

**Mr. Speaker:** The result of the Division is: Ayes 64; Noes 118.

*The motion was negatived.*

**Shri Nath Pai:** May I ask one thing? We should be very obliged to the Planning Minister, who happens to be here, if he says whether he had no interest in seeing that subject is discussed here?

**Mr. Speaker:** Order, order. The House has already taken a decision on that.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** This is the first time in the history of this Parliament that some Congress Members have voted with us—a good augury for the future.

#### DEMANDS FOR GRANTS

##### MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS—contd.

**Mr. Speaker:** The House will now take up further discussion and voting on the Demands for Grants under the control of the Ministry of Home Affairs. Shri Sumat Prasad will continue his speech.

**Shri Sumat Prasad (Muzaffarnagar):** Mr. Speaker, Sir, the feeling of the Prime Minister that the communal harmony must be maintained under all circumstances is shared by the country and we are all behind him in maintaining communal harmony and solidarity of the nation. I congratulate Shri Nandaji and his colleagues for their courageous and quick handling of the situation.

The blood bath in East Pakistan was intended to create a situation to bring the Kashmir question again before the Security Council. The accession of Kashmir with India is a settled fact and it cannot be reopened. Kashmir is as much a part of India as any other State. The talk of secession of Kashmir is a challenge to our integrity, sovereignty and secularism. The attitude of the Government is

firm in this matter and I hope Shri Sheikh Abdullah, who is a follower of Gandhiji will not rake up old controversies and will appreciate things in their true perspective.

The question of harijan uplift is not so much a question of removal of untouchability as it is of their economic uplift. A large number of them constitute agricultural labour and they have not been benefited much by planning and other socio-economic activities of the government. The wages of agricultural labour even now are below subsistence. The Government should take steps in right earnest to improve their condition. There should be a phased programme for their uplift so that within the next 15 years all able-bodied persons may be covered by it and they should be provided with resources to engage themselves in some gainful pursuit. Unless this is done, the condition of the rural areas will not improve. The condition of landless labour and of tribal areas is no better than that of harijans.

It is said that justice delayed is justice denied. So far as Allahabad High Court is concerned, I can say with certainty that an ordinary second civil appeal takes about seven to eight years. A first civil appeal is not decided within less than ten years. I have seen cases where parties are dead during pendency of appeals.

This question has to be gone into. The strength of judges has to be increased, the time has come when the Government should apply its mind seriously to see what other means can be devised, what procedural remedies can be taken in hand so that justice may be done expeditiously within proper time.

Not only this, the cost of litigation is becoming extremely heavy. It is not possible for a man of ordinary means to get redress in a court of law.

The question of national integration is of the utmost importance. We are still during the emergency period. We have enemies on the north and on the west. Without integration we can never avert the danger on our frontiers. For successful planning also national integration is absolutely necessary. This is the time when all should join hands—the industrialists, labour and other interests concerned—to do their utmost to make planning successful so that it may be possible to bring about prosperity in the country and we may strengthen the armed forces to fight against the enemies, so that the freedom of this country may be maintained. I hope, the country has a bright future and in the lifetime of our respected leader, Pandit Jawaharlalji, all these problems which face us today will be solved.

**Shrimati Jyotsna Chanda (Cachar):** Mr. Speaker, Sir the Ministry of Home Affairs is a big ministry and deals with various subjects. But the time at my disposal will not allow me to deal with all the subjects; so, I shall try to confine my remarks to those subjects which concern the safety and security of Assam. Being a Member from that State, I feel it is my bounden duty to apprise this House about the real situation in my State.

Assam is facing a colossal problem to rehabilitate the refugees who are taking shelter there after the recent carnage took place in East Pakistan; at the same time, she is burdened with the problem of infiltration. The other day while I was speaking on relief and rehabilitation I tried to make it clear that rehabilitation of the displaced persons who came earlier, after the partition, has not been successfully completed. The flow of refugees is continuing. We are informed that the Christian refugees have gone to Garo Hills District. Tea plantation labour has come to Cachar. Now, the Buddhist refugees of Chakma tribe are taking shelter in the district of Mizo Hills.

I would like to draw the attention of the House and also of the Government to the fact that migration of land-hungry Muslims from districts of East Bengal, now East Pakistan, was a major problem of Assam even before the partition of the country and that it was actively encouraged by the Muslim League Party which after 1937 formed the Government in the province of Assam, although resisted by the entire population and the Congress Party. The Assam Government had several restricted regulations against settlement on the land of these immigrants and the Provincial Government even enacted a law for the summary expulsion of undesirable immigrants.

In this background, I feel that it is a question of elementary prudence that after Partition of the country, when these immigrants became foreign nationals, measures should have been devised to keep them out and throw out those who had become Pakistani nationals. But so far my information goes, the Government of India did nothing in this matter of threatening safety and security of the border State Assam and putting excessive pressure on its land and other economic resources. While a permit system of entry was imposed, so far as West Pakistan was concerned, the movement of persons was free and unrestricted in the Eastern Zone and the inflow of Pakistan Muslim nationals into Assam went unabated. In 1951 or 1952—I am subject to correction—several years after Independence, the Pakistan Government introduced a passport system and the Government of India had no option but to follow it. One could know from the papers that an ordinance was promulgated by the Pakistan Government. Shortly afterwards, it was followed by an Act regulating in detail the entry, stay and exit of Indian nationals thereby giving legal validity to the visa system introduced by both the countries and providing for stringent punishment for any breach. May I ask what did our Government of India do then

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After all, movement of persons across the frontiers of different countries is governed by strict reciprocity. If the Pakistan Government thought it fit to regulate the entry and stay of Indian nationals in Pakistan by a self-contained and comprehensive law with adequate penal provisions, may I know what prevented the Government of India from enacting identical provisions and thereby effectively checking the entry and continued stay of unauthorised Pakistanis?

So far as I could realise, reliance was placed on the Passport Act of 1920 or 1921, which was enacted in quite different circumstances and which contained no provision for giving legal validity to the complicated visa system introduced. We could read from papers about judgment after judgment given by different High Courts acquitting Pakistanis accused of illegal entry or unauthorised stay in breach of the visa regulations. Naturally, no magistrate would convict and no policeman would send up the cases.

With regret I should admit that an opportunity to tackle this problem of infiltration into Assam gratuitously offered by Pakistan by insisting on a passport and visa system was thrown away by the Government of India by refusing to acknowledge realities and omitting to enact an effective law regulating the entry and stay of Pakistanis and providing for deterrent punishment for breaches and summary expulsion. So, the process of illegal entry continued. So far my information goes, even those who came with passports became untraced and a huge number of them never cared to take Pakistani passports in spite of notices and extended time given to them.

Everyone is aware that the bordering villages in the plains districts of Assam are heavily populated with Muslims mostly of East Bengal origin and of doubtful loyalty. It is quite

clear that infiltration takes place through unscheduled and unguarded routes by land or water taking shelter and being guided in the borders to go inland and in all directions.

We have all heard of different estimates being given of the total number of such infiltrators. So far as I could remember, the Assam Government admitted that the number was 3 lakhs, while other estimates place the number at 7 lakhs or so. In any case, it is a formidable number which has been fully reflected in the population growth of Assam in the last decade, that is, 1951-61.

Since 1956-57, the Foreigners Act with its complicated procedures has been extended to Pakistanis. But, obviously, it is not enough. Though a few thousands have been expelled from Tripura and Assam, yet, the process has been slowed down in the face of the Pakistani blackmail of retaliation against the unfortunate minority community in East Pakistan. The carnage which took place recently in East Pakistan is still fresh in our minds. May I ask whether it is only due to deportation of foreigners or it is a deliberate process to uproot the minorities for ever from Pakistan? The Pakistani papers are full of false and vicious propaganda that India is discriminating against her Muslim citizens and throwing them out. Even the Home Minister of Pakistan was trying to convince our Home Minister at the recent conference held last week here on this issue by suggesting that deportation should be suspended. I am happy to learn that our Home Minister has not submitted to this proposal. If he had done so it would have been a suicidal policy on our part. In the future also, I hope that our Home Minister will not submit to such proposals.

In this regard, I should like to point out that Pakistani propaganda is far more effective, insistent and persistent. May I ask what we have done

to counter such propaganda effectively in the capitals of the world? What steps have we taken through diplomatic channels to convince our friends that the Pakistani propaganda is false and malicious? Now, we have been distributed with a book entitled "*Pakistan persecutes Christians*" which states the sad tales of woe in Pakistan. May I know from the Government whether it was not their duty to print and distribute and send also to other countries such kinds of books after 1950 while the minority community in East Pakistan was similarly persecuted, and even women and children were not spared, so that other countries should have known what kind of barbarity is still going on in Pakistan?

For the last seventeen years, we are tolerating the undesirable foreigners allowing them to enter our country in an unrestricted manner and stay without objection and without adopting suitable laws to deport them. Recently, judicial tribunals have been set up in Assam to check up every case. I feel that it will hamper the executive in Assam in ferreting out the unauthorised Pakistanis and throwing them out or at least delay the whole process indefinitely. In this regard, I should like to emphasise that we have no intention to harass or throw out any member of the minority community who is an Indian national.

I hold the Government of India fully responsible for this muddle because of their not having taken effective action to nip this menace of infiltration in good time but having allowed it to assume gigantic proportions.

On this basis, I should like to submit a few suggestions so that security measures in border areas may be tightened. It is not possible for the State Government of Assam to check the whole border which runs to a length of more than 600 miles. So, I would urge the Government of India

to increase the land custom check-posts and armed police posts along the border to check infiltration and smuggling of goods through the border.

I feel that a separate Police Intelligence Department should be created with officers of merit drawn from all States like the Military Intelligence Service to operate in the border district areas directly under the Home Ministry of the Government of India and they should be provided with proper powers and authority.

Another point that I would like to impress upon the Home Minister is that unemployment amongst the people of these border districts creates frustration, and an idle brain becomes a devil's workshop. So, to guard against that, proper employment facilities should be provided by establishing small and major industries in those areas.

The surplus population on land of these areas easily becomes tools to indulge in nefarious activities. Therefore, this economic factor should not be ignored. The development of communications in the border districts is an essential need, and roads and crossroads should be constructed immediately, and the refugees who have come over to Assam could be utilised in constructing these roads. In the hill areas, monsoon is no great barrier. So, the work may be started immediately.

Before I conclude, I should like to draw the attention of the House and of the Government to the fact that plans should be made immediately to rehabilitate the refugees who have come over to India, and provision should also be made in the Fourth Plan for the expected inflow of the minority community from East Pakistan. We cannot hoodwink the reality.

Lastly, India being a secular democratic Republic, there should not be any discrimination between citizen



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and citizen only on the ground of differences in religious beliefs. Our affirmed goal being socialism and democracy through parliamentary means, the objective conditions in the country should be prepared for the achievement of this goal. I feel that socialism and democracy can never be achieved if the entire country is not brought under a fundamentally uniform civil code. The All India Women's Council at its last session had adopted a resolution advocating such a uniform civil code. So, I earnestly request the Government to consider this matter and in no time bring the whole country under a uniform civil code.

**Shri Daji (Indore):** When one considers the work of the Home Ministry during the past year, one feels that the Ministry has passed through a period of great stress and strain. Looking at the horizon, one is constrained to remark that if not storm, at least stress and strain are likely to continue for some time to come. So, it is very important that we should make a rather detailed and dispassionate examination of the work of this Ministry.

It is not very many times that we have the occasion to debate upon this matter. Therefore, I take this opportunity to congratulate the hon. Home Minister and his Ministry for the good work done in connection with the Haratbal relic theft, since it has restored the confidence of the people in the efficacy of an otherwise obsolete and creaking machinery.

But Kashmir still looms large on our horizon. May I just make a side remark that the situation in the Cabinet is so nebulous that actually one does not know whose is the responsibility, full and final, in the matter of Kashmir?

**Shri J. B. Kripalani (Amroha):** They are going to correct it. They are going to appoint a new Minister.

**Shri Daji:** The Kashmir problem is a live problem, and it will not only affect Kashmir, but it is going to be a problem which will affect the entire country. I do not want to go into the details of the wisdom or otherwise of the release of Sheikh Abdullah. As the hon. Prime Minister has said, it was a calculated risk. Perhaps, the risk was worth taking. But how much of calculation went into the taking of the risk is a little doubtful thing. The point that I want to impress upon the House is not the constitutional inalienability of Kashmir, because many speakers have said that already and that is very clear, but that it cannot be left to any one single State or part of India to decide whether it would continue to remain with India or not, and particularly so in the case of Kashmir. When faced with an attack from an aggressor—treating the Pakistani intruders as aggressors—they acceded to India, and after accession, took our military help also to repel that aggression. Now, they cannot talk of going out. They cannot toy with the idea of accession in this way. It is impermissible constitutionally, and I would like to take this opportunity to remind the so-called democratic countries of the West, particularly the USA which is now waxing eloquent on the theory of self-determination, that the greatest of Americans, Abraham Lincoln, refused to concede the doctrine of secession to the Southern States on the question of slavery, and had fought a brave and valiant civil war in order to see that certain States should not be permitted to secede from the USA. Therefore, the constitutional position is absolutely clear in character, but the political implication is not perhaps fully understood.

I would draw the attention of the House to a write-up appearing in the American magazine *Time* of the 10th instant where the entire doctrine, the entire philosophy preached is spelt out in great detail. I want to point out that there is an international conspiracy over the question of Kashmir

against us. I very much regret that some Indian politicians also, belonging to the Swatantra Party, have openly said that if we do not grant the right of self-determination in Kashmir, we will be indulging in neo-colonialism. I totally repudiate this suggestion. We have laid bare the international complications, the playing of hands, the playing of international politics which is going on in regard to this. As the Prime Minister said yesterday, the Kashmir problem would have been solved long ago but for the help of the western powers to Pakistan. This bears special study. We have to understand it and we have to fight it out, not merely as a problem of Kashmiris, but a problem of Indian nationalism, a problem of Indian nationhood and a challenge to the integrity of our country.

Then the next important problem today which is facing us—it is a most important problem—is the problem of communal riots. Before I address myself to this question, let me make it clear once for all and categorically that nothing can condone or excuse what has happened in Pakistan. It is barbarism, it is genocide, it is mass murder—whatever you want to call it. No term can be harsh enough to describe what has happened in Pakistan and there can be no question whatsoever of drawing any parallel between what has happened in Pakistan and what has happened in India. About that, let me be quite clear. But it is not for us sitting here to go into the details of what has happened in Pakistan, gross and bad as it is. It is for us to examine how we have fared in this matter.

While on this question, let me give unstinted support to the strong steps taken by the Home Minister. Some of us had felt that the Home Minister might not be able to display the idealism of Mahatma Gandhi while in charge of the Home Ministry, which he had displayed when in charge of Planning. But on the question of communal riots, we have seen that he has dealt with the situation with determi-

nation and courage which, really speaking, fulfils the name and behest of Mahatma Gandhi, the Father of our nation.

Having said, I want to pose certain questions. Let us take the recent riots, the second round of riots, in Rourkela, Jamshedpur, Ranchi and Raigarh. As a democrat and as a person who belongs to the working class, it has pained me that these riots happened in working class areas. But let us not forget that there has been a pattern behind all these. There is a particular pattern of timing, similarity of the slanders used, likeness of the slogans spread in the areas. There is also a similarity in the actual break-out of violence in those areas, which has to be understood which shows that it had a design and a pattern and it was not just spontaneous mass eruption.

Then I would like to pose certain pertinent questions. Why was it that in the entire area where this thing happened, the administration failed to foresee, when they knew that refugee trains were going to pass through? Why was it that in the initial period of two or three days there was a repetition of Calcutta, a total breakdown of the administrative machinery? So much so that when the police was rushed to Jamshedpur from Andhra, the authorities there could not feed them. It was left to the District Congress President Shri Vyas, and other voluntary workers to do that. Why was there such a breakdown of the administrative machinery in the affected areas? Then again, why did the police intelligence totally collapse? Because I know that the police intelligence on the 20th was that no further trouble could be envisaged, but the worst came on the 21st. That shows that there was a total breakdown of police intelligence.

Then there is another thing reflecting on the efficiency of the administrative apparatus. In Farrukhabad, a factory was making bombs. What for and why was it being done in our democratic country, and by whom? After

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that, a peace committee was formed excluding the Congress, the Communist Party, the Socialist Party and the PSP. What kind of peace committee could function without all these organisations and the workers represented on it is really something which has to be probed into.

Then there are serious allegations made that the Tata factory permitted the manufacture of small arms for a period of two or three days. I am told that the Bihar Chief Minister himself personally caught rehanding persons with arms and he actually detected the stocks of arms in the Tata factory, and the Manager when called upon to explain said 'I could not do anything because the police did not help me in preventing it.' This is a very dangerous situation. Is it all spontaneous? The entire factory was allowed to produce small arms and the entire people, were allowed to go about. In this way, the machinery broke down. If things go on in this fashion, can we control the situation? I submit it is not possible to do so.

Then there is the question of arrest of miscreants. There is a hesitancy about it. I know, for example, what happened in Raigarh. The worst miscreant has not yet been apprehended. The man is taken into custody but a big mob surrounds the police station and he is let off. By such weak action, you cannot certainly control the situation. I am bringing all this to the notice of the Home Minister for taking decisive action.

More than that, though it pains me, I am constrained to bring to the attention of the Home Minister and the House a very important fact, namely, that preventive action alone will not be enough in dealing with communal riots. What is very much important is the necessity to meet the political challenge of the philosophy behind these communal riots, a philosophy continuously preached in India that the Muslims, Christians, Jews and

Parsis are not citizens of India. This philosophy is being preached openly.

**Some Hon. Members:** Shame, shame.

**Shri Daji:** There is a book *Why Hindu Rashtra?* It has been printed and published. It is being sold everywhere. On page 8 of the book, this is what is said:

"There are Jews, Parsis, Muslims and Christians. All of them are living here. They are also getting sustenance from this country. Should we or should we not consider them to be children of the soil? To consider them children of the soil may be a mark of our generosity, but not a mark of our devotion to truth."

The author of this book is supposed to be a very great guru. He was to tell me that I am living in this country on his generosity! I refuse to live in this country on the generosity of anyone. I want to tell those persons who hold this philosophy that I am living in the land of Mahatma Gandhi, I am living in the land of a people who have given to themselves a secular democratic Constitution. I would rather prefer to die than live in the country on anybody's generosity, on the generosity of a fellow-citizen. It is this pernicious and distorted philosophy which parades itself in the name of Hindu philosophy but which besmirches Hinduism with the blackest of brushes which has to be challenged and eradicated. But this philosophy is allowed to be preached every day, every week. Papers go on preaching this philosophy.

About the Muslims, the book goes on to say that like Parsis, according to it, they are not just living on charity; Muslims are the enemies of the nation. This is at page 18. If such doctrine is preached continuously, no more preaching of direct violence is necessary. If mass preaching of this philosophy goes on, that we

are living here on charity, then that is the end of our aspirations and ideals. It is a philosophy alien to the culture and traditions of our country. It is an insult to the martyrdom of Mahatma Gandhi. It is more in keeping with Godse's philosophy.

**Shri Basumatari (Goalpara):** Who is that man preaching this?

**Shri Daji:** I am referring to a speech of Guru Golwalkar delivered at one place, published in book form. It is sold all over the country.

Therefore, what I say is this. It is not sufficient for us to shout 'shame, shame' here. The question I pose before my Congress friends is this: are you going to allow such a philosophy to be preached in the name of democracy? Are you going to allow the freedoms guaranteed by our Constitution to be used for the propagation of such pernicious philosophy, resulting in riots and then putting them down by army methods? Do not forget how Hitler climbed the ladders placed before him by democracy and did what he did. Let our democracy not be abused in this vile way.

Therefore, this evil requires to be tackled both at the administrative level and on the political plane jointly. But we have found that the administrative actions are too weak. The Home Minister will do well to take stronger action against the preaching of this philosophy which certainly conditions people's minds to such behaviour.

Then there is the suggestion of exchange of population. It is an atrocious, fantastic proposition. It will plunge India into 20 years of anarchy, economic ruin and political chaos. It will mean that all our dreams of building up a social, democratic State will be absolutely negated. But it is not sufficient to say this. As soon as you preach exchange of population, the mischief is done. They say

the Government should send away all Muslims, that Government is not doing it. The reasons why they should be sent away are advanced in public meetings, saying that they are enemies, they are not children of the soil etc., the whole history is repeated, and the matter is left at that, so that the mind becomes conditioned to absorbing violent action against that section which should be sent away, but is not sent away. Therefore, this philosophy is dangerous.

Sometimes, the administration also behaves in a fantastic way. At Ujjain a meeting was allowed to be organised by this man who preaches these things. There was a total hartal in the city, but they were allowed to go in a procession of 300, but the next day when the Congress Party wanted permission to hold a meeting, it was banned, when the Communist Party wanted permission to hold a meeting, it was banned, when the PSP wanted permission to hold a meeting, it was banned; the only meeting permitted was that of the Jana Sangh at which this demand was made for sending back the Muslims *en bloc* to Pakistan. Even the administration at times seems to be wobbly.

Mostly, it is an administrative and a political challenge and all of us, irrespective of party loyalties, party devotions, should take up this political challenge. Either this philosophy thrives and lives, or the philosophy which is embedded in our Constitution, the philosophy of a democratic, socialist republic, lives. The two cannot live side by side together. We have in this House passed a law and amended the Constitution, that any propaganda for secession is treasonable. I say, today let us enact a law and amend the Constitution to the effect that whoever refuses to accept the facts of secularism in our Constitution, should be beyond the pale of all law and all constitutional protection. Unless strong action is taken, we shall not be able to meet this challenge.

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The next point to which I wish to refer is a point very much to the heart of the hon. Home Minister, which he has been repeating very often, and it is about corruption. He has thrown out a challenge. With all my respect for him, and I have great respect for the Home Minister, perhaps more than he knows, I think the time limit of two years he has set for himself is rather like rushing in where angels would fear to tread.

**Shri N. C. Chatterjee (Burdwan):** It is too big a problem.

**Shri Daji:** I do not think within two years he can root it out.

I must say that the Report of the Santhanam Committee is a serious effort in the right direction, and that it has brought out the magnitude of the problem, and despite its many deficiencies, it has shown us some good solutions. Let us see how far we are able to work it out. I am not going into the details of it, that will be discussed later. What I am saying is that you cannot deal with the problem of corruption in an *ad hoc* way. The basis has to be seen.

The basis of corruption lies in excess money. The old classical economists put forth the Theory of Expenditure and divided all man's needs into three classes: necessities, comforts and luxuries. The modern world has added two more categories. After a man is able to live in luxury, next is waste, and the fifth is corruption. Now, the spending pattern is necessity, comfort, luxury, then waste, then corruption. When a few people have more money than they can spend, they use that money to gain social prestige, political power, administrative favour etc. What are you going to do about it? That is the first point I want to pose.

Unless this linking of big business with politics is delinked, unless this temptation in the way of the administrative services daily placed before

it by big business is done away with, you cannot root out corruption. As long as monopoly thrives in the country, it will give birth to corruption every day, every hour, every minute.

Here, I want to pose a straight question to the Home Minister, who has been a great labour leader. Does he know—leave alone the retired IAS officers—that the Government of Bihar has lent the services of an acting Secretary to the Tatas, a man whose lien still continues with the Government, whose pension the Government will have to pay? He is working with the Tatas and getting Rs. 8,000 a month, a sum which you cannot pay to your Secretary. Can this foster any belief in the honesty of the administration?

**Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad (Bhagalpur):** You are choosing a wrong example for elaborating your point. That cannot be cited as corruption. We support your contention, but do not quote a wrong example. That will harm our case.

**Shri Daji:** If the Labour Secretary of the Government of Bihar, a sitting IAS officer, can be allowed to serve the Tatas, and his lien is kept by the Government, what does it amount to? And the only work he does for the Tatas is to go round the Secretariat of Pata and get all possible things expedited, so that no honest businessman can ever enter into competition with them.

Does any one of us know who is the Chief Financial Adviser of the Birlas, the entire Birla family, today? He is a retired income-tax, sales tax, Reserve Bank official. He sits in Delhi in an air-conditioned office, and calls many Under-Secretaries and Joint Secretaries to lunch and dinner there. When he was in Government service, he was entrusted with the task of unearthing black income-tax money from the Birlas. And after retirement, he is the Chief Financial Adviser of the Birlas! So, this unholy marriage is going on between big

business and politics, between big business and the administrative services. Unless you are able to break this, you cannot put a stop to corruption in the slightest degree.

