

12.26 hrs.

## DEMAND NO. 47—ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

## \*DEMANDS FOR GRANTS—contd.

## MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS

**Mr. Speaker:** The House will now take up the discussion and voting of the Demands for Grants relating to the Ministry of Home Affairs for which eight hours have been allotted. Hon. Members desirous of moving their cut motions may send slips within fifteen indicating which of the cut motions they would like to move.

**Mr. Speaker:** Motion moved:

## DEMAND NO. 44—MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS

**Mr. Speaker:** Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 4,40,85,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1967, in respect of 'Ministry of Home Affairs'".

## DEMAND NO. 45—CABINET

**Mr. Speaker:** Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 49,92,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1967, in respect of 'Cabinet'".

## DEMAND NO. 46—ZONAL COUNCILS

**Mr. Speaker:** Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,12,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1967, in respect of 'Zonal Councils'".

**Mr. Speaker:** Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 2,75,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1967, in respect of 'Administration of Justice'".

## DEMAND NO. 48—POLICE

**Mr. Speaker:** Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 27,40,02,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1967, in respect of 'Police'".

## DEMAND NO. 49—SENSUS

**Mr. Speaker:** Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 83,33,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1967, in respect of 'Census'".

## DEMAND NO. 50—STATISTICS

**Mr. Speaker:** Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 3,01,80,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1967, in respect of 'Statistics'".

## DEMAND NO. 51—PRIVY PURSES AND ALLOWANCES OF INDIAN RULERS

**Mr. Speaker:** Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,50,000 be granted to the

\*Moved with the recommendation of the President.

President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1967, in respect of 'Privy Purses and Allowances of Indian Rulers'".

**DEMAND No. 52—DELHI**

**Mr. Speaker:** Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 21,80,75,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1967, in respect of 'Delhi'".

**DEMAND No. 53—ANDAMAN AND NICOBAR ISLANDS**

**Mr. Speaker:** Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 3,10,78,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1967, in respect of 'Andaman and Nicobar Islands'".

**DEMAND No. 54—TRIBAL AREAS**

**Mr. Speaker:** Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 12,96,89,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1967, in respect of 'Tribal Areas'".

**DEMAND No. 54—DADRA AND NAGAR HAVELI AREA**

**Mr. Speaker:** Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 22,74,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1967, in respect

of 'Dadra and Nagar Haveli Area'".

**DEMAND No. 56—LACCADIVE, MINICOY AND AMINDIVI ISLANDS**

**Mr. Speaker:** Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 57,68,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1967, in respect of Laccadive, Minicoy and Amindivi Islands'".

**DEMAND No. 57—OTHER REVENUE EXPENDITURE OF THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS**

**Mr. Speaker:** Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 3,51,66,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1967, in respect of 'Other Revenue Expenditure of the Ministry of Home Affairs'".

**DEMAND No. 128—CAPITAL OUTLAY OF THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS**

**Mr. Speaker:** Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 2,00,65,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1967, in respect of 'Capital Outlay of the Ministry of Home Affairs'".

**श्री किशन पटनायक (सम्बलपुर) :**  
 अध्यक्ष महोदय, हम निवेदन करना चाहते हैं। मैंने अध्यक्ष निर्देश 115 के मातहत लिखा था। सदन में इस तरह से कानूनी कार्यवाही करना मुश्किल हो जाता है जब कि

मंत्री महोदय कुछ असत्य बातें बोल जाते हैं। असत्य को प्रमाणित कर के मैंने आपको अध्यक्ष निर्देश 115 के मातहत लिखा था भ्रकाल संहिता के बारे में और उड़ीसा में..

**Mr. Speaker:** I am not going to hear those.

**श्री किशन पटनायक :** लेकिन इस तरह से कार्यवाही कैसे चलेगी जब कि आप कायदे के मुताबिक चीजों को सामने नहीं आने दगे।

**अध्यक्ष महोदय :** मैं हाउस से कहूंगा कि मेम्बर साहब पूछते हैं कि सदन की कार्यवाही किस तरह से चलेगी। क्या कार्यवाही इस तरह से चलेगी कि जो चीज ये कहना चाहें उस वक्त उठकर, खड़े होकर बोलते चले जायें क्या इस तरह से कार्यवाही चलेगी ? कार्यवाही तो इस तरह से चलेगी .....

**श्री किशन पटनायक :** आप जायज बातों को डिसप्लाउ कर देंगे तो कार्यवाही कैसे चलेगी।

**अध्यक्ष महोदय :** जायज या नाजायज बात भी ..... (व्यवधान)

**श्री किशन पटनायक :** खाद्य मंत्री ने साफ़ झूठ बोला है और उस झूठ का हमने आपको प्रमाण दिया था।

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy (Kendrapara):** Yesterday, I submitted my cut motions on this Ministry but I did not sign them.

**Mr. Speaker:** He might sign them now.

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy:** I have done it now. They may be allowed.

**Mr. Speaker:** Yes. The Home Minister wanted to make a statement.

**Shri S. M. Banerjee (Kanpur):** I want to bring to your notice one thing regarding the same discussion.

**Mr. Speaker:** He can make that point when he is participating in the

debate. It cannot be done in this manner.

**Shri S. M. Banerjee:** In that case, I would rather walk out. Because, you do not want to hear anything.... (Interruptions).

**Mr. Speaker:** Order, order. I cannot hear them in this manner..... (Interruptions).

**Shri S. M. Banerjee:** Why are they shouting like this?

**Mr. Speaker:** I will not allow him to speak in this manner. He would sit down.

**Shri S. M. Banerjee:** You want to compel me to walk out?

**Mr. Speaker:** Now I will ask him to go out.

**Shri S. M. Banerjee:** You are making a mockery of democracy.

*Shri S. M. Banerjee then left the House*

**डा० राम मनोहर लालिह्या (फर्रुखाबाद):**  
ये लोग तबला ला कर बजावें तो अच्छा होगा, सारंगी भी बजाओं साथ साथ।

**The Minister of Home Affairs (Shri Nanda):** Sir in the statement made on the floor of the House on 25th February, I set forth the conclusions reached at the meeting of Chief Ministers held at New Delhi on the 13th February, 1966 on the use of the Defence of India Act and Rules in the changed circumstances. The matter was further discussed with the Chief Ministers on the 22nd April, 1966. The question of revoking the proclamation of emergency, the special problems of certain border States and territories and other related problems have been considered and Government have now taken the following decisions.

Some powers under the Defence of India Act and Rules are still required in and for certain border States and territories and some powers may, for

the present, also be needed by the Central Government for certain other purposes connected with defence. These powers will not include the power of preventive detention, except when it is necessary to take action to meet the needs of border States and territories and defence.

As some of these powers will not be available once the proclamation of emergency is revoked, and since it is not permissible under the Constitution to limit the operation of the proclamation to certain parts of the country, the proclamation should not be revoked for the present... (Interruptions). The Defence of India Act and the Rules should be amended so as to provide that the Act and the Rules shall extend to such area or areas, and may be applied in whole or in part, as the President may, by order in the Official Gazette, specify and that different orders may be made in respect of different area or areas or for different purposes. The necessary legislation should be introduced in the current session of Parliament. The decision regarding restricted application of the Defence of India Act and Rules should be given effect to without waiting for the amendment of the Act and Rules and the State Governments should also be advised accordingly. For the various purposes for which the Defence of India Act and Rules are at present being used, the normal laws should be used with any amendments that may be necessary. This change over to normal laws should take place as early as possible.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath** (Hoshangabad): As early as possible? When exactly?

**Shri Nath Pal** (Rajapur): Why not immediately?

**Shri Nanda:** Yes, immediately included.

It is also the intention of the Government to sponsor such amendment of the Constitution as may be found

necessary after careful consideration of all aspects, including the need to indemnify Government servants for acts done during the period that the proclamation of emergency is in force.

**श्री मधु लिमये (मुंगेर) :** यह बहुत शंका काम कर रहे हैं। आपको कोई अधिकार नहीं है।

**Shri Shinkre** (Marmagoa): Guilty conscience.

**Shri Nanda:** I may add that we have already started taking action in the light of the decisions taken. Out of the 153 persons who were under preventive detention under orders of the Central Government until a few days ago, the release of all except 25 has been ordered and a further review is being made of the cases of these also. We have also advised the States to release a large proportion of detenus immediately and, as would appear from reports in the press, releases are being made every day.

**An hon. Member:** Why are they not released together?

**Shri Nanda:** Their release is done by the States. The States are releasing the detenus in a progressive manner.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** What is meant by "progressive release"? Let him clarify. How can there be progressive release?

**श्री मधु लिमये :** अध्यक्ष महोदय, इस पर कोई सवाल नहीं पूछने देंगे? दो चार सवाल तो पूछने दीजिये।

**अध्यक्ष महोदय :** बहस शुरू हो गई है।

**श्री मधु लिमये :** यह दस्तूर यहाँ का है कि जब कोई महत्वपूर्ण निवेदन होता है तो सवाल पूछने आप देते हैं।

**अध्यक्ष महोदय :** बहस पर स्टेटमेंट उन्होंने किया है। डिमांड्स शुरू होने लगी हैं।

श्री मधु लिमये : बहुस से इसका क्या सम्बन्ध है? एक घसे से यह सदन के सामने मामला है ।

**Shri Dinen Bhattacharya** (Serampore): Every Member will not get an opportunity to participate in the debate to ask for a clarification.

**Mr. Speaker:** Let us see. Now, **Shri Kapur Singh.**

**Shri Kapur Singh** (Ludhiana): Mr. Speaker, Sir, the statement which the hon. Minister of Home Affairs has made, as must be evident to him, has afforded little satisfaction, at least to this side of the House. At the proper stage, I might revert to this point again. But now I begin by saying that the Report of the Ministry of Home Affairs, for the year 1965-66, quite rightly, does not err on the side of modesty, while spelling out its dominions and functions. The Minister of Home Affairs is the only ruling prince now left in a great and democratic India and it is, therefore, well that he realises that his main role, as mentioned in the Introduction, is to foster "conditions under which democracy may flourish and ordered development and progress of the country may be possible". This is a task worthy of any high titular deity or a king of men. This is a task which calls for imagination and courage as well as divine qualities of intuition and compassion.

On its own pretensions, the Ministry of Home Affairs can have no grievance if it is judged by those high standards which it itself has spelt out in the Introduction to the Report.

On the very first page of this Report, the Ministry concedes by saying that,

"Keeping amity and concord between various segments of the population; protection of the rights of citizens which needs effective prevention of any internal disorder; maintenance of a well-knit, responsive and efficient administrative structure;"

—all that is the part of its high duties.

As I sat to prepare these notes a couple of days ago, the day's paper, *The Statesman* was lying before me. This is dated the 23rd April, 1966. On the very first page I saw headlines which appeared to me to be relevant to the claims and tasks which the Ministry of Home Affairs has set before itself.

The first head-line says: *Kerala Samiti Threatens Bandh* This is date-lined, Trivandrum, April 22 and gives news of the Action Council of the Leftist Parties of Kerala that has decided to call a Kerala Bundh in the last week of May in support of, what it calls, as its "Fourteen Urgent Demands of the People". These demands relate to, doubling up of rice ration, reduction in recent increase in the prices of rice, withdrawal of Emergency and release of detenués, lining D.A. with cost of living, etc., etc.

The second head-line refers to "21 Persons Arrested in Bangalore". This is date-lined, Bangalore, April 22 and gives news of arrest of 21 people, including a former Mayor of Bangalore, in connection with the Bangalore Bundh to be observed on 23rd April. Eleven of these persons were arrested when they attempted to stage a black-flag demonstration defying prohibitive orders in force. This news-item, however, adds that the Mayor of Bangalore regards this popular upsurge as "playing with the emotional feelings of the people to advance political aspirations". The worthy Mayor does not make it clear, however, as to what is particularly wrong about harnessing emotions of the people to advance political aspirations.

The third head-line is date-lined, Calcutta, April 22 and tells us about "33 Teachers Held in Calcutta". We are informed that 344 primary teachers, 25 of them women, were arrested when they attempted to break through the police cordon around Raj Bhavan in violation of Section 144 Criminal Procedure Code. The news item adds that about 15000 primary

teachers of the State had joined the squatting demonstration outside Raj Bhavan to press their demands including upward revision of their pay scale.

The fourth headline is in the same strain and it tells us about the last minute cancellation of a dinner arranged in honour of our Prime Minister at Ashoka Hotel on Friday, 22nd April, 1966. It is headlined as, "*Workers Strike in Ashoka Hotel*". It tells us that this strike was called by the workers because of the alleged manhandling of a steward by the Manager on Friday when the steward failed to comply with certain orders given by the Manager. The workers refused to pay heed to the entreaties of the authorities of the Ashoka Hotel not to strike work, promising an inquiry into the alleged misbehaviour of the Manager, but the workers demanded suspension of the Manager as a precondition for calling off their strike.

The news item regretfully informs us that Prime Minister's dinner had to be a buffet dinner involving self-service by the guests themselves.

In the same paper, at page 4, there is a headline—*Bid To Kill Madhya Pradesh Minister Fails*. It is dated Bhopal, 22nd April and gives us the depressing news that the Agriculture Minister of Madhya Pradesh was stopped in his car near the Secretariat and fired at by a miscreant, point blank. Fortunately, the bullet missed the face of Shri Arjan Singh. The consequences were neither gruesome nor such as would necessitate a by-election during the current Emergency.

On the editorial page of the same paper, the editor headlines his main piece of writing as "*A Trail of Death*" and this article refers to the death of 55 people in the train explosion at Lumding and connects it with a similar occurrence in Assam on February 17, that took a toll of 38 lives.

Finally, here is a culling from *The Statesman* of yesterday which is headlined as "*Cheaper by the Week*".

"Agitations of one kind or another occur at the rate of 36 a week in India, an official survey has revealed, reports UNI.

"The period analysed is from January, 1964 to August, 1965.

"The total number of agitations—political workers and students'—was 2,909. Of these, 592 were violent. The police had to fire on 89 occasions and resort to lathi-charges and tear-gassing on 69.

"The largest number of violent agitations were in Manipur, 98 followed by Bihar, 91, Maharashtra 75, Gujarat 64 and Orissa 43."

This is a story portrayed by a single morning's newspaper, which eschews sensationalism for its own sake and which rightly prides itself for screening news before publishing them.

I like to think that the House will agree with me that this story of a single day, portrayed in the newspaper relating to the happenings on one day, i.e., the 22nd April, 1966, is not a story which is peculiar to a single day, but it is a story which we hear much too often on many week days and it is a story which represents a general pattern of how things are going on in the country at the moment. This is not a story which is, in any way, flattering to the claims which have been made about its functions by the Ministry of Home Affairs in the introduction of the report that we are considering. This is also not a story which can assure us that—I am quoting from the Introduction—

"amity and concord between various segments of the population"

are being well maintained. It is not a tale which gives us any ground for complacency that—

"protection of the rights of the citizens which needs effective prevention of internal disorder"

has been well done. Again, it is not

[Shri Kapur Singh]

a picture which strengthens our faith in

"the maintenance of a well-knit, responsive and effective administrative structure"

in the country.

This is with regard to the general administration in the country, but there is another aspect of the matter which the Ministry of Home Affairs recognises as its rightful function. We learn from the report—this is also on the first page of the Introduction—that

"the Ministry has to remain in constant touch with the State Government and to see that the country is able to traverse a path of growth and development, without any interruption caused by forces which are generated by friction narrow loyalties and differences".

Here we are listening to the authentic voice of our Home Minister. How shall we judge whether this part of the duties of the Ministry of Home Affairs has been well discharged? Would it be very wrong, would it be improper, if we count the number of Adjournment Motions and Calling Attention Notices which have been disallowed here in this House? I mean, the Adjournment Motions and Calling Attention Notices which have been disallowed on the specific ground that they related to some alleged failure on the part of the State Governments and not on the part of the Government of India itself. If the subject matters of these rejected Calling Attention Notices and Adjournment Motions were tabulated in a simple statement, they will furnish a very good and a very reliable mirror to the claims which are made by the Ministry of Home Affairs in relation to its claim for being the controller of—I again quote from the Introduction—

"constant touch and contact with the State Governments to see that the country traverses a path of growth of development without interruption caused by narrow loyalties and differences."

In marshalling these disquieting facts and in making certain passing

observations, my purpose is not to castigate the Ministry of Home Affairs; my purpose is not to fix the responsibility either on the Minister of Home Affairs personally or on this Ministry individually; the facts and incidents which I have referred to, do not so much reflect upon the incompetence of the failures of the Ministry of Home Affairs, but they reflect upon the lack of perception and intuitive understanding on the part of the leaders of the Government of India itself.

Ever since—I think almost 15 years have passed—we have taken, in this country, the road to what is called the "socialistic pattern of society" and the development plans, backed by the subsidiary measures of, what we call, "land reforms" and "social reforms", a number of dark, unpredictable and sinister forces have raised their heads in the body politic of this country; the nature of these forces is not visible and is not properly understood. Unless the nation can now command the services of men, who are endowed with intuitive comprehension of, and capable of understanding and controlling, these dark forces, the whole country is in danger of disintegration and disruption.

I am not belittling the Government's intentions behind promotion of all that we have done during the past 18 years. I am not belittling the progress and the advancement that we have made in certain economic fields. The progress and advancement are there and the Government's misguided idealism is also there in abundance. But my fear is that all this progress, and all this advancement, is in danger of being subjected to a deluge, generated by the dark forces which the imperfect understanding of our leaders has released in the body politic of this country. As some people have claimed, these are not the birth pangs of an affluent equalitarian society; these are rumblings of an earthquake which is coming and which will result in the disruption of the nation and the disintegration of the country and not strengthening or going forward. The

sands are running out fast, as I see them, and I take this opportunity of sounding a note of warning by taking advantage of this debate on the Ministry of Home Affairs which I do not hold responsible for the general observations and for the forebodings to which I have referred.

Now I come to the less disturbing and more prosaic matters which are mentioned in Part I of this report. Part I of this report relates to "Public Services." The report discusses a series of steps taken towards recruitment and employment and reinforcement of public services. This does much credit to the Ministry of Home Affairs. The task of manning civil services of a huge country like India is of huge importance and it is a task which is huge in dimension and size; this task is by no means a child's play. Yet, the Ministry of Home Affairs has displayed the patience of a tree, the resources of the perennial stream and the strength of a colossus to tackle this problem.

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy:** Elephant is there.

**Shri Kapur Singh:** Elephant is there. Still I would like to use the word 'colossus' because the task is really colossal and no number of elephants, whether white or brown, can tackle it either singly or in conjunction.

**The Minister of State in the Ministry of Home Affairs and Minister of Defence Supplies in the Ministry of Defence (Shri Hathi):** It is a noble animal.

**Shri Kapur Singh:** For recruitment and for training, and for improvement of service conditions and for classification of functions, the Ministry has done a remarkable work, but I cannot help pointing out that, in their fundamental approach towards one problem, the Ministry has gone on a wrong path. I refer to the question of, what is called 'corrupt practices' in Government offices these days. The various steps which the Ministry of Home Affairs has taken to deal with this problem seem to suggest that corrupt practices spring out of the evil

that resides exclusively in the hearts of those who man the civil services. Therefore, to sharpen the instruments of punishment against the civil services and to reduce the procedural chances that ensures fairplay to them is a true method of rooting out corruption. This is a fearful mistake; and this will not lead to the uprootment of corruption; it will only lead to preverification and recalcitrance. If anybody is inclined to doubt the truth of these remarks, he has but to acquire a first hand knowledge of what is happening in our government offices throughout the country to see the truth of what I say. The corruption has not decreased but has grown brazen-faced. The area of corruption is not contracting but has acquired a universal spread at the base-line at least and also, as I shall refer to presently, at the apex. The more the civil service is suspected and is given a short shrift, the more brazen-faced and resourceful it becomes in forging protective armour against the onslaughts of its own conscience and the attacks of its adversaries. To make the civil service honest and God-fearing in the service of the country, it is necessary to restore its self-respect and also to give it back its lost sense of security. It is a task which requires patience and understanding and it is a task which cannot be done through 'sloganeering'.

I shall not go into details and I shall refrain purposely from referring to what has been happening in the cases of the grave charges that have been made against the Chief Ministers of Bihar, Orissa and Mysore.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** Why purposely?

**An hon. Member:** Against the Chief Minister of Rajasthan also.

**Shri Kapur Singh:** And Rajasthan also, as my hon. friend tells me. I refrain purposely because this is a story which is so sordid and this is a story which is so painful that the observations which it is likely to evoke will not suit with the tempo of the debate which I am trying to set.



**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** In the national interest why not refer?

**Shri Kapur Singh:** My hon. friend Shri Kamath is there . . .

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** I am not speaking on these Demands.

**Shri Kapur Singh:** Whatever remissnesses I may be guilty of, he will fill them up.

I shall conclude this point by saying that to treat a civil servant as a congenital criminal and enslave him to the politician is a road which leads to corruption and chaos and it is not a road which leads towards cleanliness, and efficiency in administration. With these observations, I conclude my examination of Chapter I. From this I proceed to Chapter III now.

**Shri Shinkre:** It is a chapter-wise analysis?

**Shri Kapur Singh:** That is the only way to deal with the report scientifically. Chapter III of the report is headed 'Political', in which there is sub-para at page 22 which relates to the setting up of a Punjabi-speaking State. Para 51 of the report on the subject is naturally not up to date for it could not contain a reference to the latest step in the process, which is the announcement made a few days ago here, that is, on the 18th April, 1966, about the setting up of a demarcation agency on the basis of 1961 census figures on language. This latest step in the process was, preceded, as this House knows, and as we know, by the Cabinet Committee formed on the subject which came to the conclusion that a Punjabi speaking State should be carved out of the existing Punjab. It was followed by the Report of the Parliamentary Committee on the Punjabi Suba which recommended *inter alia* the conversion of the Punjabi region, specified in the First Schedule to the Punjab Regional Committees Order, 1957. The latest step—I am referring to the announcement of the 18th April—namely the announcement, would seem to bypass the well-considered recommendations

of the Parliamentary Committee, and in a way, also bypass the Presidential determination of the issue made in 1957, both of which decisions had found a large measure of acceptance by the public and politicians.

The question of interest here is as to how the latest announcement of the 18th April spells out the future of the Punjabi Suba which is going to be established as a result of so much that has happened in the country during the last fifteen years. There is no time to go into any elaborate arguments or details, but certain basic facts must be brought on record. These basic facts are: (a) No honest student of Indian politics will deny that the basic group in Indian politics and in Indian history has been and is the communal group, the group congealed into an entity by history and other circumstances; and (b) No well-informed politician can be ignorant of the fact that during the past decades language in this country has been the banner for political power and security for the communal group and it is not accepted as an objective demographic characteristic. That is why in the pre-Partition days as well as now, Government authorities have had to discard and disregard, more than once, the linguistic statistics obtained during the census operations as non-objective and false. It happened in 1939 in the United Punjab, and it happened in 1950, after the Partition, in respect of the North of India.

The 1961 census figures on language in Punjab reflect the power relations between Hindus and Sikhs, and do not reflect the numbers of Hindi speaking and Punjabi speaking groups.

No special pleading or casuistry can obliterate this fundamental fact. These figures of 1961 census do not relate to linguistic groups, but they relate to communal groups.

**Shri A. P. Sharma (Buxar):** No, no.

**Shri Kapur Singh:** This can only be denied either through ignorance or

through lack of honesty. Anybody who knows the facts knows that what I am saying is true.

Any attempt to carve out a unilingual Punjabi State by making these linguistic figures as the basis, can only result in carving out a Sikh area out of the existing Punjab which forms a political quarantine for the Sikhs in India.

Whatever the protestations and pretexts—and protests have already started coming in from some Members of the House—the net result of this kind of demarcation can only be a communal and not a linguistic administrative arrangement within a secular Indian nation. Whatever else may be the consequences of such an arrangement, it cannot lead to an integrated, coherent and pacified region in the North of India. It can only lead to sharpening of the communal confrontations which we loudly pretend to disown and eschew.

It can lead to the type of dishonesty or ignorance which the hon. Member for Amroha exhibited in his speech here on 15 March 1966, in the debate on the General Budget. He said, while referring to the decision for setting up a Punjabi state, that it was tantamount to raising of a "bogey". I have looked into the dictionary and the meaning of the word is, 'the devil'. He spelt out this 'devil' by saying that:

"There are districts in the Punjab which are predominantly Hindi-speaking. There are other districts which are predominantly Punjabi-speaking. In the middle, the population is mixed, speaking both Hindi and Punjabi."

"How are you going to divide this State?" he sanctimoniously asks.

What he means—with his tongue in his cheek of course—is that whatever demarcations you make, the

Hindus shall claim Hindi as their mother tongue and Sikhs alone shall be left out as champions of Punjabi, and so, even the unilingual Punjabi state shall continue to be a bilingual state—a predicament the Sikhs want to avoid.

I ask the following questions, plainly, and, therefore, I expect the Home Minister will give plain answers to them. Is the real purpose of accepting the 1961-census as the basis of demarcation of a Punjabi-speaking state to recreate a bilingual Punjabi State that is, on paper, a unilingual Punjabi State? Or, is the real object merely to detach Chandigarh, Anandpur Sahib, Bhakra and Pathankot the bridgehead to Kashmir, from a state in which the Sikhs might form a majority? Let there be clear answers to these questions.

The steps which are now being taken to demarcate a Punjabi State out of the existing Punjab—which, you, Sir, recommended as the only just solution of the problem in North India in your ably written report—are in fact the steps which will lead to national disintegration. According to a Persian saying:

तरसम कहि व कावा न रमी एराबी ई  
राह के तू मोखी बतुराकिस्तान अस्त.

It means: O' pilgrim, I have grave doubts about your arriving at your destination, for the road you have taken leads elsewhere",

It is possible that I may be misreading the intentions of the Home Ministry. It is possible that those who are responsible for this kind of demarcation of a unilingual Punjabi State have something quite different in their minds. By using the secular context of our Constitution, they might, in fact, be trying to solve, what is called, the Sikh problem. It is possible that although they protest that they are carving out a Punjabi speaking State, in their heart of hearts they believe they are going to give the Sikhs some political arrangements

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wherein they can "breathe the air of freedom." These are the words from a certain assurance given by our late Prime Minister, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, in March 1947. If this is the case, then I would beg permission to place the whole matter in its clear and proper perspective.

13 hrs.

It is necessary to understand a couple of fundamental propositions before this kind of approach to the Sikh problem can be evaluated.

The first proposition is that in the memorandum which the Akali Legislators of the Punjab Legislative Assembly submitted to the Parliamentary Committee on the Punjabi Suba, it is stated as follows in the last paragraph:

"The question of formation of a unilingual Punjabi Suba has nothing to do, whatsoever, directly, with any political demands, rights or aspirations of the Sikhs, as a people, and its formation or otherwise does not affect the Sikh problem one way or the other, in any direct manner."

This is a very clear, very forthright, and a very unambiguous statement of the true position. By trying to solve the Sikh problem by carving out a unilingual Punjabi State on the 1961 census figures, you will not either be meeting the case of the Sikhs or solving the Sikh problem directly, one way or the other. If, therefore, this is the real object, then it is not only a waste of time, but a misdirection of energy.

The second fundamental proposition which must be borne in mind in this context is that the Sikh problem or demand does not arise out of the provisions of the Constitution Act of India, but is of a more fundamental origin. The Sikh demand for having an area demarcated in the north of

India where they can "also breathe the air of freedom" has its genesis in certain fundamental facts of the political evolution of its constitutional history. They are:

(a) A fundamental fact is that the basic political group has been and remains the communal, and not the secular political group, as is presumed by the framers of the Constitution of India.

(b) In the Statement of the Cabinet Mission of 1946, the Sikhs were recognised by the British Sovereign Power as the third Party entitled to inheritance of the British political sovereignty in India.

(c) In the Statement made by His Majesty's Government on 3rd June, 1947, the Sikhs were given the decisive voice to decide as to whether or not Punjab should be partitioned.

(d) The Sikhs exercised the right in favour of partition of the Punjab, to opt out for the Constituent Assembly of India, in which the Centre was to have powers only on Finance, Communications and Defence.

(e) In March, 1947, Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, as President of the All India Congress Party, gave a public undertaking to the Sikhs that an area in the North of India shall be carved out, in which 'the Sikhs may also breathe the air of freedom'.

(f) In the Constituent Assembly of free India, however, a Constitution was framed which repudiated the foregoing fundamental facts and undertakings.

(g) As a consequence, representatives of the Akalis to the constituent Assembly, refused to append their signatures to the Constitution Act.

This is the true Sikh problem in its true perspective, and this, in fact, is the essence of the demand for a Punjabi Suba, which was not meant to be

equated with a unilingual Punjabi State. The term "Suba" is a Mughal administrative term which implies an autonomous State, such as the States of USSR, and the sub-State of Quebec in Canada.

This is the true and correct perspective of the Sikh problem, and any attempt towards solving it in an underhand manner, by bringing in the 1961 census figures as the basis of a Punjabi-speaking State, cannot but lead to conflicts and frustrations more than it seeks to solve.

This is where I would like to leave this matter. I beg of you to show me your customary indulgence so that I may finish my remarks. I will not take many minutes more.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** If my learned friend will not mind a slight interruption, on a point of clarification I would like to know whether he identifies the proposed Punjabi Suba with a Sikh State. What is his attitude to this? I do not think it was the Parliamentary Committee's stand at all that it should be a Sikh State.

**Shri Kapur Singh:** I think I have clarified my point, and I will try to recapitulate it with a view to answer the question which has just now been raised. The position which I am trying to explain to this House is that the demand for a Sikh State is entirely a different demand in origin and content and the demand for a unilingual Punjabi State is an altogether different demand. Our Government, within the context of our Constitution, is conceding the demand for a unilingual Punjabi State, but they are taking certain steps now, and I have referred to one step, namely the announcement of 18th April which might create an impression that by an underhand method an attempt is being made to meet the second demand while it is pretended that the first demand, namely the linguistic demand, is being met. I am, therefore, issuing a warning that this kind of procedure will

lead to all kinds of troubles which would be harmful to the unity, integration and strength of this country, of this nation, to which I and all the other Sikhs are wedded.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** Let us preserve and promote Hindu-Sikh unity at all costs, by all means.

**Shri Kapur Singh:** I am entirely with the hon. Member that at all costs Hindu-Sikh unity should be promoted, and this is precisely the point I am trying to make out, that the Home Ministry, by their tactics, are trying to undermine that unity by creating an impression that they are carving out a Sikh quarantine State for the Sikh people. This will not do good at all to the country or the nation or the Hindus or the Sikhs. That is my point.

Now I take up the matter of Jammu and Kashmir which finds a mention in Chapter 9 of the Report. At page 51, the Ministry seems to mention it with obvious satisfaction that certain Presidential orders passed under Article 370 of the Constitution have resulted in changes which convey the appearance of further integration of Jammu and Kashmir with the rest of India.

I would like to sound a note of warning here also over the fatal illusion of mistaking the verbal fact for the concrete fact, of confusing the word with the event. Anybody conversant with the reality of the situation of the problem of Jammu and Kashmir should know that it is no longer a constitutional or a verbal problem. It has already assumed the proportion and status of an international problem, and it is no use shutting our eyes to, what the Germans call, *real politik*. True, Pakistan has lost any semblance of justification for meddling in this problem by its misguided adventure of September, 1965. When a nation resorts to force, it forfeits any concession which may have been offered in the past. But the Kashmir question shall now have to be ultimately solved by the people of

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Kashmir themselves and any constitutional manoeuvres are altogether beside the point.

Now I will say a few words about the Chapter which pertains to, what it calls, "Other Matters", and then I shall have finished. At page 59, there is reference to a Language Unit created for "the specific purpose of undertaking a scientific scrutiny of the language returns of 1961 census." This does not make it clear whether the question as to whether the language figures in the returns of the 1961 operations were demographic figures or political figures relating to communal groups, shall also fall within the purview of the Language Unit. This should be made clear. It is also stated here that this Language Unit will investigate into the Pahari language area of North India. Greirson and other language experts of India have unmistakably declared Pahari as a dialect of the Punjabi language. Are we to understand that this Language Unit has been assigned the mission of merging Pahari with Hindi for official purposes, or its directives are to create a new language for purposes of recognition so that a political basis and soul can be provided to some new State of Dogras to be set up in the near future. This should also be made clear, because this is the talk of the town.

This chapter also makes a reference to "Prohibition" by alluding to Government reactions to the recommendations of the Study Team, called, the Tek Chand Commission. Is it intentional that the Report indulges in an act of *suppressio verii* by withholding the truth that the Tek Chand Commission is merely a Study Team of the Planning Commission and not a Study Team appointed by the Government of India? It is not a study team which was appointed by the Ministry of Home Affairs. As for the recommendations of the Tek Chand Commission, it is time that the Govern-

ment made themselves aware of the reactions of hilarity and ridicule that have arisen among all well-informed sections of the community by the first report submitted. Not only were its terms of reference loaded, but its presentation of facts and arguments was also loaded. The fact that while drunkenness has been traditionally an anathema to the Indian social conscience, drinking as such has not been so, has been conveniently glossed over by the learned authors of the Tek Chand Report.

**Shri Raghunath Singh (Varanasi):** It is practically a written speech; we have many times taken objection for doing like this. We have patiently heard him.

**Shri Kapur Singh:** I am now almost over.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** Your speech is almost over.

**Shri Kapur Singh:** Yes, my speech is almost over. If press reports were to be believed, this commission is now threatening us with the second part of its report and we have also been given an inkling as to what the second part of the report is to contain. We are told that this report will propound the theory that throughout history all military defeats have been due to—I will say—the *prayog* of alcohol, for the sake of my hon. friend who just interrupted me. On the basis of this theory it is to be recommended that the use of alcohol should be banned in our military forces. It is against this that I want to sound a note of warning. I will say no more than that there should be limits even to the sanctimonious stupidity of a nation, including us, the Hindus.

I may now be permitted to close by saying, because if I do not say this, I will be failing in my duty, a word of praise for our Home Minister. His worst critics do not doubt either the

purity of his intentions or the firmness of his will. His patriotism is of the highest order. If he has failed here and there, it is mostly a case of idealism overstripping performance. If he has erred here and there it is a case of patriotism bogged in its own surfeit. By and large he is a man who presides over his office with fear of God in his heart and human dignity in his mien. I thank you for the indulgence shown to me.

**Shri Raghunath Singh:** He has taken one full hour.

**Mr. Speaker:** He began at 12.32; his party was entitled to 33 minutes and he spoke for 38 minutes for which he asked for permission.

