSAGE FROM RAJYA SABHA

SECRETARY : Sir, I have to report the following message received from the Secretary of Rajya Sabha :

"In accordance with the provisions of rule 127 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in the Rajya Sabha, I am directed to inform the Lok Sabha that the Rajya Sabha, at its sitting held on the 26th March 1969, agreed without any amendment to the Customs (Amendment) Bill, 1969, which was passed by the Lok Sabha at its sitting held on the 22nd March, 1969

PRESIDENT'S ASSENT TO BILL

SECRETARY : Sir, I also lay on the Table the Appropriation (Vote on Account) Bill, 1969, passed by the Houses of Parliament during the current session and assented to by the President since a report was last made to the House on the 21st March, 1969.

12.55 hrs.

ESTIMATES COMMITTEE

Seventy-Second Report

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH (Nandyal) : I beg to present the Seventy-second Report of the Estimates Committee on the Ministry of Health and Family Planning and

Works, Housing and Urban Development (Department of Works, Housing and Urban Development)--Department of Printing and Stationery (Stationery Wing).

12.55 ¼ hrs.

DEMANDS FOR GRANTS--Contd.

Ministry of Home Affairs--Contd.

MR. SPEAKER : The House will continue the discussion on the Demands for the Grants of the Home Ministry. Shri Randhir Singh may continue his speech. I request him to finish quickly so that others will get a chance; he has already taken seven minutes.

12.55½ hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

श्री रणधीर सिंह : (रोहतक) उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं परसों तकरीर कर रहा था कि दिल्ली में पुलिस के कर्मचारियों के खिलाफ जो मुकद्दमात चल रहे हैं उन से हम सब को बड़ी तशवीस है। मैं ने आप की मार्फत मिनिस्टर महोदय से दरख्वास्त की थी कि उन सारे मामलात पर हमदर्दानी गौर किया जाय।

दूसरी चीज मैं भ्रजं करना चाहता हूँ कि दिल्ली का जो शहर है बढ़ता चला जा रहा है और इस से दिल्ली के इर्दगिर्द बसे हुए देहाती किसानों को खतरा पैदा हो गया है। जिस तरह से प्रतिफिशा से एक बड़ा खतरा पैदा होता है उसी तरह से दिल्ली के इर्दगिर्द 30-30 और 40-40 मील पर बसने वाले जो किसान लोग हैं वह इस दिल्ली के बढ़ते हुए शहर से बड़ा खतरा महसूस कर रहे हैं। पहले से ही उनकी जमीनें डी०डी०ए० ने ग्रथवा दिल्ली प्रशासन ने फीज कर के रक दी है। देहाती किसानों की हजारों लाखों एकड़ जमीन इस तरह से डी० डी० ए० के पास फीज पड़ी है। उन को

[श्री रणधीर सिंह]

फिक्र हो रही है कि उन की जमीनों का क्या बनेगा ? उन बेचारे किसानों की गरदन पर बेद-खली की तलवार लटक रही है। उन्हें पता नहीं है कि उन का क्या हृथ होगा ? उनकी किस्मत जिन्दगी और मौत के बीच में लटक रही। मैं मिनिस्टर साहब से चाहूंगा कि खासतौर पर यह हालत खत्म की जाय। जो जमीन ऐक्वायर की जाती है उस जमीन का ठीक मुआविजा नहीं मिलता है। ग़दर के से हालत हैं। दुनिया भर की सोसाइटियां, दुनिया भर के कालो-नाइजर्स बीच में पड़ गये हैं और वह गरीब किसानों की जमीनें कौड़ियों मोल डी० डी० ए० के नाम, फर्म के नाम या कारपोरेशन के नाम से ये लोग इस तरह से ऐक्वायर कराते हैं और उस को ऊंचे दामों बेच कर लाखों रुपया कमाते हैं। मैं चाहूंगा कि मिनिस्टर साहब इस धांधलेबाजी की तरफ़ ध्यान दें जोकि किसानों की जमीनें आज इस तरीके से कौड़ियों के दाम नीलाम होती है ऐक्वायर होती है। दिल्ली के इंदगिंद बसे हुए देहाती किसानों की जमीनों को कौड़ियों के मोल ऐक्वायर कर के घसखुदा बनाया जा रहा है। साथ ही दिल्ली में जो गरीब लोग हैं, छुगगी भोंपड़ी वाले लोग हैं, हरिजन हैं, छोटे मुलाजिम हैं उन को उन की जगहों से उखाड़-उखाड़ कर बाहर फेंका जा रहा है। मन्त्री महोदय इन दोनों चीजों के ऊपर गम्भीरता-पूर्वक ध्यान दें। मैं चाहूंगा कि दिल्ली ऐड-मिनिस्ट्रेशन और जनसंघ जिन हालात में नाकाम रहा है और मन्त्री महोदय की भी तवज्जह कुछ कम रही है उस के परिणामस्वरूप दर्जनों नहीं अपितु सैकड़ों की तादाद में कौलीज पैदा हो रही हैं लेकिन उन में पानी, तालीम, सड़क और ट्रांसपोर्ट आदि आवश्यकताओं का कोई बन्दोबस्त नहीं है। मन्त्री महोदय उधर ध्यान दें।

दूसरी बात मैं नेफा के बारे में कहना चाहूंगा। नेफा के लिए श्री कृष्णमूर्तिराव की

अध्यक्षता में एम०पीज० की एक कमेटी बनी थी उस ने श्रीर डा० एरिंग वाली कमेटी ने भी अर्थात् इन दोनों कमेटियों ने अपनी रिपोर्ट्स दे दी है और मैं चाहूंगा कि उन दोनों रिपोर्ट्स को इम्प्लीमेंट किया जाय।

मैं यह भी चाहूंगा कि नेफा का जो अभी वह नाम है उसे भी बदल दिया जाय। यह अपना प्रदेश है और उसका नाम पूर्वी हिमाचल प्रदेश या और कोई उपयुक्त नाम रख दिया जाय लेकिन यह "नेफा" नाम अच्छा नहीं लगता है।

उस इलाके में वह जो ढांचा है, एलिमेंट है, जो रिटायर्ड ऐक्स सर्विसमैन है मैं होम मिनिस्टर साहब से चाहूंगा कि इन ऐक्स सर्विसमैन को सेंटिल किया जाय। मैं शुक्ल जी से यह भी कहना चाहूंगा कि वहां के लोग हिन्दी पढ़ना चाहते हैं। लेकिन वहां स्कूलों और दूसरे इन्स्टिट्यूशंस में हिन्दी को लागू नहीं किया गया है। आप हिन्दी को वहां लागू कीजिए और इस इलाके का डेवलपमेंट पूरी तरह से कीजिए। वहां इन्डस्ट्री भी नहीं है, आपने बिजली भी नहीं दी। आप वहां वांडर रोड्स वगैरह को ठीक कीजिए। मैं सही कहता हूँ कि नेशनल डिफेंस के लिए यह चीज जरूरी है।

13 hrs.

एक बात मैं नागालैंड के लिए भी कहना चाहूंगा और यह बहुत जरूरी बात है। आज नागालैंड के लोगों को बहुत शिकायत है कि वहां इधर के लोग जाते नहीं हैं। वहां हमारे एम०पीज० का डेलिगेशन गया था। श्री रंगा गये थे, श्री कंवरलाल गुप्त गये थे। वहां के लोग कहते हैं कि नागालैंड हिन्दुस्तान का हिस्सा होते हुए भी हम लोग उस को प्यार नहीं करते। हम को इसका ख्याल करना चाहिए। मैं होम मिनिस्टर साहब से कहना चाहूंगा और दूसरे लोगों से भी कि उन को इस तरह ध्यान देना चाहिए। उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, वहां आप की बड़ी तारीफ होती है क्योंकि आप

खुद वहां गये थे। वह लोग आप से प्यार करते हैं। मैं होम मिनिस्टर साहब से कहना चाहूंगा कि वह बड़ी सुन्दर जगह है। मुझ को काश्मीर भी उतना पसन्द नहीं आया। मैं कुल्लू भी गया हूँ। वह भी मुझे उतना सुन्दर नहीं लगा जितना नागालैंड है। उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, वहां एक हफ्ते में आप की संहत बन गई थी। मैं चाहूंगा कि श्री और मिनिस्टर भी वहां तशरीफ ले जायें। श्री शुक्ल जी इस बात को अच्छी तरह समझते हैं और उनको चाहिये कि वह वहां जायें। फ्रीजो की मतीजी ने सवाल किया कि आप लोग कैसे अपने को हिन्दुस्तानी कहते हैं। बीम साल बाद हम ने आप की शकल को देखा है। जो होस्टाउन लोग हैं वह हमारे खिलाफ वहां इस किसम का प्रचार करते हैं। मैं चाहता हूँ कि आज जो बैरियर्स हैं मुख्तलिफ सूबों में उनको हटाया जाय खास तौर पर नागालैंड में डेवेलपमेंट का काम ज्यादा होना चाहिए।

मैं चाहता हूँ कि जो मिशनरीज का काम करते हैं, जैसे आर्य समाज है, दूसरे लोग हैं उनको वहां भेजा जाये। वहां गाय मारी जाती है। यह देख कर बड़ा दुःख होता है। जिस गाय का वह दूध पीते हैं उनको उसे मारना नहीं चाहिये। मैं चाहूंगा कि श्री वाजपेयी और दूसरे सयासी नेता की शकल में नहीं, सोशल कार्यकर्ताओं के रूप में वहां जायें और कहें कि तुम गाय का दूध पियो तो मोटे हो जाओगे, उसको मारो नहीं। वहां के लोग चाहते हैं कि यहां के लोग उधर जायें।

मैं गोम्रा मणिपुर और त्रिपुरा के बारे में भी बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि वह कितना खूब-सूरत है। अगर जमीन पर कहीं भी फिरदौस है तो वह गोम्रा में है। वहां पर बड़े मिनरल रिजोर्सेज हैं, उनको वहां पर खोज की जाये कि कौन से मिनरल्स वहां पर हैं। मैं मणिपुर और त्रिपुरा गया था। इस लिए कहता हूँ कि वह बड़ी खूबसूरत जगह है। वहां के लोग यह महसूस करते हैं कि जो डिप्टी सेक्रेट्री होता है

वह भी वहां का बड़ा अफसर बनता है। मैं चाहूंगा कि श्री शुक्ल वहां जाये और मिनिस्टर होने के नाते नहीं बल्कि प्यार के ढंग से उन से बातें करें और उनको मदद करें।

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : You have taken five minutes now.

SHRI RANDHIR SINGH : May I take a few minutes more ? You are in a hurry.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : He may continue after lunch.

13.05 hrs.

The Lok Sabha adjourned for Lunch till Fourteen of the Clock.

The Lok Sabha re-assembled after Lunch at five minutes past Fourteen of the Clock.

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

DEMANDS FOR GRANTS--Contd.

Ministry of Home Affairs--Contd.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Shri Randhir Singh. He should conclude in two minutes. He has taken 17 minutes already.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE (Kaupur) : Sir, no taxi is available.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : How is it relevant now ?

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE : That is one reason why members are not able to come on time.