Then, I would bring to the attention of the House the remarks of the Chief Justice of India when he delivered the Lajpat Rai Lecture in Delhi. He pointed out two things. He said it was not the extent of corruption; the very fact that the people in the country had an impression that corruption went about was a danger to democracy. Then in the last paragraph he said:

"Corruption does not mean only bribe-giving or bribe-taking. Wherever any public action, administrative or judicial, is influenced by improper considerations, or is based on ulterior motives, such as communal or parochial, that is a very bad form of corruption."

Therefore, what we want is not merely a Vigilance Commission and the Vigilance Commissioner. They are good, a small step in the right direction, but we want tribunals with wider powers to see why things are not taking shape as they should.

The Minister has promised us some sort of tribunal for political corruption. It has not come, we are awaiting it. The Vigilance Commission is limited to the administrative services. Let us be very clear about it. You cannot put down corruption at the bottom, unless you behead corruption at the top. The higher the post, the higher the responsibility. Political leaders and workers, all of us, carry greater responsibility and greater trust of the people than any arm of the services. Therefore, first of all, at least it should be open to them to arraign any one of us, be he the highest in the land, be he a Minister. The feeling goes round that if corruption is in big business or an influential member of the Congress, nothing can be done. Charges are hurled about Ministers. If the Minister happens to be a person who can be suppressed, it goes to the court; if not, it

does not go to the court, it does not go to a judicial enquiry, it is hushed up. If there are certain influential Ministers who can hush up the matter, it is hushed up. If they have incurred the party's anger, or the anger of a group within the party, then, of course, the case is sent to the court. That impression should be completely done away with. Unless you do this, unless you are prepared to take steps to end political and administrative corruption, the question of corruption shall not have been dealt with firmly and finally.

Then, I will take up one or two small points. Firstly, the question of administrative reforms. I would like the hon. Minister, with his fresh approach and dynamic mind, to address himself to the task of administrative reforms. The Secretariat today is a Moghul durbar. The Moghuls became so much habituated to the durbar, that even when they marched to a war, they did so with the entire paraphernalia of the durbar. There is the Secretary, the Special Secretary, the Joint Secretary, the Under Secretary, the Assistant Secretary, the Deputy Secretary, there is the Cabinet Secretary, there is the Secretary-General, a whole galaxy of Secretaries, and most of them doing nothing except writing "I agree" or "I do not agree", to justify their existence. The work is done by the Assistant who prepares the note. The Secretary only writes "I agree" or "I do not agree", or a query. About the manner of the query, I want a reform which can be done here and now, that no officer should be permitted to send a file back twice with a query. If he wants to put any query, let him put an exhaustive query. Now, he puts one query, and after it is replied to, he puts another query. They have to delay the file, otherwise, their existence will not be justified. A thorough reform of the administrative structure is called for, and this should be examined.

Another point is about the employees. I may say that ever since Shri

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Nanda took over as Home Minister, the hopes of the employees have been heightened. Now that the former Labour Minister has become the Home Minister, and not only that, but as my hon. friend Shri S. M. Banerjee said yesterday, the entire Labour Ministry has shifted to the Home Ministry, the Minister of State and the Deputy Minister and the whole paraphernalia has shifted, we hope for a speedier and better justice for the employees.

I shall now come to another point. The Government has permitted the game of cards—Housie or Tombola—as it is called. This Tombola or game of cards—Housie—is going on in all the Government servants' clubs authorised by the Government. This is the biggest of legalised gambling that is going on in Delhi today. I would invite my hon. friend Shri L. N. Mishra to come with me tomorrow, tomorrow is Wednesday and Wednesday will be the day for Safdarjang airport. Come to the Safdarjang airport and you will see that in each sitting, Rs. 6,000 to Rs. 8,000 are lost.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath** (Hoshanabad): What is the technique of the game?

13 hrs.

**Shri Daji:** The technique of the game is, some numbers are put on a card. 1 to 19 numbers are put in a bag, one will have to pay Re. 1 per card, and whosoever comes has to mark out one card. Each Government servant gives Rs. 8 to Rs. 10; gets 10 marks and this happens twice. He loses Rs. 40 to Rs. 50 in the end. One who comes out successful gets Rs. 1,000 or Rs. 2,000. This game was introduced first by the Government as an innocent entertainment there, but the innocent entertainment has become the plague of Government employees. They are playing this game, and their wives are screaming. After losing, they say, this should be stopped, but this is going on; we cannot resist this temptation. Shri Nanda is a fit man to put a stop to it immediately. We

shall be thankful for it. This gambling should not be permitted. The hard-earned money of the Government employees cannot be permitted to be gambled away in Government authorised clubs. That is too much.

Then I come to the next point, I think now the time has come for declaring a general amnesty for all punishments given to the strikers. They have suffered for more than four years. Let all the cases be reviewed, and a general amnesty be given. That will really help the employees. The employees have shown good co-operation during the emergency and I think they are doing hard work. I request the Home Minister to consider this aspect.

Then, something needs to be done about the office of the Comptroller and Auditor-General. He is absolutely bereft of any persuasion. Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri also tried and he has also failed. Everyone has failed. The other organisation has been now recognised, after the strike. All the other organisations have been recognised except the audit organisation. The Comptroller and Auditor-General's office is sitting pat on it. It is something which requires to be dealt with at the highest Governmental level.

Now, some departments like the P&T and the Railways have at least a semblance of a consultative machinery. But the Secretariat has no consultative machinery. The Government employees, I am constrained to say, are really like the shuttle-cock between two swings; one swing at the highest level and the other at the lowest, the Under Secretary level. Between these two swings, the Government are treating them as a shuttle-cock. The Government are playing havoc with them. At least, let the whole process start. The setting up of a joint consultative machinery may take some more time. But at least let them start it so that the demands might be processed; let it be presided over by the Deputy Minister or the

Minister of State. That should be immediately done so that the Secretariat employees are able to get some comfort and some relief.

Then, I shall make a few more points and I shall have done. One point which I want to make is the question of the Defence of India Rules. I do not want to go into the details or their merit now. But the point is, some of the persons who have been arrested have been kept in detention for more than one and a half years. Some of them are Members of Parliament who have been arrested while in Delhi or just after they returned from Delhi. I think the time has come when a real revision by no authority but by the Home Minister himself is called for. Let him satisfy himself. I think those who have been arrested in the wake of the emergency should be immediately released. Even when the conspiracy case on which we have spent Rs. 6 crores has been withdrawn and the accused have been released, the time has come when we should review the cases of those who have been detained under the Defence of India Rules without any charge-sheet for more than one and a half years.

Another question which I want to pose is the question of emergency. I know the hon. Minister is very susceptible on this question. He thinks the emergency very much exists. As regards emergency, I have a different view. But I think the threat from Pakistan is heightened. The threat of China exists. The third threat, the unholy alliance between China and Pakistan, has also come about. I agree. But let us be very frank. Let us not be shaky about it. In our country, we shall have to live with these threats for some more years to come. Are you going to have this emergency for years and years? Emergency is only meant for a very emergent situation. If you continue the emergency in season and out of season, the Government will be behaving like the shepherd boy who called first for fun "wolf, wolf, wolf," and when really

the wolf came nobody came to his rescue and the wolf came and stalked his sheep. Let us not practise this emergency indefinitely and interminably. How long is this emergency going to continue? Of course, we can fight out these dangers. I think the Government should have confidence in the people of the country who, you will remember, showed their co-operation in a demonstrable way during the days of October last, when there was co-operation and goodwill of the people. Really, the emergency, if continued like this, becomes just like the cold war which is going on. The cold war is going in many countries in the whole world. We do not have emergency for years, and the sting of emergency is lost if you continue the emergency beyond a particular time, indefinitely. Therefore, I think the time has come, really speaking, when the whole question of emergency should be viewed in a different way.

The people are tired of it. Let me be very frank about it. There may be an emergency in law. But is there any emergency in life? Leave aside the emergency. Is even urgency reflected in the administration? Is urgency reflected in the political life? Is even urgency reflected in the spending spree that is going on all over the country? When those in authority and power do not even reflect urgency in this national crisis. . . .

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** It is only on paper.

**Shri Daji:** . . . and reflect it only on paper, it does not do any credit to anyone. Therefore, a more dynamic thinking is necessary on this matter. I think the people of our country have the necessary good sense and the necessary faith and determination to win through the storm that looms large on our horizon.

Before I conclude, I once again say that period that we are passing through is one of real storm and stress. The Home Minister, I think, has done well in regard to the communal situation. but more needs to be



[Shri Daji]

done, not always by way of cure but by way of prevention. As I said, what is very important today is this. We have been talking about national integration. But national integration shall not come about by conspiracies or by sermons or preaching. National integration can only come about when the people are galvanised into action, by a living and throbbing ideal. What is wrong in our country today? Where is that ideal that was gripping the people, the ideal of Mahatma Gandhi? The ideal of Mahatma Gandhi, from time to time, to break through the imperialist rule, was the ideal that moved us to action. Today, that ideal is lacking, and unless you place some ideal before the people—and that ideal in these conditions, can only be socialism and social justice,—and unless the Government takes energetic efforts towards that direction, towards social justice and socialism, the necessary strength shall not be available to the people. The people should be galvanised into action, with that ideal, and the people are strongly wedded to that ideal, and they will ally together so that you can both smash the international conspiracy in Kashmir and smash the most dastardly conspiracy of communalism in our country which ultimately helps Pakistan. Those communal forces in our country are the best friend of Pakistan. They are the friends of the philosophy of Pakistan. Pakistan's philosophy is theocracy, and the philosophy of the communal forces in India is in line with that. They besmirch India's name.

13.06 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair].

For instance, The Time Magazine of America publishes in lurid colours items of news saying that if anything like this happens in Japan or Washington it would be news but if it happens in India, it is no news because it is of daily occurrence there! Likewise, they are maligned. Those persons who are supposed to be the best friends are indeed the best friends of

the international maligners of India. Today, the best friends, the comrades-in-arms, follow the philosophy of Ayub Khan. But I think the people in India have got still the cherished traditions of Gandhi and of India. They have not forgotten the martyrdom of Gandhi; or the sweat, tears and toil that we have experienced in winning our Independence. We shall put into action once again that same unity, that same idealism, to see that our country tries to get over these crises—national and international—and go forward towards a new socialist India which we can look with admiration for ever.

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy** (Kendrapara): Sir, if earnestness and the desire to do no harm are the only qualities necessary to make a successful Home Minister, then, probably Shri Nanda has these qualities in abundance; and Shri Daji, who was so eloquent about the philosophy that should guide this nation and also the Home Ministry in its execution, forgets that Shri Nanda, who everybody knows is an idealist, is no longer in charge of the Planning Commission, but he is in charge of a Ministry which has the onerous responsibility of executing and implementing decisions, giving this country a clean and efficient administration, an administration which should be such as to be a guide for the entire nation for its future. Looking from that point of view, I find Mr. Nanda has started well. I wish him well, but at the same time, of course he has been in charge for a short time, my apprehensions are he has again got bogged down in the same rut and in the same drift. The administration today, it should be admitted after 17 years of freedom, is not such as to evoke any confidence in the minds of the people. It is not impartial. It is the same bureaucratic machinery that rules even in the services, in the political sphere and in other spheres. It is partisan, partial and discriminatory. Not a single attempt has been made to remove all these things. Why is it so?

When there was emergency, when we have decided to go on a particular line of development so far as the philosophical question is concerned, when so much power is vested in the Government, it was expected that all these powers would be utilised to streamline this machinery. We expected that the entire administrative machinery of this country would be streamlined and overhauled, so that there is systematic development of this country. But how can you expect that from an administration which has no mind? We are in a very tragic situation. The Prime Minister unfortunately is sick. He is the head of the administration. Everybody looks to him to give the lead. No decision is taken without consultation with the Prime Minister. It is said that there is joint responsibility, but actually one man decides everything either in political affairs or administrative affairs. We want the Prime Minister to recover as quickly as possible. We pray to God that sooner than later as quickly as possible he should be able not only mentally, but physically to carry on his responsibilities. But the fact remains that today he is not able to do it. Yet, he sticks on. He does not lay down office. Even if he is not prepared to lay down the office, he does not even transfer the responsibilities. What is the Home Minister? Can Mr. Nanda say that without consulting the Prime Minister or without taking his permission, he can independently think and act on the premises of the decisions that are taken? No. No departments are transferred. No Deputy Prime Minister is appointed. The Cabinet for name's sake, may be a joint thing, but actually today there is no central mind. The Cabinet is not functioning at all. In such a situation, how can you expect in this country a good administration or expect this administration to achieve thing at all?

If I am not wrong in this House a definite promise was given that this Cabinet would be streamlined and it will be reduced. But what do we

find today? Although there has been some reduction of Ministers there have been additions too. I am glad my friend, Shri Tyagi has been appointed as Rehabilitation Minister. I do not know whether he has been sworn in, but it has been decided that he would be an addition to the Cabinet in charge of Rehabilitation. That was the demand of the House. It is good in so far as it goes. But the whole question is, either in the States or in the Centre, there is no effort to make the Cabinet efficient and homogenous in order to meet the requirements of the present time. The Cabinet does not become efficient by just adding some superannuated people into it. Even today I find in the Ministry's demands the expenditure on the Cabinet Secretariat has increased. Although economy was promised, nothing has been done.

They have not applied their mind even a little bit to the other very necessary things that probably would have drawn the attention of Mr. Nanda immediately he took charge. We have Governors in the States, I do not think these posts of Governors are necessary at all. We should do away with them as quickly as possible. But have they framed any rules for the guidance of the Governors? We see the spectacle of Governors running to their own States, visiting projects, etc. Who pays them TA? Where do they draw the money? In the British time, for five years they were not going home at all. But now when there is a crisis, you do not find the Governor. At some places, Governors act merely as special technical advisers. Have we made any rules in regard to this matter. Have we given any thought to this?

From the point of view of a welfare society or socialist society, has he applied his mind to a very important question which has been raised very often in this House? Because you have given a promise you do not want to cut the privy purses of ex-rulers. But here is a judgment of the Supreme Court regarding section

[Shri Surendranath Dwivedy]

87B of the C.P.C. which gives certain privileges to the ex-rulers. Even the Supreme Court has come to the decision that after 26th January, 1950—

"If under the Constitution all citizens are equal, it may be desirable to confine the operation of Section 87B to past transactions and not to perpetuate the anomaly of the distinctions between the ex-rulers and the rest of the citizens."

You talk so much about socialism, but yet nothing is done about these privileges enjoyed by the ex-rulers.

Even in the services, there are many complaints which come to us. Some friends have raised other questions also. There is a Central Secretariat Service functioning in the Central Secretariat which, they say, consists of about 10,000 persons. In this service, it seems there are certain rules for promotion, etc. But in 1962, there was a promotion panel whereby officers could get promotion as Under Secretaries, Deputy Secretaries, etc. But that is not being done. Even in 1963, no panel had been made. One does not know about 1964. The worst part of it is that permanent Deputy Secretaries and Under Secretaries coming back from leave are not posted to duty for months, even though they draw their salaries and allowances. IAS officers are recruited from the States, but Secretariat Service people are not given promotion. They linger on like this. It seems they have not applied their mind to this matter at all, and to the question of reorganising even the secretarial machinery for this purpose. I have said these two things in the beginning so that I might impress upon the Minister that he should apply his mind not only to the political decisions, but to the very burning problems affecting the administration as such.

Presently we had a report from the Home Minister regarding the Indo-

Pakistan Home Ministers' Conference. I think the country knows now that this conference had achieved nothing. It was probably inevitable in the circumstances and it was not possible to get any indication of any relaxation of the mind of the present Pakistan rulers, however much they would agree to sit along with us. Of course, as the Prime Minister indicated, probably when they meet next something may be achieved. If they could achieve something, nothing like that; we would certainly welcome that.

We also want that Indo-Pakistan relations should be as friendly as possible. But take into account the existing circumstances. It is not a question that Pakistan wants to squeeze out millions of people but actually Pakistan is playing a political game in order to keep these Hindus and other minorities as hostage to foment trouble in this country, to upset all our arrangements. They are working in unison with China. That fact also is accepted and admitted. Under the circumstances, there is no piecemeal solution which, according to me, is possible.

Even the simple suggestion of the Home Minister that they should jointly visit the place has not been acceded to. Let them carry on, we have no quarrel; but let us not wait till a decision is taken jointly and say that we will not act on our own. It is very necessary to take action for the sake of maintaining integrity of our country. Today there is a great danger because of the Pakistani infiltration. This is a question which is agitating the minds of the people of this country. There is apprehension in their minds—and I think there is some justification for this apprehension—that probably they are deliberately doing it in order to make Assam a Muslim majority province. That is their game. I want the Home Minister to be firm on this matter. So far as the eviction of infiltrators is concerned there should be no compro-

mise on this matter. We want all these Pakistani infiltrators to be removed from this country. There should be some machinery which can grapple with this problem quick enough.

Then, there are certain things which are very necessary if he considers the whole situation. He himself admitted that the office of the Assistant High Commissioner in Shillong is the centre for spy-ring. But I want to know why no action was taken and why that office has not been closed down as yet. All these things are merrily going on in this country and we take no action waiting for some other day when some arrangement would be made and in the meantime espionage and the spy-ring all over the country would go on as a result of which the country would suffer.

People are suffering on account of lack of migration facilities. There is abduction of women going on. He did not agree even to a simple proposal that I made. When once I met him personally I told him, let us ask the International Red Cross or any other such organisation to go into this question and try to impress upon the Government of Pakistan not to indulge in such activities. Let us get correct information about happenings inside Pakistan. People are getting agitated because they are not getting any information, and quickly emotions are roused on this affair. There is insecurity in the border areas. It is known that Pakistan has vacated about two miles along their borders. But in our case we do not know what would happen to these people who are living in the borders. Can we not take some steps to protect them? If we think it necessary we may evacuate people from those areas and arm those who remain giving them sufficient protection so that they may meet these Pakistani goondas when they come and attack those people, which they do so often.

These are some of the things which are very necessary. We should not wait. We should also by taking these actions, cultivate world opinion in our favour. The Kashmir question is

looming large. It is again coming up in the Security Council. We have decided that Shri Chagla will again go and represent our case there. But there is a new situation that has arisen. What is that new situation? Sheikh Abdullah has been released. I have no quarrel with that, because a government which was not able to put up a case and try a person for ten years has no business to put him in jail. He has been released. It is good. You had no proof against him and you could frame no charge against him. You should have brought him before a court of law, prosecuted and convicted him. It does not take ten years to do that spending crores and crores of rupees. When you keep him like that you appear to the outside world as if there is no charge and you are forcibly detaining him. That is not correct.

At the same time, let us be firm on this issue. Are we going to raise this question of accession? No. That stage has passed. We are on the question of integration. My charge against this Government is before the released Sheikh Abdullah article 370 of the Constitution should have been abrogated. They should have taken firm steps to integrate the entire Kashmir with the Indian Union and it should have functioned as any other State in India. All democratic laws in this country should have been made applicable to Kashmir also. If they had done that, all these difficulties would not have arisen. But they hesitated and vacillated. That is their policy. They always do a thing without properly considering the implications, and when they do it they bring disgrace not only themselves but on the country also.

The question that I want to stress is another one. How are we to tackle this communal tangle? Is it a communal problem? The Prime Minister referred to it yesterday, and we are all worried about it. There has been communal frenzy all over the country, in many places. The stories are such

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that it is really a disgrace. I would say, I am ashamed of it, our country is ashamed of it, that such things could happen in our country. But I again maintain that it is not a question of Hindu-Muslim trouble, a communal question. It is a political question. The atrocities committed on Christian minorities is not a Hindu-Muslim question. It is not a communal question. We must look at this problem from another angle. It is a political game that is being played and we have to meet that challenge. It is a national challenge. It is not a question of this party or that party. How are we going to meet this national challenge? We are all worried that these things have happened. I do not want to hide things. But I am glad that Shri Nanda, whenever any such trouble has arisen anywhere, has himself gone and visited these places. But what is the ultimate outcome of it and what is it that we want to do? These are some of the problems on which I want to know what attention has actually been given.

The first thing I would suggest, before I go into the question of disturbances that have occurred in different parts of the country, is that let us appoint a high-powered commission which would go into the question of secularism. What I mean to say is, those who indulge in activities which are against the principle of secularism in this country should be punished. Can you do any such thing? If you do it, then only you will be able to control or curb the activities of people who are accused to be communal in their activities.

This question I raise, Sir, because what has happened in recent days in these areas like Rourkela, Jamshedpur, etc., is really very disturbing. I will not go into much details but I only read out to you from a letter which I have received from Jaiprakash Narain who spent about four days in Jamshedpur and, probably, today he is in Rourkela. I will read out only two

relevant portions for the benefit of the House. He says:

"There is no doubt in my mind that there was an organisation behind these dastardly activities which operated from a common centre, manufactured and spread rumours, planned and financed specific actions, provided the whole operation with a political and philosophical justification."

Then he goes on to say:

"It was further proved how inadequate and inefficient was the civil administration and how the forces of law and order were themselves infected considerably with the virus of communalism."

Sir this is a very serious position. What has happened in Rourkela are gruesome stories, no doubt. From the 14th trains full of people came and stories were current. From the 14th till the 20th there was a complete breakdown of administration. Every day people were congregating in thousands near the railway station. There were clashes.

**An Hon. Member:** What were you doing? Keeping quiet?

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy:** I am not the administrator. The whole question is that the State administration in that part of the area completely collapsed from 14th till 20th. Thousands of people congregated and many stories were current about the clashes that took place. On the 19th there was Hindu-Muslim clash. A Hindu was attacked by a Muslim because of some personal quarrel; both were shop-keepers. The Hindu shop-keeper went and took shelter in a wine shop when a mob came to attack him. The police teargassed them. Yet there was no imposition of section 144 and no persons were arrested. There is a Muslim wine vendor and a Hindu wine vendor; both are congressmen and as if they are doing prohibition there. One of them was arrested. Yet, the next day, he was let

off because he was an influential Congressman and these people let loose goondas and miscreants. Then the miscreants took charge of the situation. They were having a hayday there and they indulged in all sorts of nefarious activities, which were not prevented even once. No preventive step was taken, nothing of that sort. These clashes occurred on the 19th—I have got everything with me—and there is the statement by the Home Minister of Orissa—I am not saying anything of my own account—in the State Assembly that on the 20th he has got information about the happenings in Rourkela. But what did he do after that? He did not visit that place. He was more interested in seeing that the State Labour Evaluation Committee pass a resolution stating that HMS union be disqualified for recognition in the Rourkela factory. He was more interested in that. Then he wrote to Ranchi “send troops”. What happened? The troops came, rather could arrive, only on the 21st. The curfew was imposed at 3 p.m. the same day. All these five or six days, specially on the 19th, 20th and 21st there was complete massacre; nothing else. There was no rule of law. Can Shri Nanda deny that this was the fault of the State administration? Rather than accuse anybody else, has he the guts, has he the courage and good conscience to recommend to the President that such an administration has to be dismissed because it has no right to exist? As it could not do anything to quell the riots, it has no right to exist; rather, it is a disgrace to our country. When there is so much of trouble between India and Pakistan and talks are going on to settle the differences, anybody responsible for such kind of action should have been severely dealt with. But the Home Minister seems to be powerless in this matter. Here I am not giving my view alone. I can even quote from what a distinguished editor of a Delhi newspaper has written:

“The recent outburst of violence in Bihar and Orissa raises other fundamental questions. There is

more than a suspicion that the forces of law and order were not unduly active in the performance of what was their clear duty when the first signs of trouble appeared. In the absence of initial resistance the infection spread in ever-widening areas and finally the resources available were no longer adequate to cope with the situation whether the will was there or not.

There has been what appears to be wholesale dereliction of duty by the police forces and the magistracy.”

Will a Government formed by party based on the spoils system have the courage to take action so clearly indicated in the country's interests?

Why cannot the Congress party also enquire whether the Congress Ministers concerned acted with due sense of responsibility and despatch?”

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The hon. Member's time is up.

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy:** I will take another 7 to 8 minutes.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** He may take two or three minutes; not more.