**डा० गोविन्द वास (जबलपुर) :** अध्यक्ष महोदय, जो भाषण अभी हुआ है, मैं आप का और गृह मंत्रालय का ध्यान ठीक उस की विपरीत दिशा की ओर ले जाना चाहता हूँ।

स्वतंत्रता के बाद हम लोग निर्माण के कार्य में लगे हुए हैं और यह निर्माण दो प्रकार का रहा है : एक पार्थिव वस्तुओं का निर्माण और दूसरा बौद्धिक निर्माण। जहाँ तक पार्थिव वस्तुओं के निर्माण का सम्बन्ध है, उस में हमें कुछ सफलता मिली है, इस में शक नहीं। लेकिन जहाँ तक बौद्धिक निर्माण का सम्बन्ध है, मैं गत 48 वर्षों से कांग्रेस में हूँ और इतने पर भी मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि कांग्रेस सरकार को इस सम्बन्ध में जरा भी सफलता प्राप्त नहीं हुई है।

13.14 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

इस का कारण है। बौद्धिक निर्माण आधारित है भाषा के ऊपर। और जहाँ तक भाषा का सम्बन्ध है, यद्यपि गृह मंत्रालय ने अपनी सुविधा के लिए इस मामले को विभिन्न मंत्रालयों में बाँट दिया है, विशेषकर शिक्षा मंत्रालय को दे दिया है, लेकिन हमारे संविधान के अनुसार गृह मंत्रालय ही इस सदन और इस देश के प्रति इस सम्बन्ध में जिम्मेदार है। हमें देखना यह है कि संविधान ने इस विषय

में जो आदेश दिये थे, जिन आदेशों को ध्यान में रख कर राष्ट्रपति ने 1960 में कुछ आदेश निकाले थे और साथ ही सरकार भी समय समय पर जो आदेश निकालती रही है, वे कार्य रूप में परिणत हुए है या नहीं।

1960 में राष्ट्रपति ने अपने आदेश में कहा था कि हमें हिन्दी का प्रयोग अधिकारिक बढ़ाना चाहिये और जिन कार्यालयों में हिन्दी जानने वाले कर्मचारियों की संख्या पर्याप्त है, उन का काम हिन्दी में चलना चाहिये। मैं गृह मंत्रालय से यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि सरकार के कितने ऐसे विभाग हैं, जिन में हिन्दी जानने वाले कर्मचारियों की पर्याप्त संख्या है और उन में यदि गत अठारह वर्षों के बाद भी हिन्दी में काम नहीं चला है, तो इस का क्या कारण है। हमारे संविधान के अनुसार 1965 की 26 जनवरी से हिन्दी इस देश की पहली भाषा हो जाती है। इस लिए सरकार को अपना सब काम पहले हिन्दी में करना चाहिये। 1963 में एक कानून हम ने ज़रूर पास किया है अंग्रेजी चलाने के सम्बन्ध में, लेकिन उस कानून में भी यह बात स्पष्ट कही गई है कि अंग्रेजी केवल हिन्दी के साथ चल सकती है। मैं गृह मंत्रालय से यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि 1965 की 26 जनवरी के बाद जो केन्द्रीय सरकार का समस्त कार्य हिन्दी में चलना चाहिये था और अंग्रेजी केवल उस के साथ चल सकती थी उस सम्बन्ध में क्या हुआ।

तीसरी बात मैं यह जतना चाहता हूँ कि जिन कार्यालयों में हिन्दी जानने वाले कर्मचारियों की पर्याप्त संख्या है, उन कार्यालयों का काम भी आज अंग्रेजी में क्यों चल रहा है और वहाँ पर हिन्दी क्यों नहीं चलाई जा रही है यदि कर्मचारियों ने सरकार के इस आदेश की अवहेलना की है, तो मैं जनना चाहता हूँ कि उन कर्मचारियों को कोई दंड क्यों नहीं दिया गया है, आज भी संविधान की, सरकार की और राष्ट्रपति के आदेशों की अवहेलना कर के छड़ाछड़ सब काम अंग्रेजी में चला रहे हैं।

[डा० गोविन्द दास]

चूँकि इन कर्मचारियों के विरुद्ध कोई कार्यवाही नहीं की गई है, इस लिए यह समझा जा रहा है और यह भावना फैली हुई है कि इस देश का समूचा काम अंग्रेजी में ही चलने वाला है, इस लिए जो हिन्दी में भी काम चला सकते हैं उन को क्यों हिन्दी में काम चलाना चाहिए। वे भी सब काम अंग्रेजी में ही चलाते जायें। यदि सरकार ने संविधान, राष्ट्रपति और अपने स्वयं के आदेश, इन सब का पालन किया होता तो हिन्दी में काम करने के सम्बन्ध में स्थिति भिन्न होती। लेकिन सरकार स्वयं भी स्वीकार करती है कि उस ने उस का पालन नहीं किया और मैं भी बराबर इस सदन में कहता आया हूँ कि सरकार उन का पालन नहीं कर रही है। उस का यह नतीजा है कि अब भी केन्द्रीय सरकार का समस्त काम अंग्रेजी में चलता है।

सरकार ने, गृह मंत्रालय ने, मेरी प्रार्थना पर मेरे ही निवेदन पर एक हिन्दी सलाहकार समिति बनाई। इस समिति का निर्माण हुए दो वर्ष हो गए। मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि क्या सरकार की कोई ऐसी समिति है, जिसके निर्माण को दो साल हो जायें और दो साल में उस की एक ही बैठक हो। इस समिति का क्या मतलब है? मेरे मित्र श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री, राज्य सभा के सदस्य, श्री गंगाशरण सिंह, ये सब हिन्दी प्रेमी उस सलाहकार समिति से इस्तीफा देना चाहते हैं।

श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री (बिजनौर) : मैंने इस्तीफा दे दिया है।

डा० गोविन्द दास : मुझे मालूम हुआ कि उन्होंने इस्तीफा दे दिया है यदि वे आज तक इस्तीफा देने के लिए रुके रहे, तो मेरे ही कहने पर रुके रहे। मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि आखिर इस हिन्दी सलाहकार समिति की आवश्यकता क्या है, यदि इस से काम नहीं लेना है।

मैंने इस सम्बन्ध में गृह मंत्रालय को बार-बार पत्र लिखे हैं। नन्दा जी के प्रति

मेरी बड़ी श्रद्धा है, लेकिन आज-कल उन का यह हाल हो गया है कि उनके दफ्तर से चिट्ठी की पावती तो आ जाती है, लेकिन उस के बाद वह क्या कर रहे हैं, हमें कुछ नहीं मालूम होता। मैं उन को लिख लिख कर दार गया हूँ। मैं उन से निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि यदि हिन्दी सलाहकार समिति से कोई काम नहीं लेना है, तो कृपा कर के इस को भंग कर दिया जाये, या मैं ही, जिस की सलाह से यह समिति बनाई गई थी, उन सदस्यों को सलह दूंगा—और मैं भी उन में से एक हूँगा—कि सब के सब इस समिति से इस्तीफा दे दें और देश को बतला दें कि हमारे इस्तीफा देने का क्या कारण है।

हिन्दी सलाहकार समिति की इतनी दुर्दशा कर देने के बाद अब एक भारतीय भाषा सलाहकार समिति बन रही है। उस के विषय में सरकार की घोषणा भी हो चुकी है। मैंने सुना है कि इस समिति में समस्त भारतीय भाषाओं के विकास के सम्बन्ध में विचार किये जायेगा और उन भाषाओं में अंग्रेजी भी रखी गई है। यह मेरी समझ के बाहर की बात है कि अंग्रेजी भारतीय भाषाओं में कैसे आ गई है। संविधान सभा में इस सम्बन्ध में क्या हुआ, यह मुझे याद है। मैं उसका सदस्य था, श्री एन्थनी भी उस के सदस्य थे और कामत साहब भी उसके सदस्य थे। कामत साहब को याद होगा कि उस वकत एन्थनी साहब ने कहा था कि हमारी 14 भाषाओं में अंग्रेजी को भी जोड़ दिया जाय, लेकिन जवाहरलाल जी ने उसका विरोध किया था और उन्होंने कहा था कि अंग्रेजी भारतीय भाषा नहीं हो सकती, उसको वहाँ नहीं रखा जा सकता। इतने दिनों के बाद अब भारतीय भाषा समिति बनने वाली है, उसकी भी उसी तरह से दुर्दशा होगी, जिस तरह से कि हिन्दी सलाहकार समिति की हुई। फिर उसमें अंग्रेजी आदि भी रखी जाती है तो मैं कहूँगा कि सब भारतीय भाषा विशेषज्ञों को जो उस समिति में रखे जाय, उन सब को इस्तीफा दे देना चाहिये और

उनको स्वीकार नहीं करना चाहिये उस समिति में रहना ।

जहां तक हिन्दी का सम्बन्ध है, मैं तो अब एक निर्णय पर पहुंचा हूँ कि हिन्दी के कार्य के सम्बन्ध में केन्द्रीय सरकार अब अपना समस्त काम बन्द कर दे । यह फ्रस्ट्रेशन, जिसका मैंने हिन्दी में अनुवाद किया है "भग्न मनोरथों से उत्पन्न नैराश्य" उसके कारण नहीं, लेकिन अब तक सरकार की जो कार्यवाही रही है इस सम्बन्ध में, उसके कारण मैं यह कह रहा हूँ । केन्द्रीय सरकार की जैसी स्थिति हो गई है, उस स्थिति में केन्द्रीय सरकार हिन्दी का कोई काम नहीं कर सकेगी । इसलिये हिन्दी में काम के लिये केन्द्रीय सरकार को अपना समूचा काम बन्द कर देना चाहिये । कम से कम उससे एक बात तो हो जायगी कि जिन लोगों का यह ख्याल है कि हिन्दी उन पर लादी जा रही है, वह बात निकल जायगी ।

हिन्दी के काम के सम्बन्ध में केन्द्रीय सरकार केवल एक काम कर दे कि जितने हिन्दी भाषी राज्य हैं उनसे उनका जो पत्र-व्यवहार हो, वह सब का सब हिन्दी में हो । एक आश्चर्य की बात है और मेरी समझ में नहीं आता कि किस के दिमाग से इस तरह की चीज निकलती है, उन से यह तो कह दिया गया है कि आप अपना पत्र-व्यवहार हिन्दी में कर सकते हैं लेकिन जो पत्र हिन्दी में लिखें, उसका अनुवाद अंग्रेजी में भेजें । कोई भी राज्य सरकार दोहरा काम क्यों करेगी, यह समझ से बाहर की बात है । अगर उनका अंग्रेजी में भेजने से काम चल सकता है तो वे हिन्दी में लिखें और उसका अनुवाद अंग्रेजी में भेजें, यह कैसे हो सकता है । कहा यह जाता है कि यह केन्द्रीय सरकार का कहना नहीं है, यह तो राज्यों के मुख्य मंत्रियों का कहना है । मुख्य मंत्री बेचारे क्या करें, उनका कोई पत्र हिन्दी में आता है और वे देखते हैं कि उसका जवाब

नहीं जाता या उसके ऊपर कोई कदम नहीं उठाया जाता, तब अपने प्रान्तों का काम कराने के लिये उनको विवश हो कर अंग्रेजी में लिखना पड़ता है । उनको यदि यह आश्वासन हो जाय कि उनके समस्त हिन्दी पत्रों पर तुरन्त कार्यवाही होगी और वे पड़े नहीं रहेंगे और इसी के साथ यह भी लिख दिया जाय कि वे अपने कुल पत्र हिन्दी में भेज सकते हैं तो मेरा विश्वास है कि कोई भी ऐसा राज्य का मुख्य मंत्री नहीं होगा जो अपने पत्र अंग्रेजी में लिखेगा । हम लोग इस बात को देखेंगे कि कौन मुख्य मंत्री इस सम्बन्ध में क्या करता है । हम तो आप से यह भी कहने वाले हैं कि हम लोगों को यह भी सलाह देने वाले हैं, कांग्रेस वाले होते हुए भी, कि जो सदस्य केन्द्रीय व्यवस्थापिका सभा में अपना काम हिन्दी में नहीं करते हैं या जो मुख्य मंत्री और विधान सभाओं के सदस्य हिन्दी प्रदेशों के अपना काम हिन्दी में नहीं करते हैं, उनको वोट न दीजिये । विवश होकर हमको यह कहना पड़ेगा, इस के अलावा और कोई रास्ता नहीं है ।

केन्द्रीय सरकार को इस काम को छोड़ कर उनको अपना कुल काम हिन्दी का बन्द कर देना चाहिये । अब वे भारतीय भाषाओं के काम को करें । भारतीय भाषाओं के काम का जो सम्बन्ध है उस विषय में उनको बहुत सजग होकर काम करने की आवश्यकता है । हमें पहला काम यह करना चाहिये कि जहां तक संघीय लोक सेवा आयोग का सम्बन्ध है, सरकार इस बात को अनेक बार कह चुकी है कि वह हिन्दी को उन परीक्षाओं का वैकल्पिक माध्यम बनायेगी और इसी के साथ यह भी कह चुकी है कि जो भारतीय भाषायें उसके योग्य हो गई हैं, उनको भी बनायेगी । मझे इस पर कोई आपत्ति नहीं है, इन सब भाग्यीय भाषाओं को वैकल्पिक माध्यम सेवा आयोग की परीक्षा के लिये बना दिया जाय, लेकिन मेरा यह कहना है कि इस आधार पर इसे टाला न जाय कि जब सब भाषायें सक्षम हो जायेंगी सरकार की दृष्टि से, तब वे भाषायें



## [डा० गोविन्द दास]

वैकल्पिक माध्यम बनायी जायेंगी। यह गलत बात है। जितनी भाषायें सक्षम हो गई हैं उन सब को तुरन्त बना दिया जाय और उसका नतीजा यह निकलेगा कि बाकी भाषायें भी अपने-अपने बहुत जल्द सक्षम हो जायेंगी। हमने देखा है कि जहां जहां शिक्षा का माध्यम वे भाषायें हुई हैं, वहां वहां पर उनका काम अपने-अपने चलने लगा है, साहित्य तैयार हो गया है।

दूसरी बात भारतीय भाषाओं के विकास के विषय में यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस देश में 58 विश्वविद्यालय हैं, इन 58 विश्वविद्यालयों में से 40 विश्वविद्यालयों ने अपनी शिक्षा का माध्यम, वैकल्पिक माध्यम भारतीय भाषाओं को कर दिया है। परन्तु साहित्य तैयार नहीं है। केन्द्रीय शिक्षा मंत्रालय ने साहित्य को तैयार करने में पिछले, पांच वर्षों में कोई डेढ़ करोड़ रुपये खर्च किया है। मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि इस डेढ़ करोड़ रुपये में कितनी पुस्तकें तैयार हुई हैं, एक एक पुस्तक पर कितना खर्च आया है और जिस गति से ये पुस्तकें तैयार हो रही हैं और जिस प्रकार से इन पर खर्च हो रहा है, उसको देखते हुए कितना समय लगेगा जब सब पुस्तकें तैयार हो जायेंगी और उस पर कितना व्यय आ जायेगा। इसके लिये एक बात बहुत आवश्यक है और वह बात यह है कि अभी इन पुस्तकों के प्रकाशन का कार्य चीफ़ कंट्रोलर आफ़ प्रिन्टिंग एण्ड स्टेशनरी वालं करते हैं। हम ने कई बार यह कहा कि जो शब्दावली आयोग आपने बनाया है, इसको आप एक स्वतन्त्र विभाग बना दें। सर्वसत्ता पूर्ण यानी फ़ोटोनामस बाडी इसको यदि बना दिया जाय और इस तरह से चीफ़ कंट्रोलर आफ़ प्रिन्टिंग एण्ड स्टेशनरी विभाग से यह काम निकल जाय, तो मुझे विश्वास है कि साहित्य बहुत जल्द तैयार हो जायेगा। मुझे यह सूचना मिली है कि चीफ़ कंट्रोलर आफ़ प्रिन्टिंग एण्ड स्टेशनरी के पास बहुत सा

साहित्य पड़ा हुआ है और उसको प्रकाशन नहीं है कि वह साहित्य का प्रकाशन कराये। इसलिये यह जरूरी है कि आप शब्दावली आयोग को एक स्वतंत्र विभाग यानी फ़ोटोनामस बाडी बना दें।

श्री सिद्धेश्वर प्रसाद (नालन्दा) : हिन्दी मलाहकार समिति ने भी यह सिफारिश की थी कि चूँकि कितने सरकारी प्रेस में समय पर प्रकाशित करना सम्भव नहीं होता है, इसलिये दूसरी व्यवस्था की जाय।

डा० गोविन्द दास : जैसा मेरे मित्र कह रहे हैं समिति की ओर से भी यह कहा गया है।

एक बात मैं और कहना चाहता हूँ कि जब हिन्दी मध्यम लोक सेवा आयोग में शिक्षा का वैकल्पिक माध्यम बनने वाली थी, उस समय इस काम को करने के लिये कितने कर्मचारियों को बुलाया गया था और रखा गया था उनमें से आज कितनों को वापस कर दिया गया है, इनके वापस करने का क्या कारण है। मैं सरकार से कहना चाहता हूँ कि जहां तक लोक सेवा आयोग का सम्बन्ध है, बिना एक क्षण की देर किये, हिन्दी, तामिल, बंगला, गुजराती, मराठी, ये जितनी भी भाषायें हमारे देश की सक्षम हो गई हैं, उनको वैकल्पिक माध्यम तुरन्त बना दिया जाय।

एक बात अन्त में मुझे और कहनी है और वह यह है कि जब तक किसी काम पर, 50 वर्षों का सार्वजनिक जीवन का मुझे अनुभव है, जब तक किसी काम पर मन में निष्ठा नहीं होती, तब तक वह काम नहीं होता। निष्ठा के बाद दूसरी आवश्यकता होती है—उस काम को करने की लगन। निष्ठा हो, लगन न हो, कोई भी काम नहीं हो सकता, निष्ठा और लगन के बाद शुद्ध संकल्प होना चाहिये, योजना होनी चाहिये,

ये तीन बातें जब तक न हों, निष्ठा, लगन और प्रकल्प, तब तक कोई काम नहीं होता। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ, एक कांग्रेसवादी होते हुए भी कहना चाहता हूँ कि हमारी सरकार को भारतीय संस्कृति, भारतीय संस्कृति से संबंधित जो चीजें हैं, हिन्दी, गो-रक्षा इत्यादि, इन सब के प्रति न तो कोई निष्ठा है और न कोई लगन है और न इस सम्बन्ध में कोई योजना है। जहाँ तक योजना का सम्बन्ध है मेरे मित्र डा० हीरेन मुकर्जी इस बात को जानते होंगे, क्योंकि वे भी उस संसदीय समिति के सदस्य थे जो संसदीय समिति स्थापित की गई थी, भाषा आयोग के प्रतिवेदन पर विचार करने के लिये। उस समय डा० मुकर्जी ने कहा था—बहुत वर्ष बीत जाने के बाद भी मुझे याद है—कि सरकार को इस समिति के सामने कोई योजना रखनी चाहिये। सरकार ने न तो भाषा आयोग के सामने अपनी कोई योजना रखी और न सरकार ने संसदीय समिति के सामने कोई योजना रखी। इतने वर्ष बीत जाने के बाद भी आज भी सरकार हमारे सामने इस सम्बन्ध में कोई योजना नहीं रख रही है। योजना तब रखी जाती जबकि उस योजना को रखने के लिए लगन होती और उस लगन के लिये निष्ठा होती।

अन्त में मैं उन्हीं नुक्तों को दोहरा देना चाहता हूँ जो मैंने आपके सामने रखे हैं। पहली बात मैंने यह कही है कि मैं कोई फस्ट्रेशन या जिस को हिन्दी में कहते हैं भग्न मनोरथों से उत्पन्न नैराश्रय, उसकी बजह से नहीं कहता हूँ लेकिन केन्द्रीय सरकार हिन्दी के सम्बन्ध में जो कर रही है उसके कारण मेरा कहना यह है कि केन्द्रीय सरकार हिन्दी भाषा भाषी राज्यों को छोड़ कर, उनके पत्रव्यवहार को छोड़ कर, हिन्दी का कोई काम न करे, काम को बन्द कर दे। कहते कहते मैं भी थक गया हूँ और आप लोग भी सुनते सुनते थक गये होंगे। बड़ा एक विचित्र तरह का वायुमंडल बना हुआ है। काम कुछ करते भी नहीं हैं और छोड़ते भी नहीं हैं।

दूसरा मेरा यह कहना है कि लोक सेवा आयोग के लिये आप समस्त भारतीय भाषाओं को वैकल्पिक माध्यम बनाये।

तीसरी बात यह है कि भाषा का जिस तरह से काम चलता है उसे देखते हुए अब यह लगता है कि जब तक भाषा मंत्रालय प्रलण नहीं बना दिया जायेगा तब तक काम नहीं चलेगा। यह भाषा मंत्रालय हिन्दी मंत्रालय न बने, यह भाषा मंत्रालय भारतीय भाषाओं का मंत्रालय बने और उस में सब भाषाओं के लोग रखे जायें।

चौथे मुझे यह कहना है कि सब कामों की देखरेख करने के लिए, किस तरह से काम चल रहा है, इसको देखने के लिए, दोनों सदनों, राज्य सभा और लोक सभा की एक गैर सरकारी सदस्यों की समिति आप बनायें जो समिति इस बात का निरीक्षण करती रहे कि सरकार इस सम्बन्ध में क्या कर रही है।

कुछ बातें मैंने आपके सामने रखी हैं। इस समय की जो मेरी मानसिक स्थिति है उसके रहते हुए भी मैंने कुछ बातें आपके सामने रखी हैं। सत्तर वर्ष का मैं हो गया हूँ और मालूम नहीं कि कितने दिन और हूँ।

जो बातें मैंने रखी हैं अपनी निष्ठा, लगन और संकल्प के कारण रखी हैं। मैं आशा करता हूँ कि उन पर सरकार विचार करेगी।

**Shri A. C. Guha (Barasat):** Sir, the Home Ministry is responsible for the administration of the country which is a very complex affair in the present day context. This ministry cannot function in isolation, but it has to function in the context of the present development—social, economic and cultural. Every year a few lakhs of boys and girls appear in the Higher Secondary and School Final Examination. About 50 per cent or even more get plucked. Those who pass also see no bright light before them. The future of those who get plucked

[Shri A. C. Guha]

is blighted; the prospects of their families are blighted. All these create social problems. Even to maintain law and order, which in the present day context should not be the primary function of this ministry, the ministry has to take cognizance of the expansion of education and the natural consequences of the development programme in the psychology of the people.

Government have initiated many new schemes and projects for which they have introduced many new laws, controls, inspections, etc. These have provided scope for the violation of those controls, regulations etc. One case which naturally comes before us is prohibition. I also belong to the Congress, not of this generation, but the earlier generation, when Congress became a mass organisation. I know its allegiance to prohibition; I know what value Gandhiji used to attach to it. I am sure in the face of the problems of corruption and social vices created by the present policy of prohibition in the country, Gandhiji would have the courage to recall his programme of prohibition. But I am afraid this government has not taken any cognizance of the problems created by this mad scheme of prohibition. There are so many other controls which apparently have failed to make any impact.....

**Shrimati Lakshmikanthamma** (Khammam): Gandhiji said that if he is to rule even for 3 days, the first thing he will do is to introduce prohibition.

**Shri A. C. Guha:** I have had occasion to discuss these things with Gandhiji. I have worked with and under him and I knew his mind. I am sure had he been living today, he would have recalled this programme of prohibition in view of the social evils that have been created. Let us not be swayed simply by emotions. Had Gandhiji been living, I am sure it would have been possible for

us to convince him. But the dead command of Gandhiji hangs heavily as a dead weight on the government and on the nation. It should not be allowed to do so.

Regarding the gold control order, government clearly know in their own conscience that it has completely failed. It has opened up new avenues of profiteering and blackmarketing. All these controls which have been introduced by the government have failed to make a social impact and to create a social psychology through which alone these controls and orders can be properly implemented. They have created more social problems and new forms of crimes, because men are prone to defy these orders. Any respectable man in the country will violate this gold control order if his son or daughter is to get married. He will have no compunction. It is a matter of prestige for any parent to give their daughter some gold ornaments. I do not mind if the government have been able to implement these orders properly. But they have only created a new blackmarket and a tendency to violate laws, a psychology of defiance of authority. The whole authority has come into disgrace due to these controls which the government have not been able to implement. I am sure our government have got neither the mind nor the power to implement them.

Another factor which the government should take cognizance of is the scarcity of consumer goods at present, particularly food. When a man cannot get food he becomes mad. He will be easily misguided into any crime or disorder, because the primary necessity of any man or any being for its sustenance is food. The incidents in Bengal in February and March are too well-known in this country. Surely, the provocation for all this was the scarcity of food. The administration failed even in distributing properly, adequately and equitably whatever food was available. If the govern-

ment is not equal to the task, it becomes very difficult. I am sure, Mr. Hathi in his conscience will admit that the government administration is not equal to the task of implementing all these controls, rationing, procurement, etc. Every day when the Food Minister is here, the poor fellow is being blamed for something done in some States, for something happening in some States. There is scarcity condition in every State, near-famine condition in some States but nobody will give any consideration to that, because there are elements in the country which would like to take advantage of it. Naturally, they would like to take advantage of it.

So, it is the bounden duty of the Government to tone up the administration. Whatever may be available, it may be equitably distributed, promptly distributed and distributed with some element of sympathy.

In this Report it has been stated under the Department of Administrative Reforms that if procedures could be simplified the chances of corruption would diminish. In spite of this recognition, even now the Government procedures are tortuous and time-consuming. Only two days ago, one highly-placed official of the Government procedures are tortuous and and he tells me that they can hold up any scheme for six months or one year and they shall not be held responsible for any misdeeds or dereliction of duty.

**An hon. Member:** He should be promoted.

**Shri A. C. Guha:** It is open to them to hold up any scheme of the Government for one year or even more than that. If the administration does not act properly, sympathetically and promptly, particularly when scarcity conditions are prevailing and when we are passing through a developing economy and a planned development, we will meet with disaster.

Through our Plans we have aroused the ambitions of the people. We have taught them, not only through the Plans but also through the election campaign—other political parties have also done it—to aspire for a better living; they have been taught to think of having a better standard of life. They have got some education. They know what is the world outside, what they can expect of this Government. We have put many rights and objectives in our Constitution and we have put many things in the publicity literature published and circulated by the Government. All this has incited discontentment. The Government have made their own contribution to this incitement of discontent but many to misguide and utilise it. The result is that everybody has created this discontent in the country and there is none to control and channelise that discontent. If the emotions have been aroused, it is the duty of the Government in a planned economy to channelise properly the emotions and energy of the people, direct them in a proper way, instead of allowing them to be diverted in a destructive way, that is by destroying public property and causing loss of life. Only then can there be development. Otherwise, there will be chaos. So, I appeal to the Government to take cognizance of this and tone up the administrative machinery and put it in proper order.

Old values have changed. The new generation hardly knows the past history of the Congress or the traditions of the struggle for freedom. The old values have changed and the old idealism has gone. But we have not been able to create a new value, a new loyalty. We have not been able to give the present generation of young men any new idealism. It is no use blaming them for what they do. We have to teach them some new values.

I recollect that after the introduction of the Reforms Act in Britain in 1830 or 1832 some politicians there

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stated that they should go and educate their masters, namely, the voters. When the franchise was extended extensively, they felt it to be their duty to educate their masses. But our Government have not undertaken that task. I feel that it should have been the first duty of the Home Ministry to educate our masters, to educate the people, to educate the new generation, so that they can use their privileges with a sense of responsibility. They should be taught that there cannot be any privilege without responsibility, that there cannot be any right without any obligation, that they must fulfil their obligations, that they must perform their duties, and only then can they enjoy their rights and privileges.

Another factor which I would like to mention is this. There has been an increase in the circulation of money. During the Third Plan period alone it has gone up by 42 per cent. Today even the people in the lower strata of society have got more money. In the rural areas, agricultural production has increased and the prices of agricultural products have gone up. So, the farmers and the workers have got more money. With money a new psychology is created. When somebody has got money in his pocket, he develops a new psychology a new temperament. He is no longer so docile and so submissive and so ready to obey orders. He develops the psychology of questioning the authority of somebody to give orders or directions to him.

**An hon. Member:** Do you want to confiscate all that money?

**Shri A. C. Guha:** When confronted with all these problems, naturally the Government did, and had to, take some police measures. But they should know that police measures are not the real remedy for this. That may be necessary at the critical stages

when the trouble becomes somewhat serious. But there must be some definite plan for consolidation and stabilisation of the social forces. Government should take care to see that the social forces which have been created by Government are stabilised and consolidated and they are put to creative purposes.

Another feature which has come up, particularly Bengal, is the advent of the teen agers. This is a world problem. Here I am reminded of my own teen age. When I was of that age, there was a tendency to defy the authority of the Government, not so much to defy the authority of the parents or of the teachers as to defy the authority of the Government.

**Shri Tyagi (Dehra Dun):** Everybody knows that you were using pistols and bombs.

**Shri A. C. Guha:** That period may be regarded as the revolutionary period. But I can surely say that when I was even below teen age, when I was 11 or 12 years old, I developed some tendency to defy the Government, to challenge the Government even though, I was considered one of the meekest and mildest of the boys of the town. Even then, that was the tendency. Now that tendency has come again. This is a serious omen of which the Government should take cognizance. If they cannot put these youngmen to proper use, if they cannot give them proper functions, proper work and proper duty and proper guidance, they will create havoc. Compared to what we did in the British days, I think they will be able to do much more. I give this warning to the Government that they should take these things seriously and see how these young men can be properly educated, can be put to proper use, can be utilized. They are energetic and they have the courage to court suffering. This energy and

courage to court sufferings should be utilized for proper purposes, for nation-building purposes, and not destructive purposes. This is the responsibility of the Government.

I feel that either this Government or the ruling party. Physically and emotionally, has become too old for the new generation, or our nation is emotionally too young for this Government or for the ruling party, or for that matter, any other party. I mentioned about the ruling party because the responsibility is mostly with them and they have to face the trouble. But Mr. H. N. Mukerjee might be feeling complacent that this party would always prosper, that these things would not touch them. But Sir, even on the 6th of March, during the *hartal* day or *bandh* day, the partymen had to travel in cars with press posters hung on the window screen of their cars in Calcutta. They could not travel with their party labels on the car. So, they felt that for safety's sake they had to take the Press label. It was a signal for them. I feel, Sir, it is a danger for everybody, including the opposition parties. I hope other parties will realise the danger, and more so, the congress party and the Government will realise the danger because it has been their responsibility; and in away, and they have created the forces as they have been in power for the last 17 or 18 years.

I mentioned something about the administration. Particularly in a crisis like this, when there is food scarcity, when there is scarcity of many of the consumers goods, the administration should be prompt, sympathetic and have a natural understanding of the people.

Sir, I am told that in one of the most troubled spots of Bengal, the trouble started because of the insolent attitude of the sub-divisional officer of that place. It is to his folly that

the whole trouble in West Bengal started. If one officer in a sensitive spot commits some mistake or misbehaves, then the whole country or the whole State may be in trouble. So every officer must be cautioned about this, that they should try to understand the feelings of the nation, they should try to understand the feelings of the mob and the masses; they should not think themselves too dignified, too high; but they should come down to the level of the mob and the masses and they should try to understand their feelings and should help them in removing their grievances.

Another factor is the tribal belt of India. It is not only the Nagas and the Mizos but the entire tribal belt of India is in ferment. And I know that Government have been anxious about their development. I know that the Government have spent crores of rupees for the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes; but the Government's achievements or *bona-fides* should not be judged only by the amount of money they have spent. It should be judged by the results they have achieved.

It is a blatant fact today that the tribal people of India are now dissatisfied, and dissatisfied to an extent that they can challenge the Government even with arms and weapons. Sir, apart from the intrinsic trouble in this regard, there are two other factors. Some of the tribal areas are in the border States and they are sensitive borders. If there is any aggression from outside they may be interested parties in India, interested elements in India, who want that trouble in those sensitive areas to continue, so that, along with the foreign aggression, the troubles in those areas and the civil commotion inside India may supplement the foreign aggression.

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

**Shri A. C. Guha:** This is one of the dangers. Sir, I will take 3 or 4 more minutes.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** You have already taken two minutes.

**An hon. Member:** He is a senior Member of the Congress party.

**Shri A. C. Guha:** I am speaking for the whole of the demands only today. I have not spoken on any other day. I hope the Home Ministry will make a qualitative distinction between Nagas and Mizos. They are not of the same class. Their problem is qualitatively distinct. I put it to the Government why they allowed the National Mizo Front to develop. It was under their patronage that this front has developed since only 1962. How did they get their start? They got their start from the near-famine conditions that were prevailing in Lushai area, which is called the Mizo area. During the near-famine condition, the Mizo national volunteers came up for doing relief work and the Government took their help in preference to some other political elements. And this is the beginning of the Mizo National Front. I hope that these two problems will be separated and I request that there should be a serious attempt made to solve the problem of that area.

Apart from that, Sir, the entire new industrial belt of India is in the tribal area. Starting from Durgapur, Bhilai, Rourkela, Ranchi, Bhopal, all these industrial units are in tribal belts. What have the tribal people got out of the industrial development? They have been ousted from their homes. I know, Sir, some of those local tribal chiefs might have got huge amounts as compensation for land, but have the Government taken any care to see how that money was being spent? Have the Government taken any care to see how the money was invested, whether it was utilised properly or not? The money was just

simply squandered by them and some middlemen right have taken a big share of it. They have cheated the tribal people and taken out the money. It should have been the responsibility of the Government—having handed over thousands of rupees to some, almost naked tribal men—to see how he is going to spend that money. The Government did not take any care at all. It acted only formally. Government thought it was not their responsibility, though, I feel, it should have been the responsibility of the Government to see how the tribal men spent that money. The result is too much and too wide circulation of money and we have not done anything to give them the necessary social inputs through which the tribal belt could be put under some consolidation. I think this should be done now.

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

**Shri A. C. Guha:** There are two points, Sir. I should now say about the relations between the States and the Centre. The Indian federation is somewhat different from the Federation of the United States of America. The Indian Federation delegates power to the States; but the American Federation surrenders power, that is, the States surrender power to the Centre. But I think here the process is being reversed now. I am not sure, Sir, if the Government intends at least in practice, if not *de jure* to have the American type of Federation. The Centre is practically surrendering to the States. It is the States who dictate and not the Centre who dictates.

**An hon. Member:** It is a counsel of surrender.

**Shri A. C. Guha:** I wonder whether the Government has taken any action or not. A Chief Minister has the audacity to say that he is not liable to any explanation either to the Prime Minister or to the Rashtrapati, President of India. If the Government

could tolerate such a position it is almost the end of the federation.

About food this year, knowing that there would be a crisis at least on three occasions the Chief Ministers came to Delhi and decided on certain policy; but on going back they did not implement the policy. The Central Government was impotent to tell the Chief Ministers that once decision has been taken it is their duty and they must have to implement those policies. It was only the Bengal Chief Minister who foolishly took up the Government decisions seriously and he was praised all throughout India and now he is I think the most miserable man in India—cursed and blamed by everybody.

I should say a word about the announcement of the Home Minister today about the continuance of the emergency and the D.I.R. Sir, emergency is emergency. It should not be a chronic thing and a continued thing for years together. But I do agree that Government requires some extraordinary powers particularly in the present crisis when all social forces are in fermentation and there are social disorders, and also these social disorders are often coordinated with foreign aggression or foreign designs. The Government requires some extraordinary power. For that, if necessary, they may amend the Constitution, but let them not function under the emergency. Emergency should not be made a chronic thing. If it is an emergency, it should be used very sparingly and really in emergency.

14 hrs.

It cannot be said that today there is emergency in the sense in which the Constitution provides for an emergency, but there is necessity for some extraordinary powers. There I agree and for that, if necessary, the Government should enact new Acts or make necessary enactment either through the State Legislatures or through this Parliament, but they should not continue this emergency.

I hope, the Home Ministry will take cognisance of the new forces that have come up as also the potentialities of these forces aligning with some foreign designs and some civil commotion. These are things for which the Government should take necessary precaution and steps. Those steps should not be only police measures to suppress the public feeling. These should be measures to understand the public feeling, to realise their grievances and to make amends for the administrative or social lapses that may be necessary.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Hon. Members may now move the cut motions, subject to their being otherwise admissible.