श्री रणधीर सिंह : अपने महबूब नेता, होम मिनिस्टर साहब से मैं चाहूंगा कि जब भी वह कोई कमिश्न बिठाये तो उसकी जो सिफारिशें आयें उन पर अमल वह जरूर करें। आपने खोसला कमिश्न बिठाया था विल्ली की पुलिस वालों के लिए। लेकिन अब तक उसकी

[श्री रणधीर सिंह]

सिफारिशों को आपने इम्प्लीमेंट नहीं किया। मैं चाहता हूँ कि उन पर आप अमल करें। साथ ही साथ जो पुलिस वालों के पैडिंग केसिस हैं, उन पर आप हमदर्दी से गौर करें। होम मिनिस्टर साहब का एक्सटीरियर तो बहुत रौबीला है, वह बहुत सख्त नज़र आते हैं लेकिन अन्दर से उन का दिल बड़ा नर्म है। मैं आशा करता हूँ कि वह जरूर उन के केसिस पर हमदर्दी के साथ गौर करेंगे। साथ ही खोसला कमिशन की जो रिपोर्ट है उस पर गौर करके उसको इम्प्लीमेंट करने की कोशिश करेंगे, इसकी मुझे पूरी उम्मीद है।

मैं यह भी चाहता हूँ कि हिमाचल को आप फुल स्टेट बनायें। वह बहुत सुन्दर स्टेट है, फलों की स्टेट है। यह कहा जाता है कि वन एपल ए डे, कीप्स दी डाक्टर अवे। वहां एपल बहुत होते हैं। वह पहाड़ियों की स्टेट है। बहादुर जवानों की स्टेट है। उसको आप फुल स्टेटहुड दें।

आपकी रिपोर्ट में यह है कि ई०सी०ओ०जी० को आपने आई० ए० एस० और आई० पी० एस० में काफी एकमोडेट किया है। लेकिन जो अदर रैंक्स हैं, जिन में जमादार आते हैं, सूबेदार आते हैं, रसालदार आते हैं, उन को कोई पूछता नहीं है। ये जो फौज से निकाले हुए लोग हैं अदर रैंक्स के, इन को भी आप एकमोडेट करें।

मैं यह भी चाहता हूँ कि अस्सी परसेंट किसानों का एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन में हिस्सा होना चाहिये। चाहे आप राजदूत बनायें, गवर्नर बनायें, हाइ कोर्ट के जज बनायें, यू०पी०एस०सी० के मੈम्बर बनायें या पब्लिक सर्विस कमिश्नर के मੈम्बर बनायें, प्लानिंग कमिशन के मੈम्बर बनायें, ऊपर से नीचे तक अस्सी परसेंट नौकरिबां किसानों को मिलनी चाहिये। इस से उन को भी एहसास होगा कि उन की भी पूछ होती है।

जहां तक बोर्डर सिक्कोरिटी फोर्स का सम्बन्ध है, या सी०आर०पी० का सम्बन्ध है, या असम राइफल का सम्बन्ध है, हम देखते हैं कि वे बहुत अच्छा काम कर रही हैं। मैं चाहता हूँ कि इन के आदमियों को वही फेसिलिटीज़ मिलें जो कि फौज के अफसरों और सिपाहियों को मिलती हैं। इन के कुनबों को वही सुविधायें मिलनी चाहियें जो फौजियों के कुनबों को मिलती हैं। रिटायर होने के बाद जो सुविधायें फौज के सिपाहियों को दी जाती हैं वही इन को भी दी जानी चाहियें।

जहां तक घेराव का सम्बन्ध है, इस को आप इल्लिगल करार दे दें। आप भी लायर हैं और मैं भी हूँ। 341 दफा में यह आफेंस-नान-कागनिजेबल है। इसको आप कागनिजेबल बनायें, इस को नान बेलेबल बनायें।

अलग अलग जगहों पर असैम्बलीज़ के लिए जो अभी इलैकशंज हुए हैं उनके बारे में यह है कि वे असैम्बलियां पांच साल तक कायम रहेंगी। क्या कोई रेवोल्यूशन आ गया है कि इनको पांच साल तक काम करने दिया जाए। मैं चाहता हूँ कि कांस्टीट्यूशन में और आर पी एक्ट में आप तरमीम करें और उन की अवधि भी पार्लिमेंट की जब अवधि समाप्त होती है, समाप्त करें। कहीं भी दुनिया के किसी देश में ऐसा नहीं होता है कि अगर तीन साल के बाद या दो साल के बाद इलैकशन हो तो उस असैम्बली की अवधि पांच साल की होगी। यह क्या मजाक है, बिहार, बंगाल, हरियाणा बंगरह में ये पांच साल तक रहेंगी। यहां मध्यावधि चुनाव हुए हैं। इनकी अवधि भी पार्लिमेंट की अवधि के साथ समाप्त होनी चाहिये।

मैं चाहता हूँ कि आप चण्डीगढ़ हमें दिलायें। हरियाणा में सारे देहात ही देहात हैं। कोई शहर है भी तो वे भी देहातों जैसे हैं। सुप्रीम कोर्ट के जज ने उसे हमें दिया था।

वह हिन्दी भाषी इलाका है। साथ ही भाखड़ा में हमारा हिस्सा हमें दें।

रोहतक में हाई कोर्ट का बैच हमें जरूर दें। वहां के लिए एक यूनिवर्सिटी भी दें। मन्त्री महोदय ने सिर हिला दिया है, मैं उनका बड़ा मशकूर हूँ। मैं उम्मीद करता हूँ कि वह जरूर इसको जल्दी कर देंगे।

सरदार भगत सिंह की प्रतिमा यहां जरूर लगनी चाहिये। पार्लिमेंट में कहीं न कहीं यह जरूर लगे चाहे यहां सेंट्रल हाल में लगे और चाहे दरवाजे के बाहर आप लगायें। वह देश के नौजवानों के लिए एक मिसाल थे। पार्लिमेंट में जो भी आए, उसके दर्शन करके आए, उससे प्रेरणा ग्रहण करके आए।

हाई कोर्ट के लायजं के लिए तो आपने यह व्यवस्था की है कि वे हाई कोर्ट के जज बन सकते हैं। लेकिन सुप्रीम कोर्ट के जो लायजं हैं वे सुप्रीम कोर्ट के जज नहीं बन सकते हैं। सुप्रीम कोर्ट के वकील सुप्रीम कोर्ट के जज बन सकें, इसकी व्यवस्था भी आपको करनी चाहिये। ऐसी बात नहीं है कि यह चीज मुझे लायजं ने कहने के लिए कही है। मैं इसको आपकी सेवा में अपनी तरफ से ही भर्ज कर रहा हूँ। यह जो कमी है, यह भी पूरी होनी चाहिये।

आपने मुझे मौका दिया, मैं आपका बेहद मशकूर हूँ।

SHRI S. A. DANGE (Bombay Central South): It is not very difficult to enumerate all the evils from which our country is suffering under the benign rule of especially the two Ministers sitting opposite to me particularly my friend Shri Morarji Desai who wields the finance portfolio of the country and my friend Shri Y. B. Chavan who wields the *danda* to support that order. As to the picture, it is very clear. The ruling party itself is suffering from so many evils. And it knows them very well. So I need not enumerate them. Even a whip cannot be obeyed in order to

pilot through a Bill agreed to by the party itself. That is the kind of absenteeism or absentee landlordism which the ruling party wishes to continue in this country.

As regards other things, the State Governments run by the Congress have to fight against the Central Government run by the Congress. This was not the picture twenty years ago, and it is really time that all of us should think why we have come to such a pass. Of course, they are doing their own thinking, but since the Congress Party rules this country, it is also our business to think as to why this is happening. And when things crack up instead of following a democratic procedure, they take recourse to Governor's power and then topple Ministries through the Governors which again are toppled down by some other people. What kind of order are they building? I do not understand it. They are utilising the Governmental and constitutional power to retain the make-up of an order that they have built and also to prevent its breakdown. But when it breaks down in a democratic way, then they slash down the democratic order by the most undemocratic use of their constitutional power. Why is this happening?

I do not want to enumerate all the troubles that are already there before the House and everybody has spoken about them. Take for example, their behaviour with regard to their own employees. Any diplomat worth his salt would think that his secretariat at least should be loyal to him. But the Government employees are bandied about from place to place; assurances are given and they are not carried out. Let alone Government employees; take even that supreme ultimate power, that is, the police; discontent is found among their ranks also and I think about seven hundred or eight hundred victims are still roaming in the streets. So, what kind of policy are they following? I do not quite know.

The Home Ministry is the essence of power in one sense just as the Finance Ministry is the essence of financial and economic power in another sense. Though I do not say that the other Ministries may not share in its sins, in any case, these

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two particularly deserve the attention of this House and the country.

When solutions are proposed, why do they resist them? There are any number of grievances. Ever my hon. friend from Haryana that inimitable province or State from which followed the wonderful phrase that the Home Minister had coined, namely 'Aya Ram and 'Gaya Ram', has spoken about them. There are regional disparities. All these regions are being Governed by the Congress. Why does one region find itself in difficulty against another region or against the Centre? Haryana comes round and says certain things, then Himachal Pradesh comes round and says certain things; my hon. friend Randhir Singh has enumerated all of them; I do not, therefore, want to spend my time on them. Take even Goa. It is such a small thing. It has remained a Union Territory. Why can Goa not become a State? Why can Manipur not become a State? Why can Himachal Pradesh not become a State? What is it that frightens Government from giving one additional Governor? After all they should enjoy it, because the more the number of Governors, the merrier the show. There may be one Governor and a little Assembly with a little more power in all these places. They are producing money and they are viable. What is viability? Shri Y. B. Chavan knows very well that at one time Maharashtra was declared as a non-viable area and, therefore, it could not become a separate State. I do not know whether my hon. friend Y. B. Chavan okayed it at that time or not; in any case, he was for a bilingual State first and then he fortunately came over to a unilingual State; later on, I do not know what his position now is; for, having got that and having found himself in difficulty, I do not know what he will say now. He once went to the length of supporting the Shiva Sena at the beginning. Later no...

SHRI ANANTRAO PATIL (Ahmednagar) : That is wrong. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI S. A. DANGE : ...the two great Ministers were found to be the fastest runners in the city of Bombay when the Shiva

Sena was pursuing them. But at that time, this was the position. I do not know; later on, they might have changed their views. It is quite possible. But in any case, when it was a question of fighting the communists or fighting the working class, or fighting Shri Krishna Menon, the Shiva Sena was a wonderful ally; but when the latter turned against them.....

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH (Nandyal) : It is the creation of my hon. friend's party. They have put up Shiva Sena as their creation. It is Dange's *sansha*.

SHRI S. A. DANGE : The Home Minister would not agree with my hon. friend. Let him please refer it to the Home Minister.

Many of the slogans written by the Shiva Sena are against me. So, he cannot say that. The first statement that was over issued by the Shiva Sena was against one party and not theirs. Let them remember that. Shri Chavan wanted my hon. friends opposite to understand the political and inner urges of the Marathi people which expressed themselves in the Shiva Sena, though it might of the fascist type. This was the thing that they were pleading.