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy:** The whole question is, was something done in this matter? If not, and if this is going it is really unfortunate. I am constrained to refer to this because when we are all concerned about it and when we want the communal disturbances to end, here comes a State Government which accuses some political parties. I have written to Shri Nanda. He has not been able to reply to me as yet, although the Orissa Chief Minister has implicated us by name. He says that the Praja Socialist Party and the Hind Mazdoor Sabha played a significant part in the Rourkela disturbances. He says that Shri Nanda is convinced of it. He says that he discussed this matter with Shri Nanda when they met the Chief Minister in a conference sometime back. I want to know from Shri Nanda whether it is true or not. Shri Nanda

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wanted the co-operation of all of us before he went to Rourkela and we are supposed to meet again. If he was convinced about this according to the statement of the Chief Minister of Orissa, was it not his duty at least to call for us and tell us "this is happening in your party" or "your members are doing like this". Nothing of that sort has been done. So, I want a categorical announcement from him and I want proof here that actually the Praja Socialist Party had played a significant part in the Rourkela disturbances if they have done anything of that nature. I know it for a fact that the Secretary of the Rourkela Mazdoor Sabha who was not present on the spot, came back on the 22nd from Cuttuck Kansabahal and he called off the strike and saved lives of about 150 Muslims. This is a fact. Congressmen are free to do whatever they like; I am not quarrelling with that. But they have implicated in their statement to Shri Nanda. If you want to create an atmosphere to fight communalism you cannot condemn a non-communal political party. It is wrong. I think they are trying to make political capital out of the situation without going into the root of problem. This is the more serious thing to which I want to draw the attention of the Central Government. If they are powerless to act, let them not talk of eradication of communalism and ask for the co-operation of other political parties.

Before I conclude. I would like to refer only to one question and that is the question of corruption on which so much has been said. If Shri Nanda has the courage of conviction, which I think he has, he will not be amenable to political pressures when he takes action against corruption. Let it not be understood that because his party men are involved, because some mighty person is involved, he can go scot free. The Santhanam Committee has come out with a comprehensive report full of recommendations. What is he going to do? Is he going to accept all the recommendations and

implement them as quickly as possible? He must say that here in this House. Or will he appoint committees to go into the different aspects so that his tenure of ministership would be over by that time? Now the only explanation given is "we are trying", "we are attempting", "the process is going on", "it is under active consideration" etc. That will not do. Because, this is one subject on which every member of this House is prepared to lend him fullest support provided he has the strength will and power to break through the political pressure that is always working in the administration today.

In this connection, there is only one thing that I would like to refer, and that is about the Serajuddin affair. I have raised this question so often in this House and I want that this matter to be settled once and for all. I do not want to raise it too often. The facts are before them. They have castigated some officers. Sir, it is a pity that although the entries were before 1959 or 1956 and even the searches conducted in the houses of officers in 1963 have borne out the entries to be true, the Ministers are left scot free. Of course Shri Malaviya has resigned. But why were no searches conducted in the premises of other important persons whose names have appeared in the books of M/s. Serajudin & company? They say that they have not completed the examination of books of M/s. Serajudin & Company. I have given a cut motion on this question. I do not want to raise this question again and again. I know there is still all controversy, there is still a difference of opinion about the money that the Chief Minister of Orissa took. According to the admission of the ex-Chief Minister, he took Rs. 1,49,000. According to the admission of the Prime Minister himself, who has written to me, he took Rs. 2 lakhs both in cash and in kind. According to my information, during the period 1949-56 he has taken Rs. 5 lakhs and during the period 1956-59 another Rs. 12 lakhs. These are

found in the entries in the books of M/s. Serajudin & Company.

They have not replied to any of our questions on this subject. They simply say that the books of that company have not been properly examined and that they are scrutinising them. How many years will they take to scrutinise them? Therefore, I want you to do one thing. You come out and say the Minister are involved, the Chief Minister of a State is involved and other big people are involved; so, it is difficult for me to take any action". You can publish everything contained in Serajudin books and lay it on the Table of the House. Let the country know this has happened and you are powerless to act because it will affect the future of a State.

I think, to what I have demanded in my cut motion Shri Nanda will gracefully agree because he has promised to root out corruption within two years. Let him appoint a commission of inquiry to go into the entire question of Serajuddin's books and finally decide this matter. Let there be an end to it and that will show how earnest he is. Otherwise, all this hyperbolic talk will have no meaning. People will not believe in your words unless you take concrete and positive steps to root out corruption, streamline the administration and politically also you provide this country with a vigorous, fresh and young ministry.

**Shri A. C. Guha (Barasat):** Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, the Home Ministry is charged now with very difficult problems. I think, the Home Ministry has always to deal with difficult problems but for the last few months the problems have become much more difficult than they were before.

Before going into the present problems I should refer to some of the problems which are more or less chronic. The first thing is the problem of corruption. The Santhanam Committee's report has made a num-

ber of suggestions. I would like to draw the attention of the House to only two remarks of that committee, namely,—

"It is believed that the procedures and practices in the working of Government offices are cumbersome and dilatory. Anxiety to avoid delays has encouraged the growth of dishonest practices like the system of speed money. Speed money is reported to have become a fairly common type of corrupt practice particularly in matters relating to grant of licences, permits etc."

Further,

"There is a general impression that it is difficult to get things done without resorting to corruption."

In Government offices files generally do not move unless some corrupt practices are taken recourse to or some pressure through some influential patrons can be exercised. It is a very bad state of affairs and the result is that the Government is losing the confidence of the people. It is really regrettable that even the top in the Government administration is not now free from public suspicion of corrupt practices. These suspicions may not be well based but the fact is that even the top level of the Government administration is not free from that suspicion.

The personal integrity of officials and ministers is freely talked about in the market and I would ask the hon. Home Minister to make some enquiries as to how many of the relatives—sons, nephews, sons-in-law and similar other relatives—of top officials and ministers have got inordinately high-salaried posts in some private companies. How can they get these posts without some influence from top men in the administration. It was mentioned to me only a few days ago that a close relative of a top man, just a matriculate, has been



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employed in a European firm on a fabulously high salary. Shri Nanda gave a pledge to this House that he would whipe out corruption in two years. If he is to redeem that pledge, he will have to take hard steps and difficult measures even in the face of opposition from his own colleagues and his own officials.

The Central Vigilance Wing is operating—I have gone through the reports—with so many checks and balances that I am doubtful if this vigilance wing is quite effective in eradicating corruption and corrupt practices. I am not sure if the functions and privileges of the vigilance wing cover nepotism. Taking bribe or some other consideration in the form of money or other services or goods may be covered but I am not sure whether nepotism is covered by the functions and the terms of reference of the vigilance wing. I think, nepotism is the thin end of corruption which gradually expands and expands. Nepotism is now very common in the administration.

On the one hand, corruption is undermining the confidence of the people in the Government, on the other, there is the question of national integrity as also the question of law and order which also are undermining public confidence on the administration. On the question of national integrity, linguistic squabbles fortunately for the last few months are somehow dormant, but it will not be prudent to suppose that these linguistic quarrels or troubles are quite removed from the politics of the country. They may be somewhat dormant now, but they are dominant factors only in the active politics of the country. On the linguistic basis there may again be some disruption in our political field.

In addition to language there is another factor which is disturbing even the political parties, particularly the ruling political party, namely, the caste factor. Casteism is a dominant

factor in many of the State Governments, in services, at the ministerial level and all through even in the political parties. These are factors which are disrupting the integrity of the nation. If people think more of their own religious groups, of their own castes and of their own linguistic groups than of the totality of the nation, there can hardly be any national integration.

The Constitution has been amended and it has made it a penal offence to ask for secession from India; still, we find demands for secession from India, one in the north east and one in the north west. From Nagaland to Kashmir the demand is now very strong. Though Sheikh Abdullah has stated that he has not asked for an independent Kashmir, I think, his speeches and utterances are an indication of that tendency. It is not a question of simply making it a penal offence. Sedition has always been a penal offence under the British rule; still we were incurring offences under the Sedition Act, we were not deterred by the penal provisions of the Act. So, simply the amending of the Constitution will not be quite enough; there must be some psychological measures, some educative measures so that this question of national integration may be properly appreciated.

It is not clear whether the question of Kashmir belongs to the Home Ministry or to the External Affairs Ministry. I think, from all considerations it should belong to the Home Ministry. It is an internal affair of India and should not be dealt with by the External Affairs Ministry. So, rightly almost every hon. Member speaking on the Home Ministry's Demands has touched this point. I have been hearing the speeches of my preceding Members today. They have referred to the difficult problem of Kashmir, but none has suggested any solution. Sheikh Abdullah has been released; perhaps, there was no other alternative but to release him when the Govern-

ment could not conclude the trial even after seven or eight years. What is the other alternative now? But at least the Government should be firm on this one point that there should not be any re-opening of the question of accession of Kashmir and the total and final integration of Kashmir with India. The legal step, the Bill that was pending before the Kashmir Assembly should, I think, have been taken some time ago. Even now there should not be any delay in passing that Bill. If this Parliament has any legal function to discharge for the full integration of Kashmir into India, that is the deletion of certain clauses in the Constitution, that also should be considered by the Government and should be taken up as early as possible. This question should not be kept in suspense for any long time. It should be finally decided that Kashmir is a part of India, whatever somebody may think, whatever Western powers may think, whatever Pakistan may think. India should finally decide that Kashmir is an integral part of India.

Now, I come to the recent events with which the Home Ministry has been faced, that is, maintaining law and order with which is also connected the security of India. We are all sorry for the communal riots that have occurred. There may be provocations from Pakistan. We adhere to our Constitution under which every citizen irrespective of religion is entitled to equal treatment and we are sure that provision of the Constitution will be respected not only in letter but also in true spirit. But still it will be futile to hope that if there are some provocative things on the other side of the Pakistan border, there will not be any ripple on this side. It is not only a question of law and order. It is a question of understanding the people's mind and meeting their points of view. Nandaji has been running from one State to another State on a fire-brigade mission quenching the fire in different districts. But I am sorry to say that he has not been able to get into the

basis of this problem. He has only dealt with the external symptoms. If you look into the genesis of these problems, you will find that in spite of tension, in spite of some disturbed mental situation, these events did not come out in India without some provocation from within India. The Calcutta riots started not only as a reaction of the Khulna riots but as an unprovoked attack on a students' procession of 9th January by the Muslims and the Government did not or could not take any step. Just before me, Mr. Dwivedy mentioned about a quarrel between two individuals, one Muslim and another a Hindu . . .

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The hon. Member may conclude now.

**Shri A. C. Guha:** I shall require a few minutes more.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The list is very large.

**Shri A. C. Guha:** I have not taken even 10 minutes.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** You may take one or two minutes more.

**Shri A. C. Guha:** The Muslims attacked the Hindu and that gave a spark to the whole trouble. If the Government would have taken proper precautions in time and put the disturbing elements, the mischievous elements, under control, then, I think, all these troubles would not have been there.

The other day, on 1st April, my hon. friend, Mr. Hathi, made a statement in this House that the Park Circus Pandal was not set on fire by any miscreant but the fire was due to electric short-circuit. It was a very belated and cooked up story. The fire took place on 9th January and for three months references were made not only in the press but also in the West Bengal Assembly that the fire was put by some Muslim miscreants, the inhabitants of the place, and the Government did not come out

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with any contradiction or any rejoinder to those allegations, not even in the Assembly. I have got a statement with me that four Muslims were actually seen running out and one of them was caught and handed over to the police. If the Government suppress these facts in this way, that irritates the people. It makes the people feel that there is no political solution to the evils and there is no political solution to the troubles that they have been facing and undergoing and in case there is no political solution, they try to find out solutions themselves. It may be desperate solutions, it may be even injurious to themselves, but to that desperate step they have been forced to go primarily due to the indifferent and inactive attitude of the Government in suppressing the mischievous elements.

The Kalabagan basti was mostly burnt and the Government did not hesitate to put its machinery into operation for harassing and arresting the suspected elements who put fire to the basti. They have shown some unusual zeal and enthusiasm in this. One should not get enthusiastic about everything. Let us now remember what is Kalabagan Basti? It is the worst den of the Calcutta hooligans. It has been the headache of the Calcutta police all through the several decades. It was . . .

**Shri N. C. Chatterjee:** Plague spot.

**Shri A. C. Guha:** It was a shelter or a den of the storm troopers of Shurawardy during the direct action days of 1946-47. That was put on fire as the residents were creating troubles and the police remained inactive and after some days from under the debris of the fire a powerful transmitter was brought out. Could you say that all those men were innocent people? How can a powerful transmitter be there under the debris of the burnt houses of that Kalabagan basti? I have got many other incidents to show where the Government have

failed to take action to prevent the mischievous elements from inciting things and putting things into wrong lines. From Assam to Lucknow, there have been many incidents during the last 10 or 15 days. In Lucknow, an ammunition factory was found run by some agents of Pakistan. From almost all States we have reports of Pakistan agents engaging themselves in mischief making. About Assam, it has also become another Nagaland or another Kashmir. The security of the State is involved in that. I hope the House will realise the implications of this Muslim infiltration in Assam, Tripura and West Bengal. While the population in Assam has increased by about 30 or 32 per cent, in Bengal also by that, the Muslim population in those States has increased by about 40 per cent and if you allow me a few minutes more I may give you the figures of increase in Muslim population in the border districts. In Bangaon, it has increased by 53 per cent, in Barasat, it has increased by 43 per cent; in Basirhat it is by 35 per cent; in Barrackpore, it is 35 per cent increase; in Jalpaiguri—44 per cent increase; in Malda—62 per cent increase; in Dinajpur—50.6 per cent; in Nadia—63 per cent and so on. How does Muslim population increase so inordinately at a much higher rate than even in East Pakistan where the population has increased only by 20.9 per cent?

**Shrimati Yashoda Reddy (Kurnool):** Even if it has increased by 1 per cent, you should be ashamed of it.

**Shri A. C. Guha:** Then, there was a proposal that one mile depth of the Assam border with Pakistan will be evacuated. That will be about 620 miles and naturally the density of population per square mile—that is a fairly high density area—will be about 300 or something like that. It will mean shifting of about a few lakhs of people. Where will they be rehabilitated and who will bear this cost? These are problems of national security

14 hrs.

There has been talk of secularism. I can claim that hardly anybody in this House can be more secular in personal life than I myself. I never go to astrologers to get my fortunes read. I never go to temples to pray for my fortunes. I am completely secular in my outlook. Even in the recent riots in January I gave shelter to Muslims in my house. But I would like to pose one question to this House. Secularism is only a part of a civilised code of conduct. We are a civilised society, and, therefore, we are a secular society. Secularism cannot by itself be a virtue. It is only a part of a civilised code of conduct. But above everything is the security of the State. Are we to go ahead with a lop-sided idea of secularism? And in that pursuit, are we to abandon the security of the country? This is the question that I would pose before this House and the Home Ministry has to answer this question. The security of the country is now in danger from many points of view, particularly from the Pakistani infiltrators and Pakistani agents operating within this country.

So, I hope that the Home Ministry will tackle this question of security of the country and national integration and try to discharge its duties from that point of view.

**Shri Abdul Ghani Goni** (Nominated—Jammu and Kashmir): I have studied the annual report of the Ministry of Home Affairs and I find that the report is very brief and it is not in that tune which is wanted at present in our country.

There is a good sign of betterment of administration. Also, some vigilance committees have been formed for uprooting corruption. I am very happy to read about these steps to be taken. But, at the same time, when we actually see in the field, we find that these things are on the increase.

Some time ago, when I was speaking in this very House, I suggested that there should be a large-scale inter-State transfer of some important officers, so that the administration throughout the country may be improved, and it may function effectively in the interests of the common man. I had demanded some transfers from the Kashmir State also. I am happy that some officers from the Centre have been posted there. Particularly, I would like to mention that the new Chief Secretary whom I had met was found to be a very efficient person. I hope that the new postings will ensure better administration and further our interests better.

Many hon. Members have referred to the conditions in the country as a whole. I am surprised and sometimes shocked also that in this advanced age when the other nations are running in atomic races, we are still having fights between Hindus and Muslims and Sikhs and *Isaayees* etc. which does not behave us well at this stage. Anyhow, I appreciate the steps taken by Shri Nanda. Still, I have received some copies of the memoranda to the effect that the administration in some areas did not function very well. For instance, from Calcutta, I have received a memorandum to the effect that even the police officers were silent when the communal disturbances were taking place. I would submit that it is somewhat shocking to call the Army to take over the civil administration. It does not look nice in this age when we claim to be a very civilised nation. It is true that the Army has behaved very well. At the same time, I would suggest that the police officers should also get some training on the lines of the training given to the Army officers, or some Army officers may be posted as senior officers in the Police Department, so that discipline may come into the police, and the police may be more conscious of its responsibilities. Only by doing so, we shall be able to ensure that the police will function as a very strong and disciplined force.

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Otherwise, the police force may not be able to function very effectively. I was in Calcutta at the time of the riots, and I was distressed to find that the police force did not function so effectively as it should. So, I would suggest that if the police officers and military officers could be trained in the same college, and there could also be some transfers from the Army to the police and *vice versa*, I think it will be very useful in the administration of law and order in the country. I would request the hon. Home Minister to look into this matter. We are really proud of him, because he has tackled this question very effectively. But we want that some more steps should be taken and the measures should be strengthened.

In fact, these riots were an offshoot of the division of the country which was a compromise with an evil in 1947. Another offshoot is the Kashmir question. In this very House, several hon. Members have referred to the release of Sheikh Abdullah and his utterances. As a Kashmiri, I also must say something about it. So far as Sheikh Abdullah is concerned, we have got great regard for him. He was a great leader in Jammu and Kashmir, and he had played his part. When I read his earlier speeches and his sentiments, I am able to recall those earlier days. I remember how when I was also with him, and my hon. friend Shri Sham Lal Saraf also was with him in the Working Committee, we took a bold decision in 1947, and how he had acted, and how he had advocated the cause of India. But today when I hear his speeches and when I read his speeches, I find that they are somewhat conflicting. I cannot say anything about them, because he claims to be the friend of our beloved leader Shri Jawaharlal Nehru. He only can say like that because he claims to be the friend of our beloved leader Shri Jawaharlal Nehru. When I compare those statements which he issued before 1953, and his statements today, I find a lot of difficulties. As a petty

worker, or as a back-bencher as we are all sitting here, I cannot use that language; I cannot even dare to have that type of mood. But today, he has been saying such things. Of course, we welcome his release, and it was a good gesture on the part of the Central Government or the State Government to have released him. But if I might be excused for saying so, the time when he could be released, and we could face him politically was a little earlier, when we had demanded his release in 1958, in 1959, and then in 1962 and 1963, when we were in a much better position. Government were very strong then, and Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed and Shri Sham Lal Saraf were very strong to face him politically. But, at that time, I do not know what the criteria were or what the particular conditions were in which the Central Government or the State Government did not take that action.

Today, I would like to assure this House and through this House the country as a whole that Sheikh Abdullah is not the only leader in Kashmir; he is not the only person who represents Kashmir's sentiments. After all, at this stage, Kashmir is not only a question for the Kashmiris merely, but it is a question for the whole nation of India to decide. Sovereignty is indivisible, and when we accept sovereignty, we accept its indivisibility. We cannot divide sovereignty. If we accept that sovereignty cannot be divided, it means that the Kashmir question is not only for Kashmiris to decide, but it is a question for the whole nation, for all the 400 million people to decide. So, it is not only Sheikh Abdullah who can decide it.

Today, he says that the elections have not been held in a fair manner. Then, he asks: 'Who did the accession?'. Then he quotes—I am extremely surprised to hear that—even the Jan Sangh leader, Pandit Premnath Dogra to support his contention that the elections were not fair. But I would like to ask this House whether

any candidate who is defeated—leaving aside the party or the leader of the party—ever says that the elections have been fair. Sheikh saheb quoted him as saying that elections were not fair. He has been elected to the assembly in the same manner as Sheikh Abdullah was elected in 1951. The more surprising thing is this. We decided that we should convene the assembly. We decided that we should settle our future and then although the question was before the Security Council, they were against it. Pakistan did not want it, but Sheikh saheb himself called the National Conference Convention as President of the National Conference, as Prime Minister of the State and as leader of the national party, which is affiliated to the Congress. We decided that we should convene the Assembly and in the Assembly on the 5th of November, 1951, in his own policy speech he gave out so many things; and if you do not mind, I would like to quote his own speech. What he says is this.

**An hon. Member:** Please quote it.

**Shri Abdul Ghani Goni:** Before going to the Assembly, he went to Security Council in 1948 as Leader of the Indian Delegation. In the Security Council, before convening the Convention, he said: The Maharaja had signed the Instrument of Accession legally and constitutionally. Constitutionally he had to sign it; legally he had to sign it; but he had the sanction of the people of Kashmir along with that of Sheikh Abdullah, the then Leader and Prime Minister of the State and President of the National Conference. So he signed the Instrument of Accession.

**An Hon. Member:** What does he say in the Security Council?

**Shri Abdul Ghani Goni:** When he went to the Security Council in 1948 he addressed the Security Council. I am quoting from Sheikh Abdullah's speech in the Security Council. He said:

"We would prove before the Security Council that Kashmir

and the people of Kashmir have lawfully and constitutionally acceded to the Dominion of India, and Pakistan has no right to question that accession."

This is what he said in 1948. This is from his speech in the Security Council. And then when the Assembly was convened on the 5th November, he made a policy speech. I am quoting from the policy speech which he made on the 5th of November. I think it was quoted by somebody earlier, but I want to requote it. He said:

"You are the sovereign authority in the State of Jammu and Kashmir. What you decide has the irrevocable force of law. The basic democratic principle of sovereignty of the nation, embodied ably in the American and French Constitutions, is once again given shape in our midst. I shall quote the famous words of Article 3 of the French Constitution of 1791:

"The source of all sovereignty resides fundamentally in the nation . . . Sovereignty is one and indivisible . . . inalienable and imprescriptible. It belongs to the nation."

And then he said what the Assembly which we convened in 1951 had to do. He said:

"One great task before this Assembly will be to devise a Constitution for the future governance of the country. Constitution making is a difficult and detailed matter. I shall only refer to some of the broad aspects of the Constitution, which should be the product of the labours of this Assembly.

Another issue of vital importance to the nation involves the future of the Royal Dynasty. Your decision will have to be taken both with urgency and wisdom, for on that decision rests the

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future form and character of the State.

The third major issue awaiting your deliberations arises out of the Land Reforms which the Government carried out with vigour and determination . . .”

We introduced land reforms without compensation. We put a ceiling on land holdings and we said that only 22½ acres of land can be held per family or per person. Not more than that. That was the idea and he wanted to get the legal sanction from the Assembly.

Then, he said:

“Finally, this Assembly will after full consideration of the three alternatives that I shall state later, declare its reasoned conclusion regarding accession.”

That means, he has argued in his speech on various issues. Whether we can go to Pakistan, he has argued against it. Whether we can go to India, he has argued for it. Whether we can be an independent country like Switzerland, he has argued against it. Finally he says that it is only India to which we can accede and this Assembly has to give the decision on our future relations with India. So, these were the questions put before the Assembly by Sheikh Abdullah as Prime Minister and as leader of the party which is an affiliated party of the Congress. The same Assembly on 6th February 1954 passed the same thing and the State became constitutionally part of India and the accession to India was confirmed. In 1953 he started on a different tone, probably out of frustration, and economic depression. There was economic depression in that backward State. We were under two rulers. The rest of India was under one ruler, but we

were under two rulers. There were the Britishers; under them was the Maharaja and under Maharaja we

were. गुल म दर गुल म That was the point. He, under some stress and some foreign influence started talking something in a different language. The result was that he was removed from there, removed from the Ministry, dismissed, arrested, and then after some years,—in 1958 he was released and again re-arrested. Now our leaders have thought it proper that this is the time to release him and they released him. But today he puts the arguments which do not sound well to we people, even the backbenchers. I do not know about our leaders, what they think about it. But I will tell you one thing. Sheikh Saheb is being given full opportunities in Kashmir. I met him one day after his release, and actually I thought that he had given some impression to the Central Government and State Government that he is not at least anti-India. So we wanted to welcome him. I wanted to welcome him. I met him and paid my respects. In the evening he was talking in a different language, totally different language. He wanted to be rearrested. He said, nothing to do with India; and he brought at par, Pakistan and India, both. I would request Nandaji to hear his tape-recorded speech. Our great leader, Panditji has also been influenced. Panditji said that the papers have misreported him. What I would like to tell is that the minimum of reporting have been done. Whatever he said, the full records of all that, have not come in the papers. I would like to tell you honestly and sincerely that if necessary measures are not taken now in this regard this backward State, border State will be damaged completely. According to him the radio is not giving a correct record. He has said:

हिन्दुस्तान का रेडियो झूठ का अम्बर है

An hon. Member: Who said?

**Shri Abdul Ghani Goni:** Sheikh Saheb. He said that All-India Radio is a bundle of lies. He said, 'Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is friend of mine and comrade of mine' equalising him to Ayub Kham. He said: जिर गे रही। That is: Morning lamp about to be extinguished. That is what he said. But Panditji says that reports have not been properly reported in the papers. I say this. This congress will go out of power if Kashmir goes out of India. This is my conviction. This country will not tolerate any Government if Kashmir goes away.