**Shri Dinen Bhattacharya:** I beg to move:

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

[*Need to strength security measures in border areas of West Bengal.* (10)].

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

[*Need for proper use of Central Police force.* 11)].

**Shri A. V. Raghavan** (Badagara): I beg to move:

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

[*Need to implement the assurance regarding official language given by the late Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru to the non-Hindi speaking people.* (12)].

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

[*Need to provide financial aid to develop regional language.* (13)].



[Shri A. V. Raghavan]

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

[Need to give equal status to languages enshrined in the Constitution along with Hindi. (14)].

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

[Need to give official status to all the regional languages in the Centre. (15)].

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

[Need to constitute a committee consisting of M.Ps., jurists, educationalists, linguists and others to chalk out an acceptable language policy. (16)].

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

[Need to withdraw all cases pending in connection with the Kerala Bandh. (17)].

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

[Need to withdraw all pending cases against newspapers. (18)].

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

[Need to enlarge the powers of Consultative Committees of Parliament appointed as a result of President's rule. (19)].

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

[Need to appoint a planning board in Kerala. (20)].

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

[Need to curb police excesses in Kerala. (21)].

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

[Need to speed up the inquiry commission proceedings. (22)].

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

[Need to release detenus held under D.I.R. (23)].

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

[Need to lift the Emergency. (24)].

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

[Need to provide facilities to detained members of Parliament to perform their constitutional duties. (25)].

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

[Need to revoke the Defence of India Rules. (26)].

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

[Need to review decisions on policy taken by the Governor of Kerala. (27)].

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

[Need to refer policy matters of Kerala to the Kerala Consultative Committee. (28)].

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

[Need to provide Tamil medium schools in the Union Territory of Andaman and Nicobar Islands. (29)].

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

[Need to take emergent steps to fill up the vacancies caused in the Rajya Sabha from Kerala. (30)].

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

[Need to convene the Kerala Consultative Committee on Legislation at least once a month. (31)].

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

[Favouritism shown in sanctioning new schools in Kerala. (32)].

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

[Failure to provide weightage to Government servants in the pay commission award. (33)].

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

[Decision in raising the retirement age of District Judges in Kerala. (34)].

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

[Lack of effective control and supervision over Kerala Administration. (35)].

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

[Abuse of powers by the Advisers in States under President's rule. (36)].

**Shri Dinen Bhattacharya:** I beg to move:

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

[Failure to lift Emergency and revoke D.I.R. (40)].

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

[Need to frame rules to provide uniform facility to detenus detained in different States under D.I.R. (41)].

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

[Need to institute judicial enquiry into the cases of firing by police in different States. (42)].

**Dr. Ranen Sen (Calcutta East):** I beg to move:

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

[Refusal to hold periodical meetings at regular intervals, with Central Secretariat employees' Organisation to settle day-to-day problems of the employees. (43)].

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

[Arbitrary manner of finalising the Regulations for conducting the CSCS (U.D. Grade) Limited Competitive Examination for departmental employees without consulting the Clerical employees' organisation. (44)].

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

[Refusal to introduce a Selection Grade Lower Division Clerks post and Selection Grade Assistants post. (45)].

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

[Refusal to abolish Upper Division Clerks post in Central Secretariat Offices as recommended by Pay Commissions and Maxwell Committee and demanded by employees' organisation. (46)].

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

[Fixation of seniority of Clerks and Assistants in Central Secretariat Offices leading to the supersession of thousands of employees. (47)].

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

[Ignoring the interests and claims of more than 50,000 employees working in Central Secretariat and Allied Offices by not holding Consultation with their organizations regarding J.C.M. (48)].

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

[Failure to constitute the "Departmental Grievances Committee" for Central Secretariat staff as promised in Lok Sabha on 8-12-1965 (49)].

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

[Need to convert at least 25 per cent posts of Lower Division Clerks in the Central Secretariat as Upper Division Clerks posts. (50)].

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

[Failure to fill a large number of posts of Upper Division Clerks which are lying vacant in the Central Secretariat Offices since long. (51)].

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

[Need to stop direct recruitment to the Grade of Assistant so as to improve promotional prospects of the Upper Division Clerks of the Central Secretariat Offices. (52)].

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

[Need to give promotion to all the Lower Division Clerks of the Central Secretariat Offices who have since completed the minimum service of 8 years, in the grade as per the rules of the Central Secretariat Clerical Service Rules, 1962. (53)].

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

[Failure to provide promotional avenues to the post of Lower Division Clerk to educationally qualified Class IV employees working in the Central Secretariat Offices. (54)].

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

[Need to amend the Central Secretariat Clerical Service Rules, 1962 so as to provide for promotional avenues to the post of Lower Division Clerk to educationally qualified Class IV employees of the Central Secretariat Offices. (55)].

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

[Failure to accept the demands of the low-paid employees of the Central Secretariat Offices, such as Class IV, Despatch Riders, Clerks, Assistants, etc. (56)].

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

[Need to hold periodical meetings at regular intervals with the Central Secretariat employees' organisation with a view to settle their day-to-day problems and grievances as is done by other employing Depts. (57)].

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

[Non-furnishing of Minutes of the meeting held with Home Minister on 25-3-1966 by the representatives of the Federation of Central and Allied Offices' employees regarding retrenchment/reversions in Central Secretariat Offices. (58)].

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

[Need to stop further studies by the Administrative Reforms Department in view of the appointment of a high powered Administrative Reforms Commission which is now seized of the problem of reforming administration and staffing pattern, etc., in the Government Offices. (59)].

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

[Failure to take effective steps to ensure proper implementation of the Ministry of Home Affairs instructions contained in their O.M. No. F. 11/21/62-CS(A), dated 29th March, 1963. (60)].

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

[Need to take immediate and effective steps to confirm all Clerks, Assistants and Class IV employees with long years of service who are working in the Central Secretariat Offices. (61)].

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

[Need to redress the grievances of the Central Secretariat employees. (62)].

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

[Failure to issue the statutory orders as provided in the Ministry of Home

Affairs O.M. No. 3/27/65-CS (II), dated 25th February, 1966 for taking

away the staff identified as surplus in the Ministry of Works and Housing in the month April, 1966 and thereby save them from reversions. (63)].

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

[Need to impose a total ban on the direct recruitment to various grades of the Central Secretariat Offices, including on the recruitment made through UPSC. (64)].

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

[Failure to hold elections of the shareholders of the Central Government Employees Consumer Co-operative Stores. (65)].

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

[Need to remove the restrictive conditions of upper age limit of 30 years as a condition of eligibility in the case of Central Secretariat Clerical Service (U.D. Grade Limited Departmental Competitive Examination). (66)].

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

[Need to increase the promotional avenues of the Lower Division Clerks of the Central Secretariat Offices. (67)].

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

[Need to introduce a Selection Grade Assistant's post in the Central Secretariat with a view to remove the stagnation in the Assistants grade. (68)].

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

[Failure to take effective steps to implement in Central Secretariat Offices the recommendation of the Second Pay Commission and Home Ministry's instructions on the subject regarding conversion of 90 per cent posts as permanent and to make employees permanent against them. (69)].

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

[Failure to furnish to employees' organisation concerned the draft Regulations regarding Upper Division Clerks' Grade Limited Departmental Competitive Examination for their comments. (70)]

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

[Failure to fill permanent vacancies in Grade II of the maintenance staff of the Central Secretariat Clerical Service with effect from 1st May, 1957 belonging to the reserved quota for the employees of the subordinate offices. (71)].

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

[Need to increase the promotional avenues of the Lower & Upper Division Clerks working in the Central Secretariat Offices with a view to relieve stagnation in these grades. (72)]

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

[Need to stop direct recruitment to the grades of Section Officer and Assistant in view of the fact that a large number of staff is likely to be identified as surplus in the Central Secretariat Offices. (73)]

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

[Need to give immediate promotion to all those Lower Division Clerks in CSCS who have reached the maximum of their grade (74)].

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

[Failure to meet the just demands of the Central Government Clerks Union (75)]

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

[Failure to meet the demand of the Central Secretariat Clerical Employees regarding abolition of Upper Division Clerk's Grade (76)]

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

[Failure to meet the demand of the Central Secretariat clerical employees regarding the introduction of selection Grade Lower Division clerk's post in Central Secretariat (77)]

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

[Need to stop direct recruitment to Assistant's Grade with a view to improve the promotional prospects of Central Secretariat Upper Division Clerks. (78)]

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

[Failure to supply circulars issued by the Ministry of Home Affairs on matters of interest to Central Government employees. (79)]

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

[Need to settle the outstanding demands of the Central Government Clerks Union (80)]

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

[Failure to hold consultations regarding Joint Consultative Machinery with Unions/Associations affiliated to the Federation of the Central Secretariat and Allied Offices Employees. (81)].

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

[Need of giving promotion to the clerical employees of Central Secretariat Offices according to the length of service in the grade and not according to the date of confirmation. (82)].

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

[Desirability of settling the grievance of the clerical employees of the Central Secretariat regarding their seniority issue by holding talks with their Organisation. (33)].

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

[Need of holding talks at Home Minister's level for settling some of the long outstanding grievances of the members of the Central Secretariat Clerical Service with their organisation. (84)]

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

[Failure to ensure proper compliance of the instructions contained in the Ministry of Home Affairs O.M. No. 24/10|63-Ests. (B) dated 31st August, 1963 regarding supply of circulars to Central Secretariat employees organisations. (85)]

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy:** I beg to move:

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

[Failure of the organisation of the Central Intelligence Services. (98)].

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

[Refusal to accept all recommendations of the Santhanam Committee. (99)]

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

[Ineffectiveness of the Zonal Council to bring about harmony between different States. (100)].

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

[Need to transfer the border security forces to the Defence Ministry. (101)]

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

[Frequent use of army in aid of civil commotion and its impact on democratic functioning. (102)].

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

[Failure of the Ministry to effect economy in the Ministry. (103)].

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The Cut Motions are also before the House.

**Dr. Ranen Sen:** Sir, the Home Ministry is the pivot of the administration on which rests the Government. All the governmental activities revolve round the Home Ministry. The Police Department is the long arm of the Home Ministry and with the limited time at my disposal I am going to make a few remarks about the Police Department.

The number of the police is increasing all over India including Delhi which is Centrally administered. The budget is increasing in every State as

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also here under the Central Government. The job of the Police Department is to keep law and order, to give safety and security to the public and to ensure the security of the State. What has been the performance of the Police Department?

Only three days back, on the 24th there was a press interview given by Shri Banerjee, the Police Chief of Delhi, in which he admitted that crime in Delhi was increasing every year. What is the type of crimes? The most nefarious crime is committed in the city of Delhi where this Home Ministry sits, functions and works and where we are supposed to have a very efficient police administration. In open broad daylight women are abducted, people are waylaid and kidnapped and there is no trace of those people. It is happening everywhere—in Delhi, Bombay, Calcutta; in all cities and villages.

Blackmarketers and big hoarders thrive in our country with the knowledge of the police all over India including Delhi. The performance of the Police Department is such that they are not able to lay their hands on those blackmarketers, the bigger ones. All that the Police Department can do is to arrest a few petty grocers and convict them. If we look to the data about how many people have been arrested for blackmarketing and hoarding, we find that only a list of small petty traders is given before the House, whereas we find that this Police Department all over India including Delhi is very active in regard to the repression of the public. In 18 years of free India the number of police firings on the people far exceeds the number of police firings that took place in 200 years of British rule. They were foreigners and they are our countrymen our so-called leaders, once national leaders, sitting on the Treasury Benches. The police is aptly called the trigger-happy police. This has been seen during the food agitation in Kerala a few months ago, in West Bengal, in Gujarat, in Bastar

where unarmed Adivasis were shot down and killed like dogs by our own police for which we pay money every year.

This House should be ashamed of the fact that though two or three speakers have spoken before me there was not a word against the police firing and repression. Never have we seen such wanton use of the emergency. Even during those days when the Second World War was on such a wanton use of the emergency powers was not seen. Since October 1962 till today thousands and thousands of people have been arrested. And who are those people? They are strikers, workers fighting for industrial disputes. The Defence of India Rules are clamped upon them. Since 1962 the emergency is used to curtail the rights of the workers and the peasants.

In 1965 during the Indo-Pak war we had seen in our own State and had reports from other neighbouring States on personal knowledge that thousands of Indian Muslims had been arrested.

**Shri Priya Gupta (Katihar):** Nationalist Muslims.

**Dr. Ranen Sen:** Nationalist or anybody. Supporters of the Congress had been arrested if they were dissidents.

**An hon. Member:** Even MPs.

**Dr. Ranen Sen:** I am coming to the MPs.

There are reports that from workers, village people, Muslims the police extracted money. If they were able to give a huge sum of money, they escaped. There are such instances. Certain instances have been brought to the notice of the Home Minister from other States.

Then, about the democratic functioning of our police . . .

**Shri Basumatari (Goalpara):** Sir, he is talking on communal lines; he should not talk on those lines.

**Dr. Ranen Sen:** Sir, I do not give in. I am not going to give in.

We are told about parliamentary democracy. Here I am reminded of a story. Some few years back when Mr. Macmillan was the Prime Minister of England, a telephone of a Member of Parliament was tapped. A furore was created in Parliament and Mr. Macmillan had to get up because there was pressure from the Conservative Party also. . . . . (*Interruption*).

Please do not try to defend your police in this way. I wanted to see a person who gets up and says—even Shri Arun Guha had to say a few words against the police for the first time, probably, due to the fact that the election is coming next year or may be for other reasons.

The point is that Mr. Macmillan had to get up and say that he would make inquiries. The responsible police officer was punished. But here very respected, esteemed Members of Parliament, like Shri Gopalan, Shri Nambiar and others, who are in Parliament since 1952—all of us know those gentlemen—are being arrested, released, re-arrested and detained month after month, year after year.

Today Shri Nanda made a statement. I should say, it is a most ridiculous, shameful statement. He could not boldly say that he was revoking the emergency and withdrawing the DIR. After what has happened inside the country, after Tashkent and all that, when all the jurists of India, all the ex-Chief Justices of India, a cross-section of the intelligentsia of the country are demanding the withdrawal of the emergency, the release of the DIR prisoners and the revocation of the DIR—even Congress MPs in this House have demanded that—Shri Nanda comes up after great deliberation with all the Chief Ministers, Congress Parliamentary Party and the Cabinet. The mountain in labour produces a mouse, a dead mouse.

Then, coming to police torture, I want to give you one recent example. There was a meeting in eastern part

of Calcutta where one of our Congress M.Ps was there and there was a black-flag demonstration. As a result of that hundreds of people were rounded up from that area and after a few days, one gentleman, a young boy, Nema Sarkar, was arrested and put in the lock-up. After 3 days, his parent were informed by the police that he was dead and that his body had been burnt. Just imagine what has happened to our country. It is a clear case of murder. The young man was arrested on suspicion without any charge framed against him; he was locked up, beaten up and murdered and his body was burnt. Imagine such a thing happening in our country. Our blood boils when we hear all these things. These are not invented and concocted stories. There is a big agitation in Calcutta. What the Chief Minister, Shri P. C. Sen, had to do was to transfer him from one police station to another. Probably, he will be promoted sometime later.

About corruption, we have heard so many things. I may give you one or two examples. There was a case of Mr. S. Gopal a Police Officer, deputed by the Central Government to enquire into the case of fraud alleged to have been committed by certain contractors and engineers of the South Eastern Railway. They have, it is alleged, cheated to the tune of Rs. 18 lakhs. That fellow, Mr. Gopal, was corrupted by a certain contractor whose name appears in the verdict given by the Judge as one Mr. Surjit Singh Atwal, a Congress M.P. I do not say that every Congress M.P. is like that. But I draw the attention of the Congress M.Ps to this fact that there are a number of black sheep amongst them (*Interruption*). I have got a copy of the judgement in which the Judge says, "The statement of Atwal, an accomplice. . . ." That Officer is rightly punished, convicted and sent to jail and all that. But this gentleman is not punished. There is no inquiry against him. Is it due to the fact that he is a big contractor? Is it due



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to the fact that he was in-charge of the kitchen at the Durgapur Congress Session? Is it due to the fact that he is one of the lieutenants of our great leader, Mr. Atulya Ghosh? This is a point which the Home Minister must answer. How can this Government and the police check corruption if the policy of the Government breeds it? You must go to the root of the thing. You cannot simply hold the policeman as corrupt. I may give you another example. After the Vivian Bose Commission, it was stated in this House that certain criminal prosecutions will arise out of the Vivian Bose Commission Report. I want to know how many cases have been brought out. On the other hand, we know it for certain that in the Nehru Memorial Fund, till last month there was a collection of only Rs. 1 crore and out of that sum of Rs. 1 crore, Rs. 20 lakhs came from Mr. S. P. Jain who has been, again and again, referred to in that Vivian Bose Commission. If these things go on before the eyes of the Home Ministry, naturally, I ask, who can fight corruption? So, Sadachar Samiti remains on paper.

**Shri Daji (Indore):** Against that amount of Rs. 20 lakhs, a case of black market in newsprint has been hushed up.

**Dr. Ranen Sen:** I have no time to go into all this. I am giving only a few instances to illustrate the point.

Now, I come to the Police Department. Previously, our Intelligence Department was linked up with Scotland Yard. It is known, even today, our officers, in free India, are sent to Scotland Yard for training. Of late, we have been connected with the F.B.I. The officers are getting training there also. Our Home Minister, Mr. Nanda, meets the Police Chief of New York. Mr. Banerjee who is the Inspector General of Police should have met him. Why should the Home Minister meet him?

**Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad (Bhagalpur):** He might have asked for *darshan* of the Home Minister.

**Dr. Ranen Sen:** Then, the day before yesterday, Mr. N. C. Chatterjee referred to the case of certain professors who were criticising the Indo-U.S. Foundation, the C.B.I. is investigating into their antecedents. It is a wonderful thing. Nobody will have any freedom to criticise any Government measure; nobody will have the freedom to criticise the Government. The C.B.I. is investigating into the antecedents of those professors.

A few words about the Intelligence Bureau. In this Budget Demand, I find that in 1964-65, the revised estimate was Rs. 3.70 crores; in 1965-66, it was Rs. 3.77 crores and in 1966-67 it is Rs. 4.12 crores out of the total Demand of Rs. 5 crores. But what is the performance of the Intelligence Bureau? Their performance is to shadow the Communists, the Opposition Members, arrest them, give distorted facts of the Left Communists, frame charges against them, and produce a white paper which convinces nobody, which is submitted by Mr. Nanda here, except probably the Home Ministry. That is their function.

When the infiltrators came in massive numbers, in thousands, into our country, it was reported openly in the press and even admitted in this House that they had no proper information.

**Shri Shinkre:** They could not trace Shri Kakodkar who was in Rishikesh.

**Dr. Ranen Sen:** They did not have the information. The Intelligence is totally blank here. What happened three days back? We discussed about these explosions in the Hill areas of Assam. What did we find there? There is no Intelligence. It is admitted by everybody. This is not a new thing. For the last 10 years, this is happening. The Intelligence Department is only meant for suppressing the Communists, to frame charges

against them, to investigate their antecedents and that kind of a thing. For that, crores of rupees are being spent. Walcott goes and comes and after probably 50 attempts, our Intelligence Department is able to catch that gentleman and that too also on the information from Interpol. This is the performance, the achievement of the Intelligence Bureau.

Then, what about the democratic conditions in the country? There is the Andaman and Nicobar Islands as the Centrally-administered territory. There was the Parliamentary Delegation two years back in which Mr. P. K. Deo, Shri Mohammad Elias and Shri H. P. Chatterjee were there and they submitted a Report about the conditions in the Andaman and Nicobar Islands. That Report clearly and definitely stated that they had the experience that there was no civil right and that there was no trade union right existing in that Centrally-administered area. The Chief Commissioner is the *Satrap* of that territory. There were also suggestions by these gentlemen that that territory might be inhabited by the refugees from East Bengal, but the Government of India does not believe in those refugees; probably in the eyes of the Government of India, they are trouble-makers. In spite of the fact that refugees are dying in Dandakaranya, Madhya Pradesh, Bihar and many other places, Andaman is not open for them despite great possibility there and we are told that Andaman is being developed for private vested interests. This is what is happening in Andaman.

I want to bring out one or two more things. How does this Home Ministry behave with our employees? The Second Pay Commission recommended that, after three years of service, the employees would be made permanent and the Government accepted this recommendation. What happened? Many years have passed by and still we find that the employees working in the Central Secretariat for 10 or 15 or 18 years are temporary.

This is their behaviour in the case of employees also!

Lest year, on the 8th December, the then Deputy Home Minister, Shri L. N. Mishra, announced in the Lok Sabha that a departmental Grievance Committee would be set up—the employees have a lot of grievances—to look into the grievances of the employees. We know the officials, particularly the *Burra Sahibs* of Home Ministry; they did not like it and they have scant respect for the Parliament and the Deputy Home Minister; they revived the old, out-moded, ineffective, defunct committee that was set up in 1957, against which the employees had grievances and on which the then Deputy Home Minister made the announcement. These officers do not want that the employees should get a fair and proper deal from the Government. These officers are successfully able to scuttle the whole thing.

I now come to another point, i.e., about the officer-oriented scheme. I tried to understand what that scheme was but could not; I hope the Home Minister will explain that before us. I do not know who will be the beneficiaries after the scheme is introduced, but one thing is definite and that is that 10,000 to 15,000 employees would be rendered surplus and in anticipation, the Home Ministry is giving notices to the employees to accept voluntary retirement. Probably the Home Minister does not know this: in the private sector, particularly in the foreign oil companies, for the last few years, they are trying to introduce a system which is resisted by all trade unions—AITUC, INTUC and others—and we are fighting against this voluntary retirement and retrenchment. This is so not only in regard to oil companies. This is a much bigger issue. What would happen to our employment potential? This is a very big issue. Every year the unemployment problem is becoming more and more acute. The Home Ministry wants to introduce a scheme which is opposed elsewhere and which

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is even opposed by the Labour Ministry and the Oil Ministry. This is a known fact. A report has been submitted before the Government in which they have definitely stated that the voluntary retirement scheme is nothing but retrenchment. If the Home Ministry introduces this scheme and renders thousands of employees surplus, there will be a total pandemonium in the industrial sector and thousands of people will be rendered surplus by the big business who run the show in India. It is high time for the Home Ministry to wake up and retract from it. The Home Ministry should not introduce this scheme at all.

Lastly, I want to make a point in regard to Musalmans. I have stated earlier as to how they have been treated. It is said that ours is a secular country—at least the Government professes secularism; but the Muslims are discriminated against; it is a sad experience everywhere, particularly in those places where Muslims constitute a sizeable number—in West Bengal, Orissa and Bihar; these are the places where I have some experience. Why should the Muslims here be treated as second-class citizens?

**Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya (Raiganj):** This is pure and simple election.

**Dr. Ranen Sen:** It is not because of ensuing elections that I say this. My Constituency does not have even 5 per cent of Muslims.

**Shri A. P. Sharma:** If possible, the hon. Member may please quote the figures.

**Dr. Ranen Sen:** This is a very unfortunate state of affairs. If property is to be transferred, as I have stated earlier, for a Hindu, for me, it is not necessary to produce a citizenship certificate; but in the case of Mr. Elias, the citizenship certificate has to be produced. Why should this be so?

Then there is the question of old Muslim refugees—there are also Hindu

refugees; their number runs in lakhs—and former's number is in thousands; it is a sizeable number. Many of those refugees are still not rehabilitated in the sense that they have not got back their property. This attitude of discrimination on the part of the Police Department, the Home Department and all departments of Government, must be corrected.

I want to make another point about discrimination. I was listening very carefully to some of the speeches about Hindi and other things. I have no quarrel with Hindi. In fact, you will be surprised to know that I have learnt Hindi quite well; I can speak. The position is this. Without having any quarrel with Hindi, I must say that the statement by the Government of India about the non-Hindi Indian languages is a little discriminatory. Yesterday there was a supplementary question regarding translation of laws and statutes in Hindi; we are not quarrelling on that; let them be translated in Hindi; but at the same time when the question was put whether it is being done in other Indian languages, the Minister said that, for this purpose, Rs. 11 to 14 lakhs would be required and, therefore, unless the States co-operated, that could not be done. If this news goes out, how will the non-Hindi speaking people feel about it. Can the Central Government not offer some money to start with? It is only Rs. 14 lakhs; it should not be very difficult to give. The Home Ministry should be conscious of the feelings of other people. I say this without any grievances over any language. The Government should try to understand the feelings and sentiments of those 30 or 40 crores of people whose mother-tongue is not Hindi. There should not be any second-class citizen in India, whether he is a Bengali or a Muslim or a Sikh or a Tamilian. All the citizens should be treated alike. The Home Ministry is particularly responsible for this particular question. The Home Ministry should see that such a discriminatory treatment is done away with,

and the sooner it is done away with, the better it is for the unity of the country, which consists of various types of linguistic groups or national groups or whatever you may call it, the better it is for the prosperity and bright future of India.

With these words I conclude. I am sorry I had to say some very hard words, because this has been the feeling for the last few years about this Emergency, about the arrest of Mr. A. K. Gopalan and Mr. Anandan Nambiar, who are absent from here; I had, therefore, to use very hard words in regard to the Intelligence Department and in regard to the Police Department. I must say that the whole outlook must change; those who are at the top in the Home Ministry, i.e., the Minister, the Minister of State, and Deputy Ministers must change their outlook and then alone the outlook of the people in the lower rung will change.

**Shri Khadilkar (Khed):** The debate on the Home Ministry's Demands gives us an opportunity to examine, according to my understanding, dispassionately what they have achieved during the course of the stewardship of Shri Nanda, and if there are any failures, what those failures are. In a society where there is a process of transformation, where changes are brought about by the democratic method, and new forces are released, to administer the Home Ministry is an extremely difficult job. Therefore, if we look at it, taking events here and there, that would not give us a correct picture. That will be just looking at the trees and missing the wood as they say.

Let me enumerate what they have achieved and let me also have a look at the present problems which are facing our society and facing in a big way the Home Ministry, the problem of integration of tribal regions into the Indian Union, the problem of law and order and so many other problems.

If I were to look at their achievements in a very objective manner, I

would enumerate a few things, to begin with. For instance, the integration of Jammu and Kashmir was a problem. By making articles 356 and 357 applicable to Jammu and Kashmir, they have further integrated Jammu and Kashmir and brought it into the mainstream of Indian political life. That sense of separation is slowly being removed by these steps. This must be admitted, and this is a big achievement. I would say that this is the main thing which goes to the credit of the Home Ministry.

Then, there is the case of administrative reforms. If this country which has been governed so far by a set of administrative agencies well established during the British regime, and if this law and order State is to be transformed into a welfare State, a new administrative pattern needs to be developed. In a society that is being industrialised, and where the feudal things are slowly broken up and the feudal order is being broken up, to initiate measures of administrative reform is a big task. By setting up a committee and taking certain measures on their report, and now by setting up a full-fledged commission under the chairmanship of Shri Morarji Desai, I think the Home Ministry has taken big strides in this matter. I would content myself with saying that, because for want of time I do not want to enumerate in detail what they have done.

There is one other equally important and vital matter concerning corruption. Last year, it figured very much in our discussions. But it appears from the speeches now that the measures taken have produced a certain impact and at least corruption has been checked to a considerable extent.

**Some hon. Members:** No.

**Shri Khadilkar:** I am coming to that. I am not unaware of the exist-

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ence of corruption. What I am saying is that the steps taken have created a great impact. A certain process has been set in motion by which further corruption is being stopped in the administrative services at least; and in public life also, certain steps have been taken. If you take a dispassionate and objective view of the situation . . .

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** My hon. friend can say that concerted attention has been paid to this matter.

**Shri Khadilkar:** That is what I am saying. The process has started. I am not saying that corruption has been eradicated. That would be too tall a claim to make in our society if we look at the things round about. What I was saying was this. In a country like this, which as Jennings has put it, has a federal type of government, in fact, not completely federal, but a quasi-federation with greater power at the Centre, the Centre took the initiative against the Chief Ministers of States; against the Chief Minister of one State, there was a commission of inquiry, and in the case of another Minister and an ex-Minister, there was some proceeding and they had to quit. Do you not think that this has a deterrent effect in general? I am not saying that it has eradicated corruption. But it has a deterrent effect and a very healthy effect on the whole tone of party life and of Government at the State level. We must admit this and we must agree that it was a bold step. I know that the Central Minister Shri Nanda has got to face attacks from both sides; if he acts in one way then he is bound to be attacked by one side, and if he acts in another way, then he is bound to be attacked from the other side.

**Shri Shinkre:** Which are those sides?

**Shri Khadilkar:** I am coming to that. Let my hon. friend please give

me my time, because the time at my disposal is limited. In such a situation, if he has taken these steps which have some deterrent effect on the actions and activities, then it is something creditable. Previously, a certain laxity was visible at the State level, but now that position has changed.

Then, I shall mention one other very important thing. I am taking these things at random. There are friends who take more interest in labour problems. I also used to take interest in labour problems, but I am too old for it now. The question of Whitley Council was there since the Pay Commission's report in 1960. It was a difficult problem, as you know, but ultimately a machinery has been evolved, a sort of conciliation machinery which will go a long way in restoring the morale of the services and a sense of integrity in the ranks. My hon. friends will agree that this is also a big achievement. I have no time, otherwise, I could cite many other things.

**Shri A. P. Sharma:** It provides for compulsory arbitration.

**Shri Khadilkar:** As I have said, I have no time to go into the details.

Last but not least, the Santhanam Committee had recommended the constitution of a vigilance commission. But the public grievances part was taken out of it. Now, a well-known officer and a well-experienced officer has been given charge of this, and a machinery for redress of public grievances has been set up at the Centre. We have to keep in view these things, with the background of Shri Nanda in mind. I cannot forget Shri Nanda, because I have known him for the last thirty or forty years. He is a type of a Gandhian. When he took over the Home Ministry, I criticised him and said 'This is not your job; you are too much of a philosopher; you are too much of an idealist; means and ends count with you; you

are going to prove a failure. But now I feel in a different way. In a society that is in transformation, one may think of assuming dictatorial powers and setting up a machine of repression, and any other Minister would have gone that way, but because of his past, his Gandhian past, Shri Nanda has kept his head above waters . . .

**Shri K. C. Sharma** (Sardhana): He is not drowned.

**Shri Khadilkar**: I must say that the Home Minister has functioned well and looked at the question not merely as a law and order problem but also as a welfare problem and as a social problem in this country, and I am glad to say that he has not given up that approach to the Indian situation.

**Shri Daji**: Excepting in the case of Haveli Ram.

**Shri Khadilkar**: There are eccentricities in my hon. friend's party also. I know that some Members of his party also consult astrologers. Therefore, these are personal matters, and let us not go into them now.

**Shri Daji**: My hon. friend may kindly give their names.

**Shri Khadilkar**: I do not want to mention names, but I know them. If they do not, their wives do, because they have greater faith. Therefore, this backdoor entry to the house of Haveli Ram or whoever he is is there.

**Shri A. P. Sharma**: They consult foreign astrologers.

**Shri Khadilkar**: When it was said that he was a disillusioned socialist, I did not like it. But the compulsions of the Indian situation are such that those who are running the administration will have to make compromises. You cannot ignore this fact. If those compromises do not undermine our basic policies, the set objectives of social reconstruction etc. then such compromises should not be attacked from the angle that they are a surrender to this side or that side.

I shall mention one other problem before I come to the major issue, that is, the arrest of the Left Communists. I had my own doubts about the report that was presented to this House. But if it was a question of security risk and it was genuinely felt that there was something like that, and the Right Communists also then disassociated themselves from the policies and programmes of the Left Communists, why should Shri Nanda be blamed now and pilloried in the way he is being pilloried at the present juncture? There are aspects which should be kept in mind at this juncture. It is not a question of simply praising, because I am going to say something different; I am going to say that I was not satisfied with the report that was presented here. But one thing is very clear. There was the war front. There was the equally important home front. Who kept peace in the country? No doubt, the people responded. But broadly speaking, peace on the home front, dealing with the infiltrators, protecting vital strategic transport points, all that thing was done by the Home Ministry. It discharged its duty commendably well.

After saying all this, I come to the major problem facing the Government and the country at large, the problem of law and order. Unless you are prepared to probe into it and look at the problem in the social complex or the social context, neither the Home Ministry nor we would be able to see it in its proper perspective.

What is the problem? So far, we are looking at it in a symptomatic way. If there is some disturbance, we send the police. If there is greater disturbance, we call in the military personnel. This is not the way, and this is not going to solve the problem. Unless we do a little searching of the heart, I mean everyone of us, we cannot find the solution.

Take the Bengal situation. What happened there? That should be an eye-opener to Government. There was of course the question of food.

[Shri Khadilkar]

But an impression is gaining ground that unless some violence is there, unless there is some fast unto death, Government normally does not move. But apart from that, in Bengal—I have closely studied the situation—Government was completely isolated from the people. Students—you say they are rowdy and indisciplined—teachers—they say they are disgruntled—professors and then Judges of the High Court, joined. We saw all sections of the population on the one side supporting the agitation on the streets and Government sitting completely isolated on the other side, in an ivory tower trying to meet the situation, by inviting the military for their help.

This is not a problem only of Bengal I am touching an aspect of the present situation where active communication with the people is lost, touch with the people is lost. You are sitting in isolation trying to discharge the duties of administration, and therefore, such ugly situations arise. A certain area of gulf has been created between the broad masses of the people and those who rule over them. If it is not bridged, I am afraid no amount of police force or reliance on the military will be able to solve the problem. Therefore, I would warn the Home Minister and the Home Ministry. Look at the problem in its essence. What is the social milieu? What are the basic causes of this disease. Do not deal with it in a symptomatic manner taking some temporary repressive or other measures which are not sufficient to meet the situation in the present state of democratic development in our country. This aspect must be squarely brought before the House and borne in mind in devising a solution.

There is another question, of a certain dialogue with the people, an emotional dialogue, because new forces are let loose in society, in a transforming society. Those who rule, the Chief Ministers and others must have that emotional dialogue, a certain amount of rapport with the people. But to-

day that dialogue is completely absent. When Panditji was there, I remember whatever he said, whether people agreed or disagreed, that dialogue was continued from the top in the capital to the small tea stop in the village. Everywhere, the point was debated and discussed. Unless you want to return or relapse to a different type of democracy, a distorted democracy, you have to give it a different treatment and make it a living pattern. I call it the living pattern in our country at the present juncture. This dialogue with the people, identifying themselves with the emotions and urges of the people, must be kept up. Otherwise, they will fail in discharging their duty and will be relying only on the *danda*. That is not going to save the situation. We have come to a turning point after 18 years. This is an adolescent age of democracy. Somebody referred to the teen-age. We have reached the adolescent age of democracy. The younger generation has come up and society is being transformed. In such a situation, the totality of the picture must be taken into consideration. All forces must be taken into account and their co-operation enlisted. Then only you can rule this country. That is the Home Ministry's job. As I said in the beginning, particularly when Nandaji is presiding over the affairs of the Ministry, they will have to look into this aspect. He and his Ministry must take into account this socio-political problem in our country in the present context and restore a sense of confidence and health to our democracy at its grass-roots. When I speak of dialogue at the local level, it means the grass-roots of democracy. This is one thing.