What I was pointing out was this. Why are these contradictions taking place in a party which once was very healthy? I remember that in 1937 the point made by the Congress about the Governors when they were to take over Ministries. Mahatma Gandhi insisted that Governor shall abide by the advice of the Ministers, and on that ground they refused to take power. Now, they have taken the place of the British Viceroy at the Central and they want to change the position, from a democratic position to an undemocratic position, that the Governor now shall be supreme because the Viceroy is either Shri Y. B. Chavan or some body else; by 'Viceroy' I mean the content of power; the content of power of the viceroyalty is in the hands of the Home Ministry. Therefore, the most democratic principle of 1937 is given a go-by. Why should this happen? Let me spend a few minutes on this question. Why are the structures breaking down and on what issues? The essence of the conflict is now between the States and the Centre in the area of

what is called Centre-State relations. And this is happening on two counts, namely finance and police. Take, for instance, the incident at Durgapur or the incidents at other places. What question do they raise? The Centre wants to put its Central police force in the domain of a State power in which they have got their own law and order police force. Why should there be a parallel force in a State? Why should the Centre insist on that? From what does it arise? Why do they, for example, want to put the U. P. police in Bengal or the Bengal police in Maharashtra or the Maharashtra police in Tamil Nadu or the Tamil Nadu police or the Malabar police in Punjab and so on? The reason is that they want the people of the States to feel that they are being suppressed by the police force of another State. If the UP police force attack the Bengal people in Calcutta, what would it lead to? It would lead to the feeling that the U. P. police is bad and they are sending their police there, and the Bengal police is very good, though the police of every State may be the same. This is the old tactic of sending the Malabar battalion of the Army or the Marathi Battalion of the Army in each others areas. At one time, when Master Tara Singh was fasting and there was danger of his dying and an upheaval taking place in Punjab, the finest soldiers from the Marathi battalions and the Gurkha battalions were sent over to curb that possibility of a disorder. This mentality of relying upon the contradictions between the people or the police forces or the military forces or the classes of two different regions in order to preserve law and order ultimately leads to rivalries and the worst envies inside this country and enables these gentlemen to retain their power. Therefore, the essence of the conflict on police count arises from that reason.

Then I come to finance. After twenty years of development, two spheres of financial development have arisen. One is the growth of monopoly, monopolistic industry and banking, controlled by the Finance Ministry from the Centre. The other is in the States, which are left with small spheres of finance in which they can tax their own peasants, small traders and so on, and manage as they like. Today the industrialists who have sprung up at the local level, regi-

onal level say that the financial power should not be only in the hands of the Centre. Therefore, the concentration of monopoly finance must be disintegrated, decentralised and the gains of monopoly and all capital development should be shared. Therefore, from the States also such demands are rising.

One reason for this conflict lies in the capitalist development and in the excessive concentration of financial power at the Centre, which is used in order to build up the monopolies, and that is why when the conflict came into the open it became known as Chandrasekhar *versus* Morarji Desai. What was the essence of that conflict? The essence of that conflict was that today finance is monopolistically, bureaucratically controlled from the Centre which inhibits the development of the regional forces.

Therefore, the demand for decentralised finance is certainly a demand which is justified and I hope the Home Ministry will move in that direction. Because of technological reasons, economy cannot be decentralised in a capitalistic country which needs a high rate of development; so, the all-India development plan will have to be centralised. But then the question is excessive concentration of bureaucratic and monopolistic finance in the hands of the Centre leading to the starvation of the rightful ambitions of the region remains. Therefore, the conflict is arising. So, if you do not resolve the Centre-State finance question, it will ultimately lead to stagnation and conflict of the worst type, both in the economic sphere of development and reflecting itself in the political sphere.

Therefore, my submission is that the proposal of Shri Nambudiripad for establishing a Council of States in order to discuss these matters should be considered. Of course, I do not say that all the non-Congress Government demands should be supported by the non-Congress parties and all the Central demands should be opposed. Because, suppose we try to decentralise the Central finance. What is there common between the Madhya Pradesh Ministry led by the Raja Mata or Shri D.P. Misra and the West Bengal Ministry led by

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Shri Ajay Mukerjee and Shri Jyoti Basu? On the question of finance, if we decentralise finance and share it with them, the share of the finance of higher order in Madhya Pradesh will be used, I do not know for what, may be used by the Home Minister there for suppressing the minorities and if the Minister belongs to a particular party there having views, say, of the Jan Sangh or any other type, it may lead to one development; the same finance in the hands of a Finance Minister like Shri Ajay Mukerjee in Bengal, assisted by the other parties, may lead to another development. So, making common cause with anyone is not our viewpoint nor is it the main viewpoint, that all non-Congress Ministries should combine to confront the Congress Ministry at the Centre. Non-Congress Ministries that were there in many of the States like Madhya Pradesh, Haryana or some other States are birds of the same feather with the Congress they are like the Congress Ministry at the Centre.

Therefore, it is a question of democratic alignment on the question of finance, as against bureaucratic alignment on the question of finance; the democratic financial powers, the financial affairs, of the States, being discussed democratically and applied and spent democratically, as against the monopolistic capitalism, the monopolistic pulls and pressures at the Centre, which control the whole national economy in a bureaucratic way. This is the real evil and the real cause for the financial scandal that is there, for the financial discrepancy that is there and hence the demand and urge from the States for decentralisation of finance.

Another reason is, when the various capitalist parties in the country started moving about for sharing the development, they thought that agriculture is a minor thing and what should be Centrally controlled is industry and monopoly finance. Therefore, all the major taxes and all that were kept at the Centre and small little spheres like agriculture, land revenue, were given to the States. Now the capitalist financier has developed agriculture and large-scale agriculture has come into being. Shri Chavan's

province or my own province in an example of it; Punjab is another example of it: so also Andhra. So, when they rose up from low levels to high, the big capitalist financiers started taking interest in tractors, oil engines and so on to improve agriculture. I am not decrying that development. But, then, the conflict is not always healthy. These gentlemen themselves want to build up capitalist finance, capitalist farming on the basis of higher technique or by grabbing land and putting down the wages of the landless labour or the poor peasant. In such a conflict, we certainly cannot stand by the side of those regional or State Governments who want to fight with the Centre to get more share only in order to develop capitalism in agriculture, in order to beat the agricultural labour or the working class. Therefore, it is not a question of siding with everything that the State demands in order to weaken the Centre. It is not a question of weakening the Centre or strengthening the Centre because in a modern capitalist State, the Centre has to remain and in a federation like this, of multi-lingual States, there has to be the Centre which does not lead to the development of converting a federal Constitution into a confederal Constitution. In a confederacy of warring States, perhaps, Andhra against its own parts in Telengana or Andhra against Maharashtra or Maharashtra against Madhya Pradesh or all that, when the question of sharing the Centre's finances, the total accumulated wealth and the produce of the country, will come, the various regions will start fighting among themselves. The regional disparity is enhanced by monopoly development though regional disparity is also inherited from the past. To overcome that has been impossible for the Centre. Why? It is because the Centre has allowed itself to be dictated by the Birlas and the 75 monopoly houses. Therefore, High finance flows Calcutta and Bombay in spite of the fact that the two places have got the highest concentration of industry and capital. Why does finance flow there? Why taxation is made like that? Why is petrol duty unnecessarily raised? Is there any reason? If you were to reduce the price per barrel of imported crude—we are paying 8 cents more than what Japan and Pakistan pay—you would not have been required to raise the

petrol duty and harass these bus-walas and taxi-walas and make them go on strike.

You see this international relationship in the matter of price. You are paying more price per barrel of imported crude than what Pakistan and Japan are paying to the same foreign companies. Why does not the Finance Minister or the Home Minister take up the question within their own spheres to see that this discrimination against the whole country and its transport operators is stopped and no more duty is imposed here and the price of per barrel of imported crude is brought down? I do not want to bother you with figures. They are with me here. We pay 136 cents to the oil companies and 128 or so is paid by Pakistanis. Do you know this? why is it not being changed? It is because the pull of the oil monopolies with the Finance Minister is so great that he cannot deny their demands. He will pay their price and make us pay duty here and that duty will attack even my hon. friend from Haryana when he puts an oil pump in his farm. Every farm is in danger. Why? It is because of the duty. And it is because they surrender to the oil companies. You gentlemen of the Congress party who have the majority are surrendering to them? Why don't you resist when someones say "I will rule this way or I resign". You should have the guts to, say, "Please go; the country can do without either present dictators or would be dictators." The Finance Minister has not got the guts and the vision to see the problem. Therefore, there is total confusion, State against State, party against party, their own men against their own men, Governors against elected Assemblies, and all this is happening because they observe one principle, that is, the principle of the thieves' kitchen, that all of them will support the monopolies and if the monopolies fight, then those who have the biggest pull among their own party, that monopoly will win and others have to resile. What is the race? Whether Birlas will have No. 1 or Tatas will have No. 1. This is the race. On that basis will be decided whether Mithapur project will be sanctioned or not. If Birlas pull says, "Don't sanction", Tatas pull says, "Please sanction". Then the whole Ministry goes running about to find shelter behind the technical report of the particular scheme. Do they apply

such standards to hundred and one other such schemes? They don't. In that race, they lay their own services at the disposal of the monopolies. In order to make win either the pious Birlas with their Hindu temples or Tatas with their charity--they race up and down. This country is subjected to this because of one reason and that is that you are in the service of the monopolies and, therefore, even the small entrepreneurs, the middle entrepreneurs, even in your own party, have to quarrel. Even agriculturists voting with the Congress have come to quarrel. Ultimately there is no other solution, and we who come up as democratic forces in the States are bound to clash with you. Why not?

Mr. Jyoti Basu is a Home Minister. Mr. Chavan is also a Home Minister. Who is superior? Mr. Jyoti Basu is superior because he stands on the side of the working masses. So long, in Durgapur, in the mining area, the police supported the INTUC union, the police supported the mine-owners, the mine-owners who would not even translate the Wage Board's award into practice; so long not one of them was arrested. When the miners' union protested, hundreds of them were arrested. Why? Now Mr. Jyoti Basu, as the Home Minister, standing on the side of miners will not allow the police to be used in order to beat the miners and save the mine-owners. But you, as the Home Minister at the Centre, in the service of the monopolists, tried to send them the Central Reserve Police, Armed police, U. P. Police, security force. To do what? Why do the two police forces of the same country clash? That was because you put your police against the workers and we put our police in defence of the workers and we are going to do it. The essence of the whole relation, the essence of the whole system is that a monopoly of the capitalist order is built by the Finance Minister and a terrorist regime against the working class in favour of the capitalists is built by the Home Minister. That is the essence of the conflict.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE (Barrampur): Durgapur is a State project. There is no monopoly... (Interruption)

SHRI S.A. DANGE: Monopoly finance is using Durgapur to disrupt its production.

[Shri S. A. Dangr]

What do you know about it? (*Interruptions*) I know you are ready to purchase them cheaper when they go in losses and you are helping by their mismanagement. That also I know.

SHRI ONKARLAL BOHRA (Chittor-garh) : Is he speaking on Finance Ministry's demands or Home Ministry's demands ?

SHRI S. A. DANGE : It is a joint conspiracy between Home and Finance. One cannot move without the other.

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, अगर डांगे साहब इजाजत दें तो मैं एक सवाल पूछूँ। उन्होंने ज्योति बसु जी का नाम लिया है। श्री ज्योति बसु ने उन्हर प्रदेश की पुलिस को फोरिन-फोर्स कहा है, क्या कामरेड डांगे इस में सहमत है ?