**Shri Tyagi (Dehra Daun):** which Government?

**Shri Abdul Ghani Goni:** Central Government. The State Government is a part of the Central Government. I have been feeling it that this Kamaraj Plan has proved to be Yamaraj plan for Kashmir. Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad was there. Nobody could dare to come out of their houses. All these Maulana, Masoodi and Farkhi etc., have come out now and mischievously misguided Shastriji. This Kamaraj Plan has failed in Madras also. In Madras Corporation election, the Congress has lost to the D.M.K. What I would say is this. If Kashmir goes out of India, tomorrow the D.M.K. people will start the agitation. We have no justification not to accede to their demands. A day will come when they will demand for separation from India. If you are going to treat Kashmir like this, this country will not be a great nation and we will be doomed in the international politics. Therefore, precautionary steps must be taken. I have got all respect for you. I tell you Sheikh Abdullah is not Kashmir. There are 40 lakhs of people in Kashmir. The majority of them are for India. There are some sections who are against, just as there are some sections here also who are against us. But the majority of the people of Kashmir are for India. Thank you.

**Shri Badrudduja (Murshidabad):** Mr. Deputy-Speaker, it is after a good deal of hesitation that I am taking part in the debates this afternoon, perchance, any unguarded expression in a moment of irresponsibility, might, instead of soothing troubled waters, complicate the situation further.

The Prime Minister's very seasoned and dignified speech yesterday, with a special emphasis on the solution of the problem of minorities in both the countries, India and Pakistan, his anxious solicitude for a restoration of communal harmony and peace in this much-distracted, much-agitated, much disturbed sub-continent, raise hopes in our drooping minds, foreshadowing as they did the prospect of a brighter turn, hope of a more peaceful and prosperous future in which all classes and communities, all groups and societies will be able to live in peace and amity with honour and security. And the Home Ministers' Conference also struck that happy note. Both the Home Ministers of India and Pakistan were determined to resolve this tangle which has complicated the situation and poisoned the springs of life so far, and postponed the day of the minorities' salvation.

We had been watching for some days the deliberations of the conference. We were very hopeful. But towards the end, there were certain sharp differences of opinion on the question of evictees or infiltrators, as they have been called by both the respective Governments in their ways. The question seemed to torpedo the prospects of a solution for the present.

Sir, I am not here to apportion blame or question the wisdom and sagacity of the Home Ministers. But I will only appeal to our Home Minister to treat this question also as a human problem. We have been very generous to the Eastern Bengal minorities because they are blood of our own blood, the bone of our own bone,



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opened our purse-strings to accommodate them, providing facilities for their relief and rehabilitation. But I would also appeal to the Home Minister through you, Sir, to tackle this human problem in a very sympathetic manner. Statesmanship demands that these two questions, the ticklish question of Assam, and that of Kashmir, must be solved in a statesmanlike fashion.

I am not concerned at the present moment so much with Kashmir because Kashmir is a problem which will be solved by the Indian Government. I am much too small for offering any comments on that question. But I am not very happy over the utterances of Sheikh Abdullah these days, not at all happy, because this Kashmir problem has created complications for sometime, which have had repercussions upon the Mussalmans of India. I want to make it abundantly clear at this stage, any decision—good, bad or indifferent on Kashmir should not in any way be allowed to react upon the Mussalmans of India. We had no hand in the decision which the accession was made and when the Kashmir Government acceded to the Government of India; we had no hand in the decision either, we had no part to play either, when the question was taken to the Security Council and the Government of India committed itself to a plebiscite. We had no hand either when fresh developments took place. When Pakistan refused to withdraw the army and the situation changed and our Government was not prepared to implement the plebiscite, to which it had committed itself. All that I want to impress upon this House is that this Kashmir question should not be allowed to raise further complications which might affect the position of the Mussalmans of India.

As regards the Assamese people, I would only respectfully submit, through you, to the Home Minister to consider the question in all its

bearings, implications and repercussions upon the course of events. This question is fraught with the deepest significance for the minorities on both sides of the border. Therefore, I will request the hon. the Home Minister to take into consideration only one fact, that two census operations took place, one in 1951 and the other in 1961, just before the first census operations in 1951, there had been serious communal disturbances in Assam in 1950 which led to several lakhs of Mussalmans crossing over to Pakistan, and these census operations took place immediately after that. Naturally, therefore, the real number of Muslims in total population was not reflected in the census operations in 1951. Similarly, in 1960, there were also communal riots on the issue of linguistic reorganisation of provinces. Mussalmans even of Dhubri and Goalpara, whose mother tongue is Bengali, lined up with the Government against the Bengali-speaking people for their safety and protection in the hope that the Government would sympathise with them.

Another census operation took place in 1961, which recorded the real number of the Muslims. Meanwhile, during the last ten years, during the decade, Mussalmans who had been to Pakistan, had again come over to India. That accounts for the additional increase of Muslim population in Assam. This is a question for the two Governments to decide.

**Shri Basumatari:** It is not correct.

**Shri Badrudduja:** I am the last man to embarrass the position of the Government in any way. But I will only appeal to the Government to take into consideration this question. Pakistan and India only yesterday were part and parcel of the same geographical unit. Naturally, therefore, there have been deep ties, undissovable bounds, between them, were particularly between East Pakistan and

West Bengal. There are relations, brothers and sisters of citizens of one country in other State. At least during the present generation and the next generation, these relations will remain. Therefore, it is all the more necessary for us to view this human problem from the point of view, of the minority on the other side and the minority on this side.

Let me assure you that I have genuine sympathies for the brethren and sisters in East Pakistan. Let me not be misunderstood. Enlightened self-interest, interest of Muslim minority in India, if not any nobler consideration, demands that we should sympathise with the sufferings, the miseries and distress of our brethren and sisters over there. Some hon. Members were disputing the other day my *bona fides* about the East Bengal minorities. But they will not certainly doubt my genuine feelings and sympathies for Mussalmans of Egypt and Algeria. When Egypt lay prostrate, reeling before the combined might of England and France, we were helpless to give them any shelter or protection or to come to their aid at that juncture. When Algeria was collapsing and bleeding, and was in her last gasps, when nearly a million of Mussalmans were being butchered and massacred, we could not help them, we could not aid them in any shape or form.

Even in our own country, we could not, during the last 17 years, protect the lives and liberties, honour and properties of the Mussalmans. We have not been able either to prevent the colossal devastation of Muslim properties. We have not been able to prevent arson, loot, plunder and massacre of Muslims innocents.

**Shri K. N. Tiwary (Bagaha):** Simply exaggeration.

**Shri Badrudduja:** We have always looked up to the Government for protection and shelter all the time. We are helpless in these matters. I want

to assure this House: if we had any power, we would have solved the problem of the minorities, but we are absolutely helpless in the matter.

Sir, Politicians, the press and the platform have contributed to worsen the situation in both the countries. Wild and reckless statements were made by politicians that more than six thousand Hindu mothers and sisters had not been traced and 20,000 Hindus had been butchered in East Pakistan. The inflammatory speeches of the most provocative character and adverse comments in the press tended to surcharge the whole atmosphere with germs of suspicion and distrust and intense hatred against the Muslim minority in India resulting in horrible scenes of carnage and blood-shed all over the country.

Sir, neither secularism nor socialism nor the concept of socialistic pattern of society has been any safeguard against the repetition of this holocaust.

**Shri K. N. Tiwary:** What happened in Pakistan?

**Shri Badrudduja:** I do not for a single moment say that Pakistan has not committed heinous crimes. I condemn with all emphasis at my command, with all the seriousness at my disposal, the inhuman atrocities that have been perpetrated in the name of civilisation, in the name of culture, in the name of all that is sublime and holy in human conception. So, let me not be misunderstood. I am one of those who have ever pleaded for a better understanding and a deeper reconciliation between communities. I have pleaded for greater Bengal, greater India, happier India, more peaceful and prosperous India in which all classes and communities would be adequately represented, each one contributing, according to his own lights

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and convictions, to the social and cultural evolution of the common motherland. Just a minute, Sir, I would like to find out some papers.

**Shri Shivaji Rao S. Deshmukh** (Parbhani): Is that a letter from Pakistan?

**Shri Badrudduja:** Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, at this delicate stage of minorities on both sides of the border, I would appeal to the majorities on both sides not to complicate the situation by their unnatural sympathies for their brothers and sisters on the other side. These unnatural sympathies have very often served as a real spark for explosion. Flames of communal passions and frenzies would have died out long ago if only the majorities on both sides had exercised a little more patience, a little more restraint, a little more mental poise for some time, as both the honourable Home Ministers have exercised restraint, mental equipoise, in the midst of terrible excitement from all quarters, excitement that has tended to complicate the situation all the more.

The other day a Resolution was passed in this House for mobilising world opinion against the inhuman treatment of minority communities in Pakistan. By all means, mobilise world opinion. I will not, however, go so far. I am not bold enough to mobilise world opinion. I do not venture to mobilise world opinion against the inhuman treatment of the Muslim minority in India. But I would like to mobilise the opinion of all sections of the majority community in India. I will invite the attention of the Government to the sad plight of Mussalmans of India.

I pay my tribute, my appreciation, my gratitude, to the Home Minister of this country, who inspired confidence in the Muslim mind by his firm decision, by his strong action and his generous response to the cry of distress,

by his effective steps and thus prevented the flames from spreading farther.

I do not believe in the Liaquat-Nehru Pact. I have never persuaded myself to believe that the majority in India or Pakistan can protect the minorities in the other State. Neither the majorities nor can the Governments representing the majority communities look after the interests of minority communities in the other State. Pakistan can never protect the Muslim minority in India nor can India protect the Hindu minority in Pakistan. I do not look to Pakistan to protect my interests. Similarly, I would not also like my brothers and sisters in East Pakistan to look to India for protection. I will give you a page from world history. When the Moors of Spain were being driven out of Spain after 800 years of their civilizing career at the instance of Isabella and Ferdinand, the Turks were entering Constantinople and the Mughals in India were in the plenitude of their power; but they could not raise their little finger to help their brethren in Spain. The Muslims of India who constitute an integral part of the nation cannot look up to Pakistan for their security. I appreciate the genuine sympathy of the Government of India for the minorities in Pakistan. Similarly, I would appreciate sympathies from any quarters in the world for the Muslim minority here. But that does not lead to the conclusion that we would look to any other Government in the world for our protection or shelter. My time is limited; otherwise I would have gone into details of this question.

Before I conclude, I will again appeal to the Home Minister to take courage in both hands and not to surrender to forces of darkness and destruction that are let loose in the land to uproot and destroy. Reactionary

forces are fast raising their heads poisoning the atmosphere and thus postponing the day of minorities' salvation. I will appeal to the honourable Prime Minister of India, an inheritor of the great heritage of India, the heritage of Buddha, of Chaitanya, of Nanak and Mahatma Gandhi, or Khwaja Moinuddin Chisty and Mujaddad Alfussany, that brilliant galaxy of stars that shed an ineffable lustre on the cultural and spiritual firmament of India raising India in the estimation of the whole civilized world. The Prime Minister, a man of colossal heart, colossal mind and colossal brain is alone capable of rising to the occasion and holding the scale even between Hindus and Muslims, capable of rising higher and higher till he reaches the full stature and we in the meantime look smaller and smaller till we sink behind that great personality. I was not happy with what Mr. Tariq was just now saying about the question of Kashmir.

**Shri Abdul Ghani Goni:** My name is Goni, not Tariq.

**Shri Badrudduja:** I will appeal to the honourable Prime Minister, who had a great past, great culture and history behind and who made positive contributions to the political and social life of the country in those dark days of British imperialism, shaping and re-shaping, moulding and re-moulding, integrating and re-integrating the dying forces of India to the truck of political and social evolution, creating a new orientation and a new phase of thought, to take courage in both hands and set his foot down on the reactionary forces that are fast raising their head. He has reached the evening of life; the shadows of the evening are fast closing in upon him. But, before he retires, I would appeal to him to solve this problem and go down to history as a faithful mariner who steered his ship across the raging waves of discontent and despair to a safe and hospitable shore.

**श्री राम सहाय पाण्डेय (गुना) :** श्रीमन् मैं श्री नन्दा जी के द्वारा किये गये कार्यों और उनके द्वारा गृह मन्त्रालय का जो विवरण यहाँ उपस्थित किया गया है, उसका समर्थन करता हूँ।

आज हमारा देश जिन परिस्थितियों में से होकर गुजर रहा है और बाहरी और आन्तरिक कारणों से जो संकट के बावजूद मंडरा रहे हैं, उनको देखते हुए हमें बड़ी सतर्कता, साहस, दृढ़ता तथा शक्ति का परिचय देना है, बड़ा गम्भीर मंथन करना है। जिस लक्ष्य की ओर हम सत्तरह बरस से बढ़ रहे हैं वह लक्ष्य है सार्वभौम प्रभुसत्ता की रक्षा, योजना-बद्ध विकास, राष्ट्र निर्माण, समाजवादी जीवन, व्यक्ति को न्याय और सामाजिक तौर पर ऊँचे उठाना। इन सब राष्ट्रीय कर्तव्यों की ओर हम बढ़ रहे हैं। हमें इस बात का भी ध्यान रखना है कि इन लक्ष्यों की पूर्ति के लिए जो कठिनाइयाँ हमारे सामने आयें, जो कांटे हमारे रास्ते में आयें, जो गत्यवरोध पैदा हों, चाहे वे भीषण रूप ही क्यों न धारण करें, उनकी तरफ से सतर्क रहें उनके आगे घुटने न टेक दें बल्कि उनका डट कर मुकाबला करें। काम की देरी, कर्तव्य के प्रति उदासीनता, धन संग्रह की वृत्ति, साम्प्रदायिक उत्तेजना और भ्रष्टाचार जैसी विषम परिस्थितियाँ हमारा गत्यावरोध कर रही हैं। हमारे गृह मन्त्री जी जिस भागीरथ संकल्प को सामने रख कर आगे बढ़ रहे हैं, जो प्रतिज्ञा उन्होंने की है कि वह आन्तरिक शान्ति एवं सुरक्षा को अक्षुण्ण रखेंगे, उसमें वह सफल हों, यही मेरी कामना है। भ्रष्टाचार उन्मूलन के लिए उन्होंने स्पष्ट कहा है कि दो वर्ष में भ्रष्टाचार चला जाएगा और इतना ही नहीं उन्होंने अपनी इस प्रतिज्ञा को दोहराया भी है कि यदि दो वर्ष के भीतर भ्रष्टाचार न गया तो वह समझे कि उनके सार्वजनिक जीवन में कोई कमी है। यह जो संकल्प उन्होंने किया है, इसके लिए मैं उनकी प्रशंसा करता हूँ। आन्तरिक एवं बाह्य परिस्थितियों को

[श्री राम सहाय पाण्डेय]

सामने रख कर जो निर्णय उन्होंने लिये हैं, वे सराहनीय हैं ।

आज सबसे बड़ा प्रश्न हमारे सामने शेख अब्दुल्ला की रिहाई से उत्पन्न हुई समस्या का है । एक राजनीतिक उथल पुथल सी आज देश में मच गई है । उसकी व्यापक प्रतिक्रिया इस देश में हुई है । उनकी रिहाई का हमने स्वागत किया है । इससे अधिक और कौन सी अच्छी बात हो सकती है कि कि प्रधान मन्त्री जी ने एक पत्र भेज कर उनसे कहा है कि वह प्रधान मन्त्री जी से मिलें । उन्होंने कहा है कि पेशतर इसके कि वे श्रीनगर की पहाड़ियों की ओर बढ़ें, वे दिल्ली आयें और उन से बातचीत कर लें । वह पत्र उनको पांच दिन बाद मिला, ऐसा शेख साहब ने कहा है । चूँकि उनको पत्र देर से मिला है, इसलिए वह श्रीनगर की तरफ बढ़ गए हैं और उन्होंने अपना प्रोग्राम पत्र मिलने से पहले ही बना लिया था । शेख अब्दुल्ला को हमने जानबूझ कर रिहा किया है । कारण यह है कि प्रजातन्त्र में हमारा कर्तव्य है कि हम जानें कि कौन व्यक्ति के क्या विचार हैं । दस ग्यारह बरस तक उनको जेल में रखने के बाद यह हमारा कर्तव्य हो जाता था कि हम उन्हें छोड़ें और छोड़ने के बाद यह जानने का प्रयत्न करें कि अब उनके क्या विचार हैं, कितने गहरे पानी में वह हैं । छूटने के बाद उन्होंने जो राग प्रलापना शुरू किया है वह बेमार्के की शहनाई सुनाई देती है । सेल्फ डिटरमिनेशन के नाम पर, जैसा कि हमारे माननीय श्री गोनी साहब ने कहा है शेख अब्दुल्ला काश्मीर समस्या का हल ढूँढना चाहते हैं । वह समझते हैं कि इसका त्रिकोण समाधान हो सकता है, और वह इस तरह से कि एक तरफ तो पाकिस्तान बैठे, दूसरी तरफ काश्मीर और

तीसरी तरफ हमारा देश भारत । यह बात जब उन्होंने कही तो श्री लाल बहादुर शास्त्री जी ने यहां कहा अपने बयान में उनको शेख अब्दुल्ला का बयान देखने के बाद दुःख तथा आश्चर्य हुआ है । उन्होंने यह भी कहा है कि उनको तथा प्रधान मंत्री जी को इस बात का कोई सन्देह नहीं था और उन्होंने जान बुझ कर यह खतरा मोल लिया है । उनके बयानों को देख कर हर एक माननीय सदस्य को आश्चर्य हुआ है । लेकिन मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि एक शेख अब्दुल्ला क्या सैकड़ों शेख अब्दुल्ला यहां आ जायें तो भी जो हमारा फँसला है, जो फँसला एक बार हो चुका है, अजीमूशान फँसला हो चुका है उसको कभी नहीं बदला जा सकता है, वह आखिरी है । काश्मीर कोई एक गांव नहीं है, काश्मीर एक छोटा सा पहाड़ी प्रदेश ही नहीं है, बल्कि बार बार इस सदन में तथा बाहर भी हमने इस बात को स्वीकार किया है, और अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय मंच पर जाने के बाद भी हमने इस बात को स्वीकार किया है, इस बात की घोषणा की है कि काश्मीर हमारा अविभाज्य भाग है, हमारे शरीर का एक हिस्सा है, हमारा रूप है, हमारी प्रभुसत्ता का एक अंग है । इन सब चीजों को हम कई बार दोहरा चुके हैं । इसलिये अगर शेख अब्दुल्ला की रिहाई के बाद कोई खतरा पैदा होगा तो उसका मूकाबला करने के लिये हमें तैयार रहना है । मैं नहीं समझता कि कोई कहकर बरग होने की सम्भावना हो गई है और न इसको कभी हमने स्वीकार किया है । हमने कहा है कि हमारा जो विधान है जिसकी हमने शपथ ली है और राजनीतिक प्रभुसत्ता को स्वकार करते समय हमने इस बात को कहा है कि समूच्य देश, उत्तर से लेकर दक्षिण तक और पूर्व से लेकर पश्चिम तक एक भौगोलिक इकाई है और किसी भी देश के भाग को अलग होने की इजाजत नहीं दी जा सकती है, कोई भी भाग देश से अलग नहीं हो सकता है । इसलिए कोई भी व्यक्ति

हो, किसी भी पहाड़ी प्रदेश के या किसी दूसरे हिस्से के भारत से अलग होने की बात करेगा, उसको हम कभी भी सहन नहीं करेंगे, उसकी इस बात को हम कभी भी स्वीकार नहीं करेंगे और दृढ़तापके साथ उसका हम मूकाबला करेंगे। काश्मीर हमारा है और हमारा रहेगा। शेख साहब कहते हैं कि काश्मीर काश्मीरियों का है और वही उसके भविष्य का फैसला करेंगे। काश्मीर शेख साहब का घर है। इससे कोई इन्कार नहीं करता है। लेकिन काश्मीर ४४ करोड़ भारतीयों का भी घर है। काश्मीर पाकिस्तान का घर नहीं हो सकता है। हमारे सारे देश का वह घर है। उसका सौन्दर्य, उसकी पहाड़ियों का सौन्दर्य उस प्रदेश से प्रवाहित होने वाली नदियों का जल बसा ही है जैसा हमारे शरीर में हमारा रक्त प्रवाहित होता है और उसका सौन्दर्य हमारा सौन्दर्य है। काश्मीर हमारा रूप है और हम काश्मीर के रूप हैं। उसको पहाड़ियों के सौन्दर्य की छटा से कोई इन्कार नहीं कर ता है। यह हमारी संस्कृति का एक अंग है। हमारा अविभाज्य अंग है। जितनी भी भावनात्मक बातें हैं उनको हम स्वीकार करते हैं।

अभी श्री बदरदुजा साहब ने कहा है कि उन्हें काश्मीर में जो कुछ हो रहा है, उसके सम्बन्ध में कुछ नहीं कहना है। असम में जो कुछ हो रहा है, उससे उनकी चिन्ता है। उन्होंने यह भी कहा है कि इस देश के मुसलमानों की उनकी चिन्ता है। उनको इस देश के मुसलमानों की चिन्ता है या नहीं है, हमें मालुम नहीं लेकिन हमको इस देश के मुसलमानों की बड़ी चिन्ता है। जब तक कांग्रेस का शासन, कांग्रेस की हुकूमत रहेगी, एक एक मुसलमान की सुरक्षा का पूरा प्रबन्ध होगा। यह दावा हमने बार बार किया है। हम उनकी रक्षा करेंगे।

श्री गोलवलकर जी ने जो कुछ कहा है, अब मैं आपका ध्यान . . . . . (अन्तर्बाधा)

Shri Bade (Khargone): One a point of order. Golwalkar is not here. Why should he take his name?

श्री राम सहाय पाण्डेय : वह यहां नहीं हैं, उनकी किताब तो यहां है। उनके दर्शन . . . . .

श्री अशोक लाल बेरवा (कोटा) : उनके दर्शन हम रोज करते हैं, आप कीजिये अब।

श्री राम सहाय पाण्डेय : उन्होंने कहा है कि जिस नेशन . . . . .

श्री अशोक लाल बेरवा : उनका नाम नहीं लेना चाहिये। वह यहां हाजिर नहीं हैं (इंटरप्रांज)

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: He is only quoting him.

Shri K. C. Sharma (Sardhana): Golwalkar is a school of thought.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: He is only quoting from his book, what objection can there be to it?

Shri Bade: If he is quoting, let him quote the full text, not some portion.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I do not think, when a book is published, that he should not read from it.

श्री राम सहाय पाण्डेय : मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि हमारा देश एक धर्म निरपेक्ष देश है। हम हर धर्मावलम्बी वर्ग को अपने देश में रक्षा करना चाहते हैं। चाहे कोई सिख हो, ईसाई हो, मुसलमान हो, पारसी हो, किसी भी सम्प्रदाय अथवा धर्म को मानने वाला हो, हमारी धर्म निरपेक्ष सरकार ने तथा हम सब ने कहा है और इसको स्वीकार किया है कि हम सब का आदर करेंगे, सभी की रक्षा करेंगे, सभी को अपने अपने धर्म पर चलने की पूरी स्वतन्त्रता देंगे इसलिए श्री बदरदुजा की बात के प्रतिक्रियास्वरूप मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि यह चिन्ता हमारी है। एक और बात मैं कह देना चाहता हूं। न सिर्फ हमें यहां के मुसलमानों की चिन्ता है बल्कि यहां के अल्पसंख्यक मुसलमानों के लिए

[श्री राम सहाय पाण्डेय]

हमने अपने प्रेम और सनेह का हाथ पाकिस्तान को भी बढ़ाया है, अच्छा व्यवहार और बर्ताव उसके साथ भी किया है और वह भी तब जब श्री लियाकत अली खान मूटठी दिखाते थे और जब अयूब और भुट्टो साहब बड़ी गर्म गर्म बातें करते हैं। हम यह जानते हैं कि उनकी जो बातें हैं वे पानी के बूलबूलों के समान हैं जो उठते हैं और खत्म हो जाते हैं। उनकी तरफ से जो कम्यूनल फखर पैदा किया जाता है वह तहजीब और इखलाक के खिलाफ है, इंसानी जज्बात के खिलाफ जाता है, इंसानियत के खिलाफ जाता है। इंसानी इतिहाद और इतिहास की बात की जानी चाहिये। हमें पूरा पूरा एहसास है इस बात का कि हमने एक सैक्यूलर स्टेट के सिद्धान्त को स्वीकार किया है।

मैं चाहता हूँ कि उस का निर्वाह हो और उन में श्री बदरुद्दजा जैसे साथियों से भी, जो हमारे सदन के सदस्य हैं, मैं आशा करता हूँ कि वे हमारी सहायता करें, हर एक मुसलमान जो यहाँ है, वह इस बात को कहे कि चाहे जैसा सवाल आये हिन्दुस्तान और पाकिस्तान का, सब से पहले वह भारतीय है। उस के बाद वह मुसलमान है। यह आश्रयान में श्री बदरुद्दजा से चाहता हूँ। हाँ इस किताब में जिस कान नाम है "हवाई ए' हिन्दू राष्ट्र" वाई गोलवलकर। उस में लिखा हुआ है कि जो हिन्दू नहीं है उस को इस देश में नागरिकता का कोई अधिकार नहीं होना चाहिये। यह कहना देश के सेकुलर सिद्धांत के विरुद्ध है।

श्री ओंकार लाल बेरवा : जो उस की सम्परा के अनुसार नहीं चलेगा उसे कोई अधिकार नहीं है।

श्री कछवाय (देवास) : इस के आगे भी पढ़ कर सुनाइए। पूरा पढ़ कर सुनाइए कि इस में क्या लिखा हुआ है।

श्री ओंकार लाल बेरवा : उसे पूरा पढ़िये।

श्री राम सहाय पाण्डेय : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, आप की आज्ञा से मैं इस किताब को सदन की टेबल पर रखना चाहता हूँ।

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: We are not accepting any..... (Interruptions).