Then there is another problem, the problem of integration. Let me say that so far as the scheduled castes are concerned, they have developed their own leadership and many things are being done. They are more integrated, not completely, but largely integrated. But so far as the scheduled tribes are concerned, they have re-

mained outside the periphery of our society. It is not a question of Bastar. Bastar is just an eruption. We are not happy with it. Perhaps a local police officer might have committed an excess of violence. I am not saying that the Minister was responsible directly. But certainly people feel that what has been done to the leader was not justified. He was not just a prince, he was the leader of the tribals. They felt their loyalty towards him, they have a certain love for him, because he functioned not as a prince but as a leader of the tribals.

Therefore, you will have to take positive steps in this region which comprises about 70 lakhs of people in this belt. This is one problem.

There is another problem of a similar character, that of the hill tribes. Take the Mizo Hills. Nagas are spearheading the struggle. Do not isolate the Nagas. The spearheading of the struggle is done by the Nagas. There are the Mizo Hills people and other hill people. The Assam representatives will excuse me for saying this—this is my opinion—that there is a deep feeling of distrust of them among those people at their being governed by the Assamese. The sooner they are taken over by the Government, the better. If you look at it from the point of view of showing strength and bringing them round on bended knees, that approach is no good.

**Shri Sham Lal Saraf** (Jammu and Kashmir): Why not give autonomy?

**Shri Khadilkar:** I am coming to that. Some of the tribes are on the other side also. Burma has taken certain steps. There are missionary influences. They are highly educated, more educated than the people in Assam are. I must say this very plainly that they are better educated also in many respects. On the other side, the Burma Government has taken two immediate steps. One, they have taken over the schools. Then they have taken over the hospitals. To eradicate or

drive out the missionaries is not an easy thing. They have lived with them. You will have to create a sense of confidence in a new social service in the hill tribes. They should be taken over by the Centre and given the fullest autonomy. You should try to remove their grievances in time; otherwise, these hill tribes who are on our border will always remain a problem with us. These are the things about the tribal people which have to be done.

**Shri Sham Lal Saraf:** What about giving them autonomy?

**Shri Khadilkar:** I have said that.

Last time, I had suggested that you must start a central institute for training the tribal intelligentsia. You have done nothing. In other countries, for instance in China—I tried to study their literature—they have got a big central institute where people from different regions are brought together, facilities are given, and then a new leadership is created. Have you made any attempt on these lines? You have done nothing.

There was a report presented, how many crores or lakhs we have spent, but do you know that when you probe into these figures, you find that most of the money has gone on administrative expense and the corrupt contractors? It has never reached the people, and does not improve their lot a bit anywhere. Such has been the welfare administration of the tribal areas. Formerly the British Government kept them as museum pieces, we must change that, we must try to penetrate their life, understand them emotionally and try to win them over. That is the only process. Kid-glove methods, somebody said, are not useful. I agree there must be force, but the force must be the minimum. Force should not be the instrument of integration. Integration by force can never take place. That is the law of social development everywhere, and therefore I would say, try to win



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them over, make a new approach to the problem, and the present approach also should be further pursued, in order to win them over. Do not try to foist everything that happens on the Nagas or the Mizo people.

The leader of the Mizos, Mr. Lal-donga, was here in Delhi for some days a few days back, and those who have seen him say that he is a very intelligent man and a good leader. You must try to meet him, meet their leadership. It is no use trying to bypass the leadership of the tribals and meet the situation by some other method. Ultimately, as you have recognised the leadership of the scheduled castes willy nilly, you will have to recognise the leadership of these people in order to integrate them in the scheme of things, so that they can be won over.

**Shri A. P. Sharma:** Separate leaders for everybody.

**Shri Khadilkar:** One more thing and I have finished. Somebody referred to prohibition. Prohibition has been made the central plank of Gandhiji's Centenary. On this point I do endorse the general policy of prohibition. But look at the social consequences dispassionately. A new class has been created, most anti-social in our society, and they have become a menace. Therefore, if you want to pursue the policy of prohibition, a certain climate must be created. Today there is the privileged class of permit-holders who can drink and call it a status symbol in clubs, restaurants and private parties. All the Government officials and contractors will drink, and it will be called a status symbol, as against the lower strata for whose benefit you are pursuing the policy of prohibition. I would urge that you should review this policy from this point of view and make an assessment of its failure and success, and create a proper social climate. You cannot instil morality,

bring about change in social habits, by law or prohibition. Whether it is gold or liquor, you will have to make a fresh approach, a new approach, to the problem.

**Shri A. P. Sharma:** Are you in favour or against it? Make it clear.

**Shri Khadilkar:** I do not want it as it is being administered today; I do not want it to be lifted, because it is bad; you have got to improve the system. That is my main contention.

A statement was made regarding the emergency. The important point in the statement is that unless a law of indemnity is passed, Government cannot completely remove the emergency. Emergency should not be continued even for a minute longer, because it has lost that sense of urgency and emergency in the public at large. It is being abused and misused. I would make this suggestion. It is being withdrawn and kept only for a limited purpose where it is absolutely necessary from the security point of view. Even after making these arrangements, I would suggest that a commission should be appointed, after the law of indemnity has been passed, to find out whether during the emergency it was properly administered or was abused for some other purpose. Then alone you will restore confidence in law and order, because law and order has ultimately a moral foundation; it is not a danda foundation on which the State runs. In this country today the leadership is not having that moral authority. It has been undermined, whether in Bengal or elsewhere. Unless you restore that moral authority of leadership in our society, no Home Minister or Home Ministry, whatever be the police powers or military powers behind him, can be effective. I hope

and trust that under Nandhai's leadership, this leadership will reassert itself and try to restore that confidence.

**श्री भागवत झा आजाब :** उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, गृह मन्त्रालय की मांग पर विचार करने के समय बहुत सी बातें नजर के सामने आती हैं। गृह मन्त्रालय को बहुत से कार्यों की तरफ देश में देखना है। देश की आन्तरिक सुरक्षा, देश में सुन्दर और स्वस्थ शासन, स्वप्नवत् भ्रमन और चैन और इससे भी अधिक आगे जब देश में बाहर से आक्रमण हो, तो उस समय देश की सुरक्षा पर ध्यान, यह ऐसी बातें हैं जिसकी परिधि में इस देश की सभी व्यवस्थायें आ जाती हैं। अब गृह मन्त्रालय को इन बहुत से कामों को भी करना पड़ता है। गृह मन्त्रालय इस देश के अच्छे और बुरे कार्यों का बैरोमीटर है। अगर देश में शान्ति और सुरक्षा है, अगर देश के खेत और खलिहानों में अनाज काफी उपजता है, लोगों को खाने के लिए अन्न, पहनने के लिए कपड़ा है तो देश में शासन और व्यवस्था, ला एण्ड आर्डर जिसे कहते हैं, कानून और व्यवस्था अच्छी रहती है। लेकिन ज्यों ही, देश में भूखमरी की स्थिति होती है, उस समय देश में हड़ताल और प्रदर्शन आदि चीजें होती हैं तो उस समय कानून और व्यवस्था के नाम पर गृह मन्त्रालय को वहां पर आना पड़ता है। यद्यपि खेत और खलिहानों में अन्न नहीं उपजने का कारण, कमी का कारण चाहे खाद हो, चाहे पानी हो और इनका सम्बन्ध गृह मन्त्रालय से नहीं बल्कि खाद्य मन्त्रालय से है, लेकिन अन्त में जब देश के सामने यह बातें आती हैं तो इसकी सारी जवाबदेही ला एण्ड आर्डर के नाम पर गृह मन्त्रालय पर आ जाती है। इसलिए मैं कहूंगा कि हम ला एण्ड आर्डर की दृष्टि से इसको कई भागों में बांट सकते हैं। आज हर बात को ला एण्ड आर्डर के नाम पर, कानून और व्यवस्था के नाम पर देखा जाता है। मैं इसे तीन भागों में

बांटता हूँ। पहला तो यह है कि जहां सचमुच समाज के असामाजिक तत्व इस देश के कानून और विधान को अपने हाथ में ले लेते हैं, वहां पर यह ला एण्ड आर्डर का प्रश्न है। दूसरा प्रश्न वह है कि जहां जनता की वास्तविक मांगें हैं, जहां उनके सामने वास्तविक कठिनाइयां हैं, भूख का प्रश्न, अन्न का प्रश्न, केरोसिन तेल का प्रश्न है, उनके सामने कपड़े का प्रश्न है, उनके सामने खराब शासन व्यवस्था जहां पर कोई बात चांदी के ठीकरों के बिना चलती नहीं, यह प्रश्न है, इसलिए इसके कारण जनता विद्रोह करती है तो वह भी एक ला एण्ड आर्डर का प्रश्न है। और तीसरा यह है कि हमारे बहुत से भागों में ऐसे तत्व हैं जो देश की सार्वभौमिकता, अखण्डता और स्वतन्त्रता को चुनौती है और इस तरह का रूप आप देख सकते हैं नागालैण्ड में, मिजो हिल्स में और जम्मू और काश्मीर में। इस प्रकार हमारे सामने कई ऐसी परिस्थितियां हैं जिनका सम्बन्ध कानून और व्यवस्था से है। मैं आपको कहूंगा, गृह मन्त्रालय हर बात पर या यह सरकार विशेष अच्छा यह होगा कि यह सरकार हर बात को कानून और व्यवस्था का प्रश्न न बनाये। जहां पर वास्तव में असामाजिक तत्व या साम्प्रदायिक तत्व है जैसे पिछली बार कलकत्ते में दंगे हुए, जमशेदपुर में हुए, भिलाई में हुए, यह सचमुच में ला एण्ड आर्डर का प्रश्न है और इसके लिए सरकार ने जिन जिन उपायों का सहारा लिया, जितनी गोलियां चलायीं वह जिस्टि-फाइड हैं। लेकिन अगर केरोसिन तेल की कमी के कारण, अगर भूख के कारण, अगर अन्न के कारण, अगर फूड कंट्रोल के कारण जनता विद्रोह करती है तो मैं समझता हूँ कि वहां सरकार को डंडा और गोली चलाने के बजाय कुछ बातों को शांतिपूर्वक सोचना होगा कि क्यों नहीं इस बात को किया जाय। लेकिन जब आप ठीक ठीक करते हैं तो उसमें एक प्रश्न आता है और वह प्रश्न यह है कि हम तमाम इन चीजों को, प्रदर्शन और

### [श्री भागवत झा आजाद]

हड़ताल के नाते अवश्य ही कर सकते हैं। किसी भी गणतन्त्रात्मक सरकार में भूख हड़ताल करना, प्रदर्शन करना यह हमारा अधिकार है। लेकिन जब यह भूख हड़ताल वाले या प्रदर्शन करने वाले या किरोसिन आयल न मिलने के कारण आवाज उठाने वाले लोग राजनीतिक स्वार्थ रखने वाले तत्वों के हाथ में खेलने लगते हैं और हिंसा करने लगते हैं जब यह स्टेशन तोड़ते हैं जब यह रेलें जलाते हैं तब उस समय होता यह है कि उनकी वास्तविक मांगों का जो असर सरकार पर पड़ना चाहिए वह असर सरकार पर नहीं पड़ता है और होता यह है कि उस समय सरकार की गोली और लाठी हावी हो जाती है। उस समय हमारे ऐसे व्यक्ति जो वास्तव में उस मांग का समर्थन करना चाहते हैं जो चाहते हैं कि गणतन्त्रात्मक सरकार में जनता अपनी जायज मांगों को मनवाने के लिए प्रदर्शन करे, भूख हड़ताल करे और प्रदर्शन हों, उसका समर्थन नहीं कर पाते। अब अगर कोई अपनी जायज और बाजिब मांगों को मनवाने के लिए हिंसा करे, रेल जलाये या स्टेशन जलाये अथवा लोगों को जान से मार दे तो उस समय उनका और उनकी मांगों का समर्थन करना कठिन हो जाता है। इसलिए यह आवश्यक है कि हम इन प्रश्नों पर इस दृष्टि से विचार करें। इसके तीन भाग रखें। पहला भाग तो वह है कि जहां पर वास्तव में कानून और व्यवस्था का प्रश्न है वहां पर सरकार निश्चय ही अपना रूप दिखाये। वह साम, दान और दण्ड, भेद का रूप अख्यार करे और कार्य करे। दूसरा वह जिसका कि मैंने अभी हवाला दिया अर्थात् जहां लोग अपनी जायज मांगों के लिए भूख हड़ताल आदि शांतिपूर्ण प्रदर्शन करें वहां पर निश्चय ही सरकार को सहानुभूतिपूर्वक विचार करना चाहिए। तीसरा और जो सबसे प्रमुख है वह यह कि देश में जो ऐसे भाग हैं जैसे मीजो हिल्स, नागालैण्ड और जम्मू काश्मीर, इन जगहों

में जो ऐसे अराज्यक तत्व हैं, अराष्ट्रीय तत्व हैं जो इस देश की सार्वभौमिकता को चुनौती दे रहे हैं मैं समझता हूँ कि इस सरकार को और गृह मन्त्रालय को मजबूती के साथ उनका दमन करना चाहिए। सरकार उनके खिलाफ कार्यवाही करे। कार्यवाही करने के लिए जब मैं कहता हूँ तो उसका मतलब यह नहीं है कि जो उनकी वास्तविक मांगें हैं उन पर विचार न किया जाय; सरकार को अवश्य उन मांगों पर विचार करना चाहिए। लेकिन देश के वह भाग जो कि अपनी मांगों को शान्तिपूर्ण तरीकों से मनवाने के बजाय यह कहते हैं कि हम हिन्दुस्तान के बाहर के हैं जैसे कि मिजो हिल्स वगैरह के लोग, मैं यहां पर मिजो यूनियन की बात नहीं करता, जो कि अपने को इस भारत देश का नागरिक न मान कर दूसरे नेशनल्स मानते हैं जो अपने को हिन्दुस्तान के बाहर का मानते हैं और सुकर्ण को पत्र लिखते हैं ऐसे भागों में हमारा गृह मन्त्रालय जो काम कर रहा है और कार्यवाही कर रहा है उसका हम समर्थन करते हैं। आज अपने नौजवान दोस्त रिशांग किंशिग को पूछिये कि आज यह नागालैण्ड वाले सीज-फायर के नाम पर मनीपुर में क्या काम कर रहे हैं? हाथी साहब और नन्दा साहब, आप का यह कर्तव्य है कि मनीपुर में ला एंड आर्डर मेनटेन करें और जो आपके प्रति इंडियन यूनियन के प्रति वफादार और इस देश के प्रति ईमानदार हैं उन लोगों को आप हथियार दें और उनको अपने में से बालिटियर्स आर्गनाइज करने चाहिए और उन शरारती, अराष्ट्रीय और अराजक तत्वों को चुनौती दें और उनका सामना करें जोकि इस देश की सार्वभौमिकता और अखंडता को चुनौती दे रहे हैं।

आज यह प्रश्न नहीं है कि जैसा कि कुछ नेता यह कहते हैं कि हम ने मीजो हिल्स और नागा हिल्स में हथियार तो दे दिये मगर वह

भी जुलम कर रहे हैं। अनेकों वर्षों से पिछले 10-12 और 15 वर्षों से इन भागों में नागालैंड वाले और जिसे कि नागालैंड की तथाकथित फीडरल सरकार कहा जाता है वह सरकार ट्रेनों को उड़ाती है, निरीह और इस देश की वफादार जनता को मारती है और आप कहते हैं कि साहब नागालैंड के इन नागाओं के खिलाफ कार्यवाही कैसे करें? एक तरफ तो वह लोग हैं जोकि अपने को इस देश का नागरिक नहीं मानते जो कि हिन्दुस्तान के बाहर जाना चाहते हैं और जोकि फीडरल गवर्नमेंट बनाना चाहते हैं और दूसरी तरफ वह जनता है जोकि कहती है कि हिन्दुस्तान हमारा देश है, शस्य श्यामला भारत भूमि हमारी है और जोकि इस देश के प्रति वफादार और निष्ठावान हैं आज उनके 85 सैकड़ा लोग मारे जाते हैं। जब आज अगर गृह मंत्रालय ने कृपा करके 150 आर्म्स दिये मनीपुर के एरिया में तो यहां तुरन्त पीस मिशन में खलबली मच जाती है। श्री जयप्रकाश नारायण, असम के चीफ मिनिस्टर चालिहा साहब और माइकल स्कॉट बी औरट अनरंबरेड रेस्कलर हू इन पॅरेडिंग बी कंट्री यह कहते हैं कि साहब यह बड़ा अन्याय हो रहा है 150 आर्म्स आपने बांटे हैं मनीपुर में। आज वहां मनीपुर की जनता ने एक वालंटियर फोर्स बनाई है क्योंकि वह आज वर्षों से शोषित और शासित है और उस के ऊपर जुलम हो रहा है। हालत यह पहुंच चुकी है कि ऐसा एक भी कांग्रेस का कैंडीडेट जिन्दा नहीं बचा है जिसने कि पिछली बार कांग्रेस टिकट पर चुनाव कंटेस्ट किया हो। मनीपुर में कांग्रेस के टिकट पर चुनाव लड़ने वाला एक भी उम्मीदवार आज जिन्दा नहीं है। सभी को मार दिया गया है। श्री रिशांग किशिग अब कांग्रेस में आये हैं। वह उस समय कांग्रेस में नहीं थे इसलिए वह अब तक बच गये हैं। लेकिन प्रश्न यह है कि इस गवर्नमेंट में कोई नेतृत्व, कोई लीडरशिप, चाहे वह गृहमंत्री की हो, चाहे रक्षा मंत्री की हो या प्रधान मंत्री की हो, अगर हम उन लोगों को

हथियार न द जोकि इस देश के प्रति वफादार हैं और ईमानदार हैं ताकि वह ऐसे भराजक और भराष्ट्रीय तत्वों को चुनौती दे सकें जो कि इस देश की सार्वभौमिकता को खंडित करना चाहते हैं तो मैं समझता हूँ कि वह इस पार्लियामेंट की और इस देश की सही नीति का प्रतिनिधित्व नहीं करते हैं। इसलिए मैं आप से निवेदन करता हूँ कि आप अपनी इस नीति को चलाइये। हम आप की इस नीति का समर्थन करते हैं जोकि आप मिजो हिल्स के बारे में अब चला रहे हैं। साथ ही साथ हम यह चाहते हैं जैसा कि हमारे और मिजों ने कहा कि जो उन की जायज मांगें हैं उन मांगों पर सरकार द्वारा विचार किया जाय। लेकिन मैं खाडिलकर साहब के इस विचार और सुझाव का कदापि समर्थन नहीं कर सकता जो कि उन्होंने कहा कि लालडेंगा के साथ बुला कर बातचीत करनी चाहिए। जो आदमी इस देश को अपना देश नहीं मानता है जो इस की सार्वभौमिकता को नहीं मानता उसे बुला कर हम बातचीत करें यह चीज मेरे गले के नीचे नहीं उतर सकती। जो सो-कोल्ड फीडरल गवर्नमेंट नागालैंड की है वहां के होम मिनिस्टर ने श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी को तार दिया है कि उनका ट्रेन उड़ाने से कोई सम्बन्ध नहीं। लेकिन मेरा कहना है कि उनके इस कथन पर कोई भी विश्वास नहीं करेगा। इस देश का हर आदमी और इस हाउस का हर आदमी विश्वास करता है कि यह जो ट्रेनें उड़ायी जा रही हैं, विस्फोट हो रहे हैं वह नागा विद्रोही कर रहे हैं। कहिये यह बात सच है या नहीं?

**कई माननीय सदस्य : सच है।**

**श्री भागवत झा आजाद :** अगर यह बात सच है तो उन को सबूत देना होगा कि वह यह नहीं करते हैं। यह नहीं कि मैं इनकवायरी करा रहा हूँ और मैं देख रहा हूँ और तबतक इस देश की निरीह जनता मारी जाय इसलिए आप ऐसे तमाम तत्वों के खिलाफ जो कि देश की अखंडता को नष्ट करना चाहते हैं और जोकि इस देश को अपना नहीं मानते और

## [श्री भगवत-का आज्ञा]

तेडफोड़ आदि की कार्यवाहियां कर रहे हैं उनके खिलाफ सख्त कार्यवाही कीजिये।

इसके बाद मैं यह कहूंगा कि आज इस बात की आवश्यकता है कि इस देश के कुछ भागों में अभी आपातकालीन स्थिति और सुरक्षा कानून रक्खे जायें। मैंने बराबर आपने देखा होगा कि कांग्रेस पार्टी के अन्दर और एक्जीक्यूटिव कमेटी में इस बात पर जोर दिया है कि इमरजेंसी को हटाया जाय। हमने इस बात पर जोर दिया है कि भारतीय सुरक्षा कानून को हटाया जाय। हम यह जानते हैं कि यह दो नियम संकटकालीन स्थिति और भारतीय सुरक्षा कानून यह ऐसे अलग सरकार के तरकस में हैं जिनको कि वह उस समय प्रयोग करेगी जिस समय देश पर बहरी आक्रमण होगा। जब पिछली बार चीन का आक्रमण हुआ था उस समय यों संकटकालीन स्थिति की घोषणा की गई थी और भारतीय सुरक्षा कानून लगाये गये थे। देश के किसी भाग में कहीं की जनता ने भी इस के खिलाफ आवाज नहीं उठाई बल्कि इस संकटकालीन स्थिति में इस सुरक्षा कानून के अन्तर्गत जो भी कदम उठाये उसका हमने जोरदार समर्थन किया। उसके बाद पाकिस्तान का आक्रमण आया। आज हम इस आपातकालीन स्थिति को, इस इमरजेंसी को समाप्त करने का समर्थन करते हैं लेकिन उसी के साथ यह भी आवश्यक समझते हैं कि कुछ सीमा के प्रान्तों में जैसे जम्मू, काश्मीर में, नागालैंड में, मीजो हिल्स आदि जगहों में आज भी भारतीय सुरक्षा कानून की आवश्यकता है। अब मैं सर्राफ साहब को देखता हूँ जो कि यह कहते हैं कि जम्मू काश्मीर में भारतीय सुरक्षा कानून का प्रयोग अपने राजनीतिक विरोधियों के खिलाफ किया गया है, राजनीतिक स्वार्थ के लिये किया गया है तो मेरा कहना है कि वह किसी के भी खिलाफ इस्तेमाल न किया जाय . . . . .

श्री इयाचलाल सर्राफ : आज तक हुआ है

श्री भाववत-का आज्ञा : लेकिन आज तक हुआ है। मैंने यह कहा कि जिस समय हमने यह कहा कि उन्हें हटाइये उस समय हमारा प्रमुख कारण यह था कि भारतीय सुरक्षा कानून का दुरुपयोग विभिन्न राज्यों में किया गया है पर इसका उपयोग भी हुआ है वामपंथी कम्युनिस्टों को लेकर उन्हें बन्द करने में। अब यह उसका सदुपयोग है। सदुपयोग इसलिए है, क्षमा करें डा० रानेन सेन, क्योंकि जब तक इस देश में ऐसे वर्ग के लोग मौजूद हैं जो कहते हैं कि चीनी साम्राज्यवाद जिसके कि खूँखार पंजे आज भारतीय भूमि की ओर, भारतीय जनता की ओर लगे हुए हैं। हमने चीन का क्या बिगाड़ा था? क्या हम ने उसके बच्चों के मुँह से रोटी छीनी थी या उसके मुल्क को दौलत छीनी थी? फिर वह हमें तबाह और वरबाद क्यों करना चाहता है? वह इसलिए कि चीन के यह साम्राज्यवादी, चीन के यह फासिस्टवादी आज इस देश के गणतन्त्र का विनाश चाहते हैं। इसलिए आवश्यकता है कि हम ऐसे तर्कों को जो कि लेफ्ट कम्युनिस्टों के नाम से बिख्यात हैं इस देश में उनको बन्द करने के सारे विधान रक्खे ताकि अगर उसकी आवश्यकता महसूस हो तो वैसा किया जा सके। मैं नहीं समझता कि श्री एच० एन० मुकर्जी को इससे क्यों विरोध हो। उनको तो मैं बन्द करने के लिए नहीं कहता हूँ। मैं उनको इसलिये नहीं कहता हूँ क्योंकि वह कहते हैं कि वह चीन की विस्तारवादी नीति का विरोध करते हैं और इसलिए आ हमारे इस देश के वाशिनटन हैं और आप हमारे साथ हैं। आपके खिलाफ मैं कोई कानून नहीं लगाता। उनके ऐसे लोगों के खिलाफ कोई कानून नहीं लगाया गया है . . . . .

Dr. Ranen Sen: Have you produced any proof in the court that they were with the Chinese?

Shri A. P. Sharma: What is your difference with them?

**Dr. Ranen Sen:** There may be 1001 differences. What is that to Government?

**श्री भागवत झा आजाद :** बहुत अच्छे । मैं इनके मुंह से यह सुनना चाहता था इसलिए मैं रुक गया वरना इससे मेरी आवाज तेज उठ सकती है । मैं कह रहा था कि ठीक उन्होंने कहा कि यह मांगते हैं सबूत तो सबूत किस बात का चाहते हैं ? क्या उन्हें इस बात का सबूत दिया जाय कि सूर्य पूर्व में उदय होता है ? क्या इस बात का सबूत दिया जाय कि सूर्य पश्चिम में डूबता है ? क्या इस बात का सबूत दिया जाय कि दिन रात इन के नेता जो इस देश में बयान देते फिरते हैं कि तुम चीन से बात करो जिस चीन ने आक्रमण किया जिसने कि कोलम्बो प्रमत्ताओं को नहीं माना ? (व्यवधान)

**Dr. Saradish Roy (Katwa):** We are not selling the country. You are selling the country to your masters, the U.S.A.

**श्री भागवत झा आजाद :** बैठ जाओ । वह जो इस देश में रहते हैं और अपने को इस देश का नागरिक नहीं समझते हैं । जो इस देश को अपना देश नहीं समझते हैं । यह हिन्दुस्तानी चोले में घूमने वाले लैफ्ट कम्प्युनिस्ट . . . . . (व्यवधान)

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, यह हिन्दुस्तानी चोले में घूमने वाले लैफ्ट कम्प्युनिस्ट . . . . . (व्यवधान)

**Dr. Saradish Roy:** I am coming after 16 months of detention. I challenge you to prove the accusation against us in an open court. (Inter-ruption).

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Order, order. I have been asking the Member that he should not speak like that. Unless the Member yields, he cannot go on like this.

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**श्री भागवत झा आजाद :** उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं यह कह रहा था कि हिन्दुस्तानी चोले में घूमने वाले ये लैफ्ट कम्प्युनिस्ट इस देश की हवा में पलते हैं, इस देश का पानी पीते हैं, इस देश की शस्य श्यामला भूमि का भ्रम खाते हैं, लेकिन तराना गाते हैं चीन का । उनके नेता तमाम देश में कहते फिरते हैं कि चीन के साथ समझौता किया जाये । किस बात का समझौता ? जिसने हमारी भूमि पर कब्जा कर लिया है, जो हमारी मिट्टी पर दावा कर रहा है, जो आज लद्दाख, थागला रिज और अन्य स्थानों पर आक्रामक कार्यवाहियां कर रहा है, उसके साथ समझौता कैसे हो सकता है । (व्यवधान) इन लोगों को शर्म आनी चाहिए ! हिन्दुस्तान की सरकार ने इन लोगों के प्रति इतनी उदारता दिखाई है, इनको इतना मौका दिया है, लेकिन आज इनकी इतनी हिम्मत है कि ये देश में कहते फिरते हैं कि आक्रमणकारी चीन के साथ समझौता किया जाये । (व्यवधान)

इस लिए आज आवश्यकता इस बात की है कि यह संकट-कालीन कानून . . .

**Shri Badrudduja (Murshidabad):** Sir, I raise a point of order. Has any hon. Member of this House any right to cast a serious reflection upon the Members of a particular group in this House?

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** It cannot be a one-way traffic. If he wants to make allegations against the other party, he must be prepared to hear allegations against his party also.

**श्री भागवत झा आजाद :** उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं अपनी कही हुई सारी बातों को वापस ले लूंगा, मैं माननीय सदस्यों से क्षमा मांगूंगा, यदि वे इस सदन में उठ कर यह स्टेटमेंट दें कि वे चीन का समर्थन नहीं करते हैं । अगर आज वे उठ कर यह कह दें कि

[श्री भागवत झा आजाद]

जब तक चीन कोलम्बो प्रस्तावों को न मान ले, तब तक भारत को उससे बात नहीं करनी चाहिए, तो मैं अपने शब्द वापस ले लूंगा। क्या वे कहेंगे? नहीं कह सकते।

इसलिए यह आवश्यक है कि हम अपने देश में आपातकालीन कानून को तब तक रखें, जब तक इस देश में लैश्ट कम्प्युनिस्ट के नाम से जीने वाले लोग हैं, जब तक नागालैंड और मिजो हिल्स में अशांति है, जब तक हमारी सीमाओं पर खतरा है। लेकिन मैं एक बात श्री हाथी से कह देना चाहता हूँ कि बाईर स्टेट्स के नाम पर इन कानूनों का प्रयोग पंजाब, उत्तर प्रदेश, बिहार और बंगाल में न किया जाये। अगर कोई सरकार—उदाहरण के लिए बिहार की सरकार या बंगाल की सरकार—संकटकालीन कानूनों और डिफेंस आफ इंडिया रूल्स के बिना नहीं रह सकती है, तो उसको यह बात एस्टाब्लिश करनी चाहिए, लेकिन एक, दो या तीन स्टेट्स के नाम पर सम्पूर्ण देश में यह स्थिति न रखी जाये।

**Shri Shinkre:** On a point of order. Will the hon. Member clarify whether the DIR will be used against some Chief Minister who says "I do not respect the authority of the President."?

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

श्री भागवत झा आजाद : यह बड़े खेद की बात है कि गोआ के माननीय सदस्य ऐसे पायंट आफ ऑर्डर उठाते हैं। यदि वह रूल्स को ज़रा पढ़ लें कि पायंट आफ ऑर्डर क्या होता है, तो अच्छा हो। खैर, जाने दीजिए। समेटाइंग इनोरेंस इज श्लेश।

श्री नन्दा जी ने घोषणायें की हैं, हम उन से सन्तुष्ट हैं। लेकिन हम साथ साथ यह भी चाहते हैं कि वह सुरक्षा कानून को सिवाय इन तीन भूभागों के—नागालैंड,

मिजो हिल्स और जम्मू-काश्मीर—और कहीं न रखें। यदि उनके विचार में संकटकालीन स्थिति को देश के किसी भाग में, इन ए पार्ट्स आफ दि कंट्री, नहीं लागू किया जा सकता है, तो वह संविधान में संशोधन कर के यह व्यवस्था करें कि अगर सम्पूर्ण देश में नहीं, बल्कि देश के किसी भूभाग में आवश्यकता हो, तो वहां पर संकटकालीन स्थिति को लागू किया जाये। सरकार संविधान में यह संशोधन करे कि अगर इमरजेंसी की आवश्यकता सिर्फ नागालैंड, मिजो हिल्स या और किसी क्षेत्र में है, तो केवल उमी क्षेत्र में इमरजेंसी रहे। चूंकि संविधान के अनुसार देश के किसी भाग में इमरजेंसी लागू करना संभव नहीं है, इसलिए सम्पूर्ण देश में इमरजेंसी रहे, यह बिल्कुल गलत है।

इस सम्बन्ध में सब से बड़ी बात गृह मंत्री जी ने स्वयं कही है—यह कि आज देश में वह क्लाइमेट नहीं है, वह अवस्था और वातावरण नहीं है कि इन सुरक्षा कानूनों का प्रयोग किया जाये। आखिर देश में इमरजेंसी साधारणतः तो नहीं रह सकती है। हमारे देश में आपातकालीन स्थिति है, क्योंकि चीन के आक्रमण का खतरा है, वह हमारे भूभाग पर बैठा हुआ है, ताशकन्द समझौते के बाद पाकिस्तान ने युद्ध की तैयारियां की हैं, लेकिन फिर भी आपातकालीन स्थिति और सुरक्षा कानून को अवश्यम्भावी रूप में हटा दिया जाये। अगर देश में फिर से वास्तव में एक्टिव रूप में खतरा हो—पैसिव रूप में तो वह है ही—, तो फिर एक धटे के अन्दर-अन्दर इमरजेंसी और सुरक्षा कानून को लागू कर दिया जाये। लेकिन इस समय इन दोनों को हटा दिया जाये और इसके लिये संविधान में समुचित परिवर्तन किया जाये।

अब मैं इस देश की शासन व्यवस्था के बारे में कुछ शब्द कहना चाहता हूँ। मैं अपनी तरफ से कोई बात नहीं कहना चाहता हूँ। मैं

गृह मंत्री जी का उगान श्री भृश्रुष्यम् के आज से तीन दिन पहले अहमदाबाद में दिए गए स्टेटमेंट और उनके चंडीगढ़ के स्टेटमेंट की तरफ़ दिलाना चाहता हूँ। इस देश के सभी नेता यह कहते हैं कि देश में समाजवादी समाज की स्थापना के लिए यह आवश्यक है कि यहां पर उसके अनुकूल शासन व्यवस्था हो। और शासन व्यवस्था के माने सिर्फ़ ये बड़े बड़े अधिकारीगण नहीं हैं, बल्कि उसमें मिनिस्टर्स से प्रारम्भ करके नीचे तक के हर एक आदमी को लेता हूँ।

आज यह कहा जाता है कि इस शासन व्यवस्था में सुधार किया जाये। मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि मैं अपने क्षेत्र में धूमता हूँ, लेकिन आज इस देश की शासन व्यवस्था की जो स्थिति है, उसमें मैं अपने क्षेत्र के एक आदमी का भी कोई काम नहीं करा सकता हूँ। उदाहरण के लिए आप एक डिस्ट्रिक्ट मैजिस्ट्रेट के दैनिक जीवन को लीजिए। वह सुबह से लेकर रात तक काम करता है। आप देखिये कि उसमें कितना फाइल वर्क होता है और कितना जनता से सम्बन्धित कार्य होता है। अगर मैं किसी अधिकारी के बारे में श्री हाथी को एक दरखास्त भेजूं, तो वह उसको सेक्रेटरी को एनडार्स कर देंगे। सेक्रेटरी उस दरखास्त को बिहार के चीफ़ सेक्रेटरी को एनडार्स कर देगा। उसके बाद चीफ़ सेक्रेटरी, बिहार मेरी उस दरखास्त को डिस्ट्रिक्ट मैजिस्ट्रेट को और डिस्ट्रिक्ट मैजिस्ट्रेट एस० डी० प्रो० को एनडार्स कर देगा और अन्त में मेरी वह दरखास्त उसी व्यक्ति के पास जायगी, जिसके खिलाफ़ मैंने शिकायत की थी।

इस शासन व्यवस्था में आमूल परिवर्तन करने की आवश्यकता है। नन्दा जी ने भ्रष्टाचार को दूर करने के लिए सराहनीय कार्य इसलिए किया कि वह ईमानदारी और सच्चाई से भ्रष्टाचार का उन्मूलन करना चाहते हैं, लेकिन इस शासन व्यवस्था