SHRI S. A. DANGE : Even if that word is there, it only means, not of that State. I do not know if he has used that. Maybe, you may be saying from the news-agency report, I do not know. (*Interruptions*) Nobody would call it foreign, especially a police belonging to U. P., on the Gangetic plains; how can it be called foreign ? Whether he has called it or not, I do not know. But it cannot be called 'foreign'. It belongs to the same country. Even if we shoot each other, we shoot with our own bullets. What I want to say is that you should not have all the bullets. That is all. The trouble is this. You want to retain all the bullets in the hands of the Governors. Please allow the elected assemblies, the democratic people, also to have some of them in order to counteract the conspiracies of these Governors who are your people. After all, your Governor exercises his own brains. In fact, Governors are appointed after they lose that commodity. When there is nothing else for the men to do any thing any where, they are sent as Governors. Here I do not mean the incumbent you might be sending for West Bengal. He may be an amiable man, with brains; you might be sending him, I do not know...

SHRI S. M. JOSHI (Poona) : I thought you were making a point ..

SHRI S. A. DANGE : I was not making any reference to any rumour or whisper about the Governor for West Bengal ..

SHRI BAL RAJ MADHOK (South Delhi) : That is a suggestion.

SHRI S. A. DANGE : Maybe, for the first time, there may be a change in sending an intelligent man for West Bengal. I do not know. I am not condemning all Governors as unintelligent men. But generally the policy followed is this. When a man is not found useful anywhere, you send him as Governor .. (*Interruption*)

SHRI BAL RAJ MADHOK : As a fellow traveller, he may be intelligent...

SHRI S. A. DANGE : In the company of West Bengal and Kerala masses, they might be.

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN) : Now you deserve to be a Governor.

SHRI S. A. DANGE : That shows how hopeless he has become in maintaining his position. If I am a Governor, even an unintelligent one, in the company of the Governments of West Bengal and Kerala, I think, I will do better than what you are doing at the Centre. In any case, that is not the point. The point, is this. Will the Home Minister accept the proposal of establishing and recommending to the President the establishment of a Council ? I do not want to register many grievances. My central grievance is this, that monopoly rule should be destroyed along with the police power and all that power which they are using to support it. That should not be used. That is all; that is a simple point. As regards the illustration why should I spend time on giving illustration ? They know that very well. The debates in the Working Committee and Parliamentary Board of the Congress party which leak out and which appear in the Press, are enough material. Enough side-tracking is

done. And, the one question which my hon. friend Shri Yashwantrao Chavan said here, the moment he came, was this. What did he say? It is possible, he might have forgotten. It was the 'Princes' We heard then about the Princes, about the Privy Purses of the Princes and the whole country was whistling with that problem. But, do we hear anything about it now? No. They are experts in side-tracking things. At that time everybody thought that something is coming, because they talked of Princes, Princes and princes alone. Now, the princes themselves are running several of these Ministries, apart from what ministries are run by them at the Centre. Here it is a different matter. I don't think the Aviation Minister is opposed to having his estates abolished. I don't know because, he is already in the air; so he does not mind about his earthly estates. He can afford to be philosophical, Sir. But, look at this thing. The princes question has now vanished completely and now when one Rajmata has dished them in Madhya Pradesh again now they are thinking of what to do. There is a princes group inside them. They say if you touch us we are out. And then what happens if they are out? The Congress becomes, minority! And what happens to this side? Then of course they will enjoy the joke here also. Not that immediately the picture of our side will be so good. I don't say that. But, we will be better than you. That I can assure you. Because, my idea and slogan is that if some of the nice gentlemen in the Congress, as they have broken away in Bengal or in other places, come over to the opposition side, we can really form a Centre-left coalition Government. I don't say socialist government or communist government. But they may not be willing for that. What we are thinking about is a democratic government. In fact, I am saying, if they want to have a solution for all these problems, to solve all these contradictions, they themselves should propose, for the sake of this country, re-formation of a Government which will be based on the left and democratic forces in Delhi. But they never think that, unless they are forced by some fight or agitation or gherao or something else. Now, gherao is something. Somebody here suggested 'make them illegal'. What is legal in this country today is

also a question. Even asking minimum wage is illegal. You immediately turn him out. So, what is legal? I don't know. And, if gherao is illegal, I cannot help it. It is a traditional weapon and gives some results; not always good results, but sometimes it does give good results. It should not be illegalised. My submission to him is, please give up all this ambition of side-tracking things by proposing this movement or that movement. Please remember the Princes again. What about their estates? What about their lands? I had been to the state of one M. P. here; I went recently. Thousands of acres of forest lands are given on a nominal rent of Rs. 100 or Rs. 10 or Rs. 1,000 and the possessor is making merry with those forest lands and making merry with a forest of controversy arising in Madhya Pradesh in which the Deputy Home Minister is also sharing. Why are forests given? Because either she was a princess or something like that. Why? Nowhere it is done like that. The national wealth is being squandered and it is being kept in the hands of these princes or their survivors. They shed their names perhaps. But they retain the economic power and that power militates against the growth of real economy in this country. The power of the monopolies you have built up militates against real democracy. The power of the forces you are using against democracy militates against the development of the country. Therefore, my appeal is this--they are all beyond appeals now--namely, not to deal in this commodity of side-tracking. The princes question is now in the back row. Now the question is of Centre versus States. Then the State Police versus Central Police. My submission would be this: Please call a conference of all these State Ministers. Even on planning they cannot come to an agreement--whether it should be on the basis of population or on what. There is no principle, and the Plan itself is subject to monopoly pulls. Industry goes where industry already exists.

I have no time and I shall be concluding soon. Take the recent incident in Madhya Pradesh. A big house of the Birlas--they are always haunting you and they are bound to haunt you--was refunded octroi duty of several lakhs of rupees. The man is just outside the boundary of the town where he manages it. When duty was charged to him

[Shri S. A. Dange]

by the Government, the legal head of the Department advised that the duty be refunded. That came out in the proceedings of the Assembly. That Legal Adviser of the Government was in the pay, as legal adviser and retained by the Birlas. This was admitted on the Floor of the Madhya Pradesh Assembly. What steps have you taken to fire that Legal Adviser or to fire that Ministry or to fire Mr. Birla for using these methods in order to get several lakhs? Have you done it? Instead of doing that...

SHRI S. M. JOSHI : If they fire Birla, it will backfire on them.

SHRI S. A. DANGE : It will front-fire. Why do you say 'backfire'? Birlas have said that heads will roll if they touch them.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : He was the Advocate General of the SVD Government.

SHRI S. A. DAGNE : Your gentry, Rajmata Rani Vijaya Raje Scindia is your gentry, not ours.

So, sir, this is one grievance. Why did not the Home Minister interfere? Why did not the Law Minister interfere? Because, they are tied down to them. If you want to save this country, then that tie-up will have to be broken and if that cannot be broken, then this Government will be broken.

SHRI ANANTRAO PATIL (Ahmed nagar) : Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I have to thank you for giving me an opportunity to speak immediately after Shri Dange spoke. Being a senior politician and Parliamentarian from Maharashtra, I was expecting something better and something else from Shri Dange. But unfortunately, Shri Dange disappointed not only me, but the whole House. I was thinking to myself: What is wrong with Shri Dange? He is not the Dange of 1946 or 1952 or 1967. Something is wrong with Shri Dange. It might not be due to his physical ailment, but due to some political ailment. His Communist Party is a disintegrated Party, more disintegrated than the Congress Party. There are Right Commun-

ists, Left Communists, Lefts in the Left Communist Party and Rights in the Right Communist Party. It is very unfortunate that he is not able to keep his house in order. He is not in India or Bombay. He is outside India. This great leader made a passing reference to Shiv Sena. I was expecting an analysis of Shiv Sena from Shri Dange who is a representative from Bombay. But Shri Dange does not know the composition of Shiv Sena. I always criticise Shiv Sena because I do not agree with its objective or functioning. I do not justify their action. But Shri Dange is angry with Shiv Sena because Shiv Sena has thrown him out from Bombay labour unions. The Communists and SSP are no more with the labour movement in Bombay. That is why Shri Dange gets angry with Shiv Sena. When the city of Bombay was being burnt or raided, where was this representative from Bombay? Where was he at that time? Nobody from the Communist Party or from the SSP came out of their house and went to the streets and tried to pacify the people. I challenge Shri Dange and his Party. If they have any hold in the labour areas in Bombay, let him fight the election in Bombay. I challenge even Shri George Fernandes. When the Bombay city was burnt down, these people were instigating workers to go on strike. That was their patriotism.

He made a reference to Shri Chavan saying that Shri Chavan was associated with the Shiv Sena. This was not only a wrong approach but a gross injustice to Shri Chavan. It was Shri Chavan who first openly condemned the Shiv Sena; he not only condemned it, but called it a fascist organisation which will harm the cause of Maharashtra. But I may say that this condemnation of Shiv Sena or calling it a fascist organisation or banning it will not solve the basic problem.

The basic problem to be solved, on which the Shiv Sena was founded, its aim and object, still remains there. The Shiv Sena was founded because they wanted to give employment to the Maharashtra people. That was the limited objective of the Shiv Sena. But as they failed to secure this objective, they thought it better to act with some political motivation raising up some

issues by which they could gain strength. Thus they got this border dispute between Maharashtra and Mysore as a political issue by which they could get strength in Maharashtra.

In the Bombay municipal elections, the Shiv Sena secured quite a good number of seats. The Communist Party and the Samyukt Socialist Party could not.

SHRI KAMESWAR SINGH (Khagaria) : So he agrees with the Shiv Sena.

SHRI ANANTRAO PATIL : No, I do not. I do not justify their action. But I am going to expose the mistake and blunder committed by his party.

This question of unemployment in Maharashtra for the Maharashtrians is a very serious one. We cannot ignore it. The House will be surprised to know that every day about 3,000 people come to Bombay from outside—that is, 1000 families per day—for bread. Out of these 3,000, nearly 2050 belong to outside of Maharashtra. To give them shelter, drinking water and sanitation facilities, is the responsibility of the Bombay Municipal Corporation and the Maharashtra Government.

It is all very nice to say that Bombay belongs to the whole country and not to Maharashtra alone. But if an educated unemployed man from Maharashtra says 'Bombay City belongs to me first, then to Maharashtra State and then to the country', I do not think he is very wrong. This young man from Bombay or Maharashtra has not got employment in any of the industries in and around Bombay.

By way of example, I will quote from the latest issue of the *Maharashtra Times* (dated yesterday, 27-3-69) where a survey made by the Labour Department of Maharashtra says that during the last two years in the area between Thana and Belapur, out of 4,000 persons employed, only 300 are Maharashtrians. Even from *darwan* (gate-keeper) right up to the executive, all are non-Maharashtrians. This is the basic problem which cannot be solved by

only condemning the Shiv Sena or giving it *galis*. The problem is not going to be solved that way. When out of 4,000 only 300 Maharashtrians are employed the younger generation is not going to tolerate this state of affairs. Even in the case of the 50 gate-keepers recruited, only one was taken locally.

The local people were given an assurance by industrialists that their men would be taken into employment on the basis of priority. 5,000 families have gone out of their occupation of agriculture because the lands were taken over by the industrialists. But nobody is absorbed in the industries. This is the problem which has given rise to the Shiv Sena. If we all the political parties, the State Government and the Central Government are not going to pay attention to it and do what is needed, I am afraid this problem is going to grow more serious day by day.

The other thing is about the boundary dispute between Maharashtra and Mysore. The Shiv Sena started an agitation on this issue. But the political parties in Maharashtra and Mysore are not prepared to say anything or do anything about it at the present juncture. The Mahajan Commission report is there.

SHRI S. M. JOSHI : Where is it ?

SHRI ANANTRAO PATIL : Put in cold storage.