श्री राम सहाय पाण्डेय : अभी काश्मीर में हजरतबल की घटना हुई। लेकिन उस की प्लानिंग पाकिस्तान में हुई। पाकिस्तान के एजेंट जो कि काश्मीर में हजारों की तादाद में बैठे हुए हैं उन्होंने उस को शुरू किया। (Interruptions). उनका उद्देश्य था कि पाकिस्तान में साम्प्रदायिक झगड़े होने का कारण उपस्थित हो। यह इस से सिद्ध होता है कि पूर्वी पाकिस्तान में झगड़े हुए। जब वहाँ झगड़े हुए तो उसी समय सिक्योरिटी कौंसिल में हमारे भुट्टो साहब केस ले गए, इस बात को बतलाने के लिये हमारे और पाकिस्तान के सम्बन्ध अच्छे नहीं हैं। इस के सम्बन्ध में श्री मु० क० चागला ने जो उत्तर दिया वह मुह तोड़ उत्तर था। उन्होंने बहुत ठीक उत्तर दिया। हमें देखना है कि ऐसी माजिशें आगे न बढ़ सकें।

११ लाख पाकिस्तानी असम, बिहार और बंगाल में आ गये। लाखों अदमियों के पास पासपोर्ट नहीं हैं, विजाज खरम हो चुके हैं। इस के सम्बन्ध में पूरा इन्वेस्टिगेशन होना चाहिये। जैसा श्री नन्दा को पता है कि जब वे स्वयंम् असम गए तो पाया कि पाकिस्तान के डिप्टी हाई कमिश्नर का आफिस उनके गुप्तचर विभाग का एक अड्डा बना हुआ है। जहाँ दो राष्ट्रों का सम्बन्ध हो, यदि एक राष्ट्र का नागरिक दूसरे राष्ट्र में सीमोल्लंघन करता है और उस के पास पासपोर्ट और बीजा नहीं है, जब ऐसे लोगों की तादाद ११ लाख पहुँच गई हो, तब मैं समझता हूँ कि एक आश्वासन गृह मंत्री जी की तरफ से होना चाहिये कि किस तिथि तक वे उन को देश से निकाल बाहर करेंगे। उन के प्रति कोई रियायत करने की आवश्यकता नहीं

है। अगर कोई पाकिस्तानी यहां हो और उस के पास बीजा न हो, अधिकारपत्रक न हो, तो उस को यहां से भगा देना चाहिये, निकाल देना चाहिये। हमें उन को खदेड़ देना चाहिये क्योंकि आज तो काश्मीर की बात है कल किसी दूसरी हमारी सीमा पर वे रिफ-रेंडम और सेल्फ डिटेर्मिनेशन की बात कर सकते हैं। उन का इरादा साफ नहीं है, उन का मन साफ नहीं है। इस लिये यह राजनीतिक खतरा आ सकता है। मैं माननीय मंत्री जी से निवेदन करूंगा कि वे इस सम्बन्ध में सख्त से सख्त कदम उठावें।

हमारे यहां दो लाख के करीब शरणार्थी आ गये। हमारी सरकार ने बड़ी तत्परता से श्री नन्दा की प्रेरणा से इस काम को किया। लेकिन जो कैम्प बनाये गये और वहां जब उन लोगों के ठहरने की व्यवस्था की गई, यद्यपि यह काम पुनर्वास मंत्रालय का है लेकिन मैं गृह मंत्री जी से निवेदन करना चाहता हूं कि वहां जब यह लोग आ कर बसे तो साम्प्रदायिक संस्थाओं ने उस का राजनीतिक लाभ लेने की बात सोची। वहां जा कर वे उन्होंने तरह तरह की कांकाकटेड स्टोरीज बना कर एक तरह का साम्प्रदायिक वातावरण पैदा करने की कोशिश की। मैं सरकार को बतलाना चाहता हूं कि इस देश को दो तरफ से खतरा है। एक खतरा तो कम्यूनिस्टों में है जो प्रेरणा लेते हैं चीन और मास्को से और दूसरा आन्तरिक खतरा है यहां के सम्प्रदायवादी कम्यूनिस्टों से। वे कैम्पों में जाते हैं और हिन्दू धर्म के नाम पर, गोलवलकर जी के नाम पर धधकती आग में घी डाल कर स्वाहा स्वाहा करते हैं। (Interruptions). हमारी आन्तरिक सुरक्षा के लिये यह आवश्यक है कि हम ऐसी ऐसी सम्प्रदायवादी संस्थाओं के प्रति जागरूक रहें, सुरक्षा के काम में दृढ़ता से काम लें। हमारे प्रजातन्त्र को कड़ा खतरा है। हमें पाकिस्तान से उतना खतरा नहीं है, शेष अब्दुल्ला से उतना खतरा नहीं है, हमें

गोलवलकर से खतरा है। (Interruptions). हमें गोलवलकर के अनुयायियों से खतरा है (Interruptions). जो साम्प्रदायिकता को राजनीतिक रूप देना चाहते हैं। इस बात की बड़ी आवश्यकता है कि हम ऐसी कम्यूनल संस्थाओं को, साम्प्रदायिक संस्थाओं को, जैसे आर०एस० एस०, जन संघ, गोलवलकर की संस्था, हिन्दू महासभा, बैन कर देना चाहिये अगर आप चाहते हैं कि आन्तरिक सुरक्षा रहे। हमारा प्रजातन्त्र बड़ी भारी चीज है। वी आर वेडेड टु डिमोन्स्ट्री। हमें उसकी रक्षा करना आवश्यक है। इस लिये इन संस्थाओं को बैन कर दिया जाय, बैन कर दिया जाये, बैन कर दिया जाय। (Interruptions).

श्री बड़े : आप को जन संघ ही बचायेगा।

Shri M. R. Masani (Rajkot): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I hope that after these exciting exchanges, we may turn to some topics of less excitement, perhaps of more light. While on the subject of light, in a free society, it is important that the people should know the truth and that no obstruction should be put in the way of their knowing what is happening whether in their country or elsewhere and of knowing of what goes on in the political life of our country.

Now, Sir, there are two separate issues about which I would like to talk this afternoon. But, both relate to the right of the people to know the truth. The first subject, Sir, is about Shri Dange's letter in our National Archives which have become a subject-matters of controversy recently and the other is the banning of a book, Peking Vs. Delhi by Mr. George Patterson. In regard to both these matters, I have criticism to make of our Home Ministry's handling of these affairs.

The Home Minister, in response to a request made that the people of India should know whether these letters alleged to be written by Shri



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Dange are or are not authentic, has taken the line that there is no occasion for Government to examine whether these letters are genuine or not. I say with all respect—this appears to me to be an evasion of duty on the part of the Government to leave the people in the dark as to whether these are authentic documents or not. This is something which concerns a leader of a political party which, in other countries, is banned as subversive or disruptive but, to which, our Government gives full liberties and all facilities. This party has denounced these documents as a forgery attributed either to the British Government or the present Government of India. It is necessary for the Government to establish the veracity of these documents by proper handwritten or other evidence and then to guide the people about its veracity.

Now the facts are briefly these as is evidenced by the file. The story starts before the launching of the Kanpur prosecution. Col. Kaye, the Director of the Intelligence Bureau, commenting on the question whether Shri Dange should be prosecuted or not writes on the 27th July, 1923 the following.

"All information about him (Mr. Dange) reaches the same conclusion—that he is personally a mere worm; and this does support the belief that he is not worth powder and shot."

He then refers to Dange's confession of personal cowardice. I think a severe official talking to by someone in authority—not a police authority—will probably frighten Dange very effectively; he is quite obviously very nervous already."

15 hrs.

On the same side, against prosecution comes Mr. Montgomery, the Home

Secretary of the Bombay Government, on the 3rd August, 1923. He says, he, that is Mr. Dange "is one of the most fruitful sources of information as to Bolshevist activities. "So, both these officers advised against Mr. Dange's prosecution. However, the decision was to the contrary. The Kanpur prosecution case was launched and he was convicted.

Then there are four chapters in this story. The first is of 25th May, 1924, when Mr. Dange wrote a letter to the District Magistrate, Kanpur, from Sitapur jail. He says that the climate is either too hot or too cold in these parts, the language is not his, and he would like to be interviewed by his people. Could he be transferred to Bombay? On the 25th July, 1924, the Government's decision is made that there should be no transfer till after the appeal had been disposed of. That is the first chapter.

The second chapter is that Mr. Dange and Nalini Bhushan Das Gupta, a fellow-prisoner, write to the District Magistrate on the 7th July, 1924, expressing their readiness to give an undertaking not to commit any more offences and requesting their release, and they say "we are undergoing suffering, we cannot sustain." Again, the application is forwarded to Delhi, and on the 11th August 1924, the Government's reply is given that they are prepared to take the petition into consideration pending appeal.

Then comes the controversial chapter, the third one. This time, Mr. Dange separately forwards to the Governor-General a petition dated 28th July 1924, and in that petition, he makes that objectionable offer to serve as an intelligence agent. Mr. Dange refers to a conversation with the Deputy Commissioner of Police in Bombay, Mr. Stewart: "Mr. Stewart said: 'You hold an exceptionally influential position in certain circles here and abroad. Government would be glad if this position would be of some use to them.' I

think I still hold that position. Rather it has been enhanced by the prosecution. If your Excellency is pleased to think that I should use that position for the good of Your Excellency's Government and the country, I should be glad to do so, if I am given the opportunity by Your Excellency granting my prayer for release."

Now, this letter is the one that has been claimed as a forgery by Mr. Dange and those who support his point of view. Then, that letter was forwarded. On that, on the 26th September, 1924, the Home Secretary in Delhi makes a noting: "This is interesting and rather amusing." On the 1st October, 1924,—Dange's letter to the Governor-General-in-Council—the appeal—is rejected and relief is not given. Then, finally, on the 16th November, 1924, comes the fourth communication, another letter to the Governor-General, asking for a remission of sentence. This too is rejected.

Now, Mr. Dange's claim regarding the last two letters is that the signature has been spelt with a T and not a D, and that therefore, these two letters, where there come the objectionable offer, which was rejected, are not authentic.

In the light of this, the question arises—either these papers are genuine or they are fabrications as Mr. Dange claims.

All the circumstantial evidence, the notes on them, the jail stamp and the handwriting generally, seem to show that these letters are authentic. But I think we have to be judicial and fair in this matter. We should not be left to making our own guesses. I think it is right, fair to Mr. Dange and fair to the people of this country, that the truth should be established: whether these letters claimed to be a forgery were fabrications or authentic. Why does the Home Minister, who was approached and has given this reply in writing to me, evade this obligation? Can it be his desire

to shelter Mr. Dange? Is it an appreciation of that bogus nationalism which passed that pseudo-patriotic resolution of October-November, 1962, in the face of opposition within his own party? Are we trying to placate Mr. Khrushchev by protecting his man? These are questions that do arise.

A local journal in Delhi—*Thought*—says that Mr. Nanda "cannot be happy at any harm being done to 'friendly' Mr. Dange." This is not the kind of suspicion that we, who want to have our public life above suspicion, should tolerate. If we do not face the issue, if we evade our obligations in ascertaining the truth in this matter then these fears will be expressed. I do not mind saying that, for a year or two now, there are people in the INTUC who have been complaining that Mr. Nanda, as Labour Minister, was too friendly to Mr. Dange and the Communist Party. This evasion of responsibility would strengthen that suspicion and I therefore urge that the Home Minister and the Home Ministry face their obligations and, by handwriting evidence and other expertise, ascertain whether these signatures that Mr. Dange says are not his, these handwritten letters in his own hand, are genuine or are not genuine. We should all keep an open mind on this question. This is a matter that concerns the country and not just one political party.

I come to another issue, which is the issue of the banning of a book recently which is entitled *Peking vs. Delhi* by Mr. George N. Patterson.

**An Hon. Member:** How did you get it?

**Shri M. R. Masani:** I will explain. It is a pity that it is necessary to protest against the banning of books in our country. We claim to be a democracy. Our Constitution provides for freedom of expression and writing. I would concede to the Government, that by and large our re-

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cord in regard to the banning of the books is not too bad. But there are occasional lapses and this is the latest of them, and therefore, it becomes necessary to protest. I think every lapse from the correct path sets a bad pattern. It sets a bad habit. Although it may not be very important whether a particular book is read, or not, if the habit or pattern is set, then our democracy gets eaten up slowly but surely.

I thought it was past the time when people were treated like children; we are a grown-up people and a grown-up nation and particularly, the class of people who read books like this, in English and understand these books. It is not the class that is going to be led away into any tragic thing by reading the book. The banning of such books makes us, or gives us, two results. At home, it creates some interest in the book and, as in this case, these books are available. When people want to read the book, they get it. This book is available in all the leading cities of India today in spite of the ban. Similarly, the book *Rama re-told* by Aubrey Menon and *Lotus and Robot* by Arthur Koestler which were also banned, have been read by me and several of my friends in India without any difficulty. It does create greater curiosity about the book but it has a more limited circulation. Abroad, it brings the country into ridicule. Our country becomes a laughing-stock. We do not stop the rest of the world from reading this book or any other book which is banned here. The Chinese are not going to be denied the evidence, whatever the book contains. Only our people are denied this.

Why is this book banned is the question that arises. Since January 10, I have been requesting the Home Minister to tell me why this book is banned: either to lift the ban or to give some reason. I am sorry to say that till this date, in spite of all my efforts privately, I have failed to get

any indication as to why this book was banned. Otherwise, I would not have brought this matter up in this House. I know that in the last two weeks he has been busy with things of greater import and matters which are of a much more tragic nature. But from January up to now is a long time, and now that this is a matter of public interest, let it be publicly argued.

The Another is a very serious scholar on the Himalayan region and Tibet. He has spent more time in Tibet and the Himalayas than any living Indian today. He has written two previous books, *Tragic Destiny* and *Tibetan Revolt*. I do not mind telling you that by reading this banned book I have learnt a lot about our border areas and about Tibet. I am sure other hon. Members would benefit also.

**An Hon. Member:** What is the name of the book.

**Shri M. R. Masani:** The name of the book is *Peking vs. Delhi*, by George N. Patterson, published by Faber and Faber, one of Britains well-known publishers.

**Shri Shivaji Rao S. Deshmukh:** How did he get it?

**Shri M. R. Masani:** That does not matter.

**An Hon. Member:** Is he prepared to circulate it?

**Shri M. R. Masani:** I am sure the hon. Home Minister would learn a lot about our border States like Bhutan, Sikkim and Nepal by reading this book.

**Shri Sham Lal Saraf** (Nominated Jammu and Kashmir): May I ask whether he is in possession of a proscribed book now?

**Shri M. R. Masani:** Oh, yes. When books are proscribed, people get them into the country and one reads them because it is one's duty as an intellec-

tual to read those books. I have found this book very educative about Tibet, Bhutan, Sikkim and Nepal. The facts there are worth reading. They are not tendentious. These are facts that we should know.

Now, let me read two or three reviews about it from Indian and other sources. In the *Times of India* Girilal Jain writes:

"It is a notable book because as far as I am aware this is the first time that fairly detailed information on Sino-Indian relations in general, developments in Tibet and on the Sino-Indian border and the Himalayan States of Nepal, Bhutan and Sikkim is available under one cover."

**Dr. M. S. Aney** (Nagpur): Is it after ban or before?

**Shri M. R. Masani:** He goes on to say, "One wonders if that is sufficient justification for banning the book. The Government of India seems to have made it a habit of banning books." In the *Radical Humanist*, Professor Shibnarayan Ray writes:

"It is an important book which should be widely read and discussed in India. From a recent report from London, however, it seems that the book, for some obscure reason, has been banned in India. If this is true, it is certainly a wrong decision and does no credit to Indian democracy."

The *Times Literary Supplement*, London, one of the highest literary authorities gives it front page coverage and says:

"Mr. Patterson's great contribution has been to put down on paper his views on the Himalayan crisis in the light of his wide experience in the recent affairs of Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan and to attempt to relate Chinese Himalayan policy to the present realities of Himalayan politics...."

There can be no doubt, for example, that *Peking Versus Delhi* contains the best description of the modern history of that feudal anachronism, Bhutan, which has yet appeared.

Mr. Patterson has not himself found such a policy; but he at least is looking. In this sense *Peking Versus Delhi* is a very important book."

Is this the kind of book that we should ban and prevent our people from reading?

I shall be asked then, why is this banned? I do not know. Since the Home Minister would not oblige, I shall make some guesses. I shall ask him certain questions so that he can reply to them. Can it be that this book has been banned because of the criticism of appeasement of Communist China, which has brought defeat and humiliation to our country on the part of our Prime Minister? Can it be the regret expressed in the book of the poor understanding shown of Communist China by our Prime Minister and the members of our Government and of the betrayal of Tibet? On page 17 of the book, the author criticises our Prime Minister's Government for suppressing information in the possession of the Government from the people, a charge that many of us have made in this House. On pages 177 to 189, he condemns the bungling on the part of our administration in Nagaland. On pages 274 and 276, he comes to this conclusion which is as follows:

**Shri Sinhasan Singh** (Gorakhpur): On a point of order, Sir. The book has been proscribed. Can it be referred to in Parliament page after page? What is the sanctity of the proscription if the book is referred to here and quoted?

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** There is no point of order. He criticises the attitude of the Government. There is nothing wrong in that.

**Shri K. C. Sharma:** The point is that an offence has been committed. Is this a sanctuary where offence can be committed with impunity, as the possession of the book is an offence in itself?

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy:** The only offence committed is that you have interrupted him.

**Shri M. R. Masani:** The possession of the book is not an offence. The import of the book under customs regulations is the offence and that is not being committed at the moment.

**Shri Sinhasan Singh:** My point of order is.....

**Shri M. R. Masani:** I do not yield any more, Sir.

**Shri Harish Chandra Mathur (Jalore):** When a point of order is raised, he must yield.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** I have held there is no point of order.

**Shri M. R. Masani:** The author says:

"Right from the beginning of their relationship, Peking has deliberately exploited and almost certainly without exception outwitted Delhi in the contest for leadership in Asia."

Two pages later he says:

"Meanwhile India has been completely isolated and Delhi seems paralysed in the face of the Chinese political offensive, restricted to sending protest notes or requestes for further talks."

Then on page 283.....

**The Minister of State in the Ministry of Home Affairs (Shri Hathi):** I do not want to interrupt the hon. Member. I would only read out the notification issued by the Government of India. Mr. Masani said that only importing it is banned. For his benefit and for the information of the

House I will read out the notification issued by the Government:

"Whereas in the opinion of the Central Government, the book entitled *Peking Versus Delhi* by George N. Patterson and published by Faber and Faber Limited, London, contains prejudicial reports as defined in clause 7 of rule 35 of the Defence of India Rules, 1962,

Now, therefore, in exercise of the powers conferred by Rule 45 of the Defence of India Rules, 1962, the Central Government hereby—

(a) prohibits further sale or distribution of the said book or any extract therefrom or any translation thereof and declares that the said book and every copy or translation thereof or extract therefrom to be forfeited to Government; and

(b) directs every person possessing any copy of the said book to deliver the same to the local police authority."

**Shri K. C. Sharma:** So, it is an offence to possess the book.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** You need not read from that book. You can criticise the attitude of the Government. But I would not allow you to read from that book.

**Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya (Raiganj):** After what the State Minister of Home Affairs has stated, that book ought to be forfeited at once.

**Shri M. R. Masani:** I bow to your ruling Sir; I will not read further from it.

**Shri R. S. Pandey:** Whatever quotations were given by Mr. Masani should be expunged from the record.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** They shall be expunged. (*Interruptions*).

**Shri M. R. Masani:** No, Sir, I do not accept it.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** Under what rule are they expunged, Sir?

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** It is a book which has been proscribed. I allowed him to criticise the attitude of the Government. But I cannot allow him to read from that book.

**Shri M. R. Masani:** I have stopped reading.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Whatever has been read shall be expunged.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** On a point of order Sir. Under rule 380...

**Shri P. R. Chakraverti (Dhanbad):** I have been standing for 5 minutes. I rise on a point of order.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** Before him, I have risen on a point of order.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Order, order. When I am on my legs, hon. Members should sit down. Mr. Chakraverti will kindly resume his seat. Mr. Kamath has raised a point of order.

**Shri P. R. Chakraverti:** Five minutes earlier, I had risen.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** I did not see you. I have allowed him and I will hear him first.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** Rule 380 says:

"If the Speaker is of opinion that words have been used in debate which are defamatory or indecent or unparliamentary or undignified he may, in his discretion, order that such words be expunged from the proceedings of the House."

The words used by my hon. colleague, Shri Masani, are neither defamatory nor indecent nor unparliamentary nor undignified. Under what rule have you ordered the expunction of those words from the proceedings?

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The Chair has got inherent powers to prevent abuse of any power. This is from a proscribed book and he has read from that proscribed book. It cannot form part of the proceedings.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** In all humility, may I submit that the Chair has not got powers beyond rule 380 to expunge whatever it likes?

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The Chair has inherent powers to do the correct thing. I cannot agree with the hon. Member (*Interruptions*).

**Shri Ranga (Chittoor):** What is your authority, Sir?

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Under the inherent powers that the Chair has, I can do it.

**Shri Ranga:** You must quote something from the rules. You cannot do it without there being any provision in the rules. The Chair has no authority whatsoever except what is stated in the rules.

श्री हुकम चन्द कछवाय : इन शब्दों को कार्यवाही से निकालने से संविधान की हानि होगी।

**An hon. Member:** You cannot abrogate the rules (*Interruptions*).

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** I will look into matter and decide.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** That means they are not expunged now, and your order is rescinded for the time being.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** For the time being it is.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** Let the reporters note that they are not expunged.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** I will look into the matter and give a decision.

**Shri P. R. Chakraverti:** Sir, when the Government proscribes something and definite rules and directives are issued, can any hon. Member use

[Shri P. R. Chakraverti]

that proscribed book in Parliament? I, therefore, suggest that all these proceedings should be expunged.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** I have asked him not to quote from that book. He has agreed to do that. There is no point of order.

**Shri Radhelal Vyas (Ujjain):** Sir, the book is here on the floor of the House. It should not be left there. I request you kindly to take it into your possession.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Order, order. Shri Masani may continue his speech.

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy:** Sir, he has agreed not to quote from that book. But I want one clarification. It relates to your earlier order. I want to know whether we are not permitted to bring proscribed books and quote from them. I think we are free to quote them. If at all any action is to be taken, it would be taken by the Government outside this House. We can bring any matter we like provided, as has been pointed out just now, it is not undignified or defamatory and things like that. If the Press publishes from the quotations given here, it is their responsibility. But so far as the House is concerned, I think he is free to quote from any book he likes unless it infringes our rules.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** I do not agree with the hon. Member. This is a law-making body, and whatever is done in this House must be constitutional and lawful. Nothing can be quoted from a proscribed book.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** May I Sir, in all humility, bring to your notice another aspect of the matter? Suppose we want to persuade the Government and to convince the Government that their action has been wrong, then we are within our rights to bring and read from the book here so that they may withdraw their order.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The hon. Member can take it up with the Government.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** This is the forum where we can take it up with the Government.

**Shri M. R. Masani:** Sir, I did not take an opportunity to speak on the point of order raised on your ruling. May I before resuming my speech draw your attention to rule 380. I would like to be quite clear that I am speaking on the basis of rule 380 being respected and what I have said so far not being touched in the records of this House. It is on that basis I am continuing; otherwise I would like to be excused from carrying on with this public duty.