ने उनको आगे नहीं चलने दिया। मैं उनसे पूछता हूँ कि इस इमजन्ती और इन डिफेंस आफ़ इंडिया क्लब के सम्बन्ध में उनका भ्रष्टाचारों की क्या राय है। नन्दा जी ने हिम्मत करके एक पोलिटिकल डिजिजन लिया और श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी ने हिम्मत से काम लिया, वरना मैं जानता हूँ कि जो लोग आज इस देश में शासन चला रहे हैं, वे बिना डिफेंस आफ़ इंडिया क्लब के काम नहीं चला सकते हैं। चाहे प्लानिंग को इम्प्लीमेंट करने का प्रश्न हो, चाहे शासन को चलाने का प्रश्न हो और चाहे देश की राजभाषा या राष्ट्रभाषा को बढ़ाने का मामला हो, कहीं भी शासन वह दक्षता और निपुणता नहीं दिखा रहा है, जिसकी आवश्यकता थी।

आज विदेशों से, अमरीका से, कर्ज मांग कर हजार करोड़ रुपये यहां लाए जाते हैं—हालांकि हमारे सिर पर जो यह हजार करोड़ रुपये का कर्ज लद रहा है, वह हमें आर्थिक गुलामी का प्रतीक मालूम होता है—और उसमें से करीब दो सौ करोड़ रुपये सम्भवतः जनता की भलाई के लिए खर्च किये जायें, लेकिन उस रकम का अधिकांश भाग उन भ्रष्टाचारों, उन राजनीतियों और उन कट्टेकर्तों की जेब में जाता है, जो इस देश के सब से बड़े असामाजिक तत्व हैं और जिनके विरुद्ध डिफेंस आफ़ इंडिया क्लब काम में लाये जाने चाहिए।

गृह मंत्रालय ने कार्य किया है, यह प्रसन्नता की बात है। वास्तव में आज जो स्थिति है, वह भ्रष्टाचार की बात है, लेकिन मैंने प्रसन्नता की बात इसलिए कही है कि नन्दा जी को हिम्मत हो रही है, उन पर प्रधान मंत्री, श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू, जैसे बड़े आदमी को छाया नहीं है और वह गृह मंत्री का काम कर रहे हैं। हम उनकी सफलता चाहते हैं, लेकिन हम साथ साथ यह भी चाहते हैं कि इमजन्ती और डिफेंस आफ़ इंडिया क्लब को हट दिया जाय। मिज़ा



### [श्री भागवत झा आजाद]

हिल्ड और नागालैंड में उनकी जो नीति है, उसको जोरदार ढंग से चलाया जाये। हम उन के साथ हैं। इसके साथ ही वह इस देश की शासन व्यवस्था में भी सुधार करें। सरकार ने एडमिनिस्ट्रेटिव रिफॉर्मज़ कमीशन, बनाया है, लेकिन ऐसी बहुत सी बातें हैं जो सरकार सिर्फ एडमिनिस्ट्रेटिव आर्डर्स से ही कर सकती है। इसलिये मैं कहूंगा कि आज देश में आन्तरिक सुरक्षा के लिये, देश को बाहरी आक्रमण से बचाने के लिये आवश्यक है कि गृह मंत्रालय इन बातों पर ध्यान दे और इन पर वैधानिक कार्यवाही करें।

**श्री लक्ष्मी बास (मरयालगुडा) :** उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, आज जब हम होम अफयर्स की डिमाण्ड पर गौर कर रहे हैं तो इसकी पिछली जो कार्यवाहियाँ हैं उन पर भी गौर करना जरूरी है। दरअसल होम मिनिस्ट्री का काम ला एण्ड आर्डर को मेन्टन करना है, देश की तमाम जनता को बराबरी और इन्सानियत की नजर से देखना चाहिये, लेकिन मुझ अफ-सोस के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि यह होम डिपार्टमेंट सिर्फ अपनी पार्टी की हित नीतियों के लिये, उनके बचाव के लिये ही काम करता रहा है और दूसरी जितनी भी अपोजीशन पार्टीज हैं उनको दबाने की कोशिश इस डिपार्टमेंट की तरफ से की गई है, इसकी ऐसी पालिसी रही है। न सिर्फ यह पालिसी रही है, बल्कि अपोजीशन-अपोजीशन को एक दूसरे के खिलाफ उकसाने का तरीका इसने अख्तियार किया है।

जब हम देखते हैं कि 1962 ईसवी में जब चाइना के आर्डर पर यह संघर्ष हुआ, उस वक़्त से इसने कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी पर हमला करना शुरू कर दिया, यही नहीं, बल्कि उसके खिलाफ दूसरी तमाम अपोजीशन पार्टीज में जहर फैलाया, जिस तरह से अंग्रेज डिवाइड

एण्ड रूल की पालिसी का तरीका अख्तियार करते थे, वही तरीका अख्तियार किया और इस डी० आई० आर० को ला एण्ड आर्डर के लिये नहीं, बल्कि गवर्नमेंट को, कांग्रेस को बचाने के लिये उपयोग किया। यदि हम इस डी० आई० आर० रूल को देखते हैं तो मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि कितने ऐसे लोगों को गिरफ्तार किया गया जो हमारे देश के खिलाफ थे, जो हमारे देश के भ्रवाम के हित के खिलाफ थे, जो लूटेरे थे, जो दिन दहाते लूटेरे हैं, उनके खिलाफ इसको इस्तेमाल किया गया। हम यही देखते हैं कि गवर्नमेंट ने इस रूल को अपने बचाव की खातिर और अपोजीशन पर हमला करने के लिये ही इस्तेमाल किया। इससे क्या हुआ? न सिर्फ एक पार्टी, बल्कि तमाम अपोजीशन पार्टियों पर हमला करके उन्होंने हजारों लोगों को एरेस्ट किया। 1964 ई० में कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के एक हजार आदमियों को गिरफ्तार करके जेलों में रखा। उसके बाद नन्दा जी ने एक श्वेत-पत्र व्हाइट पेपर निकाला, जिससे साफ़ जाहिर होता है कि इनके पास जो भी इन्फर्मेशन आती है, वह सब सेप्टल इन्टेलीजेंशिया की तरफ से आती है, जो शायद झूठ खबर देने के लिये हैं। जो उनमें में से एक भी इल्जाम को प्रूब नहीं कर सकी। हमारे लोगों ने कहा था, कि अगर हम देशद्रोही हैं, चाइना के हमदर्द हैं तो आप कोर्ट में हम को पेश कीजिये, हम को ट्रायल कीजिये ताकि मालूम हो सके कि दरअसल हम देशद्रोही हैं या वे देशद्रोही हैं जो दरअसल भ्रवाम को लूटेरे हैं और भ्रवाम को लूट-खसोट कर करोड़पति बनते हैं। इसके पीछे क्या है? तब साफ़ पता चलेगा कि यह सेप्टल इन्टेलीजेंशिया, जिसको तकरीबन सालाना पांच करोड़ रुपया देकर पाल रहे हैं, क्या काम करती हैं। हजारों आदमियों को, पब्लिक लीडर और वर्कर को गिरफ्तार किया जाता है, लेकिन कहीं नाम को भी ब्लैक मार्केट करने वाला नहीं पकड़ा जाता। मुझ से पहले अभी डा० सेन ने जिन लोगों का

जिन्न किया, उन करप्शन करने वालों को नहीं पकड़ा जाता ।

एक तरफ़ डेमोक्रेसी का ढोंग रचते हैं, दूसरी तरफ़ डेमोक्रेटिक सोशलिज्म लाने की बात करते हैं । जब डेमोक्रेसी ही इस देश में नहीं है तो डेमोक्रेटिक सोशलिज्म की बातें करना महज एक फजल बात है, क्योंकि इस को डेमोक्रेसी नहीं कहा जा सकता, यह तो अपोजीशन को खत्म करने की बात हो रही है । यदि डेमोक्रेसी है तो नजरबन्दियों को ट्रायल करके उनको सजा दें । उसके बजाय अपोजीशन को क्रश करने के लिये न सिर्फ़ हम पर हथियार चले, बल्कि वैसे ही जनसंघ पर, स्वतन्त्र पार्टी पर, वैसे ही दूसरी पार्टियों पर डी० आई० आर० हथियार इस्तेमाल किये गये, यह कैसे चल सकता है, यह डेमोक्रेसी कैसे रह सकती है जिसमें अपोजीशन को क्रश करके वह सिर्फ़ अपने आपको बाकी रखना चाहते हैं । लेकिन आज आप इस बात को सोच लें, कि जो बात आज है, वह कल नहीं रहेगी, कल डी० आई० आर० के खिलाफ़ हम देखते हैं कि सिर्फ़ अकेली कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी ही थी, लेकिन आज तमाम अपोजीशन पार्टीज डी० आई० आर० के खिलाफ़ है और न सिर्फ़ अपोजीशन के ही लोग एमरजेन्सी के खिलाफ़ हैं बल्कि कांग्रेस के अन्दर भी वह चीज पैदा हो गई है कि अब यह जो एमरजेन्सी है, और डी० आई० आर० है, यह एक ऐसा मुर्दा है जिसको अभी दफ़न करना चाहिये, लेकिन हम देखते हैं कि हमारी होम मिनिस्ट्री उस मुर्दे को अपने कंधों पर लेकर और चन्द रोज़ तक बनाये रखने के लिये सोच रही है यह बड़े अफ़मोस की बात है । मैं चाहता हूँ कि मिनिस्ट्री इस को जल्द से जल्द खत्म करे, और इस एमरजेन्सी को भी खत्म करे ।

अभी चन्द साथी यहां यह कह रहे थे कि "ये जो चीनी एजेंट हैं" किस मुंह से और किस आघार पर आप ऐसा कह रहे हैं । जो बात दो साल पहले हमने कही थी, आज उसी बात

को कांग्रेसी कह रहे हैं । हमने कहा था कि चीन के साथ बातचीत के जरिये मामले को तय करना ठीक है, समझ कर तय करना ठीक होगा । यह मिलीट्री और फौज के जरिये फंसले नहीं होते हैं । खुद नेहरू जी ने उम वक्त यह कहा था कि न चीन को हम जीत सकते हैं और न चीन हम को जीत सकता है, तो फिर किस मुंह से आप कहते हैं कि फौजों से ही उसका जबाब देंगे । यह बात ठीक नहीं है । बल्कि जो बात दो साल पेशतर हमने कही थी, वही बात आज जयप्रकाश नारायण जी ने कही है, श्री खाडिलकर भी वही बात कह रहे हैं, दूसरे कांग्रेसी नेता और हाईकोर्ट के चीफ़ जस्टिस और सुप्रीम कोर्टके जस्टिस भी वही बात कह रहे हैं । ऐसी सूरत में यह कहना कि हम चीनी एजेंट हैं, गलत है । बल्कि आज जबकि हम यहां की पैदाइश हैं, इसी मिट्टी से बने हैं, इसी आबोहवा में हम सांस लेते हैं, यहीं का पानी हम पीते हैं, तो यह बोलना कि हम चीनी एजेंट हैं, गलत है । हम किसी के एजेंट हो सकते हैं तो हिन्दुस्तान के अग्राम के, हिन्दुस्तान के मजदूरों के, हिन्दुस्तान के मेहनतकश लोगों के हम एजेंट हैं और जरूर हम उनकी एजेंट-गिरी करते हैं । लेकिन जो यहां के मोनोपोली कैपिटलिस्ट्स के एजेंट हैं, वे कहते हैं कि हम चाइना के एजेंट हैं । यह कभी नहीं हो सकता । हम किसी के एजेंट नहीं हैं, न चीन के एजेंट हैं, न रशिया के एजेंट हैं, अगर एजेंट हैं तो यहां की पब्लिक के, यहां के अग्राम के एजेंट हैं । जिस तरीके से मुल्क की आजादी के लिये खून बहा था, उसी तरह से हम यहां की मुआशी और आर्थिक आजादी के लिये भी अपना खून बहाने को तैयार हैं । और एक बात मैं आपको बतलाना चाहता हूँ । हमारे यहां पर आंध्र प्रदेश में डी० आई० आर० के सिलसिले में कैसा जुल्म हुआ, इसको आप देखें । केरल में, कलकत्ता में जो हुआ है, वह आपको मालूम है और मैं बता भी चुका हूँ । आंध्र प्रदेश में सिविल लिबरटीज की रक्षा कैसे हो, इसके सिलसिले में एक कान्फ़ेस हुई थी । इस कान्फ़ेस में हजारों लोगों ने शिरकत की थी ।

## [श्री लक्ष्मी दाम]

इसके दो तीन दिन के बाद डी० आई० आर० के तहत पचास के करीब लोगों को गिरफ्तार करके जेलों में डाल दिया गया। इन लोगों का न लैफ्ट कम्युनिस्ट्स के साथ कोई सम्बन्ध था और न ही राइट कम्युनिस्ट्स के साथ कोई सम्बन्ध था। ये हमारे साथ सहानुभूति रखने वाले लोग थे। जिन लोगों को एरेस्ट करके जेलों में बन्द किया उनमें कौन लोग थे? उनमें वकील थे, बैरिस्टर थे, डाक्टर थे। अफसोस की बात है कि ऐसे लोगों को भी डी० आई० आर० के तहत जेलों में बन्द करके रखा जाता है जो प्रजा के हित के लिये काम करते हैं। इससे आप अन्दाजा लगा सकते हैं कि कितना गलत इस्तेमाल डेम डी० आई० आर० का हुआ है।

15.32 hrs.

SHRI SHAM LAL SARAF in the chair]

यह कहा जाता है कि गिरफ्तार लोगों को छोड़ा जा रहा है। लेकिन ऐसा मालूम होता है कि सब को नहीं छोड़ा जाएगा। आप कहते हैं कि एक हार्ड कोर है और दूसरे साफ्ट कोर के हैं। हमें इस तरह की कोई बात तो नजर नहीं आती है। दरअसल में देखा जाय तो हार्ड कोर के वे लोग हैं जो कि गवर्नमेंट की ज्यादा नुकताचीनी करते हैं, गवर्नमेंट को जो ज्यादा क्रिटिसाइज करते हैं, जिन से हमारी जो पब्लिक है वह ज्यादा प्रेम करती है। ऐसे लोगों को ही हार्ड कोर समझा जा रहा है। इनमें कौन लोग हैं? इन में गोपालन साहब हैं, ई० एम० एस० नम्बूद्रीपाद हैं, बासवापुर्नया हैं तथा दूसरे लोग हैं। ये वे लोग हैं जिनकी तारीख यह बताती है कि कांग्रेस के अन्दर रह कर वे ब्रिटिश गवर्नमेंट के खिलाफ लड़े हैं। इन लोगों को हार्ड कोर या साफ्ट कोर का नाम देना उनके साथ अन्याय करना है। इनके साथ जनता प्रेम करती है। इन्होंने आजादी की लड़ाई लड़ी है। आज हम होम मिनिस्ट्री

की डिमाण्ड पर गौर कर रहे हैं। ये उसकी उन्नीसवीं डिमाण्ड हैं। ऐसे मीके पर मैं समझता हूँ कि इस मन्त्रालय को ठंडे दिल से गौर करना चाहिये। ठंडे दिमाग से उसके लिए गौर करने की जरूरत है। नन्दा जी को सोचने की जरूरत है। मैं समझता हूँ कि अब ज्यादा दिनों तक बहाने करके, झूठे बहाने बनाने से काम नहीं चलेगा। ज्यादा दिन तक उनको जेल में रखना ठीक नहीं है। इस तरह के नीच हथियार आप काम में लाना बन्द कर दें। इस तरह के हथियारों से बात बनेगी नहीं। आज आपकी पार्टी की हुकूमत है। हमारे मुल्क में डेमोक्रेसी है। डेमोक्रेसी में तमाम पार्टीज को एक नजर से देखा जाना चाहिये। ये जो देश की तमाम जम्हूरियत की नीति और इकाइयां हैं इनको आजादी से चलने और काम करने की आपको आज्ञा देनी चाहिये।

एक आखिरी बात मैं और कहना चाहता हूँ। कई बार ऐसा होता है कि जो लोग नजरबन्द होते हैं, वे सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट के आर्डर से होते हैं। स्टेट्स उनको एरेस्ट करती है। लेकिन जब उनकी फैसिलिटीज की मांग की जाती है, जब हम लोग फैसिलिटीज के लिए मैमोरेण्डम देते हैं तब होम मिनिस्टर साहब कहते हैं कि यह स्टेट गवर्नमेंट के हाथ में है, यह काम उनके करने का है। हमने कोई ज्यादा डिमाण्ड नहीं किया था। हमने एक तो यह कहा था कि मद्रास गवर्नमेंट जो फैसिलिटीज देती हैं कम से कम उतनी फैसिलिटीज तो तमाम जगहों पर हम लोगों को मिलनी चाहियें। दूसरी हमारी मांग यह थी कि अब फूड आर्टिकलज की कीमतें बहुत बढ़ गई हैं। इसको देखते हुए यह जरूरी है कि डेली भत्ता जो हम लोगों को मिलता है उसको काफी बढ़ाया जाए। ये हमारी डिमाण्ड थी। लेकिन अफसोस की बात है कि हमारे होम मिनिस्टर साहब ने इसका जवाब हमें यह दिया कि स्टेट वालों के हाथ में यह चीज है,

उनके हाथ में नहीं है। इस तरह से बात नहीं चलेगी। आप ठंडे दिल से इस पर भी गौर करें। जिस तरह से आप दूसरी बातें स्टेट बानों से मनवाते हैं वैसे ही फैमिलिटीज़ के मिलमिले में आपको यहां से पहल करके इसको स्टेट्स से मनवाना चाहिये। यहां से इसके बारे में आपको पहल करनी चाहिये।

आखिरी मेरी डिमाण्ड यह है कि डी० आई० आर० और एमरजेंसी को आप फौरन खत्म करें और मियासी कैदियों को छोड़ दें।

**Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya:** Mr. Chairman, Sir, I want to deal with certain aspects of this Report without exciting any controversial enthusiasm in any quarter. The Home Ministry is the backbone of the Government. That is accepted everywhere and it is accepted here in India too. In fact, the Home Ministry gives the Government its character, its decisive energy and the capacity to put this energy into action. That is why the names of the Home Ministers are remembered just immediately after the Prime Ministers. There are so many Ministers but it is the Home Minister who is counted and remembered. During the British regime there were so many members of the Executive Council; but the names we remember, from the early times when we began reading newspapers, are those of Sir William Vincent, Sir Malcolm Hailey, Sir Alexander Muddiman and Sir Reginald Maxwell. It is the Home Minister who rules, and so long as the Home Minister maintains his balance and poise, the kingdom is safe and the Government is safe. That is the position of the Home Ministry in the Government.

In that way, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel is regarded and remembered as the most ideal Home Minister, because the virtues which are necessary to make a successful Home Minister are that he must never be shaky, he must be confident of himself and he must be able to inspire confidence in the people in the fact that his deci-

sions, once taken, are not changed. Unless he is able to inspire that confidence in the people, it will be difficult to continue in the Government as Home Minister. These were the virtues associated with Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. That is why people call him the Iron Man. Everyone knows, everyone remembers from the facts of his life that whenever he took any decision, that decision was never changed. That would be carried into practice, no matter whether the heavens fell or the earth quaked.

I harp on these themes in the beginning of my speech when I feel that some amount of shakiness is created by diverse forms of criticisms about what the Home Ministry has been able to do or has not been able to do. Let it at least not be shaky. Let it prove that it is not shaky and that it has the capacity to rule this country.

After saying this, I would like to refer to the public services, because the machinery through which the Home Ministry carries out its purposes and its decisions are the public services. The public services during the pre-independence days were designed in a particular way and were expected to act in a particular way. But, after independence, the public services have got to recast themselves, have to re-adjust themselves, to the changed circumstances. There my contention is that this required change has not come over the public services and I had occasions to commend on this even before. It is the public services with which the people come in contact in their day-to-day life. They do not come into contact with the Prime Minister or the Chief Minister or the Home Minister but it is the public services with which the people come in contact and the services have to interpret the policies of Government to the people and to carry the reaction of the people to the heads of Government. In fact, they act as some sort of a liaison and if they act properly, the attitude of the people to the Government would be cast in one form and if they do not act

[Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya]

properly, it would go in a different way.

My hon. friend, Shri A. C. Guha, I believe, referred to the failure of one sub-divisional officer in one place and it became a major crisis for the State and the Government. That is where the public services should be made conscious of the new responsibilities. In the old regime their mode of conduct and action was that orders came from the top and were carried out by the bottom. If they did it, they discharged their work efficiently. But now they have not only to look to the top, they have to look more to the people themselves, feel the pulse of the people and conduct themselves accordingly.

Of course, they carry out the policies of Government. Policies may not be popular, but even when carrying out a policy, not altogether satisfactory for the people, the services themselves by their own conduct and by their own method of carrying it out, may take away from the people the dis-satisfaction that would otherwise be created and engendered among them by the policies which they are expected to carry out. That responsibility devolves upon the public services and that is where I would like to lay great stress and expect the Ministry that they would make the services conscious of these new responsibilities which have come upon them. It is not enough that they carry out the directives that they receive, but it is necessary that they do it with consideration, in the application of the rules and with as much humanity as possible.

In a case I had a talk with one very highly placed official. He says—and I believe, it is correct—"You may not make us act in a certain way under the rules; if you refer to the rules, you cannot make us act in the way you like, but we know that if we want we can act in the way you like." That is the position to which I want to draw the particular attention of the

services and of the Ministry as well—

I do not want that the services should be weak, vacillating or indecisive, but, as I have said, they should work with human considerations. Much of the agitation that we hear of now would not have been there if the services had acted with proper consideration and care, at least in some of the places that I know of.

The Estimates Committee have recently brought out their report on the public services and in this report they refer to this particular aspect of the services which they have taken note of. I might quote some portions of it. In fact, this is from one of the notes that was received from the Ministry itself. They say:—

"They have to learn that it is essential that public servants should not only be just and efficient but also human in their dealings. They should so conduct themselves that the citizen may feel assured that his personal feelings as well as his rights would receive due consideration at the hands of the public servant. The public is now far more concerned with that the civil servant does or fails to do."

This is the new position in which the public servants find themselves under the Government of India in an independent India and this is where I want that they should adjust themselves properly. There is one more quotation here where they say:—

"The Committee are constrained to mention the general feeling among the people of lack of spirit of service",—

they have taken note of it,—

"expected of the members of the public services and also dilatory methods and tactics in their dealings with the public. The Committee feel that this lapse on the part of the public service very

often compel the public to seek the intervention of legislators or public men of importance for the disposal of even matters of routine nature."

These are the things which I want to bring to the notice of the Ministry and the services themselves so that they may conduct themselves in the way expected of them.

It again says:—

"Notwithstanding the attempts made over the years to make the public administration responsive to the people, the Committee feel that the character of public administration has not qualitatively changed to reflect the shape and the character of the Government from mere law and order state to the welfare state."

To this I want to draw attention.

There should be arrangement for the training of new recruits to our public services which would give them the character that we expect of them, which would give them the ideas which we want them to work out in their day-to-day administration in an independent country as ours is now. They receive their training in the National Academy at Mussoorie and there is a scheme there. I hope that the Ministry will see to it that the trainees receive proper guidance so that in day to day dealings with the people they deal with them as representatives of a responsible government, not a bureaucratic government, as mouthpieces of a government which wants well of the people and which wants to identify itself with the people. The popularity of the government depends, as I felt it to be, more on the conduct of the public services than on the conduct of the top persons. The ordinary people make their attitude about the government according to the treatment they receive from the lowest rung of the ladder. That is the experience of everyone in the villages.

That is how they react. That is the great responsibility of which they should be conscious.

The question of corruption has been raised by some of the Members. I feel distressed when I hear of corruption and these complaints because persons who are recruited to the public services have all been taken from the strata of society to which we all belong. Why should boys of our families, having gone to the services, be prone to corruption? To this I have not been able to reconcile myself. I believe, if there is any suspicion or any doubt in the method of recruitment, the method of recruitment should be rectified. In fact, during the British regime when they recruited the members of the public services they took out the cream of the intelligentsia of the Indian community and it is they who ran the services for the Government. The same method may be applied.

What is the political history? Some persons of the public services were somehow thrown out, they came to politics and created history, like Sir Surendra Nath Banerjee and Subhas Chandra Bose. One was thrown out from the public services and the other abandoned the public services and came to serve the country. In fact, about Subhas Chandra Bose the mouthpiece of the European community in Calcutta had once to remark, "Mr. Bose is a loss to the Government". That amount of energy, capacity and integrity which he showed should be an ideal of all persons in public services which we have got now.

One more thing and I have finished. I had brought forward a Bill to the effect that persons in public services should not accept appointments in commercial firms immediately after the retirement. The Home Minister was not prepared to accept that Bill and therefore, I had to withdraw it. But in this Report itself, at a number of places, the Home Ministry has commented on it and stated that it looks upon this thing with disfavour. I hope they will make it difficult for persons in public services to go over to the com-

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mercial firms so quickly as to create in the mind of the people an impression that there might have been some liaison between the services and the commercial interests which makes it possible for them to get jobs on higher emoluments than what they were getting while in the Government as soon as they leave the service and go over to the commercial firms.

**Mr. Chairman:** Shri U. M. Trivedi.

**Shri Basumatari:** Almost every Member has spoken on Assam but nobody has been called to speak from Assam.

**Shri U. M. Trivedi (Mandsaur):** Mr. Chairman, Sir, I feel that this Ministry requires much longer and greater time and attention from the House than is allotted to it. Unfortunately, as I remarked before, this bungling of adjustment of timings has taken place this year in such a manner that the Demands of at least six Ministries will be guillotined and also the time allotted for discussion over such important Ministries as those of Defence, External Affairs and Home has been very meagre. With these preliminary remarks, I come to the Demands of this Ministry.

**Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya:** The time vested everyday after 12 O'clock should also be taken into consideration.

**Shri U. M. Trivedi:** Shri Bhattacharyya is not only a wise man but he is also considered a wise man.

**Mr. Chairman:** Truthful person also.

**Shri U. M. Trivedi:** Not truthful; I do not agree with that!

Sir, how is it that the Delhi Administration Bill is being dilly-dallyed for such a long time? This is creating a sense of frustration in the minds of several people that the

Delhi Administration Bill is being shelved or, for some reason or other, its passing is being procrastinated. Why? I see no reason why it ought not to be brought on the anvil of the House and passed, for whatever it is worth. People are not satisfied with the enactment that is being made but still they want to see that it is on the statute book.

The other thing for which this Home Ministry must be congratulated is this that it has tried to tackle with the problem of corruption in our country. What appears to me is that it has not got the strength to tackle it. With the best of intentions, with *bona fide* efforts, the problem itself, has grown out of proportion, and it is not possible for them to tackle it. I receive complaints while I am travelling by the trains that it is not possible to carry out any checking of ticketless travel between Rewari and Delhi because the police officers concerned are very well paid and greased properly so that if anybody, any T.T., dares to check them, the next thing he will meet with is certain death. Nobody dare check these people. Why? This morning, I read in the paper that one goonda killed one editor of a Hindi paper, shot him dead in the bazar, and no action could be taken. So, everybody is afraid. The invigilators of the vari-out examinations have come to me and told me that they are afraid, lest they may be killed, to catch those students, those examinees, who are copying, taking books with them, reading the books and writing the answers. The invigilators cannot do anything. They are afraid of them.

Is this the way to run the administration? I should say that we must take a lesson from what happened in New York where one District Attorney took it into his head to drive out corruption from that country and succeeded in catching hold of the Commissioner of Police and getting him hanged for that purpose. Unless

and until similar action is taken in our country, it is not possible to eradicate the corruption that exists in the country. I know Mr. Nanda is an honest man, a very honest man, but what can he do? He is surrounded on all sides by corruption. In 1952, I suggested in my first speech on the Home Affairs Ministry that if you want that this administration should grow corrupt-less, then the first thing that must be done is that those Government servants and those police officers who secured promotions between 1942 to 1947 at the cost of the country, at the cost of the patriotism of the country, must be driven out lock, stock and barrel and that all of them must be dismissed. Unless and until that is done, we cannot replace them. They are the persons who are trained in the art of corruption and who are trained enemies of the country. They cannot serve the country properly.

**An hon. Member:** They are the favourites of the Ministers.

**Shri U. M. Trivedi:** I feel that with the honest Minister that we have, it is possible for us to drive out this corruption. But we have got to have a firm hand in this matter. Unless and until we have a firm hand in this matter, we cannot succeed.

What is this Naga affair hanging over our heads? Some say it is a question of External Affairs and the External Affairs Minister says, "I want to wash my hands off it and give it to the Home Ministry." Whatever it may be, it is a question of law and order, whether it is Nagaland or Mizo Hills. Recently, there was a trouble in a part of Gujarat which is very very silent, where people are very docile, where about 5000 men collected and it is reported that they wanted to do something. Whatever may be the reason, the question of law and order has got to be looked into.

What about this Lumding affairs? What is going on in our country? We cannot control these 3 lakhs of people

in Nagaland? Are we worth the salt? Are we not able to control them? Why are we not able to control them? What type of policy are we following? Infiltrators are coming into our country, not one, not two, not a thousand, not ten thousands, but lakhs and lakhs of them. What are we doing? We are not able to drive out the infiltrators. What is this law business that you are passing? What law is required to drive out the trespassers? The only law is to shoot them dead. That is the only law required for the purpose of dealing with those who are infiltrating into our country.

What type of law are we administering? I say we must be ashamed of the law that we are administering. We are allowing this everyday. (*Interruption*). I will show that in three months, I will free this country of infiltration.

**Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya:** If that were done, the next day there would have been an adjournment motion.

**Shri U. M. Trivedi:** You are the persons who are criticising the Delhi Bundh because it was non-violent. You want violence and you had violence in Calcutta.

In regard to this question of corruption, I see the number of cases caught as given in the Report—Railways—49 only; Defence—12 only. What is this? Everyday, you go to the Railway Station and see everyone of them, with a few exceptions—1 per cent or 2 per cent—is corrupt. Why is this number so small? Even after this, the palm of the police officer is greased so that there must be some departmental action only and there shall not be action in the courts. It is because any finding given by the court will entail dismissal pure and simple, without any further inquiry. This is also corruption. How to drive out that corruption, is the problem before us. It is growing. We have had 44 cases in the year of grace 1964. We had 63 cases in the year of grace 1965. This year we have got 76 cases. That is



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no consolation, that the number of cases is not numerous. I will submit that the Ministers, as they exist today, must take a firm attitude about these matters and they should proceed with this objective of driving out corruption from this country.

On economic grounds we have got certain suggestions that prohibition should be scrapped. Sometimes I also feel in my own mind what is the fun of prohibition being there when the Government officers who enforce this prohibition are the very persons who go on drinking. I know of one Chief Secretary who used to get cases and cases of scotch. What for does he get all these cases? It is a well-known fact to everybody and yet no action is being taken against him because he is a Chief Secretary. Very recently there was a case where a railway superintendent was caught. The railway superintendent was such a man that every one in the whole of the railway administration knew that the man was not worth the place on which he was placed, but he has got to that top simply because he could supply scotch, and the most wonderful part of it is this: if you want a particular man to be posted to a particular station you are simply to supply one bottle of scotch and you get your turn! Now, Sir, this is a shameful thing. If this is the state of things, then, why have prohibition? If you are earnest about prohibition, look to the provisions, look to the directions that are given in the Directive Principles of our Constitution. Enforce those Directive Principles. Enforce them throughout the country.

**An hon. Member:** How does he know? Was he a partner?

**Shri U. M. Trivedi:** Yes. I am a lawyer. I know about them and I have to conduct cases. The question is this. Why cannot you enforce these Directive Principles that have been laid down in our constitution? Have it all over India. The waste of money that is taking place in our country will be saved. But today what

happens in Bombay? You can make any amount of money by supplying this drink. I will tell you one instance. Some time back I was seated with a friend of mine, a Parsee gentleman. I went with him and the host also was a Parsee gentleman. He offered us drink. I said: Thank you, I do not drink. The other fellow said he would not mind, provided it was a good drink. Then I asked him: Rustomji, how is it that you are giving such a good drink? He said: This police officer is paid Rs. 100 per month by me; he protects me, and here it is. What can you do with this? Therefore, I say, either scrap it or have it all over the country. I am not in favour of drink; but at the same time I am not in favour of this sort of corruption going on on account of this prohibition. Either this drinking habit must be checked, or, if you think that it cannot be checked, allow it and raise our revenues. Don't allow these people to make money at the cost of the Government, at the cost of the country.

Sir, the other complaint which I have to make with regard to the Home Ministry is this. I belong to Neemuch. Neemuch is the reputed headquarters, the legal headquarters of the Central Reserve Police and is under the Central Home Ministry. I find from the report of the Home Ministry that no word is mentioned there about the Central Reserve Police. There is no word mentioned. There is no word about it in any of the reports of the Home Ministry. It must be mentioned: What has happened to so many battalions which have been stationed there; and why is it that slowly but surely these battalions are being shifted from Neemuch and you are accommodating these very battalions in rented houses at various places? That is the difficulty which is being faced by the Central Reserve Police Officials. Why it is that an amount of Rs. 1.60 crores which has been allotted has not been utilised upto date, and has been made to lapse? People are suffering on account of the lack of barracks.

Why? Why you are silent about the big administration that you have in your hand? You are speaking about everything else; you are silent about the Central Reserve Police. 28,000 men are employed there. Write about it. Why it is like this? Let something be done about it.

Then, Sir, we have been talking a great deal about the I.A.S. officers—the great snobs that we are now producing—and it is in respect of these snobs that you have not mentioned one word about the code of conduct. In the past we have been told that we have drafted a code of conduct for the I.A.S. officers. Where is the code of conduct? Why is the Home Minister sitting tight over it, and not having a code of conduct?

**Mr. Chairman:** The hon. Member's time is up.

**Shri U. M. Trivedi:** I will take long time. I have not taken part in four Ministries' demands—I am not going to take part in six other Ministries' demands. So, I will utilise this time.

**Mr. Chairman:** One thing. Time allocated is 17 minutes to his party and he can get that. If he wants I will give him 2 minutes more. He should not take more than that.

**Shri U. M. Trivedi:** Yes. I will do my best. I will not take more than that. The code of conduct is necessary.

Just now one of my friends was giving an illustration. You write a complaint against one S.D.O. The Ministry passes it on to the Secretary. The Secretary endorses it to the Chief Secretary. The Chief Secretary endorses it to the Commissioner and the Commissioner endorses it to the Collector. The collector endorses it to the same bloody man against who you made that complaint; you become small; you create an enemy for yourself, in the same place where you are living. Why create all this

nonsense? After all, one is still a citizen although he may become a Member of Parliament. He is not a goonda. Do you know what the S.D.O. does? He sets the Police at you to harass you at every place. Unless and until a code of conduct is there, you cannot enforce discipline. If a man goes with a white cap, if he is a man belonging to the ruling party, he comes along and says: 'Yes, Sir; Yes, Sir; Yes, Sir'. But if a Member of Parliament from the Opposition goes there, he says 'I don't recognize you; I don't know whether you are a Member or not. (Interruptions. What happens is this. If one writes to the Chief Secretary, the Chief Secretary writes to the Commissioner of Police. The Commissioner of Police of the Division has the cheek to tell lies, and tell untruths. When these untruths, when these lies, are brought to the notice of our Home Minister, our Home Minister says: 'What shall we do? After all, we have got to get work done by these very persons, and if they tell lies, what can we do?' This sort of complacency must cease and you must allow the respect that a Member of Parliament deserves, and this must be afforded to him. So, I feel, Sir, that the code of conduct is very necessary and should be enforced.