It is the most absurd recommendation made by a Commission without any principle, with all sorts of discrepancies in it. If the Central Government are not going to take any step for the implementation of the some of the recommendations which are acceptable to both Maharashtra and Mysore. Why should this sort of climate be allowed to continue ? During the last thirteen years, people in the border areas are suffering from so many hardships such as lack of educational facilities, agricultural development, etc. The Central Government is not taking any initiative at present and some people, some parties and even some Members of the Government are enjoying what is happening and the Home Minister is being hit on both

[Shri Anantrao Patil]

sides. I urge on the Prime Minister and the Deputy Prime Minister to take the lead and ask the Chief Ministers of Mysore and Maharashtra to sit together and find out areas of agreement along with Mr. Nijalingappa and Mr. Chavan. People are tired and frustration is setting in. It is this frustration which gives a handle to Shiva Sena among the Maharashtrian people. The Sampuran Maharashtra Samiti's supporters Mr. Dange and Mr. S. M. Joshi did not utter a single word about it. I was expecting something from Dange when he spoke. He could not speak because that party is already cracked and he did not want it to crack further.

About the UPSC I want to say only one thing. Let them have examinations in Hindi, or English or the regional language. But the Commission gives publicity only through the big English newspapers. Many colleges are coming up in the rural areas. Why cannot they give advertisements in the regional languages published in the district. This is an injustice to the young men receiving education in rural areas and it should be remedied.

SHRI S. A. DANGE : I want to make a request to the Home Minister through you. Long ago he had promised a Government solution to Belgaum-Maharashtra problem. In the concluding speech of this debate, I request him to put that solution before the House.

SHRI EBRAHIM SULAIMAN SAIT (Kozhikode): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I rise to participate in the discussions on the demands of the Home Ministry. I am beholden to you for the opportunity given to me. It is a matter of grave concern that the Home Ministry has to a large extent failed to maintain peace in the country or give security to the people. In the opening paragraph of the report of the Home Ministry, it is said that the duty of the ministry is mainly to identify and remove the causes of friction--communal, linguistic and regional. But the fact is that this Ministry has succeeded in neither identifying nor removing the causes of friction. On the other hand matters stand aggravated today.

Before I go into the question of communal riots and the consequent feeling of

insecurity, by the biggest minority in the country, namely, Muslims, I should like to deal briefly with two other very pressing and important problems which are causing anxiety.

Firstly, Sir, regarding Centre State relations I would demand of the Home Ministry not to have a rigid view of things in view of the changed situation and try honestly to understand and appreciate the opposite point of view without attributing motives. In this connection the reported of the Prime Minister Shrimati Indira Gandhi, to convene a conference of the Congress and the non-Congress Chief Ministers is a step in the right direction. The Centre must also take a generous attitude towards the solution of the problems facing the States by financing their development plans which will go a long way in reducing foreign dependence and solving the unemployment problem. It must not be forgotten that many States earn a very large amount of foreign exchange and their claims for a proper share in the same cannot be ignored. I feel that the establishment of State Councils, as suggested by the Chief Minister of Kerala, will go a long way to resolve many problems that figure frequently in day-to-day administration. I feel that this suggestion needs very serious consideration.

Sir, the language problem can be solved only by goodwill and by creating an atmosphere of mutual confidence. It would be extremely unwise to force Hindi on unwilling people because it will ruin all the dreams of national integration. Unfortunately, the attitude of the Hindi-speaking friends has not been such that would remove the fears of domination of a section of people through the language. If English continues to be the link language until Hindi comes to be accepted by all people of the north and the south, not only friction could be avoided but equal opportunities could be guaranteed to all sections of the people in the country.

At this juncture, I cannot but deprecate the unjust and unfair treatment meted out to the Urdu language by the Government, forgetting its cultural heritage and also ignoring that it is the symbol of national unity. Several historical memoranda have been presented and uplifting demands have been

made to give Urdu its rightful place but this just and democratic demand has not been so far conceded.

Sir, now coming to the problem of riots and the consequent insecurity I must emphasise here that I am deeply shocked at the ferocity and frequency of the communal riots. I feel ashamed to point out that because of these Muslim killing and concerted plan to cripple them economically, not only the integrity and progress of the country is at stake but our image also stands tarnished throughout the world and particularly in the Middle East, and this was felt by me personally during my recent visit to the Middle East.

Sir, in the recent times, communal riots have taken place at Cuttack, Balrampur, Veraval, Titagarh, Pupri, Agra, Indore and Hubli and in many other places. At all these places, the riots have been planned and organised and the Muslims have been subjected to all sorts of atrocities and they have been economically crippled and thrown on the streets, having lost everything, their shops and their homes either having been burnt or looted. At Veraval, in addition to loot, plunder, arson and killing, the mosques and darghas have been particular targets of attack. The Minara masjid, the Jumma masjid, the Nagina masjid and many other mosques were attacked. The holy Quaran was burnt and electric fittings were destroyed. At Cuttack, though the riots and large scale destruction took place in November, 1968, the Muslim minority is still being subjected to torture, particularly after the bomb incident in January, 1969. All prominent businessmen, advocates and Imams of mosques have been taken into custody and still they continue to be behind bars. Over and above they being subjected to a sort of social boycott by the fascist communal elements.

The report of the Home Ministry for the year 1968-69 makes a very sad reading when it says at page 71 :

"Compared to 1967, the year 1968 witnessed an increase in the number of communal incidents. As against

209 communal incidents in 1967, there were 331 in 1968 "

What I would like to emphasise is that in a year of 365 days there were 331 riots. That means there has been one communal riot every day. It is shocking and heart-breaking, to say the least.

Permit me, Sir, to quote also a few lines from an article in the *Secular Democracy* Annual Number written by Mr. Girish Mathur. He says:

"What is worse, communal disturbances are now more bloody, more ferocious than before; during nine years between 1954 and 1960, the number of persons killed in the communal riots was 316 but in 1967 alone, as many as 301 persons were killed, and in the first six months of 1968 the number killed exceeded the figure in 1967."

All this goes to show the seriousness and gravity of the entire problem. It is with a deep sense of grief that I say that in case effective and proper action is not taken and the situation is not brought under control, our country will be ruined.

Sir, no doubt the Integration Council was reconstituted in June 1968 and the Raghbir Dayal Commission also was appointed to go into certain major communal disturbances of 1967. But, unfortunately, if one has not been very much successful, the other has completely failed. So far as the Integration Council is concerned little has been done so far to check the communal disturbances, and their recommendations have not been fully implemented. As regards the Raghbir Dayal Commission, whose report has been made public recently it has failed to do justice to the purpose for which it was appointed. The report, I am afraid, will create more friction and do harm to the cause of national integration.

The Muslim minority had been disappointed when representation was denied to it at the National Integration Council and it had no single representative leader of the

[Shri Ebrahim Sulaiman Sait]

Muslim minority worth the name. This fact has already been emphasized by me earlier. On the other hand, such an organisation was given representation about which Shri-mati Indira Gandhi herself has said :

“By mixing up religion with politics, the Jan Sangh has not only tarnished the image abroad, it has also posed a threat to our national unity. India has been divided once and now Jan Sangh is adopting a course which will lead to a total disintegration.”

This clearly demonstrates contradiction in word and deed and when such is the state of affairs how can we have faith in such methods of the Government ?

15 hrs

The report of the Home Ministry says that the Integration Council which met at Srinagar on 20th June, 1968 has made specific recommendations relating to communal, regional and educational aspects and mass media. In this connection I wish to point out that the Sayidain Committee was of the clear opinion that the poison of hatred is sought to be injected into the minds of younger generation through the text books in the schools and colleges and this has to be drastically reviewed. But nothing has been done in this regard. There has been a more serious bid at pushing out the idea of secularism by an ideology of past-oriented sectarian idea of Hindu Rashtravad. No attempt has been made to counter this idea seriously.

It is an irony of fate that when some steps are taken, they go against the minorities. On the recommendation of the National Integration Council, action was taken against the so-called objectionable writings in the press. What is the result ? Out of 52 papers against whom action has been taken, 48 papers belong to the minority community. Adding insult to injury, there has been discrimination also. In the case of some papers, the matter of objectionable writings was taken up by the Press Council which was satisfied by getting an explanation of regret, as in case of 'Mother India,' while all the

other papers of the minority Community were dragged to the court of law, not only as regard their writings after the said recommendation of the Integration Council but even about what was written earlier.

It is said in the report that the Raghubri Dayal Commission is under the examination of the Government of India. This was the first commission of inquiry appointed after 20 years of clamour for judicial enquiry made after every communal riot. But this was not the sort of commission that was desired. Right from the time of its appointment, Muslims had their own apprehensions and now when the report is out, they have been proved correct. The commission raised many all-India issues, but failed to deal with them satisfactorily. It never called any leader of all-India stature from the minority community to give evidence. The report seems to be bureaucratic and partisan. This has been a standing grievance of the minority community, supported by many national leaders, that the officials and the police have almost in all cases failed in their duty of maintaining law and order and that the police and officials have either been silent spectators or have taken a partisan attitude during riots. This fact has also been very emphatically emphasised in the report of prominent members of Parliament namely : Shri Amrit Nahata, Shri Shashi Bhushan, Shri K. R. Ganesh, Shri Ram Swarup and Shri Harii Krishna after visiting Allahabad during the last year. But all this has not been taken into consideration by the commission, and the Commission gives the bureaucracy a clean chit, without any understanding of the root cause of the riots and the behaviour of the officials. The commission has failed to go deep into the well-planned and organised conspiracy with regard to riots and unmask the culprits. It has failed to realise that the pattern, the method, the technique and the object, wherever the riots have taken place, has been the same. It has not tried to understand who spread rumours, who builds up tension, who propagates hatred and also who has the organisation cadre and resources to plan large-scale riots.

In conclusion, I would strongly recommend that a commission should be set up

Government, on the lines of the Gajendra-gadkar Commission, to go into the root cause of the riots, the position of the Muslims in service, denial of economic opportunities to them and to consider the backwardness of the Muslim minority and make recommendations to improve their educational, social and economic position and suggest ways and means to combat the riots hysteria. On the basis of the report of such a commission, steps should be taken to improve the conditions of the minorities, so that India may be a better and happier place to live, as real secular democracy.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA) : Sir, many hon. members have referred to the question of the official language policy. This matter has been extensively discussed in this House when the Official Language Amendment Bill was discussed. After that, practically on all question days, we have discussed this matter here. The policy of the Government in this matter is well known. There may be doubts here and there, and we do our best to clarify those doubts. But when extreme positions are taken—Mr. Kandappan took an extreme position and Seth Govind Das took another extreme position—there are difficulties, and doubts arise in the minds of the people. I will do my best to clarify it, so that there may be no doubt about the official language policy of the Government.

Our policy is of prolonged bilingualism. The bilingual phase in the country has been given a statutory shape by the amendment, by the amending Act that we passed last year. I would draw hon. Members' attention to the important aspect of the Act that we have passed here in this House. That says that English shall continue to be used for the official purpose of the Union as long as all the legislatures of non-Hindi speaking States in this country do not pass a resolution saying that use of English should be discontinued. This is the guarantee which is given by the statute of this Parliament. Even after that if hon. Members like Shri Sulaiman Sait and Shri Kandappan say that we are trying to force Hindi down the throat of unwilling people, then it becomes something which I cannot understand.

15.05 hrs.