I am really shocked at the spirit shown by some hon. Members which seems to show a "slave mentality." I have mentioned that from January, 10, I have been trying by correspondence with my hon. friend, Shri Nanda, to get him either to withdraw the ban, the shameful ban on this book, or to let me know, at least privately, what is wrong with it. From January 10, I have been patiently waiting sending him reminders. My hon. friend the Deputy Home Minister sitting opposite knows that a week ago I said to him that I would not like to raise this matter on the floor if he would kindly get a decision taken. He too failed to get a decision taken one way or the other. What other alternative is left to anyone who wants to preserve liberties in this country but to come to this high court of Parliament and raise it? I feel, Sir, that the attitude of certain hon. Members amounts to throttling me in the pursuit of my public service in this country.

This is a chapter that brings no credit on this Government. They have banned a book which will be good for every scholar on this subject in India to read. It is a book that brings us education on the rea-

lities that surround us on our frontiers, and just because it makes a perfectly legitimate and restrained criticism, which I am trying to read to this House, against the shameful record of the failure of our Prime Minister in dealing with the affairs of this country, is this book to be banned?

After all, Acharya Kripalani, my friend Shri Jaiprakash Narain, Dr. Lohia and I have said much harsher things about the Prime Minister in this House and outside. If a scholar on the subject shows us by documentary proof that our Government has been made a complete fool of by Chou En-lai, is that a reason for banning the book?

And who are we fooling? Are the Chinese not going to read the book and benefit by it? Is the whole world not reading it today? Has it not been reviewed on the front page of the *Times Literary Supplement*? Who are we trying to fool? Only ourselves. We are trying to put blinkers on our eyes so that we may go on believing that we are on the right path when we are not. It is only one more example of that self-righteousness which our Prime Minister quite rightly denounced yesterday, when I had the honour to say "hear, hear" to him. This is an example of self-righteousness, putting on coloured glasses and saying that nobody dare criticise us in the world. We might be tin pot dictators in our own country, but the world is not going to stand for it. Our name is sullied when we do these things.

There is another book which is now coming out and I want to ask the Home Minister about it. It is called "Study of the Border Question" by Professor Lamb. Professor Lamb is one of the foremost scholars, like Mr. Patterson, on these areas. He has written a book called *Study of the Border Question* which, unfortunately for us, does not see eye to eye with our Government's position on the frontier dispute. It is published by the Royal Institute of International Affairs, Chatham House,

one of the most esteemed and distinguished learned societies of the world. Are we going to ban it? Are we going to again make a laughing stock of ourselves?

Who are we to tell the people of India what they shall read or not? Who are these men, these semi-literate men, to tell the people of India whether they should read a book or not? If they have no time to read high class books, why should they stop others from reading such books? (*Interruption*).

**Shri Sinhasan Singh:** Sir, is "semi-literate" parliamentary?

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Order, order.

**Shri M. R. Masani:** Sir, it is possible that the Home Minister and his colleagues are not interested in knowing the facts about our dispute with China. It is possible that they want us to lose Sikkim and Bhutan one after the other, by their follies. Are the rest of the country to sit tight and see this country dragged to ruin as is being done by our Government today?

15.28 hrs.

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair]

Therefore, if you want the people of India to know the facts—and our Constitution says that the fact shall be known—then I say that this ban on this book is an outrage on our Constitution. Article 19 of the Constitution simply lays down certain reasonable restrictions. The reasonable restrictions can be on one of the following three grounds: One is the security of the State. Is it suggested that the security of the Indian Republic is endangered because a high level study of our dispute with China, which is anti-China, pro-Tibetan and pro-India, is read by our people? Can any man in his senses misuse in this way the authority given to him by the Constitution? I say the Home Minister has misused his authority. That is why from January to now he could not give an honest reply. He does not know the reply yet. No doubt, he will fabricate a reply by tomorrow.



**Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya:** Sir, Shri Masani just now called us semi-literate men. Will you kindly tell him not to waste his words on these semi-literate people?

**Shri M. R. Masani:** I referred only to those who banned the book and not to the hon. Member. I know he is highly educated, as good as myself.

The point that I was making was this, that the security of the State is not going to be endangered by people in this country reading a book. The whole point of the book is that the Chinese are aggressors, that the Chinese Communists are bandits, that they destroyed the liberty of the people of Tibet, for whom Mr. Patterson has a special affection, and the only criticism of us is that we do not know our real interests and, in trying to placate the Chinese, we betrayed and sacrificed the poor people of Tibet.

**Shrimati Yashoda Reddy:** Sir, or a point of order. Just now the hon. Member has said or asked "who is this Government to ban this book?" My point is the hon. Member can question the discretion of Government in the case of any particular book and say this particular book should not have been banned for any reason. But can he question the right of the Government themselves to ban the books? Because, they have the right and discretion to ban any book. So, he cannot ask "who is this government to ban this book?"

**Mr. Speaker:** It is his peculiar way of putting it that it has been done wrongly.

**Shrimati Yashoda Reddy:** He should put it in a better way.

**Shri M. R. Masani:** I am too old to learn from the esteemed young lady Member how to speak in this House. She will have to put up with me as I speak since my constituents have been mistaken enough to think that I should speak in this manner.

There are three purposes only for which a book can be banned. One is

the security of the State. I have made out that there can be no question of the security of the State being endangered by a book, the very title of which is *Delhi versus Peking*, which goes to make out that Peking is wrong and Delhi is right, which praises our Prime Minister, which even praises our policy of non-alignment, with which I am in extreme disagreement. Therefore, I have no reason to agree with every word in this book; I have to disagree with many parts of this book; for instance, when Mr. Patterson praises or applauds the policy of non-alignment, he is wrong. But is that a reason for banning the book? That is the question I am asking. Therefore, it is quite obvious that a book which is anti-Communist China and pro-Tibet and pro-India cannot endanger the security of the State.

The second argument can be that the book offends against friendly relations with a foreign State. That is the second reasonable restriction under article 19. Which friendly State does this book endanger our relations with? Not Tibet; only Communist China. Is that a friendly government? I ask again: is it a friendly government? We are at semi-war with that Government and, but for the weakness of the Prime Minister, we should have officially declared war with them. *De facto* we are at war with Communist China. Therefore, it cannot endanger the friendly relations with a friendly country. The second argument does not apply to this book. I hope it does not, and I hope it is not as an act of appeasement of Mr. Mao Tse-tung or Mr. Cou En-lai that the Home Minister has banned this book against our own interests.

And the third objection can be decency, morality or defamation. Decency, defamation or morality does not arise in this case. Then I ask my hon. friend under what power given by the Constitution have they incorrectly banned this book? It is no good the Minister reading some rules

which say he has the power. Today he is misusing that power and the whole purpose of my speech today is to point out that this government is misusing the powers given to them under the Constitution, and that is what we are here for; the opposition in this House is here to point out the misuse of power and misdeeds of this government.

**Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya:** Why does he not challenge it in a court of law. There the hon. Member would be out of court.

**Shri M. R. Masani:** It may be the hon. Home Minister or the Ministry feels that it is not a good book or they feel that on details it has gone wrong. But are bad books to be banned in a free society? Are our markets not full of bad books of various kinds on various subjects? If he starts banning bad books or undesirable books, where are we going to stop? The only reasons for banning books, as I have shown, are the security of the State, endangering relations with friendly powers, and indecency or pornography, and I have given arguments to show that this book does not fall under any of these three categories. Therefore, I have to come to the conclusion that there has been gross misuse of authority by the Home Minister in this case.

I am sorry that the Home Minister, to whom I gave three months' notice to put himself right, in spite of repeated promises to read the book and make up his mind, has failed to do so. I am very sorry that he has done this. If he had given a straight reply, I might have argued with him and need not have raised this issue here. Now I hope we are entitled to ask him at the bar of this Parliament to account for his misdeeds, to tell us how dare he, why does he interfere with our right to read what we want in this country. We are free citizens, we are adult people and our intelligentsia, which reads this book in English, is not going to be contaminated by some dangerous thoughts. If you bring in

the doctrine of dangerous thoughts, if there are any Fascist trends, we in this House are there to see that these incipient Fascist trends that are divulged by incidents of this kind are put a stop to.

Well, Mr. Speaker, while you were not in the Chair, an attempt was made, I am sorry to say, by some hon. Members in the same spirit of intolerance to ask that the remarks I made here, including quotations, from the book should be expunged.

**Mr. Speaker:** The hon. Deputy-Speaker has promised to consider it.

**Shri M. R. Masani:** Therefore, I am only appealing to you to look at rule 380.

**Mr. Speaker:** It is for the hon. Deputy-Speaker to do and I am sure he will consider that.

**Shri M. R. Masani:** Very well. I can only express the hope that the same judicial approach will be preserved in this case, as has been suggested and as it has always been the case in this House, and nothing that is in order under rule 380 will be expunged from the record of this House. Otherwise, it means that we are being throttled in carrying out our public duty.

**Shri R. S. Pandey:** Mr. Speaker, certain statements have been made outside the House by Shri Masani regarding the Kashmir question which go against the Constitution of this country and the policy of this country. Could he say something on the Kashmir question?

**Mr. Speaker:** What does he want me to do?

**Shri R. S. Pandey:** I will repeat it. Certain statements were made by Shri Masani outside the House regarding the Kashmir affair. I want to say that he should give his view on the floor of the House, because his view is against the fundamental policy of the Government.

**Mr. Speaker:** Order, order. This is not the manner to make a speech. A Member can make a speech when he is called upon and he gets his turn. Otherwise, only personal explanations can be made and rare interruptions. Statements cannot be made in this manner.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** We got the impression from the Deputy-Speaker's observation that before he makes up his mind in the matter he would consult you. That is why my colleague Shri Masani has pleaded his point.

**Mr. Speaker:** If he consults me, I will give my advice if I have any. It is not for the hon. Members to say what advice I should give.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** I simply wanted to request you to bear in mind this aspect of the matter that expunctions should not be made without reference to rule 380.

**Mr. Speaker:** That is all right. Shri Sheo Narain.

**श्री शिव नारायण (वांसी) :** अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आपका बड़ा अनुरोध है कि आप ने मुझे ऐसे बड़े विद्वान के बाद बोलने का मौका दिया है . . . .

**अध्यक्ष महोदय :** मैं आप को भी बड़ा भारी विद्वान समझता हूँ ।

**श्री शिव नारायण :** उन्होंने अपना सारा समय एक ही इशू पर बिता दिया है । मैं उस इशू को लेने नहीं जा रहा हूँ । मैं मिनिस्टर साहब को बधाई देता हूँ कि उन्होंने हिन्दू मुस्लिम झगड़े को बड़ी बुद्धिमानी से निपटाया है । मैं त्रिवेदी साहब से कहना चाहता हूँ कि वह मेरी बात को ज़रा ध्यान से सुनें । उन्होंने कुर्रप्शन की बड़ी चर्चा की है । हमारे नन्दा जी ने एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन में से इसको दूर करने की प्रतिज्ञा की है और वह पहले होम

मिनिस्टर हैं जिन्होंने इस तरह की प्रतिज्ञा की है । उन्होंने कहा है कि वह वो साज्ज के अन्दर इसको खत्म कर देंगे । मुझे पूरा यकीन है वह इस में कामयाब होंगे और उसी तरह से होंगे जिस तरह से अर्जुन ने प्रतिज्ञा की थी कि सूर्यास्त के पहले पहले वह अवश्य जयद्रथ को मार देंगे । इस में सभी भाइयों के सहयोग की जरूरत है । लेकिन सहयोग न दे कर हर आदमी उल्टे यह कहता है कि कुछ नहीं किया गया है । मैं समझता हूँ कि हम इसके लिए कमरबंद हैं, दूसरी तरफ बँटे हुए माननीय सदस्य इसके लिए कमरबंद हैं । हम उनकी तरह से निराशावादी नहीं हैं । नन्दा जी गांजी जी के चेले हैं । उन्होंने जो प्रतिज्ञा की है, उसको वह पूरा करेंगे ।

अब मैं उस कम्युनिटी का प्रश्न आप के सामने रखना चाहता हूँ जिससे मैं आता हूँ । मान्यवर, जिस निर्वाचन क्षेत्र से मैं आता हूँ वहाँ पर कबीर साहब की समाधि है । आज भी कबीर साहब हमारे निर्वाचन क्षेत्र में दफन हैं । हिन्दू मुस्लिम यूनिटी का नमूना अगर आप को देखना हो तो वह हमारे निर्वाचन क्षेत्र में आप देख सकते हैं । मैं जनसंघ वालों से कहना चाहता हूँ, गोलवलकर साहब के शिष्यों से कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस देश के अन्दर जब तक तिरंगा झंडा है, जब तक कांग्रेस है तब तक वह हिन्दुओं को तथा मुसलमानों को भी प्रोटेक्ट करेगी, उनकी प्रोटेक्शन की जिम्मेदारी उस ने ली है, वह उसका नारा है । रूड़केला में जो कुछ हुआ है, उसके लिए हमें दुःख है । हमारे कुछ लोगों ने वहाँ ऐसे काम किये हैं जिनके लिए हमें पश्चाताप करना है । लेकिन उसके लिए गवर्नमेंट भी जिम्मेदार है । पिछड़े वर्गों के लोगों ने जिन्होंने ऐसी हरकतें वहाँ कीं, उनकी शिक्षा दीक्षा का प्रबन्ध गवर्नमेंट को करना चाहिये था, उनके रहन सहन का उचित प्रबन्ध सरकार को करना चाहिये था । हरिजन समाज इस देश का बड़ा पिछड़ा वर्ग है । दस करोड़ इस देश के अन्दर हम लोग

बसते हैं जो पुस्तहापुस्त से पीछे जा रहे हैं, गरीबी की चक्की में पिस रहे हैं। कहीं पर दो लाख और कहीं पर पांच लाख रिफ्यूजीज को भेजा जा रहा है। उनको हम बेलकम करते हैं। हम पुराने रिफ्यूजी हैं, न हमारे पास रहने को मकान है, न खाना है और न कपड़े हैं। होम मिनिस्टर माह्व से मेरी अपील है कि सरकार हम को जितना पैसा देती है उस का सही इस्तेमाल नहीं होता। हमारे बच्चों को इन टाइम स्कालरशिप नहीं मिलते, पुस्तकें नहीं मिलतीं। इसलिये इस पर वे ध्यान दें।

मैं होम मिनिस्टर को इस बात के लिये बधाई दूंगा कि उन के पास मैं ने एक करणन का वेम रिफर किया और उन्होंने फौरन उस के लिये स्टेप लिया। हमारे मित्र उधर से कहते हैं कि वह कुछ काम नहीं कर रहे हैं। लेकिन जो आदमी अच्छा काम कर रहा हो उसकी हिम्मत बढ़ानी चाहिये, उस से सहयोग करना चाहिये। मैं अफसरों से भी कहना चाहता हूँ कि उन में से हर एक को जिम्मेदारी महसूस करनी चाहिये। बहुत से लोग उधर से बोले लेकिन उन्होंने छोटे छोटे आदमियों के केसेज को कोट किया और कहा कि कुछ चपरान्तियों को बर्खास्त किया गया। लेकिन मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि हम ने बड़े बड़े अफसरों को चेक किया। कैसे वे कहते हैं कि इस मामले में कुछ नहीं हो रहा है। लेकिन उनका सहयोग चाहिये क्योंकि डिमाक्रेटिक सेट अप में जितनी जिम्मेदारी हमारी है उतनी ही श्री द्विवेदी की भी है कि इस देश की रक्षा में वे भी हाथ बटायें।

पुलिस के बारे में मैं होम मिनिस्टर का अटेंशन ड्रा करना चाहता हूँ कि आज गांवों में पुलिस का राज है। जब कोई उन के पास रिपोर्ट लिखाने जाता है तो रिपोर्ट लिखाने वाले को ही वे डंडों से मारते हैं, उन को परेशान करते हैं। अगर इस ऐडमिनिस्ट्रेशन को क्लीन नहीं किया गया तो देश का कल्याण नहीं हो सकता। मैं फ्रकली कहता हूँ, मैं कांग्रेस का आदमी हूँ, आप का एलची हूँ, नीचे से

मेसेज ले कर आता हूँ और गवर्नमेंट को बतलाता हूँ। यह मेरी ड्यूटी है इसलिये उस को अवगत कराने की कोशिश करता हूँ। मैं कहता हूँ कि आप के यहां आज पुलिस राज है। आज देश में शान्ति नहीं है। आप की दिल्ली के अन्दर, नार्थ ऐवेन्यू में, जहां हम लोग रहते हैं, कोई अमन व अमान नहीं है। हमारी एक बहन के यहां चोरी होती है और उन्हीं को धमकी दी जा रही है। यहां की पुलिस पता नहीं क्या कर रही है। आप की पुलिस होती है। श्री द्विवेदी का रेडियो भी चला गया। अगर यहां पर चिराग तले अन्धेरा होगा तो फिर देश की क्या हालत होगी। मैं जो कुछ कह रहा हूँ ईमानदारी से कह रहा हूँ। मैं आप की इजाजत से कहना चाहता हूँ कि मेरे मित्र यहां हंस रहे हैं, लेकिन अपनी जिम्मेदारी सांच कर जो कुछ बहूंगा वह बहूंगा, गैरजिम्मेदारी से नहीं बहूंगा, क्योंकि हमारी भी उतनी ही जिम्मेदारी है जितनी कि आप की जिम्मेदारी है। आज गांवों में चैन नहीं है। मैं ईमानदारी से कहता हूँ कि लोग गांवों को छोड़ कर भाग रहे हैं। आप इस तरह का इन्तजाम करें कि आफिसर्स का रोटेशन हो उधर उधर। भेद यह है कि किसी को तन्खाह यहां ज्यादा मिलती है और दूसरी जगह कम मिलती है। इसलिये वे यहीं रहना चाहते हैं। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि उन लोगों में से किसी के स्टेटस में कोई फर्क न रखिये। अगर उत की डिगिटी हरेगी तो काम अच्छा चलेगा। लोग यहां डिपार्ट-मेंट्स से प्रमोट हो कर आते हैं। जिन को यहां पर नया नया लाया जाता है वे गड़बड़ी करते हैं।

मैं यहां पर पब्लिक सर्विस कमीशन और हरिजनों के रिप्रेजेन्टेशन के सिलसिले में कहना चाहता हूँ। मान लीजिये हमारा लड़का किसी यूनिवर्सिटी से एम० ए० पास है या बी० ए० पास है और किसी दूसरे बी० ए० या एम० ए० पास लड़के के मुकाबले में एफिशिएंसी में कम नहीं है तो उस को कौं

[श्री शिव नारायण:]

न लिया जाये। आज सब इंस्पेक्टरी के लिये साढ़े पांच फिट चाहिये। अगर मेरे लड़के की ऊंचाई पांच फिट, छः इंच है, उसका सीना ३२ इंच है, तो उम को लिया जाना चाहिये। लेकिन हमारे लड़के को निकाल दिया जाता है। जब वह पब्लिक सर्विस कमीशन के मामले जाता है तो प्रैक्टिकल एग्जामिनेशन में उम का फेल कर दिया जाता है। मैं इस गवर्नमेंट में कहना चाहता हूँ कि वह जो कुछ कहती है उन को ईमानदारी से करे। आज स्थिति यह है कि :

“कहना बढ़ता मिले, गहना मिला नुं काय”

इस की आवश्यकता है। आप हमको थोड़ा दें, मैं उनसे ही पर खुश हूँ, लेकिन आप जो कहें उन पर अमल करें। यह सरकार की ड्यूटी है, कर्तव्य है।

श्री सुरेन्द्रनाथ द्विवेदी : बिल्कुल झूठी सरकार है।

श्री शिव नारायण : आप झूठे हैं, आप गलत बात कहते हैं। हमारी सरकार जिम्मेदार है, आप को प्रोटेक्शन देती है, कौसी बात आप कह रहे हैं। हमारी सरकार झूठी नहीं है, भले ही आप झूठे हों। आप यहां पर उलट पलट कर बातें कहते हैं। यह आप का रास्ता है।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : आप अपनी कहें। अपना भाषण देते जायें।

श्री शिव नारायण : मैं सरकार से कहना चाहता हूँ हमारे लिये वह जो कुछ करे उस का वह उचित प्रवन्ध करे। हमारी शिक्षा दीक्षा की, रहने सहने की, और ध्यान दें। हम को पैसा टाइम से नहीं मिलता। आप हम को स्कालरशिप मत दीजिये, खाना, कपड़ा और किताब दे दीजिये अगर आप देश के गरीब बच्चों को पढ़ाना चाहते हैं। आज जरूरत इस की है कि हिन्दुस्तान के पैसे का मिसयूज

न हो, इसलिये इस की तरफ ध्यान दिया जाना चाहिये।

आज लैंडलेस लेवरर्स कितने हैं।

एक माननीय सदस्य : वे लोग स्कूटर रखते हैं।

श्री शिव नारायण : आज स्कूटर की बात व लोग कह रहे हैं जो कि खुद स्कूटर रखते हैं, मकान रखते हैं, नई नई गाड़ियां खरीदते हैं क्योंकि उन के पास पैस हैं। हम गरीब हैं इसलिये सरकार से कहते हैं। हम लोग गरीबों को रिप्रेजेन्ट करते हैं, कैपिटलिस्टों को रिप्रेजेन्ट नहीं करते हैं। मैं इस गवर्नमेंट से कहूंगा कि :

“गरीबों को मिले रोटी तो मेरी जान मस्ती है”

यह नारा राजगुरु, सुखदेव और भगतसिंह ने लगाया था। मैं गरीबों को रिप्रेजेन्ट करता हूँ और मांग करता हूँ कि यह समय की पुकार है कि १० करोड़ आदिमियों को इन्फोर न किया जाये। आप उन को प्रोटेक्शन दें। जो आप की खाली जमीनें हैं वह उन लोगों को दें। उन को उगह दी जाये ताकि उन को शक्ति मिले। हम आप का प्रोटेक्शन करेंगे और आप के साथ साथ लड़ेंगे दुश्मन का मकाबला करने के लिये।

मैं थोड़ी सी बात पाकिस्तान की कहना चाहता हूँ। पाकिस्तान ने लाखों आदिमी वहां से खदेड़ दिये हैं। यहां भी कुछ अन-आयराइज्ड आदिमी आ कर बस गये हैं। उन को पुन आउट करने की जरूरत है। आज मैं आप से यह कहूंगा कि हमें पाकिस्तान से जमीन मांगनी चाहिये क्योंकि यह कोई बात नहीं है कि हमारे आदिमियों को वहां से धक्का दे दिया जाये और हम तमाशा देखते रहें। श्री नन्दा ने अर्जुन की तरह से प्रतिज्ञा की है, उन को इस की पूर्ति करने के लिये अल रहना चाहिये। हम ने शिवा जी का इतिहास देखा है, महाराणा प्रताप

का इतिहास देखा है। हम उन इतिहास के पन्नों को भूले नहीं हैं। मैं आज आवेश में नहीं कह रहा हूँ, ठे दिल से कह रहा हूँ कि हिन्दू जाति की परम्परा रही है कि वह सब को शरण देती रही है। हम ने विभीषण को शरण दी है, सब को शरण दी है। यह हमारी भारतीय संस्कृति रही है। जनसंघ के सदस्यों से मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि मैं उनसे कम भारतीय संस्कृति को नहीं जानता हूँ। रामायण को हम जानते हैं, राम लक्ष्मण को जानते हैं, मैं उसी इलाके से आया हूँ। इस देश संस्कृति रही है कि :

“छिमा बड़न को चाहिये घर छोटेन को उत्पाद्”

यह भारतीय संस्कृति का आदर्श है, यह जवाहरलाल जी का आदर्श है। आज हमारे मित्र तरह तरह की बातें हमारे बुजुर्ग लीडर के बास्ते कहते हैं। आज सारा देश उसके पीछे है, देश भर उसके जीवन की कामना करता है, भी भगवान से प्रार्थना करता हूँ कि हमारा प्राइम मिनिस्टर शब्द: शतं जीवेत। हमारा प्रधान मंत्री १०० वर्ष तक जिये (Interruption) जिससे देश का कल्याण हो।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : हमें माननीय सदस्यों का मजाक नहीं उड़ाना चाहिये, उन को सुनना चाहिये।

श्री शिव नारायण : उनके नेतृत्व में हमारा देश फले फले।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं पुनः सरकार से निवेदन करन चाहता हूँ कि वह हम गरीबों को जो मदद दे रही है उसको ठीक से दे, और अधिकारी वर्ग भी ठीक से काम करे। हम बड़े आपात्काल से गुजर रहे हैं। दायें बायें चारों तरफ दुश्मन लगे हुए हैं, कोई हमारा मित्र नहीं है। कहना चाहता हूँ कि :

“कर बहियां बन आपनी, उजां पराई भाष”

भगर हमने इस पर प्रमल नहीं किय तो हम देश का कल्याण नहीं कर सकेंगे।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं इस विभाग के अनुदानों का समर्थन करता हूँ और आशा करता हूँ कि यह देश जगेगा, उठेगा और भागे बढ़ेगा तथा अपनी रक्षा करेगा।

**The Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Home Affairs (Shrimati Chandrasekhar):** Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am very grateful to you for giving me this opportunity to place some facts before this hon. House in answer to some of the points that were raised during the discussion on the Demands of the Home Ministry. Most of the speakers yesterday did devote quite some time on the welfare of Backward Classes and during the debate they did bring out certain drawbacks. They also wanted certain improvements to be made. When I say the Backward Classes, I mean, the Scheduled Castes, the Scheduled Tribes and other Backward Classes. They all suffer from economic backwardness; but the Scheduled Castes have a peculiar social disability, that is, the stigma of untouchability with which they suffer. The House knows of the number of steps that have already been taken to relieve this section of the population of this undesirable stigma.