While speaking on this Ministry, I cannot forget the Bastar episode. What has happened there? A point was raised here in the House. I always bow to the decisions of the Chair, of the Speaker and never challenge them; and I am a very disciplined man in this respect. But it did not go down my throat that because an Inquiry Commission was being set up, any discussion of this matter was *sub judice*. As I know the law, the Inquiry Commission is not a court of law. I can speak as I like. I will tell you of one instance. Once I did not address the Chief Justice. Mr. Sarju Prasad, as 'My Lord'. I addressed him as 'Mr. Sarju Prasad'. He was very angry with me and he thought that I had committed a con-

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tempt. But I challenged him that I did not commit any contempt. There should be a proper enquiry into the matter. There is difference between 8 men and 1,200 men. The matter has got to be enquired into. We should know whether 8 persons were killed or 1,200 persons were killed. Exaggeration has got its own limit—8 to 80 is possible; 8 to 1,200 is not possible. This requires deeper investigation. The next point which I shall take this opportunity to mention is this.

**Mr. Chairman:** The hon. Member has to conclude within a minute.

**Shri U. M. Trivedi:** I am sorry if I have taken any extra minute.

**श्री रघुनाथ सिंह :** जब श्री कपूर सिंह को, जो कि पार्टी के लीडर हैं, 45, 55 मिनट मिले हैं, तो श्री त्रिवेदी को भी, जो एक पार्टी के लीडर हैं, थोड़ा और समय मिलना चाहिए ।

**श्री कपूर सिंह :** यह गलत बात है मुझे 35 मिनट मिले हैं, जब कि मेरी पार्टी का 33 मिनट का हक है ।

I support the demand for extension of time for the hon. Member. But what has been said is a mis-statement of facts.

**Shri U. M. Trivedi:** Now, I come to my last point and that is about the recognition of Rulers and of successors to the present Rulers. This must be done on a proper basis, adjudicated upon by proper rules within the purview of the law. I have always been saying that the Succession Act should be applied in such cases. Yet I find that in one of the names suggested here, namely in Tori-Fatehpur, instead of the elder son being recognised, the second son has been recognised. I do not know what was responsible for this kind of recommendation. I have felt it that there is something fishy about the whole affair. I do not know

who does it. But it must be properly investigated. Whatever rules are framed should not be left to the sweet will of the officer concerned. This should not be done capriciously or in a manner which could tempt the officers to do things which they ought not to do. This caprice must go.

I would conclude my speech by saying that as the administration goes, with all the efforts that are being made by our Ministers concerned—I have not a single bad word for them, and I admire them for whatever work they might be doing—but I feel lack of firmness is apparent on the face of it. Unless and until in the administration of the country's affairs, we become firm, it would not be possible to drive out the evil that has set in in our country.

**श्री राम सहाय पाण्डेय (गुना) :** सभापति महोदय, जब हम गृह मंत्रालय के अनुदानों पर बहस करने का अवसर प्राप्त करते हैं, तो यह अनुभव करते हैं कि देश और जीवन के प्रत्येक क्षेत्र से इस मंत्रालय का सम्बन्ध है । हमारा देश राजनीतिक, सामाजिक और आर्थिक दृष्टि से जिस किसी अवस्था में है, गृह मंत्रालय से उसका बड़ा सक्रिय सम्बन्ध रहता है

मैं महर्षि चाणक्य के चौदह सूत्रों में से कुछ इस सदन की सेवा में निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ । किसी ने उनसे पूछा, "महर्षि, राष्ट्र की परिभाषा क्या है ?" राष्ट्र की व्याख्या करते हुए उन्होंने कहा कि अगर सम्पूर्ण राष्ट्र की सार्वभौमिक सखा के दर्शन करने हों, तो जहाँ एक तरफ़ धरती, पहाड़ और सरितायें हैं, जिनसे राष्ट्र का पार्थिक स्वरूप बनता है, वहाँ दूसरी तरफ़ मानव समाज है, जो बुद्धि और ज्ञान के माध्यम से अपनी धारणायें और मान्यतायें स्थापित करता है । महर्षि चाणक्य के समय समाज

इतना उन्नतिशील हो चुका था कि धारणाये और मान्यताये स्थापित हो चुकी थी ।

महापि चाणक्य ने राजनीतिक उपलब्धि की व्याख्या करते हुए कहा कि जिम राष्ट्र में शान्ति, व्यवस्था, अनुशासन और न्याय का राजनीति की छाया में पुष्टीकरण हो, वहां राजनीति सफल है ।

फिर उनसे पूछा गया, "महापि, क्रिया-मिद्धि की उपलब्धि क्या है ?" उन्होंने कहा कि जिम राष्ट्र के पास क्रिया सिद्धि के लिए संकल्प, बुद्धि और शक्ति, ये सम्बल हैं, वह शक्तिमान राष्ट्र माना जा सकता है ।

कर्म मिद्धि की व्याख्या करते हुए महापि ने कहा कि श्रम, सम्पत्ति, भोजन और पराक्रम, यह कर्म शक्ति है । धर्म नीति के सम्बन्ध में उन्होंने कहा कि जो राष्ट्र धारणा, आस्था, दर्शन और अपरिग्रह, इन तमाम मूलभूत अनुभूतियों और तत्वों से बनता है, वह राष्ट्र वंदनीय है ।

चूँकि गृह मंत्रालय का जीवन के प्रत्येक क्षेत्र से सम्बन्ध है, इसलिए वे तमाम जो हमारे जीवन से सम्बन्ध रखते हैं, गृह मंत्रालय में आ जाते हैं । जहां हम संकल्प, शक्ति और बुद्धि की बात करते हैं, वहां राष्ट्र हम से जानना चाहता है कि राष्ट्र की सार्वभौमिक शक्ति की उपलब्धि क्या है । तब हमें अपनी सीमाओं और उनकी रक्षा का स्मरण होता है । हमारी उत्तरी और पूर्वी सीमाओं पर जो षडयंत्र हुए, पाकिस्तान और चीन ने हमारे देश पर आक्रमण किया, वह चित्र हमारे सामने उपस्थित हो जाता है, क्योंकि उन आक्रमणों ने हमारी सार्वभौमिक शक्ति को झकझोड़ दिया । हम ने उन आक्रमणों का शक्ति, संकल्प और पराक्रम से डट कर मुकाबला किया और आक्रामक शक्तियों को खदेड़ दिया । यह प्रजातंत्र की सार्वभौमिक शक्ति की ही देन है । इस से पहले ऐसी एकता के दर्शन कभी नहीं हुए थे ।

हम चाहते थे कि इन अठारह वर्षों में हम धीरे-धीरे अपने देश के निर्माण की ओर जायें, भूखे नंगों की आर्थिक स्थिति में कुछ सुधार लायें और सीठव रूप ने उनकी रक्षा कर सकें । हमारे सामने एक बड़े भारी मानव समाज का चित्र है, जिसमें हमारे आदिवासी, शिड्यूल्ड कास्ट्स और शिड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स हैं, जिनकी संख्या दस करोड़ है और जिन्हें हम आर्थिक और सामाजिक न्याय नहीं दे सके हैं, जो दुर्गम पर्वतमालाओं में रहते हैं और मामान्य जीवन से दूर हैं । जो सात करोड़ के करीब हरिजन हैं, उनको भारतीय संस्कृति और समाज में अस्पृश्य माना जाता रहा है । आज वे अस्पृश्य नहीं हैं और हम ने अपने मंत्रिधन में इस दोष को दूर किया है, लेकिन आर्थिक और सामाजिक न्याय से वे अभी तक दूर हैं । हमें इस ओर भी ध्यान देना है, क्योंकि राष्ट्र के व्यक्तित्व की व्याख्या में यह बात भी आती है । जब तक हम इस मूल कारण को नहीं पकड़ेंगे और इन सात करोड़ हरिजनों और तीन करोड़ आदिवासियों के साथ आर्थिक और सामाजिक तुला में रख कर न्याय नहीं किया जायेगा, तब तक उन में असंतोष रहेगा ।

सीमाओं की रक्षा के संदर्भ में हमारे सामने नागालैंड, मिजो हिल्स और नीफ्रा की बात आती है । विदेशी लोग आ कर कहते हैं कि उनकी अपनी एक स्वतंत्रता है, उनका एक अपना स्वायत्त शासन होना चाहिए, उनकी सार्वभौमिकता होनी चाहिए । माइकल स्काट बहुत दूर से आते हैं और बड़ी वफादारी के साथ उनको कहते हैं कि उनका इस राष्ट्र से कोई सम्बन्ध नहीं है । नागालैंड के नेता कहते हैं कि जब 75, 100 वर्ष के शासन के बाद अंग्रेज चले गये, तब वे स्वतंत्र हो गए । इसका अर्थ यह है कि वे अंग्रेज की मां बरस की पराधीनता तो स्वीकार कर सकते हैं, लेकिन जब हम सब प्रकार से स्वतंत्र हो गये हैं, तो वे हमारी इस सार्वभौमिक मना में भागीदार बनने से इन्कार करते हैं, स्वाधीनता

[श्री राम सहाय पाण्डेय]

के इस अधिकार को अस्वीकृत करते हैं और हम से अलग हट कर अपनी स्वतंत्रता की मांग करते हैं। कहीं न कहीं कोई भ्रान्ति है, कोई भड़काव है, कोई षडयंत्र है, जिसका परिणाम हमें उस क्षेत्र में विस्फोट के द्वारा लगभग सौ व्यक्तियों की आहुति देने के बाद समझ लेना चाहिए। जैसा कि मैं ने कल कहा था, माइकल स्काट जैसे लोगों को यहां से तिरोहित कर देना चाहिए—उन को कह देना चाहिए कि कृपा कर के वह जायें और यहां न आयें।

मेरा सुझाव है कि हम लोग उनके बीच में पहुंचे और उनकी आर्थिक, सामाजिक और राजनीतिक भावनाओं को समझें। जहां तक हो सके, हम शान्ति की बात करें और अपने प्यार, स्नेह और सान्निध्य से उनको जीतें, क्योंकि याद रखिये कि इस देश में हम ने कुछ लोगों के साथ अन्याय किया है, जिन में ये पर्वतों पर रहने वाले लोग भी हैं। जब अंग्रेज उनको जीत नहीं सका, तो उसने मिशनरीज को उस क्षेत्र में भेजा, जिन्होंने उनकी सेवा करके, उनको पढ़ा कर उनके मन और हृदय को जीता। आज गृह मंत्रालय को इन तमाम वर्गों के मन और हृदय जीतने के लिए एक ऐसी एजेंसी बनानी चाहिए, जो उनको सेवा और सहानुभूति से जीत सके। यह भी राजनीति का एक अंग है। हम हर जगह डंडा उठायें, गोली चलायें, पुलिस और आर्मी को भेजें, मैं समझता हूं कि यह कुछ ठीक नहीं है। अगर आवश्यकता हो, तो भेजें, ज़रूर भेजें, लेकिन उन के मन और हृदय पर एक छाप जमाने के लिए, अपनत्व की दृष्टि से उनको जीतने के लिए। उनको जीतने के लिए हम भावनात्मक उपायों को उपयोग में लायें। हम इस सम्बन्ध में शक्ति से कम और भावनाओं से अधिक काम लें, क्योंकि वे अपने ही भाई हैं, जो मार्ग से भटक गये हैं। हम को यह भी देखना चाहिए कि वहां पर अगलाव और भड़काव की स्थिति

क्यों है। हम क्यों न ऐसा समझें कि उत्तर पूर्वी सीमा पर रहने वाले लोग हमारे राष्ट्र के प्रहरी हैं, हमारे देश के नागरिक हैं? अतएव उन पर दायित्व भी अधिक है। अगर वे पुष्ट होंगे, अनुशासित होंगे, उनमें राष्ट्र का प्रेम होगा, तो हमारा काम सरल हो जायेगा। इसलिए उनके बुनियादी प्रश्नों को भी हम देखें और उन प्रश्नों का समाधान करने का प्रयत्न करें।

श्री त्रिवेदी ने बस्तर की घटनाओं का जिक्र किया है। कौन इस बात से दुखी नहीं होगा कि वहां पर गोली चली? मैंने स्वयं इस बात को कहा है कि पुलिस कभी-कभी ऐसा कृत्य कर बैठती है, जिस के कारण शासन और शासक दल आलोचना के पात्र बन जाते हैं। आज आप इस बात का अध्ययन करें कि प्रजातंत्र में चुने हुए जो लोग हैं, जो धारा सभा के सदस्य हैं, जो लोक सभा के सदस्य हैं, वे किस प्रकार की गलत बयानियां करते हैं। एक घटना घटित हुई यह ठीक है। उसमें बारह तेरह आदमी मारे गये। इसके लिए दुख हो सकता है। लेकिन यह कहा जाये कि बारह सौ आदमी या पंद्रह सौ आदमी या दो हजार आदमी मारे गये हैं, इस मिथ्या बात का क्या दुष्परिणाम हो सकता है, इसका क्या दुष्प्रभाव हो सकता है, इसका कितना बुरा असर पड़ सकता है, इसको आप अपनी आंखों से ओझल न होने दें। जैसे ही मुख्य मंत्री को, मध्य प्रदेश के मुख्य मंत्री को पता चला कि न्याय होना चाहिये। जो न्याय कहता है, वह होना चाहिये वैसे ही उन्होंने जांच आयोग बिठा दिया। न्याय यही कहता है कि जो घटना हुई उस घटना का निराकरण होना चाहिये, उसकी जांच होनी चाहिये और जांच कराने के लिए उन्होंने एक स्वच्छ चरित्र जो सत्य चरित्र है, उसको सामने रखा है। अब न्यायालय जायेगा और सारी घटना की जांच करेगा। इस घटना की जांच करने के लिए उन्होंने एक अत्यन्त कुशल,

बुद्धिमान और न्यायप्रिय और ईमानदार व्यक्ति की मांग की थी और उसकी सेवायें उन्हें प्राप्त हुई हैं। इनकायारी चल रही है। अब कहा जाता है कि कंटैम्प्ट का चार्ज नहीं हो सकता है। लेकिन आप देखें कि यही वकील का काम है। वकील हमेशा कंटैम्प्ट के चार्ज से बरी रहता है। उनका काम ही यह है, उनका धंधा ही यह है, उनका प्रोफेशन ही यह है। जो सामान्य आदमी न कह सके उसको ये कहें। इसीलिए उनको फीस मिलती है, इसीलिये उनको एनगेज किया जाता है, इसीलिए उनको पैसा मिलता है। यह जो क्लेम है यह ठीक हो सकता है। लेकिन ऐसी बात देश के सामने नहीं रखी जानी चाहिये जिसमें सन्देह की बात पैदा होती हो, जिसमें प्रजातंत्र के नाम पर देश में भड़काव और अलगाव की बात पैदा होती हो। यह ठीक नहीं है। सोचने वाली बात यह है कि क्या वहां पर जो घटना घटित हुई है उसकी जांच करने के लिए न्यायालय स्थापित हो गया है, उनकी जांच हो रही है। बस वहां पर इसका इतिहास समाप्त हो जाता है। जब न्यायालय की रिपोर्ट आयेगी तब हम उस पर विचार करने के लिए स्वतंत्र होंगे। इस घटना को राजनीतिक स्वरूप देना, व्यक्ति विशेष को कंडेम करना, भड़काव पैदा करना, अलगाव पैदा करना, मैं नहीं समझता हूँ कि किसी भी प्रकार ठीक होगा।

अब मैं एक दूसरे प्रश्न पर आता हूँ। हमारे यहां चम्बल रेवाइंज हैं। यह जो प्रश्न चम्बल रेवाइंज का है यह राजस्थान, मध्य प्रदेश और उत्तर प्रदेश से सम्बन्ध रखता है। यह एक बहुत बड़ा क्षेत्र है। इसके बारे में कई बार प्रयास किया गया है कि इनको रिक्लेम किया जाये, इनको बराबर कर दिया जाये। इस पर दो सौ करोड़ के करीब का खर्चा आयेगा। धीरे धीरे दो, तीन, चार चरणों में इसको किया जा सकता है। इस कार्य को पूरा करने के लिए तीनों सरकारों का सहयोग प्राप्त किया जा सकता है।

केन्द्रीय सरकार उनके साथ मिल कर ऐसी कोई व्यवस्था करे जिससे कि तमाम चम्बल रेवाइंज का एरिया रिक्लेम हो सके। इसके दो लाभ होंगे। एक लाभ तो यह होगा कि डाकुओं की जितनी समस्या है वह दूर हो जायेगी, सबकें बन जायेंगी, अच्छा कम्युनिकेशन सिस्टम हो जायेगा, सामाजिकता मुखरित होगी और दूसरे बेटी के लिए बड़ा भारी क्षेत्र तैयार हो जायेगा। किसी एक्सपर्ट ने कहा है कि यदि चम्बल रेवाइंज पूरी की पूरी रिक्लेम कर दी जायें तो पूरी की पूरी जितनी गेहूं की कमी है, जितना डैफिसिट है, उसको हम पूरा कर सकते हैं। दो सौ करोड़ रुपया इस पर आपका खर्च होगा। दो डाय सौ करोड़ रुपये का अनाज आपने पी० एल० 480 के तहत मंगाया है। जो डाकू है वे चम्बल रेवाइंज में ही जा कर शौल्टर लेते हैं। शिवपुरी इसके नजदीक है। हमारा जो निर्वाचन क्षेत्र है वह भी वहीं है। इसलिए मुझे मालूम है पूरी डिटेल्स। वहां वे लोगों को भगा ले जाते हैं। बरात की बरात को ले जाते हैं। एक बच्चों की पिकनिक पार्टी थी, पचास साठ लड़के लड़कियां थीं, उन सब को ये पुलिस वैन में बिठा कर भगा ले गये। ग्वालियर के एक वकील के बच्चे को वे भगा ले गये। जब वे भगा ले जाते हैं तो पंद्रह बीस और पच्चीस हजार रुपये की मांग करते हैं। जैसी असामी होती है, वैसी मांग करते हैं। कैसे रुपया दिया जाता है, कैसे लिया जाता है, कैसे दलाल होते हैं, किस तरह से लोगों को लोटाया जाता है, इस सब में मैं जाना नहीं चाहता हूँ क्योंकि समय नहीं है। एक सभ्य समाज में ऐसा हो सकता है, यह जान कर हर किसी को आश्चर्य होगा। आप देखें कि भारत की राजधानी से कितनी दूरी पर ये घटनायें घटित होती हैं। दिल्ली से डेढ़ सौ मील पर यह सब कुछ होता है। कितने कलंक की यह बात है। मैं प्रार्थना करता हूँ कि आप इस पर दो सौ करोड़ रुपया खर्च करें और इन रेवाइंज को बेटी के काबिल बनायें।

### [श्री राम सहाय पाण्डेय]

एक बात मैं शीड्यूल्ड कास्ट और शीड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स के बारे में कहना चाहता हूँ। तृतीय पंचवर्षीय योजना में हमने इनके भलाई के कामों के लिए 108 करोड़ रुपये का प्रावधान किया था। चतुर्थ पंचवर्षीय योजना में हम 180 करोड़ रुपये खर्च करने का विचार रखते हैं, इतनी राशि का हमने प्रावधान किया है। आप देखें कि तृतीय योजना 10,500 करोड़ रुपये की थी और चतुर्थ योजना 21,500 करोड़ रुपये की होगी। मेरी प्रार्थना है कि आप इस राशि को चतुर्थ योजना में कम से कम दुगुना तो कर दें। हरिजनों और आदिवासियों की आर्थिक तथा सामाजिक स्थिति ठीक करने के लिए कम से कम डार्ड सौ करोड़ रुपये का प्रावधान तो चौथी योजना में होना ही चाहिये।

भ्रष्टाचार की भी बड़ी चर्चा की जाती है। आप देखें कि भ्रष्टाचार की जड़ कहाँ है? जिन के हाथ में सत्ता संचालन का दायित्व है, प्रशासन चलाने का दायित्व जिन के हाथ में है, उनको देखना चाहिये कि काम देरी से न हो। आजकल देरी कितनी होती है किसी काम को करवाने में, इसकी तरफ आपका ध्यान जाना चाहिये। एक फाइल को एक टेबल से दूसरे टेबल पर पहुँचने में कितना समय लगता है। पांच सात रोज़ इसमें लग जाते हैं। एक आदमी अगर दूर से आता है और बृहस्पतिवार को आता है तो उसको कहा जाता है कि वह मंगलवार को आवे। मंगलवार को जब वह दफ्तर में पहुँचता है तो कहा जाता है कि साहब कान्फ़ीस में हैं, वह बुधवार को आवे। बुधवार को जब आता है तो कहा जाता है कि साहब की तबीयत खराब हो गई है, अगले दिन आवे। यह जो देर होती है यही भ्रष्टाचार की जड़ है। तमाम अगोका होटल का जो प्रॉफ़िट है, जो मुनाफ़ा है वह इस डिले के कारण ही है। तमाम भ्रष्टाचार का कारण यह डिले है, यह देरी है। इसको आप दूर करें।

आज हमारे सामने सीमाओं की रक्षा का प्रश्न है, हमारे सामने आर्थिक और सामाजिक उन्नति का प्रश्न है, शान्ति और व्यवस्था का प्रश्न है और मैं तमाम राजनीतिक दलों में प्रार्थना करता हूँ, अपील करता हूँ कि प्रजातंत्र की खातिर वे भड़काव और अलगाव की प्रवृत्ति को त्यागें। यदि आपको लगता है कि हमारी नीति ठीक नहीं है तो उसको बदलवाने के लिए आप वातावरण तैयार करो। अनाज की कमी में से पोलिटिकल कैपिटल बनाने की कभी कोशिश नहीं होनी चाहिये। यह आप बतायें कि अनाज अधिक कैसे उत्पन्न हो सकता है। जो हमारे यहाँ कमियाँ हैं और जो अभाव हैं उनको पूरा करने के लिए, उनकी उपलब्धियों के लिए हमें चाहिये कि हम एकसाथ बैठ कर हल निकालें, आपस में सहयोग करें।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं तमाम जो इस मंत्रालय के मंत्री हैं उनको धन्यवाद देता हूँ। उन्होंने तमाम ऐसी परिस्थितियों में शासन को अच्छी तरह से चलाया है।

अन्त में मैं श्री शुक्ल जी को उपमंत्री बनने पर बधाई देता हूँ और चाहता हूँ कि वह अपने जीवन में सफल हों।

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy:** While discussing these Demands of this most important Ministry, I feel like sympathising with the Home Minister for his miserable plight. He was entrusted with the task of protecting our home front and creating an atmosphere for fostering the growth of democracy in this country, giving us peace and order. In that process, he was almost threatened to be rendered homeless. He has been able somehow or other to keep his position second in the Cabinet, but it is a fact that a regular attempt was made to see that the Home portfolio was taken away from him.

**Why? Because he has been an utter failure in this Ministry? Or is it**

because he has been able to do something which is not liked by the party to which he belongs and which he represents? Unless there is some such motive behind it, one would not think that when the Cabinet was being reconstituted, for the last time so far as this Parliament's life is concerned perhaps, he would be asked to leave the Home Ministry.

He is a very well-intentioned and sincere person. I hope his colleagues in the Ministry also want to work sincerely. I have nothing against the persons concerned. But the fact remains that the Home Minister who ought to be one of the powerful persons is today the weakest person going in this land. Therefore, even in spite of the Government functioning, in spite of the desire to do some thing to protect and foster democratic institutions in this country, nothing is actually happening. In the very first para of the report, it is said:

"The Ministry of Home Affairs deals with a wide range of subjects and has to play an important role in fostering conditions under which democracy may flourish and ordered development and progress of the country may be possible."

I would not like to describe the present position in the country. Previous speakers have spoken about the troubles in different parts of the country. I would say that Government's machinery is being used for party purposes, there is no doubt about it. It has almost become one party rule, and the entire Government machinery is placed at the disposal of the party in power. I do not want to dilate on this point much more than to say that in reply to a question here, it was disclosed that for holding the Durgapur session of the Congress, this Government had spent about Rs. 7 lakhs.

We have also seen how, for party interests, party political interests, emergency powers are being used. What the Home Minister announced

about the revocation of the emergency seems as if after much labour, a mountain has produced a mouse. Why is this so? It is because at the present moment there is no central authority functioning. It is the provincial Governments that rule the day. They lay down what would be the policy for this country. Therefore, although there is an insistent demand in this House and outside that emergency should no longer continue, they have been compelled, because of the bosses of the provinces, to continue it in this fashion. Therefore, we find that this Ministry is completely helpless, that no central writ runs so far as the provinces are concerned. We find that on every matter, whether food or law and order, on any matter, the Central Government is completely helpless.

Firings have become almost the rule of the day, and every day we hear of firings. Many times the demand has been made that a salutary policy should be adopted that wherever there is a firing, there should be a judicial enquiry. They accept the principle, but it is not followed.

Some friends have referred to Bastar. In Madhya Pradesh the Chief Minister was able to eliminate his political rival. I have got a telegram of what is happening there, it may be happening in many other States, from Mr. Khandekar, a Member of the other House, which says:

"Trigger happy police of Madhya Pradesh killed two innocent villagers and wounded several others in a house in Nirawali village in broad daylight not far away from Gwalior National Highway on April. twenty-third by resorting to unprovoked firing stop pray immediate intervention stop demand judicial inquiries suspend police officers concerned forthwith."

This is happening almost all over the land. Probably today we have much more firings in this country than we had during the British regime. That being the picture, how can one hope



[Shri Surendranath Dwivedy]

that there would be orderly progress in this country?

About the people's distress, I have nothing much to say, but there are signs of disintegration, there is discontent throughout the country. If people feel that the constitutional machinery is not adequate enough to redress their grievances, is it a wonder if there is unrest, if there is violence and if there is challenge to authority?

On every occasion the civil authorities are unable to maintain law and order. The army is being called for every single little incident in the States. In such a situation, I do not think that we are creating a better atmosphere for the growth of democracy.

Since my time is very limited, I shall only try to mention the points. I hope you would have no occasion to ring the bell. About internal security, we know what is happening in the India-Pakistan border, in the Indo-China border, Mizo hills, etc. We know everything. At the same time, I would like to pay compliments to our police constabulary which palyed such a glorious part when they were confronted with infiltrators in Kashmir. I had an opportunity to visit Kashmir then. Their courage, determination, the way they faced enemies is simply praise-worthy. If they had not actually arrived there before the military personnel were deployed, probably we would have had a different picture altogether. For that purpose, I welcome the constitution of the border security forces. The border security force which existed before, there was no coordination between the State and the Centre; it was utter confusion. As a result, we had so many troubles; we know what happened in Kashmir. It is a well-known fact that security police could not do anything. It is to be remembered that in 1956, Kutch was under the defence, when there was an attack at Blarpet and they took no time to drive

them out. But here in 1965 because at that moment there was no co-ordination between the State and the Centre, we had to face such a situation. But I think again when we created the border security force a little more thought should have been given to this problem. I do not grudge if they have taken more money because I want the border security force to be strengthened. But then again I think we are creating more confusion because I would have liked the border security force to be under the defence Ministry or there must be some coordination, some liaison between the defence forces and the border security forces. Otherwise, we will again be placed in circumstances in which the border security force is something which has no relation, no connection and no information so far as the defence forces are concerned. I think it will be better if it goes under the defence Ministry or liaison is established.

While I say this about the border security forces, I cannot congratulate our intelligence services. We have a very good report so far as the CBI is concerned. In this report there is no mention about the intelligence bureau, what it has achieved, etc. Para 56 mentions about the intelligence bureau but says nothing about its activities. Purposely, probably they wanted to avoid it because there is nothing to congratulate about their conduct; their performance if anything is deplorable and disgraceful.

**The Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Finance (Shri L. N. Mishra):** Do not be unfair.

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy:** Whether I am fair or not, will be borne out by facts. This intelligence service has failed us miserably in Kashmir. My friend the Home Minister is not present here. When we confronted him with this question, he was telling us that every week, every day and every moment he was getting reports about Kashmir. If he was

getting reports every moment, what happened to them? Is it only on August 5th all these 10,000 infiltrators came into Kashmir. I am told that reports were actually coming in. The field staff there who were placed in the most difficult position were sending reports but the report had never reached the Ministry. The intelligence service today has become another top heavy administration. There are more bureaucrats functioning at the top.

**Mr. Chairman:** It is a very serious allegation.

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy:** Can the Minister repudiate these allegations? From the facts I have in my possession, I say that the staff of the intelligence service had increased fifteen times after Independence. What is the quality? What is the performance? What is it? They have failed us everywhere. Is it not a fact—I want to know—that before this Mizo trouble flared up, there was information? The field staff had sent information to their headquarters, but some high-ups in the intelligence force here did not part with the information to the Ministry. They wanted to verify it and went on scrutinising. What happens? If immediately such a serious information is available to the Ministry, if they are fore-warned, and if they immediately take some action and verify it later, something could be done and the country could be saved from worst calamities. But that is not being done. The top officers are almost acting as the private force of the ruling party. The reports are made here without going to the field, according to the desires; reports which will be liked by the Ministers. That is how the intelligence service is functioning today.

Then, there is no co-ordination. As you know—you must be aware of it—there is the district intelligence, there is the State intelligence and above all there is the Central intelli-

gence. But there is no co-ordination between these services. So, we find a lot of confusion.

**Mr. Chairman:** The hon. Member's time is up.

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy:** I am sorry. I will just take five to seven minutes more, Sir. This intelligence machinery has to be overhauled, and I think the Government should look into the whole apparatus of the intelligence service that we have at our disposal today.

Having said this much, I would advocate one thing. The field officers who are really doing a very big job are not being given sufficient attention, adequate protection or opportunity for promotion etc. It is high time that the Home Ministry applies its minds to this aspect of the matter.

Lastly, I would refer to corruption. The Santhanam Committee report is there. Probably to save the face of Shri Nanda—because he had taken a vow that after two years he will not be in office if corruption is not eradicated—this report has mentioned that there is a significant impact. What have they done? The report says:

“Anti-corruption measures initiated during the last two years have a significant impact; many State Governments are taking similar steps, and the drive against corruption appears to have achieved the dimension of a truly national effort.”

But the CBI report itself contradicts this. From the CBI report one would find that there have been more cases of corruption during the last year than in the year before. Even against officers, the report is completely silent about what action they have taken against political persons.

**Shri Tyagi:** More cases are apprehended.

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy:** More cases are apprehended because there are more cases in the country. The CBI report has not mentioned anything about action taken against politicians. They had made some enquiries about Orissa, and the report was placed on the Table of the House. But there is no mention that they were entrusted even with this enquiry. Probably, if it was done, the Minister would have been under a difficult position here to explain to the House. They have cleverly avoided that. What I was pointing out is that they make a claim in this report that the Santhanam Committee made 107 to 112 recommendations—108 recommendations—and that the Government have accepted most of them. They have not accepted only eight recommendations! And what are those eight recommendations? It is very interesting. If you go through it, you will find that those eight related to political high-ups which are really the fountain-head of corruption today. They have not touched that. That day, the Home Minister admitted here that the Centre has not accepted that part of the Santhanam Committee report, and what are they? They are, firstly, a panel should be created; whenever there is an allegation, a person from that panel should be selected to find out whether there is a *prima facie* case or not. Then whether it is a minister or an MP or an MLA or anybody, there must be some procedure of inquiry. Here, they do not accept any procedure. They also said that there should be no collection of funds by Ministers. There is nothing mentioned about it. They recommended that contributions by companies should be prohibited. They have not accepted it. They recommended that officers retiring from government service should be debarred from seeking appointment in any commercial concern for 2 years, because that is another source of corruption. They have not accepted that also. Therefore, corruption is as rampant as anything and the real sources of corruption have not been touched, because if they

accept these findings, probably the Congress Party itself would be exposed before this whole world. They have doubled standards. For Mr. TTK, they want that it should be sent to a Supreme Court Judge for verifying facts, whether a *prima facie* case exists, but for other ministers from Rajasthan, Orissa, Mysore and Bihar, only the Chief Minister decides.

We must find out a healthy procedure for weeding out corruption. Corruption is not a matter which anybody in this country would like to support. We all want corruption should go. Then, why fight shy to accept the universally accepted procedure which has been commended by all sections?

There are two other small points which I would mention before I close. One is about the Secretariat security forces. Their holidays—Sundays and other public holidays—have been cut and no compensatory allowances have been given. The minister should look into this. Then, there is great discontent amongst the Central Secretariat Services, especially in the clerical and Assistant grades because the promotion rules and seniority rules are affecting them. They want that selection grades should be introduced for them.

I will conclude by reading out in Hindi what Shri Sri Prakasa, the ex-Governor has said.

**Mr. Chairman:** Everybody has been given a copy of it.

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy:** Therefore, it is good to remind them. He says:

“हमारे सर्वशक्ति-सम्पन्न अधिकारी भी कई श्रेणियों में बंटे हुए होंगे। आज भी प्रथम से चतुर्थ तक चार श्रेणियाँ हैं। प्राचीन भारत के चार वर्णों के समान ही चारों को अलग अलग सुविधाएँ प्राप्त हैं और इन चारों के भी ऊपर विराजमान

है—राष्ट्रपति, राज्यपाल तथा मन्त्री, जो मनचाही कर सकते हैं और जिन पर मानो कोई कानून लागू ही नहीं होता। . . .

निश्चय ही यह तो वह स्वराज्य नहीं है, जिसके लिए मैंने काम किया था। मुझे दुख है कि अपने दुखिया देश के ये हाल देखने को आज जिन्दा हूँ। शासकों से मैं यही कहना चाहता हूँ कि ऐसे लोगों पर राज्य करने में कोई गौरव और शान नहीं है, जो आत्म-सम्मान गंवा चुके हैं। . . .”

**Shri Harish Chandra Mathur** (Jalore): Mr. Chairman, Sir, the hon. leader of the PSP in his opening remarks raised a very vital point when he said that the Home Minister today does not enjoy the confidence of the Government to which he belongs and he is one of the weakest persons moving about. I do not think the Home Minister was at any time faced with a more difficult situation than he is faced with today. The responsibilities that he has taken up and the problems which he has to deal with are tremendous. We have always been wanting a strong and clear-headed and powerful Home Minister, but the need for it today need hardly be emphasized. It is in this context that I say that the Prime Minister owes it to this House and to the country to tell that the Home Minister enjoys her fullest confidence. It is also for the Home Minister, he owes it to his conscience, to tell this House that he is in a position to discharge his responsibilities effectively. No Home Minister, in the present circumstances, would be able to deliver the goods and render the needful service to this country unless and until he has the fullest confidence of the Prime Minister, he has the fullest support of his party and his Cabinet colleagues and he has also the respect of this House from both the sides.

Let us not think that after the last aggression our difficulties are over. Our difficulties in the wake of this aggression, after this aggression

are tremendous. Even while speaking on the External Affairs demands, I emphasised this issue, because it relates more to the Home Ministry. The military had done their job and done it well. But this aggression has left so many problems to be dealt with by the Home Minister.

What is the situation in the border areas today, what is happening today in the eastern border, what is happening today in Kashmir, those people who had come as infiltrators, those people who had gone over to the other side and who are wanting to come again to this side, all these are giving birth to tremendous problems to which we have got to address our attention. And where the question of the security of the country is concerned, it is neither a party affair, nor a personal affair; it is a question where every section of the House will have to lend their sympathy and support to the Home Minister.

I have never hesitated to offer very severe and trenchant criticism on the working of the Home Ministry. But the more I reflect on it the more I feel that the Home Minister needs a little more of understanding, of sympathy and support than mere criticism. I talk today not in the context of my party; I talk today only in the interest of the internal security of the country, the internal strength of the country, which is very vital.