[SHRI GADILINGANA GOWD in the Chair]

Here we have been saying that it is our policy that Hindi should be progressively used. We have also said that while Hindi is progressively used for the official purpose of the Union it shall be our endeavour and it shall be our definite and firm policy to see that no non-Hindi-speaking person who is in the employment of Government shall be put at a disadvantage because his mother tongue is not Hindi. We have passed executive instructions and we have put it in this statute. Also, while recruiting people to the government service, for that purpose also we have assured this House, and put it in the statute also, that no non-Hindi-speaking person of the country shall be discriminated against just because his language is not Hindi. When Hindi becomes the official language of the country, of the Union Government, then it is quite legitimate that non-Hindi-speaking people may feel that their interest may be in jeopardy. But when these legal, executive and all other safeguards are provided they should not have any fear.

SHRI RANGA (Srikakulam) : They are like the Telengana safeguards.

SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA : I would request the hon. Member, Prof. Ranga, not to bring in Telengana in this bigger national issue. I will ask Shri Kandappan or anybody to prove that a single government employee has been discriminated against (*Interruption*). I would request Prof. Ranga to point out to us even one instance where a single government employee has suffered because his mother tongue is not Hindi.

SHRI RANGA : But the editorials in the *Hindu* are our guide.

SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA : It is our policy and we shall stick to it.

I would say that it is not only Hindi that we want to encourage. We wish to encourage all the regional languages enshrined in our Constitution. We are duty-bound

[Shri Vidya Charan Shukla]

to encourage them. That is why we made a promise here before this hon. House that we would make efforts to see that the UPSC examinations are conducted in all the Indian languages which are mentioned in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution. Although there have been various difficulties regarding moderation formula, moderators, examiners and keeping the same standard in the examination, even then, with our efforts and with the diligence of the UPSC we have been able to introduce all the languages of India which are mentioned in the Constitution for two compulsory papers of the all-India examinations—the essay paper and the general knowledge paper. This is a very important event in the language policy of the Government and the effect of it will be known to the people in general only after it has been practised for some time. Its effect or its importance is not judged by the hon. Members because they do not realise what important changes it is going to bring about.

In the universities, whenever there was an effort to introduce the regional languages as the medium of instruction lot of people would turn up and say that they do not want their sons to go without jobs, they do not want their sons to go abegging and that is why they want to give them education only through English because only through English they can get jobs. Now we are providing that intelligent people, competent students, who may not have an opportunity to learn the various subjects through the medium of English, can learn them through the medium of Oriya, Hindi, Marathi, Gujarati, Bengali, Tamil, Telugu etc., go up to the UPSC, pass the highest examination of the UPSC and go to the highest civil service of the country through the medium of a regional language. There would be no further bar. It is true that the students had to acquire proficiency in English and then they could come up in the services, but now with this step, this picture will be entirely changed. In a few years to come, we hope that in all the subjects in which the UPSC conducts examinations, we shall be able to introduce the examination through the regional languages.

Some points were made regarding the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities. As the House knows, the Constitution was amended, and in the Constitution itself we have created this office of the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities and he has been given the duty of looking after the linguistic minorities in the various States of the Union. This organisation of the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities sends out its inspectors and Assistant and Deputy Commissioners, and the Commissioner himself goes out on tour and when they receive complaints they go and see and then persuade the State Governments to give educational and other facilities in the administrative field to the linguistic minorities in various States. We know that some resistance has been met in this regard in various parts of the country, but that is much less now. This organisation has been able to do a good deal of work. Whenever the work has not been complete, we shall endeavour to see that the work is completed.

For instance, about the Urdu language, we have had troubles in some States like UP in particular. But we are sure that now we shall be able to overcome that trouble. As far as the problem of the Urdu language is concerned, the House knows that Government themselves issued a special statement regarding the position of Urdu in this country. But I may say here that the main damage to Urdu or even to Hindi has come because some people tend to mix up the language with religion. Urdu is not the language of any religious group, nor is Hindi the language of any religious group. But here in this House or elsewhere, sometimes we see that this attempt is made or at least opinion is divided on these lines sometimes, which in my opinion is an extremely unfortunate situation, because just like any Indian language, Urdu has the highest traditions of literature and it is respected, and I can say that as many non-Muslims respect Urdu and use Urdu as the Muslims themselves. Still, if the interests of Urdu are harmed, it is not because the people of India do not like Urdu but because some people have mixed up language with religion, may be unwittingly. They may be loving Urdu but they mix up Urdu with

religion and that is why the whole difficulty arises.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE (Kanpur) : Nobody has done that. I know Urdu and I know Bengali also.

SHRI S. KANDAPPAN (Mettur) : Let him make his argument.

SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA : In the same way, the Hindi language also is sometimes mixed up with religion. So, I would request that the question of language must be kept completely aloof from these religious matters, because the two have nothing to do with each other. The language of a person does not depend upon the religion and the religion of a person does not depend upon the language that he speaks.

SHRI EBRAHIM SULAIMAN SAIT : Why should Government not give official recognition to the Urdu language and declare it as the second regional language in UP, Bihar and other States ?

SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA : Any language can be declared as the second regional language of any State provided it meets the criteria that have been laid down, namely that a certain percentage of the population must speak that language; if that percentage is reached, Urdu can be declared as the second regional language of UP, but that percentage of the Urdu-speaking people is not available in UP, and that is the whole trouble. There are large chunks of areas in UP where there are people who live whose mother-tongue is Urdu, and there educational and other facilities should be provided to them.

SHRI SHEO NARAIN (Basti) : They are there. Even this morning the Chief Minister of our State has made a statement. We have read in the papers about it. He has mentioned Hindi, Urdu and English.

SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA : Another question on which some hon. Members spoke, particularly my hon. friend Shri Ebrahim Sulaiman Sait and Shri Mandal, was regarding the Government employees. I have had the honour of making a

statement here the other day which gave out the policy of Government regarding these employees who were involved in the illegal strike of 19th September. There has been a little confusion about the temporary employees. I wish to clarify this point. I shall not be able to say exactly when and how and which category would be included, but I would again emphasise our intentions here. Our intention is to see that all those Government employees who were discharged because of participation in the 19th September strike are reinstated unless there are aggravating factors to prevent that kind of reinstatement. What are those aggravating factors ? We have already said that those aggravating factors would mean violence, active instigation etc. Here, our expectation is that barring a few dozen employees, all of them, whether temporary or semi-permanent or permanent would be included and would be reinstated.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : When ?

SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA : We have already issued instructions.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : Is the hon. Minister aware that not a single temporary employee has been taken back on duty so far ?

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE : May I make one submission ? I appreciate the statement and the clarification on the 13th and 14th of this month; after the statement and clarification, the Government orders were issued on the 16th March. Unfortunately, those orders do not cover temporary employees. We are very happy at what the hon. Minister has stated.

SHRI S. M. JOSHI : Amended instructions should be issued.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE : We were very happy to hear from the hon. Minister that barring a few dozen employees, all the others would be taken back. We hail that decision throughout the country. But I may point out that after the orders of the 15th March were issued, of which I have a copy and I am sure the other Members also have

[S. M. Banerjee]

got copies, we find that those orders do not cover temporary employees. Various authorities are using these orders to say that only permanent employees who participated in the strike could be taken back. I would request the hon. Minister to see that the same orders which were made applicable to the permanent employees who were suspended should be made applicable to these temporary employees also. That is our earnest demand.

श्री एस० एम० जोशी : आपका जो आर्डर है उसमें संशोधन तो करना ही पड़ेगा। लेकिन संशोधन के साथ यह भी कीजिये कि कुछ फ़ाइटरिया दीजिये कि ऐक्टिव इन्स्टिगेशन के माने क्या हैं। वहाँ जो छोटा अफसर होता है वह हर चीज को ऐक्टिव इन्स्टिगेशन कह देगा।

SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA : We have indicated our basic policy and we shall take all these things into account. Our basic policy is one of sympathy; our basic policy is one of being liberal towards the Government employees and we wish that the least number of Government employees should be out of their jobs. We do not want that those who suffered on account of the illegal strike should suffer continuously and for ever. That is why we have embarked upon this policy of liberalisation. Here, there are many points which have to be considered and settled, and we are trying to do that. The temporary employees who were discharged have to be reinstated; the question would come about what would happen to the period when they were out of job...

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE : Already it has been decided to treat it as extraordinary leave with or without pay.

SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA : We have to settle all these things in consultation with the various authorities, and we are trying to do that.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : Let him take a policy decision.

SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA : I do not know whether any temporary employee has been so far taken back or not...

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : Not a single one has been taken.

SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA : But it will be done; there may be some delays here and there, but delay does not mean that it will not be done.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE : Not even permanent employees have been taken back. In the Delhi Administration, not a single one out of nearly 2000 permanent employees who were suspended has been taken back as yet.

SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA : As far as this particular matter is concerned, I would request hon. Members to be a little patient. Our basic policy is known to them, and I am sure they are in agreement with our basic policy. It is only a matter of execution, and I am quite sure that after the execution of this policy is over, they will all be happy about the execution.

Some hon. Members, particularly Shri Lobo Prabhu, mentioned about foreign missionaries and our policy towards the foreign missionaries. It is absolutely wrong and a distortion of facts to identify foreign missionaries with minority communities. The foreign missionaries must not be identified or mixed up with minority communities. Our policy towards the foreign missionaries is the same as towards any foreigner. We do not distinguish between foreign missionaries and foreigners like that. We want to deal with the missionaries in the same way as we deal with any foreigner. Our policy regarding the minorities is well known. If the Christian community want priests, priests can be had from their own ranks. It is not necessary to import foreigners for that purpose. But if the foreign missionaries come and they are doing jobs in hospitals, leprosy hospitals, or doing such jobs for which we do not find enough Indians today, they are welcome to do so. There are thousands of foreign missionaries working in hospitals.

SHRI LOBO PRABHU (Udipi) : It is an internal matter. Under article 25 the choice is with us and we want foreign missionaries, just as you want foreign experts for your factories. That should not be denied to us.

SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA : I am sorry, we cannot subscribe to this view point.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : They want religious know-how !

SHRI DHIRESWAR KALITA (Gauhati) : What about foreign money ?

SHRI LOBO PRABHU : Have you no sense of obligation to those who have served you ? I challenge anybody in this House, there is no community which has served you more than the Christian community, and these foreign missionaries are our main-spring. Let us admit that.

SHRI S. A. DANGE : The missionaries and the community are not the same thing. Foreign missionaries are not wanted here.

SHRI LOBO PRABHU : That is your opinion. If I say that certain types of Hindu practices should be done away with, how would you like it ?

SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA : I would request Shri Lobo Prabhu not to get excited on this.

SHRI LOBO PRABHU : I have to get excited.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE : Excitement at this age is dangerous.

SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA : It is our view that the Christian population of this country is a great asset to this country. They have never lagged behind any community in patriotism to the country or in the welfare activities of the country. But, as the hon. Member, Shri Dange, has said, we should not mix up the Christian community here with the foreign missionaries. They are two different things.

SHRI S. A. DANGE : May I point out that in my young age the foreign missionaries who were running the college compelled me to pray and learn the bible. When I grew up, I fought against it and stopped it. Why are you trying to revive that ?

SHRI LOBO PRABHU : You ought to be thankful to the foreign missionaries. But for them where would you be ?

SHRI S. A. DANGE : I would have been better.

SHRI LOBO PRABHU : It remains to be seen.

SHRI S. A. DANGE : I do not want to be taught by them.