Having taken so many steps we have not rested quite. We are in constant touch with the State Governments who are the implementing authorities to ensure that the working of the Untouchability Offences Act is tightened. This was also taken up at a recent conference when all the State ministers in charge of the Backward Classes met to discuss the Dhebar Commission's report and this question was dealt with in detail. Later, when the Central Advisory Committee on Harijan Welfare met in December last, this

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question was thoroughly discussed. In pursuance of all these meetings and discussions, we have recommended to the State Governments to appoint certain State level committees. Maharashtra had already appointed a committee headed by Mr. Tapase who was formerly a Minister in the Maharashtra Cabinet and now he is also a Member of the Rajya Sabha. That committee's references were very useful and so we have requested all the other State Governments also to form similar committees so that they will be able to take stock of the existing measure and to assess how far this measure has been useful and also proved successful and also to find out what practical difficulties there are which impede the effective implementation of this programme. We have also requested them to let us know what further measures can be taken to completely eradicate this evil. This review will particularly be useful when we draw up the Fourth Plan Schemes.

Then, Sir, last year we gave an assurance in this Parliament that we would refer this matter to the Community Development Ministry. In pursuance of that, the Ministry of Community Development have requested the State Governments to instruct the panchayati raj bodies to take an active part in the campaign against untouchability. We have also requested the Ministry of Community Development to consider whether they could write to the State Governments asking them to instruct the Block Development Officers to closely follow the working of the Untouchability Offences Act. For this, the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes is already designing a *pro forma* by which the Block Development Officers will be able to know what impact the Untouchability Offences Act has made and how many people have been caught under the Act. They will also be able to make a general assessment of the eradication programme of untouchability.

The House is well aware that the Central Government has issued instructions to the Central Government officers that the offence of untouchability should not be practised by the employees working in the Central Government and we have also requested the State Governments to follow a similar line of action.

Last time, I said that we would go in for an amendment of this Untouchability Offences Act, if it was necessary. For this, we wrote to the State Governments and most of the State Governments have not said anything excepting the Government of Mysore. But we are not going to keep quiet on this. We are now going to take steps to see if any further amendment could be made and we are consulting the Law Ministry and the suggestions that the Government of Mysore has given will also be taken note of.

In order to eradicate this evil, the Information and Broadcasting Ministry has brought out five or six films and they are being distributed to the mobile cinema vans under the Field Publicity Unit of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting. We have also decided to have an exclusive seminar on untouchability. For this, we have written to the Chief Minister of U.P. to see whether she will give her cooperation and hold this seminar in U.P. sometime this year. In addition to this we are also thinking of suggesting to State Governments whether they could cancel the licences issued to commercial establishments, like, hotels, barber shops and cinema houses where untouchability is practised. I hope they will be able to follow this. We are also suggesting to them to see that while they are granting licences to the future establishments, they should make it incumbent on those establishments that they do not observe untouchability. Some Members expressed yesterday that the people living in the villages are not aware of this Untouchability Offences Act. So, we have also requested the panchayati raj bodies to display the

Untouchability Offences Act in large notices. I hope this measure which we are suggesting to the State Governments through the Community Development Ministry will be able to meet that drawback. There is also a suggestion from us that the State Government should grant permits for lorry and bus services to the Harijans and scheduled caste community by which they will be able to employ some of their people and their position may also improve. These are a few steps that we have taken in regard to the eradication of untouchability. All this is our earnest attempt. But over and above all this, unless there is a change in the minds of the people who are observing this untouchability, I think, we may not be able to achieve very much. Over and above this, I think, if the economic position of these people who are put to this humiliation is raised, then we may be able to achieve the desired effect. So, towards that end, we are giving to the State Governments certain financial assistance towards education and other general development programmes. These fall in two sectors, one as the State sector schemes and the other as the Central sector schemes. The Central sector schemes are fully financed by the Central Government. As regards the State sector schemes, in the case of those which are taken up for education, 75 per cent is met by the Central Government and 25 per cent is met by the State Government whereas for the other general schemes, 50 per cent is to be the matching grant of the Central Government and the rest 50 per cent is to be met by the State Government. So, we take part in all the programmes of development for the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes and other backward classes. Some Members yesterday mentioned that not much is being done in this regard. I do not say we have done a lot. But at least we can say that the number of scholarships have increased from 731 in 1949 to 86,339 in 1962-63 when it was 75,671 in 1961-62. Similarly, the amount spent on the post-

matric scholarships in the year 1961-62 was Rs. 3,52,62,401 and in 1962-63 it is 4,12,12,988. So, there has been a certain increase in the number of scholarships. Wherever there has been demand for more, both in the post-matric and in the pre-matric scholarships, we have met the demand. As regards the scheduled tribes, almost all the students who applied for post-matric scholarships got it whereas in the case of scheduled castes, only a minimum means test is applied, that is, those children who apply for scholarships and whose parents draw more than Rs. 500 are given a little less.

16 hrs.

While speaking on the scholarships awarded by Government, a number of hon. Members expressed their concern about the delay in the disbursement of the scholarships. It is true that periodically there have been some complaints during the previous year, and occasionally even during the year under review, one or two complaints were brought to our notice. Hon. Member, Shri Subodh Hansda was very vehement about this matter yesterday. We have taken steps to minimise the time lag. Of course, it is really a hardship to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes students and backward classes students if they get the scholarships at the end of the year. If some of the students face this difficulty and leave the institution on account of his delay, then, it is really very unfair to them. So, we have taken a number of steps. We wrote to the State Governments earlier. They said that the working of the scheme for the disbursement of scholarships was working all right and they did not need any changes. But, we did not stop there. We took stock of the situation and then found that there were certain drawbacks. We again wrote to the State Governments pointing out the specific instances brought before us by the Members of Parliament, and in pursuance of that, a number of State Governments have made many changes, and I can say



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that in most of the States, the scholarships are sanctioned in one instalment, as, for instance, in Andhra Pradesh. The heads of institutions have been requested to send a list of renewals earlier in the month of July, and the State Governments have delegated the power of disbursal of scholarships to the heads of institutions and also to the district officers instead of its being processed as at present at the Social Welfare Directorate, which takes a long time.

Some hon. Members had mentioned also some time back that there was difficulty in getting the scholarships because of the delay in the printing of the forms for scholarships. So, we took this matter up with the Education Ministry. They have very kindly agreed to have these forms printed in the Education Ministry at the Centre and then distribute them and that too in time so that this may not cause any delay. We have also suggested to the Education Ministry that we would be able to meet any extra expenditure that they may have to incur on special staff for the disbursal of the scholarship amounts.

So, in this way, we have taken steps to minimise the delays. My hon. friend from Orissa, Shri Ramachandra Ulaka, said that the number of pre-matric scholarships in Orissa was very inadequate and that the Orissa Government had taken up the matter with us. I would like to submit that there has not been any request from the State Government. But we always feel that there is a need for giving more scholarships both in terms of the amount and in terms of number, and we shall always be ready to find funds. If the State Government make a reference to us, we shall look into it.

**Shri Rama Chandra Mallick (Jaipur):** With regard to Orissa, I have got a letter from Shri Sanganna, the Minister in charge of tribal and rural welfare in Orissa....

**Shrimati Chandrasekhar:** I too have received a letter from the Minister of

Orissa but that was in connection with the scholarships for other backward classes. We have taken action in that matter. The point referred to by my hon. friend Shri Ramachandra Ulaka was in regard to scholarships for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. We have not had any reference from the State Government on this matter. If that is made, we shall certainly look into it, and I do not think that we shall hesitate to make more funds available for this purpose.

After giving this education which is to lift these people up economically, we now come to the services and see the position. Of course, I do agree we have not done real justice by way of filling up the reserved posts completely. It is nearly 13 years since we have been having these reservations and very little has been done. So to overcome this difficulty, we started pre-examination training courses at Allahabad, and two years ago in Bangalore. In the last 4-5 years this training has really helped, judging from the results that we have. Even last year, I said we were able to fill all the reserved posts in the IAS, IPS and the IFS. This year, it is very encouraging. 95 persons were selected for the IAS. Of them, there are 14 scheduled caste and 5 scheduled tribe candidates taken. This works out to 20 per cent as against the reserved quota of 17½ per cent. Similarly, in the foreign service, out of 20 selected, 2 are scheduled caste and 2 scheduled tribe candidates. This also fulfils the quota. In addition, it is a matter of real gratification that one of the scheduled caste candidates by name Shri Charan Das Siddu from Punjab secured by merit a very high place, 10th place. We are sure this is the result of the training that has been given to these young men in the Allahabad training centre and also the Bangalore training centre. These results are encouraging.

I do not say that by these few young men getting into the top service, all that is wanted to be done for

these poor millions has been done. We know there is under-representation in a number of other services in the Central Government. We have decided to extend these facilities of pre-examination training to the State Civil Service competitive examinations and also other UPSC examinations other than the combined competitive examinations. As regards the State services, we have requested State Governments to draw up schemes for giving training for these young men. We have also assured them financial assistance. I am glad to inform the House that on persuasion of the Ministry the Directorate General of Employment and Training has agreed to take up a large programme of training of scheduled caste and scheduled tribe youths for all kinds of vacancies, in class III particularly. As part of the vocational training programme, we propose to make an immediate beginning in respect of UPSC examinations by starting a training centre shortly in Delhi for the following examinations: (1) assistant grade examination, (2) clerical grade examination, (3) stenographers' grade examination. This, we hope, will be able to help these young men as it has helped them in the IAS and IPS.

We have gone a little further. In 1956, we issued instructions to all public sector undertakings that the same reservation should be given in their services. Of course, when we took stock of the position, it was not very happy. So we again asked them, reminding them of their duty, to furnish annual statements showing representation of scheduled caste and scheduled tribe candidates in the public sector undertakings, so that we would be able to know whether the instructions have been followed.

**Shri Subodh Hansda (Jhrgam):** Why not have training arrangements there also?

**Shrimati Chandrasekhar:** We have.

In this case, we have gone a little further. We also contemplate requesting the commercial and industrial undertakings in the private sector to take in scheduled caste and scheduled tribe candidates, wherever possible, and also to furnish such statistics of employment on a voluntary basis. This may have a desirable effect as happened in a similar policy regarding Indianisation of the staff in some foreign firms.

We had received representations regarding under-representation in the railways of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. The Bengal Provincial Depressed Classes League, and Shri Subodh Hansda, M.P., wrote to us earlier. We took this up, and the Home Minister wrote to the Railway Minister suggesting that there might be a discussion between Members of Parliament and the Chairman of the Railway Board about implementing the various orders relating to reservations of posts for the Scheduled Tribes. The Railway Minister has agreed to it. The Railway Board has been keeping us informed of developments from time to time. The Railway Ministry has also collected information from most of the railways about the position and about the actual difficulties in the way of filling up the quota reserved for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, and particularly the Scheduled Tribes. They are taking suitable action in consultation with the General Managers of railways and the Chairmen of the Railway Public Service Commission. The Ministry of Railways have also informed us that instructions have been issued to the railways that where, due to Scheduled Tribes candidates not possessing the requisite technical qualifications, it is not possible to recruit them in higher posts reserved for them, an equal number of Scheduled Tribes boys should be recruited as trade apprentices, so that, in due course, they can be promoted to higher categories.

The Ministry has also initiated a study some months ago into the reasons for rejection of Scheduled Castes

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and Scheduled Tribes, candidates, in individual cases during the last five years. When all the available materials are collected, a thorough analysis will enable us to know the reasons for rejection of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes candidates, which would help us to plan the pre-examination training schemes which we are undertaking, and also enable us to know whether the appointing authorities have been too rigid in judging the merits of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes candidates. This in turn will call for some action on our part.

I dealt with the service and scholarships common to both the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. A number of Members mentioned about the working of the tribal blocs, and some suggested certain changes; they were very much upset about the drawbacks that are existing there. One such drawback pointed out by them was that in the programme of tribal welfare blocs, the welfare workers were not properly trained. Here, I would give an account of the training programme that we have taken up for the workers in the tribal areas. The Ministry had come before the House at the time of the discussion of the Dhebar Commission Report and said in the Third Plan we would be having 500 blocs, and that later, in the Fourth Plan, if everything went on well, we would be having another 500 blocs. With these 1,000 blocs we need really men with sympathetic bent of mind to work in the tribal areas, so that those who are working there have to be given some orientation training, and I may also give the House some account as to what we have done.

The Tata Institute of Social Sciences has been conducting a one year course in tribal welfare for tribal welfare officers and other development officers. This in addition to the two year course in social work with specialisation in tribal welfare. This in-service training programme for officers is

financed directly by the Government of India.

For training of bloc personnel such as BDOs, agricultural extension officers, social education organisers and Mukhiya Sevikas requiring special orientation in tribal development work, two tribal orientation and study centres at Ranchi and Jabalpur have started functioning. Two more such centres will be set up by the end of the Third Plan. In the Ranchi centre, three batches of officers have already undergone training. The training of village level workers working in the tribal areas is proposed to be arranged through the State Governments under the supervision of the Ministry of Food and Agriculture. In the Gujarat Vidya Peeth, so far four training courses have been conducted. The officers serving in the tribal block have been trained in these courses. In the fourth Five Year Plan, it is proposed to set up four more tribal orientation and study centres for training a large number of extension officers who would be required for the tribal blocks. At the instance of this Ministry, the National Institute of Community Development has undertaken a one-month tribal orientation course for the benefit of senior officers such as Development Commissioners, Collectors, Registrars of Co-operatives, etc., and the Minister of Tribal Welfare, Orissa, has also attended the course for the benefit of his State.

It was also mentioned that the people working in the tribal areas should know the tribal languages and that primary education in the tribal areas should be taught in the mother-tongue. Nobody can deny the fact that primary education should always be taught in the mother-tongue and the officers working in the tribal areas should know the language. Then only they will be able to reach the people and they can have an impact on the people.

Regarding primary education, there are not many teachers among the tri-

bals, and with our educational programme, we will have more and more people to take to teaching. Besides the training programme, there is also a lack of books in tribal languages. Except in certain States, this has not gone far ahead. The tribal institutes in the different States have taken up the study of the tribal languages, as part of the programme, and the tribal research institute at Ranchi has a linguistic division. The Chindwara Institute in Madhya Pradesh and the Maharashtra Tribal Institute are also engaged in the preparation of textbooks. The NEFA administration has also produced about 100 books in 13 different languages. Bihar, NEFA, Nagaland are also preparing books in the tribal languages.

**Dr. M. S. Aney:** What is the script used?

**Shrimati Chandrasekhar:** They may be tribal scripts.

**Dr. M. S. Aney:** Are there tribal scripts?

**Shri D. J. Naik (Panchmahals):** There is no tribal script.

**Shrimati Chandrasekhar:** In Bihar, for instance, I think there are a large number of languages. I am not quite conversant with that. I think according to the State language, the scripts are formed. The language is tribal language.

We know how important this subject is. We have also given financial assistance to the Central Institute of Education to set up special units for the study of tribal languages. The functions of the unit are to take up investigation and research into the problems of tribal education and to co-ordinate research work in tribal life and to take up special problems in the tribal life.

During yesterday's discussion, some hon. Members mentioned about the rehabilitation of the tribals wherever industrialisation has gone on. We have had a detailed study made and

we wrote to all the Ministries concerned; wherever these tribals are displaced, they should be rehabilitated. In Rourkela Steel Project, they have done well and they have rehabilitated nearly 2,444 families and most of them are adivasis, and they have resettlement colonies, and they give 33 acres of land per family; they also give a subsidy of Rs. 100. Similarly, the Bhilai Steel Project, the Durgapur Steel Project and the Heavy Engineering Project have given enough assistance; they give free transport for the tribals when they are to be rehabilitated; a certain amount is also paid to them.

Along with the tribals, there is also another section called the denotified tribes, who were originally the criminal tribes. Even for them, there is a development programme drawn by the Ministry. The Ministry has given high priority for them in the third Plan. Earlier in the second Plan, these schemes were in the State sector; because there was a little set-back, we took it up in the central sector and the allocated funds are fully utilised in the development programme for the denotified tribes.

As regards the Union Territory of Delhi, we have had discussions with the representatives.

**Shri Basumatari:** Instead of 'criminal tribes' some other word should be used.

**Shrimati Chandrasekhar:** Now they are called denotified tribes; they were formerly called criminal tribes. That is what I said. We have had discussions with the members of the denotified tribes, the Social Welfare Director and also the Chairman of the Public Welfare Committee. There are two things necessary for the people. One, the Children are to be given education. We are thinking of having more ashram type of schools for the children of people living here in Delhi and also to see how best they can be given some employment, so that they can lead a dignified living.

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Last year during the budget discussion, we said we are thinking in terms of reorganising the set-up in the Ministry, i.e. both in the Commissioner's organisations and also in the Ministry. We said, in the Ministry we will have a full-time director to look after the work of the backward classes. In the Commissioner's organisation, we said we shall have for each State an Assistant Commissioner and in bigger States like Assam and Madhya Pradesh, two in each. The work regarding this is complete. The Director is also in station. He has been here for the last few months. One redeeming feature of this Director's work is he will not deal with files and he will not sit at the desk. He will have to go round the States, see the development programmes for all the backward classes and suggest to the people who are carrying on this work in the State Governments ways and means of improving. Because he is a touring officer, he can have discussions with the officers of the State Governments and remove the difficulties on the spot, which otherwise would result in protracted correspondence. He will be able to examine critically the programmes and the scope of the work and suggest any modifications if the local conditions do not permit the present programmes to go on successfully. With this officer having come into the Ministry to look after the backward classes work, we are very hopeful that the set-back which the programme of backward classes suffered all these years will be removed to a larger extent.

Regarding the Assistant Commissioners, we want to have IAS officers from the State Governments, so that they will know the language and the situation and they will be able to carry conviction to the State Governments with whom they have to work and get the work for the Commissioner's organisation done smoothly. So, we have got the posts created. The formalities have been gone through and in a couple of months they will be in position. For these people to work in the various State headquarters, all

the arrangements for accommodation and the necessary formalities have been completed. So, this will strengthen the work.

There was a mention by Shri Shashi Ranjan about the shortage of doctors and engineers. We know that there is shortage of doctors and engineers. There is shortage in man-power. This emergency also has highlighted this point. In our country, because of lack of training there are men without enough training and vocational skill. This has resulted in low productivity and low *per capita* income. There is also a large measure of unemployment and under-employment. At the same time, there is a continuing shortage of professional people and technical people who are needed in the projects which we have undertaken in our development programme and also for the defence of our country. A good deal of attention has been given to these problems, particularly since the onset of emergency, by the Directorate of Manpower and the recently established institute of Applied Manpower Research under the Home Ministry in consultation with the other concerned Ministries and the Planning Commission.

16.27 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

For dealing with the technical manpower problems a committee was set up under the chairmanship of Professor M. S. Thacker and at the instance of that committee various steps have been taken by the Government last year to accelerate and step up the programme for providing facilities for training of technical personnel at almost all levels. In this connection the State Governments are being very helpful. In spite of all these steps it is a matter of regret that we have not enough doctors and engineers. They were not adequate for our defence services in 1963-64. Meanwhile the Government have decided that provision should be made in the rules for

recruitment of engineers and doctors for central ministries and departments that future entrants shall be liable to serve for a specific period in the defence services or on work relating to defence efforts anywhere in India or abroad if so required. The liability to serve in the armed forces will, of course, apply only to comparatively junior officers within the first ten years of their service. Government is also thinking of the desirability of having a national service so that we can deal with the requirements of defence services in any contingency.

I would like to say a word on the welfare activities taken up by this Ministry for the Central Government employees. A modest beginning was made in the year 1954-55 when Rs. 55,000 was sanctioned for the welfare programmes. In 1963-64 Rs. 5.6 lakhs have been sanctioned, and the different ministries have started a number of clubs. There are 61 recreational clubs for the government servants in different residential colonies. Of course, Shri Daji, when he was speaking, said something about some of the activities in the clubs. When we saw the cut motions we became conscious of this and steps have already been taken to see that such activities do not continue. We will see that in future there is no recurrence of such activities in any of these clubs, besides the one that he mentioned.

**Shri Daji:** In all the clubs it is going on.

**Shrimati Chandrasekhar:** We are examining that. About the one that you mentioned, we have already issued instructions that such activities should not go on.

In addition to this, there is the Griha Kalyan Kendras, which is a scheme meant for the families of the Central Secretariat staff. Under this scheme, families of Government servants who come under the low income group get some part-time employment and they are able to earn nearly Rs. 40

to 50 a month. The work is given to them to be taken home and they are able to augment their family budget.

Another major welfare measure taken up by the Ministry last year was the setting up of the Central Government employees Co-operative Stores. This society commenced its work on the 1st July and its membership on the 31st March was 22,000. Besides the main society, there are ten branches in the various colonies. There is still a demand for the opening of many more branches and we will be able to establish another ten branches in the near future in other colonies. If the sales in these societies is any guarantee of success of the schemes we have reached within the last three months an average sale of Rs. 5.1 lakhs per month.

I would not like to deal in detail about the census except to say that the census operations in 1961 were done in record time. I may say that we can feel proud that this is the shortest time within which census operation was done in any part of the world.

Some hon. Members have stated in their speeches yesterday that there are certain discrepancies in the 1961 census, we have also received certain allegations about discrepancies about the Scheduled Castes, particularly in Madhya Pradesh, and that was brought to the notice of the Registrar-General. We have requested him to take prompt action and he has asked the Superintendent of Census Operations of that State to make a thorough investigation so as to ascertain the correct position. When we receive the full facts we will be in a position to decide what action should be taken in this regard.

**Shri V. K. Ramaswamy (Namakkal):** I want to know what the Ministry has done to relieve the housing problem. Further, what about the distribution of culturable waste lands to these people?

**Shrimati Chandrasekhar:** For housing we have a programme. We have Rs. 299 lakhs in the Central sector to give assistance to the people of the backward classes for housing. In addition to this, there is also Rs. 76.64 lakhs in the State sector for housing. From the statement that I have before me, I find that almost all the States have spent fully the amounts that have been allotted for housing.

**Shrimati Yashoda Reddy:** I just want one clarification. What is the position regarding the inclusion of "Tharus" in the Indo-Nepalese border in the list of Scheduled Tribes? Has the Government done this?

**Shrimati Chandrasekhar:** The question of the revision of the list of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes has been before us since 1956, when an Act was brought before the House. Then a number of hon. Members pointed out that some castes or communities might have been included or omitted and also introduced some area restrictions in haste. For that reason, we have written to the State Governments to send us proposals either for inclusion or exclusion to rectify those. If any caste or community is to be excluded, we have to see whether the stigma of untouchability has been eradicated in the case of castes. A similar criterion has to be adopted for their inclusion also. If the State Governments did not give any scientific reason, we had to write to them. Now by persuasion we have received certain replies with which we have been able to complete 80 per cent of the work. Still, two States of Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh have not yet furnished us with all the particulars. As soon as that comes, we will be able to complete it and then come before the House with fuller particulars.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Shri Frank Anthony.

श्री क० ना० तिवारी : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, एक क्वेश्चन बहत इम्पोर्टेंट है। पालियो मॉटर है, इस लिए उसको पृछ नेने दीजिये। पंत जी जब होम मिनिस्टर थे तो

उन्होंने कहा था कि कास्ट बेसिस को ब्रल.वा एक नॉर्मल बेसिस . . . .

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Order order. I have called on the next speaker.

**Shri Frank Anthony (Nominated—Anglo-Indian):** Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I propose to speak on the increasing religious and caste communalism in the country with the accompanying recession of the secular motive in the State. Arising from that I propose to deal briefly with Government's failure to protect the minorities as exemplified by the burning out of their homes of several hundreds of members of my community during what was obviously a calculated attack on the minorities in Calcutta. I feel that in India today we have reached the crossroads. India is faced with a supreme crisis of national and secular values and the direction we take and, above all, the action, if any, that we take will determine not only whether we survive as a democracy but whether we survive as a nation.