Sir, you will remember that while speaking on the President's Address I made very harsh observations against the Home Minister and had gone to the extent of telling him that if he cannot do without the emergency provisions, with the Defence of India Rules, it is better that he steps down. I do not want this country to be ruled under Defence of India Rules, I said then. Ever since I have carried on a relentless propaganda—you may call it a crusade or a campaign—inside my party, in the executive and everywhere and I have been stressing this point that we must lift this emergency. I have said this

[Shri Harish Chandra Mathur]

because I feel that when the emergency was accepted by this country, it was accepted through the support of each and every member of this House, it was accepted by the support of the opposition. But who is supporting the emergency today? Not only the members of the opposition, but even members of the Congress Party have been very strong in their condemnation of the emergency provisions being continued.

**Shri Tyagi:** Because they are patriots.

**Shri Harish Chandra Mathur:** Yes, they are patriots. They owe a greater responsibility to the country, to the citizen. That is why they have been saying this. But when we say all this, we also realise that if we want to lift the emergency, we need a real, living support not only from the Members on this side but from Members sitting on the opposite benches. It is in that confidence, that we will receive that support from the Opposition, that we have been asking for the lifting of this emergency.

Are we not aware of the situation which is at present obtaining on our borders? As a matter of fact, I warned only the other day that there are greater dangers. A clear aggression is not such a danger as the dubious and harassing tactics and other activities which are now rampant on our borders. Therefore the Home Minister may feel justified in saying this at least so far as the border areas are concerned. I will never concede it for any other State.

Let us be very clear so far as the emergency is concerned. My clear-cut view is that we should never employ these provisions to contain the economic or political discontent in the country. The political and economic discontent in the country will have to be looked after by the ordinary laws and if the ordinary laws are such that they need a further amendment, we might go and do that

amendment. But only for national security, for the internal security of the country against an aggressor or those treacherous, traitorous people, who are dictated to by somewhere else, only against these people and for that limited purpose only we can think of DIR and these provisions being utilised.

What has this country got? In this country we are not a nuclear power; we are not a very developed country. What we value most is our democracy, a stable democracy. We have been holding the elections one after another at the appointed time in the month of February and not at a time which would be advantageous to the ruling party. We have been very punctilious about it. It is in this context of a stable and respected democracy which should be projected that I ask for the lifting of the emergency.

If the Home Minister has his own difficulties, I can concede them! I can understand them. I am appealing even for an understanding even from the Opposition so far as the border areas are concerned, but most certainly let him state it categorically on the floor of this House that the emergency provisions, the DIR, will never be used for containing the political and economic discontent.

I will not talk of the administrative lapses but I will just make a passing reference because of this Administrative Reforms Commission. I am not here to defend the Administrative Reforms Commission. The Administrative Reforms Commission has been the demand of this House for a long time. It started in 1954 with a Resolution by my hon. friend, Shri S. N. Das and thereafter we have been going about it. I am not going to go into the history of it. But may I inform the House that those people who are members of the Administrative Reforms Commission, none of them, were anxious to be members

there. At least I might submit to the House that I have never hesitated to take any difficult job, never in my life, but I felt this job of this Administrative Reforms Commission to be a frightening one for me. It is not an easy job; it is a frightening job looking to the comprehensive nature of its terms of reference.

We always quote the Hoover Commission when we talk of the Administrative Reforms Commission as a very comprehensive and an important commission. But what was the Hoover Commission? We had two Hoover Commission. I had an opportunity to discuss this with the Executive Secretary of the Hoover Commission. Of the two Hoover Commissions one was for the administrative structural side only. It took two years to submit its report. Another Hoover Commission was appointed to look after the functional and policies side and it was limited to the federal structure only. Let us understand it. Why I say this is because I want the support and the help of this House. Without the support and the help of this House this Commission has no meaning and purpose whatsoever. Let me make it absolutely clear.

This Commission has not only the entire structural problem to go into but also the functional aspect and it goes beyond the federal structure also. It shows how it traverses far beyond it, State administration, District administration, Agricultural administration, the relationship between the State and the Centre.

17 hrs.

This morning, some friends, possibly in ignorance, talked about it. Let me give an instance. The Home Minister asked me to have some study teams. I very politely refused him. But because I wanted to give him an impression that we do not offer sterile criticism, that we are prepared to take responsibilities, I took some of them. He asked me to take further, Customs, this and that, which I refus-

ed. But let me tell you, even in this study team over the Customs, where we have given recommendations, a better deal for the personnel, better grades for the personnel, it has been possible to make recommendations which will mean a saving of Rs. 1,25,000 on establishment alone every month. If those recommendations are accepted, giving a better deal to those people who are working in that organisation, the Government, the Exchequer, will save Rs. 15 lakhs annually.

**Shri Priya Gupta:** You mean by retrenchment of staff?

**Shri Harish Chandra Mathur:** Without retrenchment of staff. Even if there is retrenchment, the staff will have to be absorbed somewhere. But this will save much more to others.

May I assure this House that the Administrative Reforms Commission will take care from the very outset—we have been doubly conscious of it—that the cost of the Administrative Reforms Commission would be comparably much less than the cost which has been incurred by any comparable administrative reforms commission which has been appointed. I may further say, without any hesitation in my mind, that the recommendations which will accrue out of this Administrative Reforms Commission, I do hope, will mean at least 200 times more saving than the amount spent on this, possibly every month, at least every year. Otherwise, we would not have taken this job on our hands. Still I feel that this is a frightening job.

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy:** The Department of Administrative Reforms continues in the Ministry.

**Shri Harish Chandra Mathur:** There has been some correspondence going about that as to how this should be adjusted, how best use should be made of it and how duplication should be avoided.

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy:** It should have been the secretariat for this Commission.

**Shri Harish Chandra Mathur:** I hope the Home Ministry will understand the Commission's view-point.

What I have ventured to do is to just give the background, the purpose and the trend of our thought. We are not very wise people; we do not claim all wisdom. As a matter of fact, even how to go about our job, about the approach and the strategy, it was decided by the Commission that it will consult as many knowledgeable people as possible so that we have the benefit of all the knowledgeable people to guide us in the approach and the strategy itself.

I wish to take this opportunity to make a fervent appeal to all the Members of this House as also the knowledgeable people in the country to start a dialogue on the administrative reforms which are needed and to help the Commission by forwarding their suggestions and by meeting it. The Commission is at their disposal.

**Shri K. N. Pande (Hata):** Is it going to cause some retrenchment also?

**Mr. Chairman:** You have to wait for the Report.

**Shri Harish Chandra Mathur:** Let me not forecast what its recommendations are going to be. I hope you will find them very stimulating.

**Shri K. N. Pande:** The saving should not be at the cost of so many people's employment.

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy:** They have already 10,000 surplus people in the Secretariat. Only yesterday, the names of 1600 new recruits have been published.

**Shri Hathi:** Who says thousands? Where from did you get the figure?

**Shri Harish Chandra Mathur:** The Fourth Plan proposes to create about

2 million jobs through development. Let us understand what are the new jobs which are being created. If there is a surplus staff, it should be made better use of. What is the use of having surplus staff in a place and spoiling the work and going on paying them? It is much better to physically remove them; that has always been my view, and you may pay them all the remuneration which they would get otherwise.

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy:** Let them stop direct recruitment.

**Shri Priya Gupta:** Who will take the responsibility of feeding them?

**Shri Harish Chandra Mathur:** While the Administrative Reforms Commission will do its job, I do not see why the Home Ministry should not do what is obvious to it. Why should there be things happening as they are happening today? The administrative lapses which are there are inexcusable. Do Government need an Administrative Reforms Commission to tell them that a post should be filled up in time? I went just the other way to a project which was under construction. There is no project administrator there for the last six months, and there are about four or five persons doing things and there is nobody to coordinate their activities, and they are quarrelling among themselves. Do Government need an Administrative Reforms Commission to tell them that they should appoint the project administrator? I think that there is a lot of laxity already there, and let not Government say that they are waiting for the report of the Administrative Reforms Commission.

I would also like to invite the attention of the hon. Minister to one thing. When he made his speech last year, it was in the context of the discussion of the Orissa affairs. When we had that discussion, we made a very strong point that the existing method of dealing with complaints was not satisfactory. The Home Minister

gave an undertaking on the floor of this House that Government had realised that that type of inquiry and investigation should not be there, that there should not be a Cabinet sub-committee and so on, and that he agreed to the view that there should be a panel appointed which would look into it. I do not know why that has been forgotten altogether afterwards. It is more than one year now. We expect that Government will be able to appoint a panel which would be a permanent sort of panel to which all such complaints would be referred.

**Shri Hathi:** He did not say that; he only said that an independent agency would look into it.

**Shri Harish Chandra Mathur:** I would like to know what further thinking has gone into it, and what steps have been taken in the matter.

It is since 1963 that I have been urging my party very strongly that we should not look at the corruption at the lower levels but we should clean the Augean stables at the top levels, and if that is done, those people will be able to look after everything else. It was in March, 1963 that for the first time I took it up with Prime Minister Nehru in the Executive Committee, and since then we have been going about it. But that is not a very satisfactory state of affairs. In spite of the Santhanam Committee's report or otherwise we have not been able to make up our minds on this particular issue. Let not Government shelve this problem for all time on the ground that the Administrative Reforms Commission is there. They could have at least an interim arrangement which will give satisfaction to everyone. Why can we not have that interim arrangement? That interim arrangement must be made, and I hope the hon. Minister will look to it.

There is one other thing which has been highlighted by my hon. friend Shri Surendranath Dwivedy, and that is in regard to the Centre-State re-

lationship. I have not the least hesitation that the Chief Ministers are very important persons. You cannot administer in isolation. You have got to take the Chief Ministers into confidence. You have got to understand the difficulties which they point out because administration has got to be carried on through them. It is not correct that all the wisdom is centered in this House, but there is an all-India outlook. The Central Government will not only have to give a lead to the country but they should also bear in mind that while the Chief Ministers may be consulted and while due weight may be attached to what they say, and while the difficulties which they point out should be looked into, the decisions are taken by the Central Government. Even if decisions are taken as at present by the Central Government, they have to see that the country feels that the decisions are theirs and that they have not to look to the Chief Ministers but that the Chief Ministers have got to look to them.

The other day the Chief Minister of Bihar, possibly in a huff, made a statement that the Prime Minister and the President have no right to appoint an inquiry commission against any Chief Minister.

**Shri L. N. Mishra:** He has expressed regret.

**Shri Shankre:** Is it enough?

**Shri Harish Chandra Mathur:** I am sorry that he is a wiser man. His whole plea was that he had done it on the advice of his Advocate-General. If he had done it on the advice of the Advocate-General, do you not expect that a person of the status of Chief Minister, should have talked to the Home Minister, saying 'This is the advice given to me. What do you think about it'. Before he makes a statement, and makes his position false, makes our position false and makes the position of the Home Minister embarrassing, he should have done



[Shri Harish Chandra Mathur]

it. But now he under stands it. The Advocate-General was there all the time, but no Chief Minister made such a statement earlier. Therefore, you have got to create this impression on the minds of the Chief Ministers that while we attach all the importance to their position and would like to give the fullest consideration to it, they have also got to understand their responsibilities towards the Centre and towards an all-India outlook.

Before I sit down, I would particularly like to draw the attention of the Minister of State to the question of appointment of Judges. I particularly mention judges because they are the custodians of our democracy. They are a very important limb. I have had serious grievances regarding the appointment of Judges. My hon. friend wrote to me asking what suggestions I had to make, what I thought were the lapses. I will not mention them, but I have sent him a very clear-cut letter. I hope what I have written to him will be borne out by the facts.

It is time that they took into consideration how these Judges are appointed. They need not dilate upon the entire procedure, as to how fool-proof their procedure is. The proof of the pudding lies in the eating of it. We have found that appointments are made on considerations which are not the considerations which should weigh with the authorities but are extraneous considerations. I hope the hon. Minister will take this into account and do the needful.

श्री यशपाल सिंह (कैराना) : सभापति महोदय, हमारे माननीय हाथी साहब और माननीय नन्दा साहब भी सनातन धर्मी हैं। इसलिये मैं सनातन धर्म के मातहत उनको यह सलाह देता हूँ कि जब बेंटी जवान हो जाय तो उसे कुम्भारी रखना पाप है। यह शांति की नीति अठ्ठारह साल की जवान हो चुकी है। इस को कुम्भारी रखना बहुत बड़ा पाप है। उस को घर में रखना नहीं चाहिये। उस की शादी

कीजिये दंड के साथ। धर्मशास्त्र में लिखा है कि :

“दण्डः शास्तिप्रजा सर्वा

दण्ड एवा भि रक्षति” ।

उस का विवाह दंड के साथ होगा तब यह भारत देश चलेगा। अगर शांति कुम्भारी घर में बैठी रहती तो इस का पाप उस के पिता, उस के बनाने वाले को लगेगा। आज यह 45 करोड़ का देश है। शांति शांति शांति करते हुए यह हालत हो गई है कि एक एक दाने को हम मोहताज हैं, एक एक राइफल के लिये मोहताज हैं, एक एक शस्त्र के लिये हम दूसरों के सामने हाथ पसारते हैं। 20 लाख की आबादी वाला देश डेनमार्क है लेकिन डेनमार्क से हमारे लिये भीख आ रही है, 52 लाख की आबादी है हालैंड की और वहाँ से हमारे लिये सहायता आ रही है। कोई सुनेगा, कोई देखेगा आइन्दा का हिस्टोरियन तो वह क्या कहेगा। सरकार को मेरी यह सलाह है और उस को इसे गांठ बांध लेना चाहिये कि अठ्ठारह साल में जो कुछ उस ने किया है, उस का नतीजा पराजय हुआ, शिकस्त हुआ, डिफीट हुआ। उस का नतीजा दूसरों से हमारी पिटाई हुआ। इस लिये सरकार इस बात को गांठ बांध ले कि शांति शांति की नीति अब चलने वाली नहीं है। उस के साथ दंड का विधान आप को करना पड़ेगा :

“दण्डः शास्तिप्रजा सर्वा दण्ड एवाभि रक्षति ।

दणः सुप्तेषु जागति दण्ड धर्मं विदुर्बुधा :॥”

जो कुछ इस सरकार ने अठ्ठारह सालों में किया है उस को वह भूल जाये। आज मैं यह नहीं कहता कि कुछ हुआ ही नहीं है। हुआ बहुत काफी है। नन्दा साहब ने वह काम करके दिखलाया है जिस का कोई खयाल भी नहीं कर सकता, कोई खयाल नहीं कर सकता जिस तरह से उन्होंने करप्शन के खिलाफ आवाज उठाई, कोई सोच नहीं सकता था कि जो बड़े बड़े

स्तम्भ है, जिन से दुनिया डरती थी, उन को भ्रग्न कर दिया जायेगा, उन के ऊपर बाकायदा केस चलेगा और उन से जवाब तलब किया जायेगा ।

15.17 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

काम बहुत हुआ है, लेकिन अभी बहुत कुछ करना बाकी है । जो कुछ किया गया है उस में और भी कुछ किया जायेगा, तब देश का उद्धार होगा । चूंकि हम लोग सच्चे सलाहकार हैं इसलिये कहते हैं लफ्ज मुखालिफ का इंग्लैड का दिया हुआ है, पश्चिम का दिया हुआ है । मैं मुखालिफ को नहीं मानता हूं । हम आपके हितैषी हैं ।

“पुरुषाः बहवो राजन् सततं प्रियावादिनः ।  
अप्रियस्य तु पथ्यस्य ववता श्रोता च दुर्लभः ॥”  
हम आपके हितैषी हैं, हम आप को नेक राह दिखलायेंगे ।

जब तक एक शब्द को तन्ख्वाह 22 रु० माहवार मिलती है, वह ईमानदार नहीं रह सकता है और जब तक दूसरे शब्द को तन्ख्वाह मिलती है 20,000 रु० माहवार, वह भी ईमानदार नहीं रह सकता क्योंकि जिस को 2,000 रु० मिलते हैं वह भ्रम्यासी करेगा और जिस को 22 रु० मिलते हैं वह कहीं न कहीं जाकर करपान करेगा । जब समानता प्रायेगी और विषमता हटेगी तभी लोगों में ईमानदारी आ सकती है । मैं कराची कांग्रेस में शामिल था, मैं भी पहले उस धड़ में शामिल था, लेकिन सन् 1947 की 15 अगस्त की रात को मैं उन से भ्रग्न हो गया क्योंकि उन्होंने बादशाह खान से घोषणा किया.. (उग्रबध्दान) उस वक्त कराची कांग्रेस ने पास किया था कि बड़ी से बड़ी तन्ख्वाह हिन्दुस्तान में 500 रु० माहवार होगी । आज शायद माननीय श्री हाथी को पता होगा कि 50 पी० के अन्दर तीन लाख सरकारी कर्मचारियों को पांच रुपये माहवार मिलते हैं । क्या

पांच रुपये माहवार में कोई इन्सान जिन्दा रह सकता है, क्या मनुष्य इतने में आज अपनी जिन्दगी चला सकता है । हाँगिज नहीं, वह अपनी जिन्दगी इतने में नहीं चला सकता आज देश के अन्दर सब से बड़ी आवश्यकता है समानता प्राये । चालीस बीघे के काफ्तकार को जालिम जमींदार कह कर खत्म किया, 30 बीघे के काफ्तकार को जालिम जमींदार कह कर खत्म किया गया और टाटा साहब को खुली छुट्टी दी गई कि वह चार लाख रुपये रोजाना बैंक में जमा कर सकते हैं यह विषमता आप को हटानी होगी । जिस तरह से आप ने रूलर प्रापर्टी के ऊपर सीलिंग की है उसी तरह से आपको यहां के शहरों के अन्दर भी प्रापर्टी की सीलिंग करनी होगी ।

इस के साथ साथ मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि अगर आप को देश को बचाना है, अगर देश को बनाना है तो आप को बुद्धि से काम लेना होगा । यह बड़े शर्म की बात है कि मुट्ठी भर नागो लोग हमारी शांति को भंग कर सकते हैं, मुट्ठी भर मीजों लोग हमारी शांति और व्यवस्था को भंग कर सकते हैं ।

“शेते करी मशकपाद विपादिकायाम्”

यह नीति में लिखा हुआ है कि जब देश का दुर्भाग्य होता है तो मच्छर हाथी को घमकी देने लगता है, हाथी को घमकी देने वाला मच्छर होता है । इसलिये आप इस पालिसी को रिवाइज कीजिये । इट इज नेबर टू लैट टु म्नेन्ड । कोई जरूरी नहीं है कि अब तक आपने गलती की है तो आइन्दा भी गलती करते चले जायें । महात्मा गांधी ने कहा था कि सत्य की रोशनी में मैं अपनी गलती को हर वक्त वापस लेने को तैयार हूं, गलती का सुधार करने के लिये तैयार हूं । इन देश के बच्चों से बड़े बड़े शेर धरिया करते थे और उसी देश को मुट्ठी भर नागा लोग और मीजों लोग परेशान करें । वह दूसरे देशों से इन्स्ट्रक्शन्स ल, दूसरे देशों के पादरी आ कर इस देश के अन्दर मध्यस्थता करें । यह भीज आज बन्द करनी होगी ।

[श्री यशपाल सिंह]

मगर आप उन लोगों को बुला कर राष्ट्रपति भवन में दावत देते हैं, नागालैंड के होस्टा-इल नागा लोगों को बुला कर श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी अपने यहां दावत देती हैं। जिन लोगों को आप दावत देते हैं उन के ही आदमी हमारी रेलें उखाड़ते हैं। हमारे जवानों की किरचें उड़ाते हैं और हमारे पचास, सौ रेल के मुसाफिरों को बिना किसी कमूर के मारा जाता है। इस पालिसी पर आप दुबारा गौर करें। सब से जल्दी बात यह है कि देश में ममानता आये, जब तक समाज में विषमता है, जब तक लाखों लोग लैडलैस फिरते हैं, बेरोजगार फिरते हैं तब तक आप का काम नहीं चल सकता है। लाखों लोग बेरोजगारी की धून में कहीं खुद कशी करने की मोच रहे हैं और कहीं विदेशियों के साथ भागने की कोशिश कर रहे हैं। जब तक ऐसा होगा तब तक देश की आर्थिक व्यवस्था ठीक नहीं हो सकती। काम बड़ा आसान है, लेकिन आप ने मुश्किल बनाया हुआ है। इतना आसान काम है कि अगर हम तीन महीने भी अच्छी तरह मोचें तो यह मामला हल हो सकता है। जब छोटे छोटे मुल्क अपनी आजादी की रक्षा कर सकते हैं, अपनी ममानता को कायम रख सकते हैं, तो 45 करोड़ आदमियों का यह देश है, यह क्यों अपने यहां समानता की रक्षा नहीं कर सकता। सब से बड़ी जरूरत आज इस बात की है कि मेहनत करने वालों को आगे लाया जाय। मेहनत करने वालों का सम्मान आज देश में नहीं है, जो अपना खून पसीना एक करते हैं उन का कोई सम्मान देश के अन्दर नहीं है। जो लोग लाखों रुपये ब्लैंक से कमाते हैं उन का सम्मान होता है। अब भी हमारी सोसायटी के अन्दर धोबी को नीच इस लिये कहा जाता है कि वह कपड़े साफ करता है। यह कौन सा इन्साफ है कि कपड़े मूल करने वाला ऊंच और कपड़े साफ करने वाला नीच। आप अंगी को नीच क्यों कहते हैं। जो टट्टी साफ करता है, पाखाना साफ करता है, जो सफाई करता है वह नीच और जो रात भर

गन्दे करता है वह ऊंच। चमार को नीच क्यों कहा जाता है कि वह हल चलाता है। जो पड़े पड़े खा रहे हैं, हरामखोरी कर रहे हैं उनको ऊंच कहा जाता है और जो अपनी मेहनत की कमाई से देश का पेट भरते हैं उनको नीच कहा जाता है। भगवान श्री कृष्ण जी, करोड़ों हिन्दू जिनको अपना हृदय मश्राट कहते हैं, उनकी सबसे बड़ी नीति यही थी उन्होंने कहा था कि :

मेवाधर्मः परम गहनों योगिनामप्यगम्य ।  
सबसे बड़ा धर्म है सेवा का। जब राजसूय यज्ञ में ड्यूटी तकसीम की गई किसी ने घोड़े की ड्यूटी ली, किसी ने फलों की ड्यूटी ली, लेकिन नयानानन्द गोविन्द माधव मुकुन्द आनन्दकन्द श्रीकृष्ण भगवान ने ड्यूटी ली लोगों के पैर धुलाने की कि जो लोग बाहर से आयेंगे उनके मल मल कर पैर धोऊंगा, उनकी सेवा करूंगा। जब तक सेवा करने वाले लोग आगे नहीं आर्येंगे देश नहीं बच सकता। आज भी देश के कोने कोने में सच्चे गांधी वादी बैठे हुए हैं, हरएक नहसील में हरएक शहर में, हरएक नगर में, जिन्होंने देश के लिये अपने प्राण देने की बाजी लगायी, जिन्होंने अपने बीबी बच्चों को छोड़ा जिन्होंने अपनी जायदाद नीलाम करवाई, लेकिन उनकी पहुंच यहां ही हो सकती है। न उनको टिकट मिलता है, न उनके पास बढ़िया कारें हैं न बढ़िया फाउन्टेन पेन हैं, न बढ़िया घड़ियां हैं, न वह यहां पर आकर अपनी किसी तरह की पहुंच कर सकते हैं। अगर उनके हाथ में बागडोर होती जो कि सच्चे गान्धीवादी थे तो आज करप्शन का नाम भी न होता। किसी देश के अन्दर आप मुझे बतलाइए, उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, कोई देश ऐसा है कि जहां असमानता का व्यवहार किया जाता हो? कोई देश ऐसा नहीं है। यहां एम० पी० के लेक्चर्स को सी० आई० डी० नोट करते हैं एकतरफ कहते हैं कि यह जनता के प्रतिनिधि हैं, एक तरफ कहते हैं, कि यह लोग जनता के सच्चे सेबक हैं, इनको जनता ने अपना रेजेजेंटेटिव बना कर

भेजा है और दूसरी तरफ उनके लेक्चर को सी० आई० डी० नोट करते हैं। सी० आई० डी० और पुलिस वाले नोट करते हैं मशकूक चलन लोगों के भाषणों को। आज भी हजारों आदमी इसलिए तंग किये जाते हैं कि वह माइनरिटी कम्युनिटी के हैं। वह इसलिए तंग किये जाते हैं कि हिन्दू मेजरिटी के साथ उनका ताल्लुक नहीं है। मैं आपसे पूछना चाहता हूँ कि कौन सा स्कूल आपने खोला है, कौन सा कालेज आपने खोला है जहाँ कि सेक्युलरिज्म की शिक्षा दी जाय, जहाँ बताया जाय कि देश के 45 करोड़ बाशिन्दे भाई भाई हैं? मैं ऐसे लोगों को जानता हूँ जिन्होंने कांग्रेस में सर्वरब न्योछावर किया। ऐसे मुसलमानों को जानता हूँ जिन्होंने नेशनलिज्म के लिए अपना सब कुछ कुर्बान किया, लेकिन आज उनको भी मशकूक चलन समझा जाता है, इसलिए कि कोई तरीका सेक्युलरिज्म का नहीं है। मैं उस सेक्युलरिज्म का हामी हूँ, मेरे दादा थे महाराणा प्रताप, महाराणा प्रताप ने जब मेवाड़ की रक्षा का व्रत लिया तो उनका सिपहसालार आजम था हाकिम खां, एक मुसलमान। उनका जनरल, उनका प्रधान सेनापति हाकिम खां एक मुसलमान था। जिस वक्त जिले के ऊपर हमला हुआ, हाकिम खां सीना निकाल कर खड़े हो गए, मेरे रहते, मेरे जिले के ऊपर कोई फतह नहीं कर सकता है, मेरी मातृभूमि को कोई फतह नहीं कर सकता। दुश्मन ने उनकी छाती को बल्लम से चीर डाला। वहीं उनके प्राण चले गए। आज भी उनका पाक मन्जार वहाँ बना हुआ है, बसन्त पंचमी के दिन लाखों राजस्थानी वहाँ जाकर श्रद्धा के फूल चढ़ाते हैं। हम उस सेक्युलरिज्म को कायम करना चाहते हैं जिसके लिए नेताजी सुभाष चन्द्र बोस खड़े थे, जिसके लिए महात्मा गांधी खड़े थे, जिसके लिए मौलाना हुसैन अहमद मदनी और मौलाना रहमतुल्ला खड़े थे, हम उस सेक्युलरिज्म को कायम करना चाहते हैं। कोई स्कूल, कोई कालेज, कोई कैम्प ऐसा आपने बताया है जिसमें यह शिक्षा दी जाती हो

कि 45 करोड़ लोगों को भाई भाई की तरह से रूत पड़ेगा। 45 करोड़ लोग भाई बहन की तरह में रहें। आज आप इस नजरिये को बदल दीजिएगा। 45 करोड़ को एक दृष्टि से देखियेगा। एक नजर से आप उनको देखियेगा तो आपका देश बचेगा। पार्टीबाजी से उपर उठकर जरा देखियेगा मैं आपको फिर याद दिलाता हूँ, एक मनीष ने यह बात कही है:

One party system of government is not only not democratic but it strikes at the very root of democracy.

अगर डेमोक्रेसी को कायम करना है तो आपको नेशनल गर्वमेंट बनानी पड़ेगी देश के इतिहास को कायम करने के लिए देश के लोगों में से काबिल लोगों को छांटना पड़ेगा। यहाँ नहीं है कि काबिलियत का आपने ही ठेका लिया है। काबिल दूसरे लोग भी हैं। महात्मा गांधी ने काबिल लोगों को लिया था चाहे वह किसी पार्टी के हों। आप लोगों को भी वही फीचर आज अख्तियार करना पड़ेगा मुझे इसलिए कहना पड़ता है कि नन्दा जी से मुझे आशा है क्योंकि वह एक ऐसे शख्स हैं कि जो गाड फीयरिंग हैं, जो गाड एवाडिंग हैं, जो धर्म को मानने वाले हैं। वह देश की तरक्की चाहते हैं जिन्होंने अपना सब कुछ छोड़ दिया है जिसको मुश्किल से पाव भी खाना नहीं मिलता है जिसको मुश्किल से डेढ़ घंटे भी नींद नहीं आती है... (व्यवधान)... मैं गलत किसी की तारीफ नहीं कर सकता हूँ। मैं हमेशा तारीफ करता हूँ सच्चे आदमियों की क्योंकि मेरा धर्मशास्त्र कहता है कि:

निन्दन्तु नीति सि.पु.ः। यदि दा स्तुवन्तु।

लक्ष्मी समाविशन्तु गच्छन्तु वा यथेष्टम्॥

अद्वैत वा मरणमस्तु युगान्तरे वा।

न्याय्यात्यथः प्रविचलन्ति पदं न धीराः॥

हमें यहाँ जनता ने चुन कर के भेजा है मुझे किसी पार्टी ने नहीं भेजा। मैं यह बल्लों की जंड़ी के प्रताप से नहीं आया हूँ, मैं किसी पार्टी के प्रताप से नहीं आया हूँ। मुझे जनता ने भेजा है, 14 लाख इन्सानों के दिल दिलदिलियाग ने भेजा है, हैवानों की जोड़ी ने मुझे नहीं भेजा

[श्री यशपाल सिंह]

है। मैं जिसे सब समझता हूँ वही बात आपके सामने कहता हूँ। आज भी जरूरत इस बात की है, देहात के अन्दर जाकर के ट्राप देखें, जो लोग देश के लिए लड़ना चाहते हैं, उनके लिए राइफल, रिवाल्वर, बन्दूकें मिलनी चाहिये। उनको लिए शस्त्रों का इन्तजाम किया जायें। यह आर्म्स एक्ट अंग्रेजों का बनाया हुआ है। अंग्रेज उन लोगों को हथियार देते थे जो अंग्रेजों की जड़ें मजबूत करते थे। आज यह लाइसेन्स का सिस्टम खत्म होना चाहिए। हरदोई के एक एम० एल० ए० की दरख्वास्त को इसलिए खारिज कर दिया गया, जो बन्दूक के लिए उसने दी थी, कि कलेक्टर साहब ने उसकी सिफारिश नहीं लिखी। तो यह नीकरशाही आपको खत्म करनी पड़ेगी और इस नीकरशाही को खत्म करके देश के अन्दर वह वायुमंडल पैदा करना होगा कि जिसमें हर एक इन्सान को अपने आपको इस देश का वादशाह समझे, अपने आपको देश का रक्षक समझे। यह जो नीति आपकी आज तक रही है यह नीति पराजय की नीति रही है, यह नीति डिफेंड की नीति रही है। इसे बदल दीजियेगा। और बदल देकर के हिन्दुस्तान के लोगों को मौका दीजिएगा कि वह अपनी रक्षा खुद करे। 45 करोड़ इन्सानों की एक फीसदी ताकत को भी जगाया नहीं गया है। एक फीसदी ताकत को भी नहीं तैयार किया गया है कि वह लड़ सके। रुपया कहाँ जाता है? नाचने और गाने में। रुपया कहाँ जाता है? कल्चरल प्रोग्राम में? रुपया कहाँ जाता है? शराब में। रुपया कहाँ जाता है? एयाशी में, सांस्कृतिक मिशन में। रुपया नहीं बनता देश के लिए। अगर रुपया देश के लिए बनता तो कहीं ब्रह्मचर्य का प्रचार हुआ होता, कहीं प्रोहीबीशन हुआ होता, कहीं शराब बन्दी हुई होती, कहीं यह जो सिनेमाज हैं, जो रात दिन व्यभिचार के गाने गाते हैं, इनमें मिलिटरी कैम्प कायम किया जाता, इनमें इंडस्ट्रियल हाउस कायम किया जाता।

देश का निर्माण अगर करना है तो देश का निर्माण चरित्र से होगा। देश का निर्माण होगा बाड़ी बिल्डिंग से, कैरेक्टर बिल्डिंग से, तब देश के अन्दर फतेहयाबी की भावना आयेगी। मैं एक बात कहकर खत्म करता हूँ, आप नोट कर ली जियेगा :

Not by parliamentary speeches, by majority votes, can the mighty questions be solved. But it is through the policy of blood and iron.

जब तक नागा लैंड को, जब तक मिजो लैंड को जब तक पाकिस्तान को, जब तक चीन को ईंट का जवाब पत्थर से नहीं दिया जायेगा, ब्लड फार ब्लड, इन्जरी फार इन्जरी, तब तक देश बच नहीं सकता। हम आपके सहयोगी हैं, हम आपको रास्ता बतलाने वाले हैं। आप हमको मुखालिफ समझ सकते हैं :

जिसे है फिक्र मरहम की उसे दुश्मन समझते हैं।

इलही खैर हो यह जरूम अच्छा हो नहीं सकता ॥

हमने देश के लिए खून दिया है, हमने देश के लिए रक्त दिया है। मैं जेलखाने की पैदावार हूँ। मेरे पिता जी महात्मा काली कमली वाले और मेरी माता जी, दोनों कांग्रेस मूवमेंट में जेलखाने में बन्द थे जब मैं पैदा हुआ था। 13 वर्षों की उम्र में मैं नजर बन्द रहा हूँ और 15 वर्ष की उम्र में कालकोठरी में रहा हूँ। मैंने खून दिया है, मुझे देश का दर्द है। मैं कहता हूँ कि 45 करोड़ इन्सान जागेग, अपने को देश का शाहन्शाह समझेंगे, अपने आपको देश का रक्षक समझेंगे, तब देश बचेगा, अहिंसा और शांति के नारों से देश नहीं बच सकता। इन्ही शब्दों के साथ मैं आपसे फिर दरख्वास्त करता हूँ कि इस पालिसी को रिवाइज कीजिएगा और जो रास्ता नन्दा साहब ने भ्रष्टाचार को दूर करने का बनाया है, उस रास्ते को आगे बढ़ने दीजिएगा। देश आगे बढ़ेगा।

Shri Sham Lal Saraf: Sir, I rise to support the Demands for Grants and the Report of the Ministry of Home Affairs that have been placed before

the House. I wholly agree with my hon. colleagues who preceded me from my party—Shri Khadilkar, Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad and Shri Mathur, —who have highlighted the work of the Ministry of Home Affairs particularly from the time Shri Nanda has taken over this Ministry. I have had the experience of coming in contact with the Ministry of Home Affairs right from 1947 to 1962. One thing I must say: we have had a galaxy of Home Ministers in our country during this period; it started from the late Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. There is a very great difference between then and now. Firstly, when the Home Minister at the Centre wanted something to be done, no State could fail to do what the Home Ministry wanted it to do. Secondly, whenever there was a move from the Home Ministry—the Ministry of Home Affairs—the Ministry would get full support from the rest of the Ministries at the Centre. But today, what do we find? I am speaking candidly and frankly. When the Ministry of Home Affairs wants certain things to be done, to be acted upon by the State—I must say this and I must say this painfully—a number of States refuse to do it. The State from which I come—I do not want to go into the details—has refused to take action on what the Home Minister has said, and the State Government and all of us have suffered because the State did not do what the Minister of Home Affairs wanted it to do. I do not want to take the time of the House much more on this matter. I know Mr. Nanda for many years, I know his frankness, sincerity and honesty of purpose. He has sincerely wanted to take certain steps with which all of us would agree, whether in the opposition or on this side. But the necessary support from the concerned ministries even in the Centre was not forthcoming. I may tell my party friends that even some of the high-ups in the party would not support him. Naturally this is a matter about which all of us are anxious and there is need for rethinking

on the part of all of us about this matter.