SHRI LOBO PRABHU : Be grateful to them for what they have done.

श्री शिक्करे (पंजिम) : मैं हूँ प्रभु और आप हैं लोग प्रभु । लोबो प्रभु आप हो गए इस वास्ते कि क्रिस्चियन मिशनरी यहाँ आए ।

SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA : Our policy regarding foreign missions is progressive Indianisation. We want these missions to be progressively Indianised. We want more and more Indian priests to take the place of foreigners. We are following this policy with due regard to the requirements of the situation. We do not want to force it on them. We want that it should be done with grace, with agreement. We do not want to create any issue about foreign missionaries here and there. But what we desire is that when there are Indians, very loyal, good, faithful Christians available to do the work here, we should not have Americans and others coming over here and working in the missions, because it is a work which the Indians themselves can do very well.

Then the question of foreign money with these missions was raised.

SHRI JAIPAL SINGH (Khuntl) : I am sorry to interrupt, but I would like to have a clarification. There are missionaries of two types--evangelists, those who come here

[Shri Jaipal Singh]

to proselytize, to convert, the other is a technical expert. Do the government say that just because they are non-Indians there will be an embargo on them also ?

SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA : No, Sir I have already indicated that those people who possess such expertise, or such qualifications which are hard to find here, if they come here and do the work for which we do not find enough Indians, or we do not have Indians at all, we allow them to come here and do the work. It is not that we put embargo on such people also. That is why there are several people who come here and they are doing the work.

SHRI RANGA : May I ask for a clarification ? There are famous hospitals like that in Vellore and we have some hospitals, even in my village, where a number of doctors are needed and they also happen to be missionaries in the sense that, on Sunday, they go out and deliver sermon if they are asked to do so. Are we going to put an embargo on such people ?

SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA : We don't. There is no question of embargo on such people.

श्री प्रकाशश्री शास्त्री (हापुड) : वेल्लोर का अस्पताल सब से महंगा अस्पताल है। हिन्दुस्तान भर में सब से ज्यादा चार्ज वहां होता है। गरीब आदमी तो वहां जा ही नहीं सकता है।

SHRI RANGA : Even then, you do not have a Vellore Hospital everywhere else. It is a unique hospital; everyone knows it.

SHRI S. KANDAPPAN : In Vellore Hospital the charges are not high. It depends on the capacity of the man to pay. If he is a rich man, he is charged more and, if he is a poor man, nothing is charged.

श्री तुलशीदास जाधव (बोरामती) : पालिसी जो है वह मेरी समझ में नहीं आई है।

मैं चाहता हूँ कि इसका खुलासा किया जाए। हम लोग आदिवासियों को और बैंकवर्ड क्लासिस को अपने से दूर रखते हैं। हम उनको अस्पृश्य समझते हैं। क्रिश्चियन सेवादागी लोग उन में जा कर ग्रगर काम करते हैं तो उनको निकाल दिया जाए यह कहां की पालिसी है ?

SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA : As far as the question of receipt of funds from abroad by foreign missionaries is concerned, we have got a list of societies and such societies can receive these funds and there are also Government to Government agreements in respect of which such funds come. In any case, the entire question is under revision. We are trying to find out how best this matter can be tackled. The hon. Home Minister has already indicated that he will make a statement about the matter and, I think, this matter will also be covered by that statement.

Then, there is a small question of reservations for scheduled castes and scheduled tribes in the Government service. Here, although certain provisions were made right from the beginning, some difficulties were faced. The Commissioner of Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes has pointed out those difficulties to us from time to time. Unfortunately, this honourable House has not been able to find enough time to discuss the Report of the Commissioner. This Report has been presented to the honourable House year after year. But I do not think any discussion has taken place in the last two years. I would indicate here, to further improve the situation regarding the reservations and to see that reservations are properly adhered to and they are properly utilised, we appointed a committee in our own Ministry to devise and suggest methods so that this could be implemented properly. They have given their report and we are implementing that report and, I am sure, with the full implementation of the report, the situation will further improve.

श्री तुलशीदास जाधव : दो दो मंथर कैसे एक साथ खड़े हैं।

श्री मधु लिमये (मुंगेर) : मैं आधा खड़ा हूँ, आधा बैठा हूँ।

श्री विद्या चरण शुक्ल : आप कहिये, जो आपको कहना है।

श्री मधु लिमये : मुझे बड़ी खुशी है कि इन्होंने मुझे मौका दिया है। मेट्रल ब्यूरो आफ इन्वैस्टीगेशन पर हम इतना सारा पैसा खर्च करते हैं। मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि इम मंत्रालय के कार्य क्षेत्र में यह भी बात आती है कि अगर बजट की गुप्त बातों का पता लग जाता है तो वह इसके बारे में जांच कर सके? इसको ले कर लाखों रुपया चीनी में और दूसरी चीजों में बनाया गया है।

साथ ही मैं यह भी जानना चाहता हूँ कि अगर बी० प्रो० ए०सी० के मोना काण्ड के बारे में मेट्रल बोर्ड के सदस्यों ने कोई रिपोर्ट ले कर फैसला किया तो क्या सी०बी०आई० जांच कर सकता है और इम मंत्रालय के कार्य क्षेत्र में यह आएगा? अगर आएगा तो मैं मंत्री महोदय को जरूर पत्र लिखना चाहूँगा।

SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA : The C. B. I. does come into our purview. But I thought the hon. Member was intervening on the subject that I was mentioning.

श्री मधु लिमये : इसी लिये पूछा है कि आपके मंत्रालय के अन्दर आता है या नहीं।

श्री विद्या चरण शुक्ल : बहुत सी चीजें आती हैं। लेकिन मैंने सोचा था कि जिस विषय पर मैं बोल रहा हूँ ...

श्री मधु लिमये : कार्य क्षेत्र में आता है तो एक तपसीलवार पत्र मैं मंत्री महोदय को लिखूँगा।

श्री विद्या चरण शुक्ल : जरूर लिखें।

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : The hon. Member has raised a point. Certainly it will be dealt with. But I would give him a piece of information. The CBI is an investigating authority for Government of India. It undertakes investigation provided the concerned Ministries give them information and ask them to start the investigation.

श्री मधु लिमये : क्या हम आपको नहीं दे सकते हैं—मैं इस बारे में सफाई चाहता हूँ ?

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : I do not say that you are debarred because you are a Member of Parliament and you are free to approach any authority. But the normal functioning of the CBI is that it undertakes investigation when a certain complaint is made to them.....

श्री मधु लिमये : असाधारण बातों की असाधारण प्रक्रिया भी हो सकती है। बजट सीक्रेट बाहर जाना कोई साधारण बात नहीं है।

श्री यशवन्तराव चव्हाण : बिलकुल नहीं है। लेकिन बजट सीक्रेट लीक हुआ ही नहीं है।

श्री मधु लिमये : मैं इस के बारे में भी लिखूँगा।

श्री यशवन्तराव चव्हाण : प्राइमफेसी उस मिनिस्ट्री से कोई इत्तिला आये तो हम जरूर करेंगे।

SHRI JAIPAL SINGH : He was talking about reservation. I want to see some clarification here, He confesses, and rightly so, that the ratio fixed for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes has not been implemented. He has again given us another promise. We have been getting promises for the last 20 years committees, this and that. I want to ask a straightforward question.....

MR. CHAIRMAN : He said that the report had not been discussed here.

SHRI JAIPAL SINGH : The point is this, I have struggle with the Railway Board and the various General Managers. When it comes to building railway lines, it is the poor Adivasis who have to give away their land and make a permanent way. But when it comes to employing them, they are asked to go to Calcutta, Bombay and so on. Now there are mobile commissions, They go to the areas. Instead of somebody going from Ranchi to Calcutta...

MR. CHAIRMAN : What is the clarification that he wants to seek ?

SHRI JAIPAL SINGH : He talks of difficulties. What are the difficulties. Let him tell us the difficulties.

SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA : I will say here that, in spite of our instructions, in certain departments or Ministries or in certain outlying offices, these instructions were not complied with or some lacunae were found in those instructions. These instances have been brought to our notice by the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. We studied the report and we found out where the lacunae were, what were the difficulties being faced, and we have appointed a Study Team. They have gone into the whole thing and they have suggested the corrective method. We are following that and we hope that we will be able to correct it by and large.

I will conclude by mentioning a small point regarding Union Territories. The hon. House knows that the Union Territories have come to be created not because of the desire of the Government of India to create them but because of very special historical reasons or sometimes very special local situations. Here our policy is that we should see that these Union Territories come up to the level of the rest of the country or even go ahead as far as developmental spheres are concerned, and we are doing our best to do that. Here, sometimes, demands are made for Statehood. We are going to discuss this subject at 4 O' clock as far as Himachal Pradesh is concerned. But I would say that, by and large, it is our policy that these Union Territories should be made into States or merged

with the adjoining States as soon as the conditions are appropriate for that. We do not want to continue with the Union Territories except in very special situations like the Union Territory of Delhi, which is the national capital or Laccadives or Andaman & Nicobar Islands which have special geographical position.

Having said this, I would submit that I have covered many of the points raised by the hon. members, and the rest of the point would be covered by the Home Minister.

श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री : मैं मंत्री महोदय से पूछना चाहता हूँ—प्रायः शायद मेरी उम्र बाल को भूल गये, इस लिये थोड़ा उम्र के बारे में भी बतला दीजिये—अधिनियम और विधेयक मूल पाठ के रूप में दोनों भाषाओं में इस संसद में कब से लायेंगे ? क्या इस सम्बन्ध में भी आपने कोई निश्चय कर लिया है ?

श्री विद्या चरण शुक्ल : इस के बारे में काफी चर्चा हिन्दी सलाहकार समिति में भी हुई है, जिसके माननीय प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री जी भी सदस्य हैं। इस के सम्बन्ध में हम लोग तैयारी कर रहे हैं, फिर भी यह कहना मुश्किल होगा कि कब से हम इस को कर सकेंगे। लेकिन भारत सरकार की यह नीति है कि हमें हम जल्द से जल्द करें। हो सकता है कि इसमें कुछ महीने लग जायें, लेकिन जल्द ही पूरा हो जायेगा।

SHRI S. M. KRISHNA (Mandya) : Shri Chavan presides over a Ministry which has earned a notorious reputation for creating problems where there are none and for not solving problems where they are in plenty. After the year 1967 the federal aspect of our Constitution has been put to repeated tests. The founding-fathers of our Constitution, I am afraid, had not visualised that in India a time would come so soon that in about two decades the congress monopoly of power would be shattered and non-congress governments would come into being in very many States. The time has come for all political parties in this country

to pool their resources and heads together and think about solving the deteriorating relationship between the Centre and the States.

Day in and day out we hear grievances voiced and genuinely voiced by non-congress Governments and non-congress Chief Ministers that they are not getting a fair deal from the Central Government. And, having been inspired by such opinions given by non-congress chief ministers, it has to be said to the credit of the congress Chief Ministers also, at least some of them, mustered enough courage to question the basis of the Centre-State relationship. I would like to quote the views of three Chief Ministers which have been made public. Of course, Shri Annadurai of revered memory was the first one to question the basis of this relationship. There are also two Chief Ministers representing two non-congress States--representing two different ideologies. One is Shri Namboodripad and the other is Shri Singh Deo representing Swatantra ideology. Both of them are not happy about the existing state of things in this country.