I know that on our borders we have Pakistan, an avowed theocratic State where at best the minorities can live on sufferance, as helots, or worse, face genocide or attempted genocide. If Pakistan seeks deliberately to destroy itself, to disembowel itself, that is a matter which we cannot really help. But my real apprehension is that with Pakistan, an avowed theocratic State, indulging recurrently in maltreatment and brutality towards the minorities, there has been the steady resurgence of the forces in this country seeking increasingly to create a countervailing theocratic state where, as in Pakistan, minorities may at best live on sufferance as helots or, worse, face attempted genocide.

The old leaders dedicated to the ideal of secular democracy have passed or are passing on. The vicious menace of revivalism in this country was exemplified by the fact that these revivalists had no compunction in murdering the greatest Indian after

the Buddha merely because of his dedication to this ideal of secularism. Today, unfortunately, Jawaharlal Nehru, whose belief in secularism has in fact, we know, become a religion, is not an entirely well man. I believe that the revivalists are eagerly anticipating his demission from the political scene because they believe that with the demission of Jawaharlal Nehru there will be no one with the strength and with the conviction of secularism to prevent them from wreaking their communal and revivalist will in the country. I feel that unless there is rededication to this ideal of secularism matched with a real, herculean effort on the part of administration the country is going to disintegrate. It will go up in communal flames. I feel, we are not going to achieve this secular ideal by professions and slogans. We will have to do something much more than that. Let us realise that the secular ideal is in retreat, it is in danger today of retreating into complete oblivion.

What are the reactionary forces that are facing the country today? The problem, I believe, is more complex, basically worse than it ever has been in the past 30 years—the complex of religious and caste communalism in India today. I feel, there may be a tendency to over simplify these reactionary forces. In the first place, they are the well known communal parties in this country. There is no need to name them; they are already known. In spite of their protestations, their goals and their objectives are clear. The tragedy is that they not only have the political but they have paramilitary arms, both complementing each other—the same programme, the same policies, the same methods of executing them. And each time Pakistan indulges in barbarism against its minorities and in spite of their protestations, this gladdens the hearts of revivalists of this country and worst of all, strengthens their hands. Their game is carefully planned. I believe that in spite of all the protestations of these communal bodies in the country, they are hoping that

Sheikh Abdullah will make a mistake. We can only hope that he will not because, I believe that if Sheikh Abdullah makes one major false move, we will immediately supply the revivalists, the communalists, in this country with the supreme instrument of mounting an offensive not only against the Muslims but against all the minorities in this country. That will be the consequence of Sheikh Abdullah making a false move. These revivalist bodies are not only well-organised but they have their own press. It is a gutter press. It is a press which drips poison. This is where I join issue with the Government. It is a press—I read it—which apart from openly glorifying revivalism, indulges in the open glorification of violence. The competition in barbarism, the cult of violence, is openly inculcated. Members of the majority community are told that if they do not retaliate by killing Muslims on this side, then they have lost their manliness. This is the concept of the revivalists in this country, their concept of manliness, manliness expressing itself in butchering defenceless men, women and children. And that is where I blame the Government. I speak with some emotion because I have seen what has happened in Calcutta to my own people, and the tragedy is this that Government accepts the carefully prepared propaganda of the revivalists. We know, the Government knows, that the revivalists, in some of the revivalist States have their cells in every village. Wasn't it true that all along the route of these refugees, they had their own committees, ostensibly to feed and help the refugees but, in fact, to inflame the people to retaliation? Let me pin one canard to the counter. I have talked to Christians from Bihar; I have talked to Adivasis from Bihar. They say, it is entirely false that either the Christians or the Adivasis joined in this competition in butchery. It was your revivalists in Jamshedpur all along the line. Some of the Adivasis were driven to standing in front on pain of death. Some of them were shot. But none of them joined in this. This is the calculated



[Shri Frank Anthony]

work of the revivalists in this country (*Interruption*). I know what I am saying. It is gnawing because the truth hurts. This is the truth. These are canards that miscreants, refugees, Christians, Adivasis are doing this. The sole miscreants are the revivalists who have a carefully calculated plan of retaliation, competition in barbarism not only against the Muslims but today against the Anglo-Indians, tomorrow against the Christians and day after tomorrow against the Parsis.

**Shri K. N. Tiwary:** It is a wrong statement so far as Bihar is concerned. It is a wrong statement about Bihar Adivasis. He is not making a true statement about it.

**Shri Frank Anthony:** Another major contribution... (*Interruption*).

**Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad:** Christian missionaries are there who took advantage of the poor Adivasis, instigated them and asked them to butcher. So, they are responsible.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Unless the hon. Member yields, you cannot go on speaking like this. (*Interruptions*.)

**Shri Frank Anthony:** The Speaker said he would give me 25 minutes. But I am not.....

**The Minister of Works, Housing and Rehabilitation (Shri Mehr Chand Khanna):** May I seek one information from you if you will bear with me for one second? The number of displaced persons who have come to this country is over 90 lakhs. They have been living here for the last 16 or 17 years. I am one of them. I would like Mr. Anthony to quote one instance where these 90 lakhs of refugees have helped in this communal carnage and all that. These new ones... (*Interruption*).

**Shri Frank Anthony:** Not even the new ones are doing it. It is only the revivalists who are doing it. In Calcutta

who did it? In Calcutta, the Bengalis wrote and said, it was not the miscreants, not the goondas, not the refugees, but it was the stooges of the revivalists, educated Bengalis, students joining in this butchery.

**Shri K. N. Tiwary:** No, no. Never (*Interruptions*).

**Shri Badrudduja:** This is a fact which cannot be challenged.

**Shri Frank Anthony:** That is the tragedy of it. And the bigger tragedy is this.....

**Shri K. N. Tiwary:** Never.

**Shri Frank Anthony:** The tragedy in this. Let me develop my thesis. Let somebody else judge whether that is the truth or not.....

**Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya:** The hon. Member is maligning the students of Calcutta. They have no chance to defend themselves here. The hon. Home Minister was there at the time of the riots.....

**Shri Frank Anthony:** Fortunately, the Home Minister was there....

**Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya:** And he said that this was the work of the hooligans. (*Interruptions*).

**Shri Koya (Kozhikode):** I rise to a point of order. When an hon. Member is on his legs, and when he is in possession of the House, how can other hon. Members interrupt?

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The hon. Member is doing the same thing now.

**Shri Koya:** I am not doing the same thing. I am only rising to a point of order. (*Interruptions*).

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Order, order. Let the hon. Member Shri Frank Anthony proceed with his speech now.

**Shri Frank Anthony:** I had asked for half an hour, and I hope you would

not take into account this time also as part of my time. Another major thing is this. I am trying to analyse it because whether we accept it or not, we are going to destroy the whole country if we do not face the truth. And what is another major contributory factor is this. . . .

**Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya:** The country will be safe even without friends like Shri Frank Anthony. The country will continue to be safe even without men like Shri Frank Anthony (*Interruptions*).

**Shri Frank Anthony:** We may be very much better off without lamp-posts like my hon. friend. (*Interruptions*).

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Order, order. Let the hon. Member please address the Chair and proceed with his speech.

**Shri Frank Anthony:** As I was saying another major contributory factor is this that with this spread of this virus of revivalism, and religious and caste-communalism, the Congress Party has been increasing infected. . . . .

**An Hon. Member:** No. (*Interruptions*).

**Shri Frank Anthony:** You are, here it is. And that is the tragedy.

Look at some of the States, some of the leading members of the ruling party, indistinguishable in their thinking, in their approach from the worst communal elements in this country. Look at the Centre; I have said it before, and I say it again; scratch some of your most senior Congressmen; under the thinnest of veneers you will find that they are spiritually kin with the communal bodies in this country. That is the tragedy. And the reasons are not far to seek.

Ironically, adult franchise has led to this tremendous resurgence of religious and caste communalism, because the vote in every State is cast

along religious and caste lines. Every general election serves increasingly to draw the country into competing and often warring religious, caste and sub-caste communalism. . . . .

**Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad:** Why can my hon. friend not fight one of the elections?

**Shri K. N. Tiwary:** My hon. friend also appeals in the name of Christians at the time of elections.

**An Hon. Member.** He never stands for election. (*Interruptions*).

**Shri Frank Anthony:** I know that truth hurts. (*Interruptions*).

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Order, order. Hon. Members may differ from him. But we have to hear him. This is not the way to conduct the proceedings of Parliament.

**Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya:** This kind of statement by the hon. Member on the floor of the House should not go unchallenged. . . . (*Interruptions*).

**Shri Frank Anthony:** I shall keep on I hope till at least five minutes past five o'clock. . . . .

**Shri Kashi Ram Gupta (Alwar):** Does my hon. friend not want elections here?

**Shri Frank Anthony:** Each general election intensifies not democracy, but each general election has intensified theocracy; it has intensified casteocracy, and the trouble is this.

**Shri Joachim Alva (Kanara):** It was after three hundred years that a Catholic was elected as President of the USA.

**An Hon. Member:** And he was butchered.

**Shri Frank Anthony:** Whatever the reasons may be, the best Indians do not enter public life, with honourable exceptions; the people with the best minds in this country do not enter

[Shri Frank Anthony]

public life. They do not enter it for many reasons. When I talked to some of the greatest thinkers and leaders of this country . . . (*Interruptions*). I am making my own analysis. They can reply to it later on. Why should they interrupt? The best Indians do not enter public life.

**Shri Sham Lal Saraf:** Such a speech will not help communal harmony. I am sure of that.

**Shri Badrudduja:** It may or it may not.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Is not the hon. Member entitled to have his own opinion? We may differ from him.

**Shri Frank Anthony:** Why is it that they do not enter public life? Some of them are not prepared to face the hurly-burly of the hustings. But when I talked to some of the men, distinguished Indian, they say, 'We are not prepared to face the faction, the intrigue and'—as one of them put it to me—'the stench of manipulation and patronage and distribution of political patronage and distribution of political seats'. That is why the best Indians do not enter public life, today.

**Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya:** You are the best Indian!

**Shri Frank Anthony:** I will come to Bengal a little later. People who usually enter are little men, and not only little men, often evil men, whose only qualification is that they belong to the numerically dominant caste; and also often in Bengal because they have a sufficient goonda following. . . .

**And Hon. Member:** What?

**Shri Frank Anthony:** Because they have a goonda following (*Interruptions*) I will come to that.

**Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya:** On a point of order. Is this statement to be allowed to be recorded in the proceedings of the House, that it is the goondas who are ruling Bengal?

**Shri Frank Anthony:** Yes, I will come to that.

**Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya:** I want a ruling.

**Shri Frank Anthony:** When the great Calcutta killings were on, the police were afraid to intervene to stop the goonda elements because it was said that most of the MLAs had their respective retinues of goondas, to whom they gave political protection. That is the truth. It has been published in many papers.

**Shri Shivaji Rao S. Deshmukh:** That is a travesty of truth.

**Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya:** Can this go into the records, that the MLAs in Bengal are keepers of goondas?

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** That is the opinion of the hon. Member—for what it is worth.

**Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya:** This is a legislative chamber. This is not a bedlam where anyone can speak out anything that passes in his mind. This is a legislative chamber. He is demeaning the chamber itself.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Order, order. I would appeal to the hon. Member to avoid offensive words.

**Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya:** He is turning it into a bedlam.

**Shri Frank Anthony:** This hurts only those who are secretly revivalist.

**Shri Birendra Bahadur Singh (Rajnandgaon):** On a point of order. Are such discussions desirable?

**Shri Frank Anthony:** Very desirable.

**Shri Birendra Bahadur Singh:** Are such discussions desirable in the House for communal harmony in the country?

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** There is no point of order. But I would appeal to

the hon. Member to refrain from using offensive words.

**Shri Birendra Bahadur Singh:** If he talks like this, what will people outside think of us? If this is the tone he sets, what will be the reaction outside?

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The word 'goonda' is not a happy one to use.

**Shri Frank Anthony:** Let us face the truth... (*Interruptions*). I am not only blaming the Congress Party. All parties are to blame. All parties are to blame. Because of the lust for political power, all parties have canvassed votes in the past..... (*Interruptions*).

**Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya:** You made a speaker on our side the other day withdraw a statement "screw loose" he had made with reference to Dr. Lohia. Now this hon. Member refers to Bengal MLAs as the keepers of goondas. Will you allow that to go on record?

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** He has not mentioned any name (*Interruptions*).

**An Hon. Member:** Why should he do it at all?

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** I would appeal to the hon. Member not to use such words.

**Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad:** Can you allow such a statement that the MLAs keep goondas?

**Shri Sham Lal Saraf:** He is branding everybody as a communalist, even those who have sacrificed their lives for the cause of communal harmony.

**Shri Kapur Singh (Ludhiana):** 'Goonda' is a respectable world which has been incorporated in our statute books. I see nothing wrong about it, when no particular reference is made.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** But we are a responsible House. We should refrain from the use of such words.

**Shri Frank Anthony:** They have burnt out unoffending members of my community—burnt them out.

**Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya:** In that case, I can call Mr. Anthony a leader of the goondas. Mr. Anthony may be leading or leader of the goondas in Calcutta (*Interruptions*).

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Order, order.

**Shri Kapur Singh:** That is unparliamentary.

**Shri Badrudduja:** I rise to a point of order. Can an hon. Member be accused by another member in that manner? Is it not a serious reflection on him? (*Interruptions*).

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** You please withdraw those words. He has not used any name, but you have called him by name and told him that he is a leader of the goondas. Please withdraw those words.

**Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya:** But he says about the whole class of Bengal MLAs.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** He did not mention any names. I would appeal to the hon. Members to use better language. Please withdraw those words.

**Shri Thirumala Rao (Kakinada):** Can he malign a whole class of people, the MLAs?

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** I am afraid you said the MLAs had retinues of goondas. You mentioned the entire class of MLAs.

**Shri Frank Anthony:** No, I am sorry, I did not. I said certain MLAs.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** I would again appeal to the hon. Member not to use such words.

**Shri Thirumala Rao:** He goes about attacking everybody like a bull in a china shop most unscrupulously. He is going on making wild allegations against everybody in the country. He has no business to talk like that.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** It would be very graceful on your part to withdraw those words.

**Shri Frank Anthony:** This is being said in the press.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** I am sorry you mentioned MLAs as leaders of goondas.

**Shri Frank Anthony:** No. This has been said of many members of the legislature, that they have retinues of these people.

**Shri K. C. Sharma:** Just a word, Sir.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** It does not look nice to make such remarks against MLAs. Please withdraw those words.

**Shri Frank Anthony:** All right, if you feel like it.

**Shri Kapur Singh:** Let them both withdraw.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** You also please withdraw those words.

**Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya:** I withdraw.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Let us proceed in a dignified manner.

**Shri Frank Anthony:** I knew that the truth was going to hurt, but I did not know that it would express itself in this way.

As I was saying, all the parties are to blame, because all the parties have entered in this competition for getting votes on caste and religious terms. All the parties have sown the wind. As they have sown the wind of capturing votes on religious, caste and communal lines, today the country is reaping the whirlwind not only of increasing disharmony, of fratricide between Indian and Indian, Indian murdering Indian, not only Muslims, Hindus murdering Hindus, because of differences of religion, language, caste and sub-caste. The parties are to blame, let us under-

stand that. They have sown the whirlwind that the country is reaping today.

**Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad:** Highly objectionable.

**Shri Frank Anthony:** What has happened? Let me give some examples. He says it is highly objectionable. People object to the truth. What happened recently in Bihar?

**Shri Basumatari:** Has he any respect for the country?

**Shri Frank Anthony:** After the frenzy, the recurring frenzy against the Muslims exhausted itself, students in Bihar of one caste started assaulting students, stabbing, assaulting the women of another caste, Hindu caste; students of one caste in Bihar started assaulting, stabbing people of another caste. That came out very prominently in the *Hindustan Times*.

In Assam, what happened? Assamese-speaking Hindus assaulting, murdering . . . (*Interruptions*).

**Shri K. N. Tiwary:** Is not one Christian killing another Christian, Protestant killing Catholic, Catholic killing Protestant?

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Order, order. He can refute him later. He may not agree with him.

**Shri Basumatari:** Why should he bring in everybody, Assam and Bengal. What does he know about Assam?

**Shri Frank Anthony:** I am showing this virus that is destroying the country. In Assam, I can give examples *ad infinitum*, I do not want to and to that.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Let us throw some oil over the troubled waters.

**Shri Frank Anthony:** But, Sir, it is a troublesome problem, and let us face the problem, because the country is going up in flames today. We are facing the problem because I am analysing it.

**Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad:** You are creating the problem in this country.

**Shri Frank Anthony:** I was going to refer to what a Minister said. Let that go, but these stories are being circulated. Whether they are false or true, I do not know, but yesterday I had occasion to refer to the fact that the Minister from Bihar regaled us at a meeting where we were supposed to deal with this problem, with an utterly gruesome story. It may have been true, it may not have been true. But I should think that Government, if it is serious to stop this retaliation, this competition in murder, will put down not only a Minister but every newspaper that puts on a gruesome story. Otherwise, all this profession of secularism is just an empty mockery. What I feel is, this, let us understand it. My Hindu friends tell me this privately: what is the thesis as they feel. (*Interruption*).

17 hrs.

**Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya:** Everybody takes you in confidence? You are the best man?

**Shri Frank Anthony:** I am taking only of the revivalists. If my hon. friend is a revivalist, the cap will fit him. They say: if the country is made a Hindu State, then it will be strong and united (*Interruption*). And that is the tragedy. They feel, the current argument openly made by people to me is, how many Muslims can you really trust in a crisis. But my reply is this. After all, they are Indian Muslims. How? What is the issue? How will you ever attract their loyalty and love for this country if every now and then, or for the whole time, they may be objects of recurring murder, if every now and then, they have to walk in the shadow of death, of arson, of loot and of rape? That is the trouble (*Interruption*).

**Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad:** It is wrong; he cannot be allowed to speak like this. How can he speak like this?

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** We have to take up the Calling Attention Notice at 5 o'clock. He will continue afterwards.

**Shri S. M. Banerjee (Kanpur):** Sir, he is pleading Pakistan's case.

**Shri Harish Chandra Mathur:** It is not only unparliamentary but it is anti-national.

**श्री कछवाय :** उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, ये शब्द रिकार्ड से निकाल दिये जायें ।

**Shri R. S. Pandey:** Shri Frank Anthony speaks absolute nonsense.

**श्री कछवाय :** यह सदस्य पाकिस्तान के बारे में क्यों नहीं कुछ कहते हैं ? मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि यह शब्द कार्यवाही से निकाल दिये जायें ।

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Order, order. I am not hearing anything. Half a dozen Members are speaking together. I will look into the record. If he has said anything unparliamentary, I will expunge it. At 5 o'clock, we have to take up the Calling Attention Notice.

**श्री कछवाय :** हम इन शब्दों को बदलित नहीं करेंगे । इनको अपने शब्दों को विद्वद्धा करना चाहिये । इन्होंने जो कुछ कहा है, वह बिल्कुल गलत है ।

**श्री बड़े :** यह हिन्दुस्तान को बदनाम कर रहे हैं । यह पाकिस्तान का पक्ष यहाँ पर रख रहे हैं । यह पाकिस्तान की तरफ से बोल रहे हैं ।

**Shri R. S. Pandey:** What relation has he got with the people? He is a nominated Member. He talks something nonsense. It has to be removed from the record.

**Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad:** Absolute nonsense.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Order, order. How can we go on like this? Please sit down.

**Shri Thirumala Rao:** I want to make one submission.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Please sit down.

**Shri R. S. Pandey:** He should withdraw his remark.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Please sit down. I have not heard anything. I will look into the records.

**श्री कछवाय :** आप इन शब्दों को रिकार्ड से निकाल दीजिए । यह सदस्य हिन्दुस्तान को दुनिया में बदनाम करना चाहते हैं ।

**श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री (विजनौर) :** उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, आप सबको "सिट डाउन", "सिट डाउन" तो कह रहे हैं, लेकिन इस हाउस की डिग्नटी को कायम रखना आपका भी तो फर्ज है । यहाँ पर दुनिया का प्रेस बैठा हुआ है । वह इस देश के विरुद्ध कही गई ये बातें सुन रहा है । यह सदस्य पार्लियामेंट में बठ कर हिन्दुस्तान के खिलाफ एक वातावरण तयार कर रहे हैं ।

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Order, order.

**Shri R. S. Pandey:** Please ask him to withdraw his remarks.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Order, order.

How can we go on like this? Half a dozen Members are standing.

**Shri R. S. Pandey:** He wants to please Shri Badrudduja. Nothing else.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** I will look into the records. If he has said anything unparliamentary, I will ask him to withdraw it.

**Shri Raghunath Singh (Varanasi):** I move that the remarks made by him be expunged.

**Shri Khadilkar (Khed):** May I make a submission?

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** If one hon. Member gets up, I can hear him.

**Shri Khadilkar:** May I make a submission? (*Interruptions*).

**श्री कछकाय :** सारे विश्व में यह बात जायेगी और भारत पर कलंक लगेगा ।

**श्री अणोकारलाल बेरवा :** हिन्दुस्तान को बदनाम करने की कोशिश की जा रही है ।

**Shri Khadilkar:** My submission is that if you search for some unparliamentary or undignified expression, it would be futile. The main objection is this. If my hon. friend, Mr. Anthony, who is a Member of this House levels a charge against Members of the House and the Members of the other Assemblies who have been elected in a general manner saying that they have got retinues of goondas with them....

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** What is the charge that he has levelled?

**Shri Khadilkar:** ...then it is not a question of expunging a particular portion. He is bringing down the dignity of the House by such remarks. By such remarks he is not doing any helpful analysis of the present situation. We are entirely in agreement so far as the reaction is concerned, but if he brings down the dignity of the House, then we have a right to protest. (*Interruptions*).

**Shri Frank Anthony:** I appeal to you for protection.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Please sit down; I will hear you. (*Interruptions*).

**श्री कछवाय :** उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, अगर ये शब्द नहीं निकाले जायेंगे, तो हमको वाकआउट करना पड़ेगा ।

**Shri Thirumala Rao:** The way in which Mr. Anthony has spoken in the present delicate situation is unfortunate. He is adding fuel to the fire. He is speaking as an agent provocateur of Pakistan on the floor of this House. This House cannot tolerate this for a moment.

**श्री बड़े :** यह करेक्ट है ।

**श्री कछवाय :** त्यागी जी क्यों उसके पीछे पड़े हुए हैं ? छोड़ा उसको ।

**एक माननीय सदस्य :** यह पाकिस्तान का एजेंट है ।

**Shri R. S. Pandey:** The entire speech of Mr. Anthony has to be expunged from the record. That is my suggestion. He should not be allowed to speak further. (*Interruptions*).

**श्री बड़े :** पाकिस्तान में हिन्दुओं और ईसाइयों पर जो भीषण अत्याचार किये जा रहे हैं, उनके बारे में तो यह सदस्य कुछ नहीं कहते । भारत के बारे में गलत बातें कह कर उसको बदनाम कर रहे हैं ।

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** In the beginning itself, I appealed to Mr. Anthony not to create a further situation, but we must pour oil over troubled waters.

**Shri Frank Anthony:** I withdrew those remarks. (*Interruptions*). I appeal to you, because my remarks hurt the people. Please remember the feeling under which I am speaking. Defenceless men, women and children of my community....

**Some Hon. Members:** No, no.

**Shri Frank Anthony:** They won't know. Let me speak the truth. Defenceless men, women and children of my community were burnt out in Calcutta and you will not allow me to speak in this House. (*Interruptions*).

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** We cannot go on like this. Is this the way that we add to the dignity of the Parliament? This is not the way to go on. This is a deliberating body... (*Interruptions*).

**Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad:** We will walk out from the House.

**श्री कछवाय :** हम यह बात नहीं सुनना चाहते हैं । हम वाक आउट करते हैं । उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, आप हमारी बात नहीं सुनते हैं । यह पाकिस्तान के एजेंट हैं । (*Interruptions*).

**श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री :** इनको हटवाइये । आप इस सदन के संरक्षक हैं । आप इस प्रकार का वातावरण नवाते हैं जो देश के हित के विपरीत जाता है । तमाम दुनिया का प्रेस यहाँ बैठा हुआ है । इस तरह का वातावरण क्यों बनवाते हैं ?

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Order order. How long can we go on like this? I will adjourn the House till tomorrow. The House stands adjourned till Eleven of the clock tomorrow.

17.11 hrs.

*The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Wednesday, April 15, 1964/Chaitra 26, 1886 (Saka).*