Shri Singh Deo said :

"The federal system had worked fairly well but there is need for some changes to ensure more harmonious relations between the Centre and States."

Shri Namboodripad said :

"This called for a fresh approach to the federal system enshrined in the Constitution."

Now, I come to another Chief Minister who happens to be Congress Chief Minister. He does not represent any particular ideology because Congress does not have a particular ideology in this country. Shri Nijalingappa stands for the *kitchedi*. Name the brand and you will find the brand in the Congress party. Mr. Nijalingappa was the person who coined this term 'kitchidi' Government in States.

Now, we come to the suggestion which was made by very many including one of

the *ex-Chief Justices* of our country--Shri Gajendragadkar who called for "the creation of a statutory machinery to regulate the Central-State ties."

The Law Ministry which went through Art. 263 of the Constitution felt that the Constitution does not visualise any machinery for regulating the Centre-State relations. I quote from an editorial in a *sobre newspaper* in this country on this particular aspect of Centre-State relations. I quote from the *Free Press Journal of Bombay* :

"But it requires a larger vision than what the Union Law Ministry has shown. In other words, the Union Government must rise above its own party pride and sense of power and show more concern for the country and its unity."

So, what do we find when we just look around this country today ? There is unrest everywhere; there is restlessness everywhere. There is no sector or segment of the population in this country today which is satisfied with the things that are going on in this country. There is restlessness in Telengana--call it progress; there is restlessness in Vidarbha--call it progress; there is infiltration in Assam and restlessness in Mysore--call it progress. In the name of progress, do not try to put problems in the cold storage. As I said in the beginning, the Home Ministry does not believe in solving any problem. My friend Mr. Patil--I am glad he is present here--mentioned about the Mysore--Maharashtra border dispute. I know this is a very sensitive point and Shri Chavan has a direct responsibility on this dispute. Who asked for the creation of the Mahajan Commission? Did any leader from Mysore State ask for the creation of the Mahajan Commission?

AN HON. MEMBER : Shri Nath Pai.

SHRI S. M. KRISHNA : Not that I know of. It was the three bigwigs of the Maharashtra Congress Committee. Shri V. P. Naik, Chief Minister of Maharashtra, on the 14th March, 1966 stressed--and I quote:

... that the Maharashtra-Mysore boundary dispute and Goa's merger

[S. M. Krishna]

with Maharashtra should be decided before the end of this year.

Shri Naik was replying to the debate in the Legislative Assembly on the Governor's Address.

Again in the Governor's Address, it was stated :

The Central Government should apply itself immediately to the Mysore--Maharashtra boundary issue, Goa and Nager Haveli issue and Krishna--Godavari water dispute and find solutions before the end of the year.

Complementary to these statements, the late Shri Vinayak Rao Patil, President, Maharashtra Congress Committee, addressing the General Body, urged the Centre to solve the boundary dispute between Mysore and Maharashtra.....etc.

So, it was not Mysore's creation. It was at the persistent demands made by certain Maharashtrian Congress leaders as well as leaders of the Opposition that the Mahajan Commission came into being. Why did you appoint this Commission? You knew in the very first instance that Kerala was not going to appear before the Commission. They boycotted the Commission. In spite of the fact, you insisted and you put the late Justice Mahajan to the agony of going through the whole process and studying this problem and finalising his report. I am not leaving out Shri Chavan. In the Congress Working Committee meeting on 6. 7. 1966, in the absence of Shri V.P. Naik, Shri Chavan said:

Any attempt to by-pass the earlier decision would do great harm.

What was the earlier decision? The earlier decision of the Congress Working Committee was that a Commission should be appointed to go into the boundary dispute between the two great neighbours, Maharashtra and Mysore. The Working Committee, he said, had decided in favour of a

one-man Commission after considering the pros and cons of the problem.

After considering the *pros* and *cons*, the Working Committee had decided that a one-man commission be appointed. At that stage, a suggestion was made that a three-man commission could go into this question but at the instance of Maharashtrian leaders -I submit with great respect to them; I am subject to correction also--that a one-man commission must go into that, it was decided upon. Then it 'was a national decision and should be implemented as such'--I am quoting Shri Chavan. 'Maharashtra was fully prepared to abide by it'. This is dated 6-7-66. Shri Chavan categorically stated that it was a 'national decision and should be implemented as such' and Maharashtra was fully prepared to abide by it.

SHRI ANANTRAO PATIL : On a point of clarification. What was wrong in asking that a one-man commission should be appointed and that the decision should be binding ?

SHRI MADHU LIMAYE : Without terms of reference ! The terms of reference should have been decided.

SHRI S. M. KRISHNA : The point raised by Shri Madhu Limaye, the terms of reference, did also come up before the Congress Working Committee.

What has been the attitude of Mysore ? Let us go by stages. First, we opposed the appointment of a commission. Public memory may be short, but I would recall that there was an agitation sponsored in certain parts of Mysore State where they at the very inception opposed the constitution of a commission. They took up the position that the border between Maharashtra and Mysore, for the time being at least, is settled and let us not reopen it; you will be opening a Pandora's box. But nobody listened to this word of counsel. They still insisted, and Shri Nijalingappa, who was then Chief Minister, speaking to newsmen on his return from New Delhi, made it clear that the report of the commission would have to be the last word on the d

the appointment of this commission, but the Congress Working Committee pinned him down to this position. Then he comes back to Bangalore and tells reporters, and through them, the people of Karnatak, that 'after all, how long can we go on fighting on such issues?' The Congress Working Committee decided to appoint the commission and the Chief Minister of Maharashtra was wholly satisfied with it as a solution.

I come to the other aspect, the recent riots in Bombay. The Shiv Sena, which I call as a hydra-headed monster, has raised its ugly head in this country. Following it, there could be a number of other senas, parochial in outlook, destructive in purpose.

Shri Patil was airing the grievances of Maharashtrians in Bombay. We sympathise with them. If 3,000 families go into Bombay everyday, we could very well understand the plight of the genuine residents of Bombay. But for that, are you going to penalise and send away the South Indians residing in Bombay? Is Government going to sit quiet when Bombay is burning? Who is responsible for it?

Mr. Chavan and Shrimati Indira Gandhi who occupies the first chair in the Treasury Benches are responsible. What kind of agitation is this? They say: because the Mysore-Maharashtra boundary dispute remains unsolved, we are going to agitate against the Union Ministers including Mr. Chavan who comes to Bombay and Mr. Desai: we are not going to let Mr. Virendra ... Minister of Mysore to come into Bombay. We are a federal State. Unfortunately in both the States there are Congress Governments. If Mr. Chavan who is presiding over the Home Minister is not able to bring about a settlement between two Congress Governments, would it ever be possible for him to bring about a compromise or settlement between the non-Congress and the Congress Governments? I am not parochial; I do not claim that Belgaum must stay in Mysore State, come what may, against the wishes of the people of Belgaum. But for heaven's sake do not keep this hanging over Mysore and Maharashtra; find some solution. How much more time do you need to find a solution? Time is running

out and people are not going to wait indefinitely till Chavan and Indira Gandhi find a solution to this problem.

There is another sin that basets our democracy - increasing corruption. The most recent statement made by Karunanidhi, Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu in the Legislative Assembly that the assets of ministers and legislators will be placed before the Assembly. Compare this with what happened in Mysore. When Mr. Nijalingappa was the Chief Minister of Mysore he issued notices to 67 leading men in public life asking them to give details about their assets. Now Mr. Virendra Patil has taken over after Mr. Nijalingappa had resigned and he says: I am not going to move further in that direction and I shall return back all the documents received from my predecessor. One has only to compare this with what Mr. Karunanidhi had done when he had come out boldly with his statement.... (Interruptions) We must have the courage of our conviction. Why are Congressmen afraid of that? Why should they say, when a demand is made to this effect, that they had placed their assets before the All India Congress Committee. Mr. Hanumanthaiya makes charges against the Congress President and this Congress President is the repository of all the accounts, etc. of the ministers in various States! There are charges and counter-charges. The Santhanam Commission's report had not been acted upon. 35 Members of the State Legislature and four Members of Parliament presented a charge-sheet against the Nijalingappa's ministry in Mysore to the Rashtrapati and till today no reply has come and no action has been taken. The Santhanam Commission recommended that when ten legislators' made a charge, that would have to be gone into by a judicial or other authority. Under the Lokpal and Lokayukt Bill, the Prime Minister has not to be questioned about her or his assets. What is so special about the Prime Minister?

The Prime Minister must also be brought within the framework of the Lokpal and Lokayukta scheme.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please conclude. You have already exceeded your time.

SHRI S. M. KRISHNA : Yes, Sir. Anyway, at 4 O clock we are starting non-official business.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Therefore, you have to conclude so that I can call the next hon. member.

SHRI S. M. KRISHNA : With these few observations, I make a special request and an appeal in the name of decency, and in the name of smooth relationship and good-neighbourly feeling between Maharashtra and Mysore, that Shri Chavan has to take a bold decision regardless of whatever be the consequences of such a decision, regardless of whatever be his reputation in Maharashtra as a consequence of a decision, which he is going to take as Home Minister. I appeal to him that he should give the correct lead to this country.

Thank you.

SHRI A. K. SEN (Calcutta-North-West) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I have been listening with very great interest to the serious concern voiced by several Members of this House on both sides about the growing unrest in the country, communal and otherwise, particularly, the type of violence which has erupted after the last mid-term elections in certain parts of the country, and the violence arising out of political conflict, resulting in deaths and serious injuries, between rival groups and the consequent bitter feelings generated between groups who are politically divided, parties politically divided and the in action which has been exhibited in governmental quarters in tackling with the situation. I shall deal with both the communal and the political aspects of this grave problem which appears to be so potentially dangerous to our integrity and to our future progress that it brooks no further delay in having it completely tackled and in seeing that the seeds responsible for these troubles are destroyed before they can become really dangerous.

Let us take the case of West Bengal from where I come. Immediately after the last mid-term elections, all over the city of Calcutta, Durgapur and various other towns and rural areas, clashes started between

workers of rival political groups, political parties, who had been working against each other during the last mid-term elections. In the city of Calcutta itself, in one day 30 cases of assaults and several assaults carried out by the bursting of bombs were reported. I had gone myself to see some of these things.

AN HON. MEMBER : Bagh Bazaar.

SHRI A. K. SEN : Not Bagh Bazaar; all over. You do not know Calcutta. From Tollygunge right up to Belgoria, all over, there was violent outbreak and there were clashes. I had myself seen the Chief Minister and the Deputy Chief Minister and brought the gravity of the situation to their notice, and I must say that they readily agreed. I think the Chief Minister himself suggested that some of us, including the leader of the Opposition in the West Bengal Assembly, myself and the Deputy Chief Minister, should issue a joint appeal against such outbreaks which undermine the very basis of our democratic processes. Unfortunately, two days later, I was informed that it was not possible for the Government to subscribe to a joint appeal. But I am not so anxious for a joint appeal, if appeals really come and achieve their results. I must say, and say fairly, that the Chief Minister and the Deputy Chief Minister did issue appeals in their own names.

MR. CHAIRMAN : The hon. Member may resume his speech on Monday.

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16 hrs.

COMMITTEE ON PRIVATE MEMBERS' BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Forty-Sixth Report

SHRI BHALJIBHAI PARMAR (Dohad) : I beg to move :

“That this House do agree with the Forty-sixth Report of the Committee on Private Members' Bills and Resolutions presented to the House on the 26th March, 19.9.”