May I list some of the problems facing this ministry today? I know, defence is the foremost problem in this country. I know the Prime Minister is grappling with a number of problems. I know the Food Minister is every day confronted with many things here. But everything is capped by the problems of the Home Ministry. It is not a seasonal or periodical problem, but is a day to day, hour to hour problem. We will not have to go far to realise this. In this very House not a single day passes when we do not see this thing or that thing cropping up concerning this ministry. Keeping that in view, I ask all our friends on this side as well that side, have we ever in our calmer moments pondered what actually are the problems that confront the Home Ministry and what should be the duty of all of us as nationals of this great country who have to play our own little part? I have hardly found a person in the Congress or the opposition realising all the problems facing us. I am not speaking at a personal level. I may differ personally with Mr. Nanda over a number of things. But when he presides over this ministry, it is high time our countrymen, to whichever party they belong, honestly and sincerely tried to realise the problems facing us.

Our conflict with Pakistan is not over. God knows what might happen tomorrow. China is still after us. With all the good feelings I have for my left communist friend who has come out of jail after 16 months, I must tell him frankly that I have seen many things from China in Jammu and Kashmir ever since 1949. When I came here in 1962, I spoke on the Demands of the External Affairs Ministry. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was sitting there listening. I mentioned a number of points about which we had informed the Central Government as early as 1949-50. Unfortu-

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nately, the government did not take any action. Perhaps hon. Members here might not have seen those bad days in my State when thousands and lakhs of people were affected by events that followed the Chinese invasion. Certainly I have full sympathy for my left communist friends when they ask for fair treatment to be given to them. But when such things come to the surface where everything is doubtful and dark and you cannot see what is actually happening, my friends will excuse me if I say that people have to be vigilant, particularly those saddled with power. It is their responsibility to save this country from external aggression and also keep us very secure internally. If anything happens in that, that cannot be our fault or that of Mr. Bhagwat Jha Azad who was so vociferous in expressing his feelings before the House.

We hear a lot about corruption. I must say that the Ministry is taking some steps for the eradication of corruption. May be, some of these steps may not be to the liking of many people; I do not deny that. But our endeavour should be to give proper suggestions so that they could correct their mistakes, if any. On the contrary, what do we do? Whenever we get a chance, we begin to snipe at the entire organisation, sometimes the Minister himself. Only this morning a friend of mine from this side of the House sarcastically stated that since Shri Nanda had stated that he would resign if he could not eradicate corruption within two years, he should resign now as he has not succeeded in eradicating corruption. He has certainly said that. But, then, how far have we lent our little support to him? Have we done it? No. We have only been criticising him. That is not the correct step. The time has come when we must realise this. We must see how things can be set right, how this country can be got rid of the many ills that have overtaken us.

Then I come to the question of law and order. May I respectfully submit to the Minister of State and his colleagues here that the law and order situation in the country is very bad? I perfectly agree with the view that it cannot entirely be the responsibility of the Central Government. But unless and until the Central leadership and the Central Government galvanise the entire forces of the country, including the State Governments, the law and order situation will not improve. I would request hon. Members, particularly from the opposition, to remember that we must not play with this very important matter. Rather, every time our effort should be to give positive, constructive, helpful suggestions to meet this menace. If today I am in danger and I am facing difficulties, unless they help me to face the situation, tomorrow the same difficulty will overtake them also.

Shri Gopalaswami Ayyangar was the Minister in charge of the States in those days. At that time most of the States were separate units. But how wonderfully he handled the situation, after partition, especially in dealing with States like Junagadh, Hyderabad, Bhopal and other States. I hope those friends of mine who are sitting in those benches will excuse me when I say that I know most of them, because for a number of years I have been attending the State Peoples' Conference, and I know how they functioned in their respective States. My friends should not forget that those were the days when some Maharajas, Nawabs and Rajas wanted to shake hands with Mr. Jinna and be helpful to Pakistan rather than being helpful to us. I know how bold Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and Shri Gopalaswami Ayyangar were in getting things done. They were first-class statesmen and administrators. But what is the position today?

So, I would tell Shri Hathi and Shri Nanda, the time has come when they should be bold to take certain decisions. Shri Nanda should stick to what he feels and says. I have to say that in some of his statements Shri Nanda has resiled from the position or stand he had earlier taken, which is very dangerous to the country. I know the pressures and pulls that are being exercised on him. Yet, I will say that Shri Nanda has the full support of the majority of the party, rather the support of the country. Therefore, let him face the situations boldly and take right decisions.

I will not be doing justice to these grants if I do not say something about my State. I have spoken several times, though not in very much detail, about the State of Jammu and Kashmir. In the wake of the last invasion from Pakistan, aggression from Pakistan, what has happened is well-known to all. Today the situation has changed from bad to worse. We do not know whether Pakistan may declare a war. About China also we cannot be absolutely sure. Only yesterday some people who have come from that area were talking to me. Some trouble is simmering in these areas. When it may come on the surface it is difficult to say. Therefore you have to be very vigilant and regarding that I am placing certain things before you.

My hon. friend, Shri Mathur, just casually mentioned that some thousands of persons from Poonch-Rajouri area of Kashmir had gone over to Pakistan. He did not mention the details. I am placing them before you and it is absolutely authentic.

Out of 78,000 people who crossed over, about 10,000 are said to be those who collaborated with the raiders and the attackers, participated with them and perpetrated a number of atrocities. I do not want to give the details of the atrocities. They had two leaders, one a MLA and the other a MLC. All this has

been brought to the notice of the Central Government. I want to ask with full sense of responsibility as to what action has been taken so far and if no action has been taken why action has not been taken? Even the General, the Brigadier, the Brigade Major, of that area the Deputy Commissioner, the Commissioner and the Superintendent of Police—all of them—have given their reports. Why has the State Government not taken any action? When is the Central Government going to take action? You have to take action immediately; if no action is taken, I do not know what sort of agitation may be there.

From inside the house of a person—I do not want to give the details—known to some of my hon. friends here, because of the very vigilant army officers and intelligence service there, five infiltrators were caught red-handed. I must pay my compliments to the army officers and to the intelligence who were there in Poonch at that time. Then the natural results should have followed. These matters have already come up before the State Legislature. Nothing has happened; he is going scot free. He is in Delhi talking to many people against India, against Government—against everybody. I do not want to name the person but I might pass on that information to the hon. Minister; perhaps, he might be knowing it. Why no action has been taken? Why are you taking such chances with them? God knows, where these things may lead us to.

Then, the State officers asked for certain action to be taken against certain persons. Have you taken that? On the contrary, what is happening? You have put the Divisional Commissioner there, a very competent man; but because of influences brought upon him by the State Government he has to sit at the table with the very same MLA as mentioned above and recommend payment of relief to those who had gone over to Pakistan, or were displaced through the military action. Lakhs



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of rupees have been placed at their disposal for resettling those people who had to return back from Pakistan for whom five reception centres have been opened. On their recommendations licences are given which they are going to use tomorrow to kill me, Shri Azad and everybody. How long are you going to tolerate this position?

I may tell you frankly that all my 40 years of public life I have spent very humbly in this movement. Will this be the end of all that we have done for so many years? Is this going to be the end of the organisation of which I happen to be one of the humble founders and a small worker? Is that going to happen to us? This is the warning which everybody must take as early as possible.

Then, there is another thing. My hon. friends will excuse me, but to my mind the Communists, particularly the Left Communists—I am meaning no disrespect to hon. friends here—are pro-China. They are not helpful. That position is very clear. I have heard my very dear friend, Shri Mukerjee. He is a politician and I very respectfully submit that I too happen to be a politician. He has sounded two notes twice in his speeches here of which he did not speak in detail. He spoke something outside also which I heard but, unfortunately, I had spoken before him. Had I spoken, after him, I would have given a befitting reply. My feeling is that they have changed their approach to the Kashmir problem. This is a very big warning and you have to be very careful about it. What happened last time? I can assure you that if there were a strong Government in Jammu and Kashmir State, no aggression of the kind would have taken place. The infiltrators would have been nipped in the bud at the very entrance into our border. Today, some such people, apart from those who had crossed over from Pakistan, right before these

incidents took place, have been moving about, with whose permission, I do not know. Today, some other persons from my own country are moving about there.

**Shri Kapur Singh:** Who are they?

**Shri Sham Lal Saraf:** I will not name them now. I warn the Ministry, I warn the Government, to be very careful about that.

Before I conclude, I want to say one or two things more. No doubt, there is a refugee problem. About that I had spoken during the discussion on the Rehabilitation Ministry's Demands. But there is one thing. Under the garb of refugees returning from Pakistan, there are a lot of infiltrators coming into Haji Pir Pass, a small place, and other places. I wish I had the time to speak about that also. Under the garb of refugees returning from Pakistan, in Poonch, Rajouri and Naushera, a lot of infiltrators are coming in. I do now know, under that garb, how many infiltrators, how many enemies of this country might be returning.

Sir, all my life I have served Muslims. But, whether it be Muslims or Hindus, if anyone is the enemy of this country, I will be the first man to stand against him. My friend has got to be very careful in this. May I tell you I am being placed under security men in my State? Any of you can come there and you will find that a couple of security men will be standing outside my house.

17.48 hrs.

[THE SPEAKER in the Chair]

Some hon. Members: Shame!

**Shri Sham Lal Saraf:** I am senior to most of the Ministers here in public life. I have served for 42 years in public life. Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad, I can say without fear of contradiction, he may have erred here

or there, is one of the top-most patriots of this country and has served for 40 years in public life. He is now kept under security.

**Dr. Ranen Sen:** You are getting body-guards.

**Shri Sham Lal Saraf:** Thank you. I know that. (*Interruption.*) There is no pro-Indian base today. I can tell you that frankly. If a pro-Indian base can be established, it is Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad or Sham Lal Saraf who only can make it. No other person has been able to make it. We have shown that all our life. It is time for Mr. Hathi to see that he is able to set up the pro-Indian base today. If he fails in that within one or two months, God knows what will happen. The whole country may go ablaze.

**श्री लहरी सिंह (रोहतक) :** अध्यक्ष महोदय, सारे मुल्क में बड़ा भारी दुख और रंज पाया जाता है। कभी केरल में झगड़े होते हैं, कभी बंगाल में होते हैं। कहीं पर गोली चलती है तो कहीं पर आर्मी बुलाई जाती है। मिजो हिल्स में झगड़े हैं, काश्मीर में झगड़े हैं। ये जो चीजें हैं ये मायटी मुगल एम्पायर की याद दिला रही हैं। राजा महाराज जो मुगलिया खानदान के थे और उनके जमाने में जो नकशा बना था क्या आज वही नकशा हिन्दुस्तान में हमारे सामने नहीं है? उन्होंने गलतियों पर गलतियां कीं। हम भी गलतियों पर गलतियां कर रहे हैं। चूंकि उन में इनिशियेटिव बाकी नहीं रह गया था, बोल्डनेस की कमी थी, वे स्ट्रेटफॉवर्ड नहीं रह गये थे, हुकमरां कमजोर हो गए थे, रीयलिस्टिक नहीं रह गए थे इस वास्ते माइटी एम्पायर खानदाने मुगलिया की खत्म हुई। वृहत् वही नकशा इन अठारह सालों में यहां भी दोहराया जा रहा है। केरल में क्या हुआ। बंगाल में क्या हुआ। ला एण्ड आर्डर को कायम रखने के लिए आर्मी मंगाई जा

रही है। अभी आपने सुना कि काश्मीर के अन्दर कितनी तादाद में इन्फिल्ट्रेट्स आ रहे हैं। फिर आप कहते हैं कि नन्दा माहव की तारीफ की जाए। होम मिनिस्टर की तारीफ की जाए? हम उनके दुश्मन नहीं हैं। लेकिन आप यकीन करिये कि आज वच्चे-बच्चे के मन में यह खदशा पैदा हो चुका है कि होम मिनिस्टर इस मुल्क को नहीं बचा सकते हैं। जो पालिसी आज आप ने अड्युपार की हुई है वह चल नहीं सकती। अभी लड़ाई हुई, हमारी फतेह हुई, डिफेंस ने काम किया और सारा मुल्क खुश हुआ, लेकिन जो इंटर्न पालिसी है, इंटर्नल ला एण्ड आर्डर है। वह ठीक नहीं है। एक तरफ पीकिंग से साजिशें चल रही हैं, एक तरफ पाकिस्तान से साजिशें चल रही हैं, और किस शकल में कि बार्डर को खत्म किया जाये, बार्डर के अन्दर तक्सीम की हालत बनाओ, उन को ट्रेन करो गुरिला वारफेअर में और धांस दो वहां फौजों को। काश्मीर भी जाये। इस तरह से वह अपनी सीट बनाना चाहते हैं, वह वही नकशा तैयार करना चाहते हैं जैसा कि चीन में हुआ था। जिस वक्त चीन ने लड़ाई लड़ी, उस वक्त चीन ने एक पाकेट बना ली थी और उमसे बढ़ते आ गये। वह चाहते हैं कि असम में, मीजो हिल्स में, नागालैण्ड में, काश्मीर में एक सीट बन जाये और उन्हीं की फौज बना कर इस गवर्नमेंट से लड़ा जाये। लेकिन आज जहां आप के डिफेंस ने काम किया, आप के जनरल्स ने काम किया, वहां आप ने श्री सरफ को सुना कि होम मिनिस्ट्री में क्या हो रहा है। कितने इन्फिल्ट्रेट्स काश्मीर में आ रहे हैं। आखिरी वक्त में कह देंगे कि क्या करें, हालात ऐसे हैं। आखिर आप का मिलिटरी कहां-कहां जायेगी। क्या आप की मिलिटरी शूट करेगी। क्या आप मिलिटरी से यह चाहेंगे कि वह इन्फिल्ट्रेट्स के घरों में जा कर उन को शूट करे, क्या आप चाहेंगे कि मिजो हिल्स के अन्दर शूट किया जाये तीन लाख आदमियों को। यह क्या चीज है। आप की पालिसी रिअलिस्टिक नहीं है।

[श्री लहरी सिंह]

आखिरकार जो अमम में हिल्स हैं वहां के लोगों की मांग क्या है, वहां के लोगों की मांग वही है जो आंध्र की थी, उन की मांग वही है जो महाराष्ट्र की थी, उन की मांग वही है जो पंजाबी सूबे वालों की थी, कि हमें रिकग्नाइज करो। आज न उन के लिये खाना है और न दाना है। सिर्फ अच्छे लैक्चर दे दिये जाते हैं। आज उन लोगों की बुरी हालत हो रही है। क्या वह दुश्मन लोग हैं मुल्क के? आज उन को सम्भाला नहीं जा रहा है। अगर आप का ख्याल है, कांग्रेस पार्टी का ख्याल है कि तीन लाख मिजो लोगों को मार कर आप राज्य कर लेंगे तो यह ख्याल गलत है। अगर आप समझते हैं कि काश्मीर में एक एक को खत्म कर के आप अपनी हुकूमत कायम कर लेंगे, तो यह ख्याल गलत है, मीजो लोगों को मार कर आप राज्य कायम कर लेंगे तो यह भी गलत है। बंगाल में आपने अपना राज्य कायम करना चाहा तो वहां रायट्स हुए, और बड़े जबरदस्त रायट्स हुए, क्योंकि आप की पालिसी-रिअलिस्टिक नहीं थी।

पंजाब के अन्दर लोगों ने आंध्र के तजुबे से, महाराष्ट्र के तजुबे से, यह मांग की कि हरियाणा बना दो। हम गवर्नमेंट की तारीफ करते थे, लेकिन गवर्नमेंट की पालिसी रिअलिस्टिक नहीं है। सब जगह कन्फ्यूजन है। अभी एक कमिशन मुकर्रर कर के एक लाठी हमारे हाथ में दे दी कि हम आपस में एक दूसरे का सर फोड़ें, आपस में लड़े, और आपस में झगड़ा करें पंजाब को खत्म करने के लिये। हमारे होम मिनिस्टर, हमारी गवर्नमेंट तैयार हो रही है कि उन्हें लड़ायें। क्या आप को मालूम नहीं है कि 1957 में इसी पार्लियामेंट ने पंजाब गवर्नमेंट से कंसल्ट कर के एक पंजाबी रीजन और एक हिन्दी रीजन बनाया और उस पर अपनी मुहर लगाई। उस वक्त जो गवर्नमेंट थी पंजाब में उस के सलाह मशवरे से किया। मालूम नहीं क्यों उस को रद्द कर

दिया गया। जैसे अंग्रेज करते थे, एक कमिशन बना दिया गया और उस के जिम्मे फलानी बात, फलानी बात, फलानी बात कर दी गई। उधर से सरदार साहब कहते हैं कि हम किसी भी हालत में नहीं मानेंगे, और वह बौम जिन्दा भी है। उन के पास खाली बातें नहीं हैं, उन के पास ताकत भी है। लेकिन आप ने मुल्क के अन्दर सूबे बना कर कन्फ्यूजन पैदा कर दिया। कहा गया कि 1957 में पार्लियामेंट ने जो रीजन बनाये उन में कुछ इधर उधर कर के ठीक कर लो, लेकिन नहीं। हम से नहीं पूछा गया, अकालियाँ से नहीं पूछा गया, किसी से नहीं पूछा गया, और कमिशन मुकर्रर कर दिया गया। कमिशन के लिये भी कहा गया कि लिग्विस्टिक बेसिस पर होगा। पंजाब के भीतर लिग्विस्टिक बेसिस की बात कर रहे हैं। पंजाब के अन्दर जिम वक्त मैं मिनिस्टर था मच्चर फार्मूला था। हिन्दुओं ने सोच लिया कि हम हिन्दी लिखायें, खालसों ने सोच लिया कि हम पंजाबी लिखायें, हिन्दू चाहे दिल्ली में रहते हों या पंजाब में रहते हों, वह हिन्दी लिखायें। इस किस्म के हालात बन चुके हैं। हमारे होम मिनिस्टर साहब पंजाब के रहने वाले हैं वह क्यों रिअलिस्टिक नहीं होते, क्यों लड़ाई करवा रहे हैं, क्यों कमिशन बना दिया है? हम से पूछते कमिशन बनाने के पहले तुम में कहां डिफेंस है। लेकिन आज इतने शक व शुबहात पैदा कर दिये गये हैं कि इस से जितना फायदा होने की उम्मीद थी उस से ज्यादा नुकसान इस कमिशन को मुकर्रर कर के हो रहा है। कोई कहता है कि चंडीगढ़ लेंगे, कोई कहता है कि नंगल लेंगे और इन स्टेट्स के झगड़े बढ़ते चले जा रहे हैं।

हरियाणा जो है उस में चार या पांच जिले हैं। क्यों नहीं यू० पी० का कुछ टुकड़ा हमें दे दिया जाता। क्या उस से दुनिया खत्म हो जायेगी? यू० पी० के कुछ आदमी 29 तारीख को आये और कहा कि हमारे कुछ जिले मिला दो। दिल्ली के जो वादेहात

हैं उन को खूब सजाओ बजाओ, लेकिन वादेदान कहते हैं कि हमें पंजाब के और हरियाणा के साथ मिला दो। लेकिन यह बर्दाश्त नहीं है क्यों कि गवर्नमेंट रिअलिस्टिक नहीं है यह वान इम लिये दबा दी जानी है कि वह कुछ लोगों को सूट नहीं करता है। जब गायट्स होते हैं, जब डंडे चलते हैं, जब आदमी जेल में जाते हैं, मरते हैं आंध्र की तरह से, महाराष्ट्र की तरह से, तब गवर्नमेंट को अकल आती है। पिछले अट्टारह सालों की हमारी पालिसी कन्स्पूजन की रही है। हर एक बात में कन्स्पूजन। बजाय इस के कि पांच, चार जिले लेकर, जैसे कि अलवर है, भरतपुर है, उन को लेकर हरियाणा में मिलाते, हमारे यहां झगड़ा पैदा करने की कोशिश की जा रही है। सरदारों के लड़के आब बार्डर पर अटकें होंगे तब लड़ेंगे, यह खालसा लोग जो हैं उन के लड़के आपकी फीज में ही नहीं रहेंगे, खालसा का एक एक बच्चा जो झोंपड़ियों में हल चलाता है, आपके लिये कुर्बानी देगा, लेकिन उमी खालसा को जो झोंपड़ियों में रह कर भी मुकाबला कर रहे हैं आप शुबहे से देखते हैं, आप उन को भींचना चाहते हैं और हरियाणा को तंग करना चाहते हैं और सात आठ जिलों के बटवारे के नाम में कमिशन के जरिये लड़वाना चाहते हैं। क्यों नहीं यू०पी० का कुछ हिस्सा दे देते। वस्टर्न यू०पी० और ईस्टर्न यू० पी० मिल कर इतनी बड़ी स्टेट बन जानी है.....

**श्री कान्ही नाथ पांडे :** आखिर आप को हरियाणा चाहिये या यू० पी० का टुकड़ा चाहिये। आप उस की मांग कीजिये। यह क्या है कि इस के टुकड़े कीजिये, उस के टुकड़े कीजिये। (ध्यवधान)

**श्री लहरी सिंह :** यह रिअलिस्टिक पालिसी नहीं है कि पंजाब लड़े हरियाणा लड़े लेकिन यू० पी० का कोई हिस्सा बाहर न आये। जब भी लड़ाई होगी हम तुम्हारी लड़ाई लड़ेंगे, पंजाब का एक एक बच्चा तुम्हारे लिये लड़ता रहा है। हमारे मुल्क पर

हमारा हक है, लेकिन जहां लड़ाई बन्द हुई, यह कहा गया कि जाट स्टेट बन जायेगी या खालसा स्टेट बन जायेगी इस को सुन कर हमें तकलीफ होती है। हम को लड़ाई लड़ने का यह इनाम दिया गया कहीं जाट सूबा न बन जाये। जैसे जाट लोग बड़े गद्दार हैं, बड़े जालिम हैं। जैसे खालसा गद्दार है। यह तो तुम्हारी पालिसी है और तुम चाहे हो कि पीकिंग से मुकाबला करें, तुम चाहते हो कि पाकिस्तान से मुकामबला करें। इस घर को आग लग गई घर के चारंग से। यह होम मिनिस्टर का कन्स्पूजन है कि हम से कहा कि यह सूबा बने और अमृतसर में उन्होंने स्पीच दे दी, लुधियाने में कोई स्पीच दे दी। पंजाबी सूबा कमेटी का फैसला नहीं आने दिया, गवर्नमेंट ने पहले फैसला कर दिया। अगर फैसला गवर्नमेंट को करना था तो हम को पहले क्यों नहीं बतलाया। हमारी रिपोर्ट पढ़ लें। हम ने कहा कि पार्टीशन के वक्त जो कुछ हो चुका उस में थोड़ा सा माडिफाई कर लो बाकी वही रहने दो, लेकिन नहीं। वह लोग हमें कम्पूनलिस्ट कहते हैं, लेकिन कम्पूनलिस्ट आप लोग हैं, हर एक हिन्दू के दिमाग में है कि हमें हिंदू नहीं समझा जाता है, खालसा को हिन्दुस्तान का नेशनल नहीं समझा जाता है, जैसे वह पाकिस्तान से आया हो। जाट और खालसा दोनों को निकम्मा समझा जाता है : .... (व्यवधान) ... इसलिये मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि गवर्नमेंट की कमजोर पालिसी है, गवर्नमेंट के कन्स्पूजन से सारी गड़बड़ी है। गवर्नमेंट के अन्दर कम्पूनलिस्ट आइडियाज के लोग हैं जो गवर्नमेंट को चला रहे हैं। और पूरे पंजाब की हालत बुरी कर रहे हैं।

दूसरी चीज मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि कुछ महाबों ने यहां कहा कि करप्शन के बारे में पार्लियामेंट के अन्दर कोई नहीं बोला। करप्शन आज इस हद तक पहुंच चुका है कि मैं ने एक डिप्टी कमिश्नर से कहा कि यह हो रहा है तो उन्होंने कहा कि हम लाचार हैं, मजबूर हैं। एक पन्धरी के

[श्री लहरी सिंह]

पास जाओ तो वह पचास रुपये लेता है, जमींदार से काम करवाने वा, वना कह देगा कि हम लाचार हैं। एस० पी० के पास जाओ और कहो कि थानेदार गिबवत खा रहे हैं। तो वह कहते हैं कि हम लाचार हैं। क्यों लाचार हैं यह समझने की बात है। हर एक करप्ट आफिसर जो है उस की पहुँच मिनिस्टर तक है किसी तरह से भी थरु एम० एल० ए० या इन्प्यूएन्सल आदमी जो भी करप्ट और इनएफिशिएंट आफिसर होगा उस की पहुँच ऊँचे तक है। मिनिस्टर भी अपने को मजबूरी में पाता है। एम० एल० ए० जरा स्ट्रांग हो जायें, एम० पी० जरा स्ट्रांग हो जायें तो मैं रुसम खा कर कह सकता हूँ कि क्या कोई इस राष्ट्र को डिगाने वाला है। कांग्रेस के उमूल क्या कोई मामूली उमूल है? यह तो महात्मा गांधी के बनाये हुए उमूल हैं। कौन दुश्मन है इस मुल्क का? हम आपकी नुक्ताचीनी करते हैं लेकिन हम चाहते हैं कि आपका राज बना रहे। मैं सच कह रहा हूँ ईमान से, हमने यह भी नहीं कहा कि नेशनल गवर्नमेंट नहीं है आपकी। हम आपके साथ लड़ें। हमने कहा कि आपकी नेशनल गवर्नमेंट है। हम राजी हैं आपके साथ। लेकिन वह चीफ मिनिस्टर्स और मिनिस्टर्स, अब क्या कहें, उड़ीसा के खिलाफ, पंजाब के खिलाफ, बिहार के खिलाफ, जगह जगह से शिकायतें आईं, फिर आखीर में शास्त्री जी की हम तारीफ करते हैं कि हिम्मत वाला आदमी था, राष्ट्रपति हिम्मत वाले थे, उन्होंने झटके दिये और अब झटका देकर फिर बाद में एन्क्वायरी नहीं की कि प्रेस्टिज जायेगी, गवर्नमेंट की प्रेस्टिज, कांग्रेस की प्रेस्टिज जायेगी। अरे, कोई इस जमात को नहीं हिला सकता अगर यह करप्शन को और धक्का मारे। क्यों चीफ मिनिस्ट्री से या मिनिस्ट्री से चिपके हुए हैं, आप एन्क्वायरी कराओ और उनको एक तरफ करो। आपको हादसा क्या है? उड़ीसा के खिलाफ बात आयी, उनको कांग्रेस का प्रेसीडेंट बना दिया और

कह दिया कि विवट करा दिया। विवट कराने से क्या हुआ? बिहार वाले रो रहे हैं। राजस्थान वाले रो रहे हैं और फिर दूसरी बात मैं आपको बताऊँ—आदिवासी क्या हैं? गरीब आदमी। क्या मांग करते हैं। कह दिया कि हम यह देंगे, वह देंगे, कुएं बनवायेंगे, प्लानिंग मिनिस्टर साहब ने कहा कि हमने यह किया, वह किया। यह बात कहने की नहीं है। यह तो बच्चों को बहकाने वाली बातें हैं। उनके ऐस्पिरेशंस को समझो कि क्या वह चाहते हैं। उनको छाती से लगाओ, तुम्हारे सब काम हो जायेंगे। लेकिन आदिवासियों को, उनके लीडर्स को शूट किया जाता है। आम आदमी, को स्पीकर साहब, यह ख्याल पैदा हो चुका है कि जब राजा को अन्दर मारा गया, तो उन गरीबों का क्या हाल हो सकता है? इसलिए जहाँ जहाँ हो, उस प्राबलम को बोलडली सेफ करो, हिम्मत दिखाओ उनके प्राबलम को समझो। मिजों के प्राबलम को समझो, काश्मीर के प्राबलम को जैसा अभी एक भाई ने कहा, उसको समझो, वहाँ की गवर्नमेंट को बदलो अगर वह ठीक नहीं है। यह चीज तो करते नहीं, यहाँ दिल्ली में बैठकर राज करना चाहते हैं। दिल्ली में बैठकर राज नहीं हो सकता। . . . . .

**अध्यक्ष महोदय :** पांच मिनट में खतम कर देंगे आप :

**श्री लहरी सिंह :** पांच मिनट ऊपर और मिल जायें तो अच्छा है।

**अध्यक्ष महोदय :** पांच मिनट आप और ले लें।

**श्री लहरी सिंह :** काश्मीर के बारे में कहा जाता है कि वहाँ क्या होगा? तो मैं यह बताना चाहता हूँ कि क्यों बंगाल में झगड़े हों, क्यों काश्मीर में हों? यह दिल्ली में जनाब स्पीकर साहब, क्या है? सारा गुंडा एलीमेंट दिल्ली में भरा हुआ है, दिल्ली जो:

कैपिटल है हिन्दुस्तान की हुकूमत की और ऐसी मजबूत हुकूमत कि अकबर ने भी ऐसी हुकूमत नहीं की थी। काश्मीर से लेकर कन्याकुमारी तक यह हुकूमत है। यह गवर्नमेंट इतनी मजबूत, इतना वसीअ दायरा इसका कि हिन्दुस्तान के सब सेठ वगैरह खत्म और एक राज्य हुआ सारा और उस राज्य के अन्दर दिल्ली शहर, लेकिन गुंडा एलीमेंट इतना कि हर एक दूकानदार को रिश्वत देनी पड़ती है मिनिस्टर साहब, चुपचाप पांच रूपये दस रूपये क्यों कि खतरा है? यहां का गुंडा एलीमेंट आप तलाश कर लो। आप कब तक हसते रहोगे। यह ड्रामा कब तक होता रहेगा? दिल्ली शहर के अन्दर पिक पाकेट्स सबसे ज्यादा हैं, सारी खराबी यहां है। केस भी नहीं चल सकता। गवाही देने के लिए कोई तैयार नहीं है, अगर कोर्ट्स में जाते हैं। मैंने थानेदारों से बात की। क्यों नहीं कामयाब होते? कहने लगे कि कामयाब कैसे हों? गवाही देने के लिए कोई तैयार नहीं। कुछ तो फोन खड़क जाते हैं बड़े आदमियों के और कुछ वह इतने सख्त हैं कि हमारी चलती नहीं। फिर तीसरी बात बया है कि एक नया तजुर्वा चल रहा है। एक स्टेट बनायी तो बंगाल का आ० जी० लाओ, पंजाब का डी० आई० जी० लाओ। क्यों नहीं यहां की पुलिस को यकीन दिलाया जाता कि आपमें से आई० जी० और डी० आई० जी० होंगे, आप में से ही तरबकी मिलेगी। आप पाकेट में रुपया रखकर चलें, जरा सी लापरवाही आपने दिखायी तो जेब में एक पैसा नहीं रहेगा : यह गुंडा एलीमेंट इस तरह बढ़ा हुआ है, बड़े बड़े व्यापारियों का क्या हाल हो रहा है, हाथ जोड़कर चलते हैं। आपकी हुकूमत नहीं मानते हैं, गुंडा एलीमेंट की हुकूमत मानते हैं। यह एलीमेंट इतना बढ़ गया है कि इसका कोई इलाज नहीं है। मैं कहता हूं आज हंसकर टाल दो लेकिन...

**Shri Hathi:** I Said: address the Chair and not me. मैं हंस नहीं रहा हूं।

**श्री लहरी सिंह:** अच्छा जी, आखिर में क्या करेंगे आप? बुराई देंगे लेफ्ट कम्यूनिस्ट्स को, बुराई देंगे किमी और पार्टी को, बुराई देंगे पीकिंग को, बुराई देंगे पाकिस्तान को, लेकिन अपने आपको बुराई नहीं देंगे।

अब डी० आई० आर० की बात बताऊं। मैं वकील भी रहा हूं। छोटी छोटी बातों में डी० आई० आर० का इस्तेमान होता है। यह डी० आई० आर० तो खत्म कर देना चाहिए आपको क्योंकि ला आपके पास बना हुआ है। मैकाले में पीनल कोड ऐसा बना दिया कि उससे कोई आफेंस बच नहीं सकता लेकिन नहीं मिनिस्टर और चीफ मिनिस्टर्स चाहते हैं कि डी० आई० आर० लगा दिया जाय। डी० आई० आर० में होता क्या है? सारी रिश्वत चलती है। इधर का गहं इधर और इधर कंट्रोल, उधर कंट्रोल इसमें खूब रिश्वत चलती है और डी० आई० आर० चल रहा है। मैं कहता हूं उसे खत्म करो। डीटेंशन में कुछ आदमी होंगे जो पीकिंग से संबंधित होंगे। लेकिन और कितने आदमी हैं जो ऐसे ही जेल में मड़ रहे हैं। आज नन्दा साहब ने पढ़ दिया बड़ी चियर्स भी हो गई। इफ ऐण्ड बट लगा कर पढ़ दिया है। आखिर डेमोक्रेसी को आप खत्म करना चाहते हो? डेमोक्रेसी के माने यह है कि इन्सान को बन्द करो? अगर आपकी गवर्नमेंट को कोई खत्म करना चाहता हो और उसके लिए वह प्रोपेगेंडा करे तो आपको क्या राइट है कि उसे कैद में डालो। कहते हैं कि नहीं साहब, यह कम्यूनिस्ट है, यह फलां है...

Give a bad name to a dog and kill it.

अब यह बैठे हुए हैं एम० पी० जो मोहमडन हैं, क्या कोई कह सकता है कि यह बगावत करा दें? कुछ मोहमडन बगल में बैठे हुए हैं। आखिर क्या चीज है? काबिल आदमियों को पकड़कर कहा, नहीं अन्दर

[श्री लहरी सिंह]

जाओ। पंजाब में फलों, अन्दर जाओ। मेरे जिले में रोहनक वालों के बेचारों के घरों में बच्चे भूखों मर रहे हैं। वह कहते हैं कि चौधरी साहब, कांस्टीट्यूशन क्या हो गया, कुछ तो करो। मैं ने कहा कि हमारी मुनवाई नहीं होनी। वह तो कमजोर पर हथियार चलाने वाले हैं, मजबूत आदमियों पर हथियार नहीं चलाना चाहते हैं। मैं ज्यादा वक्त न लेते हुए अर्ज करूंगा कि जिस गवर्नमेंट में इनीशियेटिव न हो, जो गवर्नमेंट बोल्ड न हो, हिम्मत वाली न हो, वह गवर्नमेंट गवर्नमेंट नहीं है। एक लाला के पाम बन्दूक तलवार दे दी। वह दुश्मन को मारने चले। लेकिन वह क्या तलवार चलायेंगे? तलवार के लिए दिल भी चाहिए, दिमाग भी चाहिए इनीशियेटिव भी चाहिए। और यह ज्योतिषी वगैरह कब तक काम करेंगे? इन्हीं ज्योतिषियों ने बलदेव सिंह को खत्म कर दिया, गोपी चन्द को खत्म कर दिया। इन्हीं हवेली राम ने उनको खत्म कर दिया। तो कब तक ज्योतिषियों के सहारे चलोगे? अरे, स्ट्रांग हो जाओ। मैं अधिक न कहते हुए इतना ही उम्मीद करता हूँ कि पंजाब को कम से कम बचाओ। इस कमीशन को अभी वापिस बुला लो। कोई झगड़ा नहीं होगा। हम लोग बिल्कुल नहीं लड़ेंगे। जो डिफरेंस होगा बैठ कर तय कर लेंगे। क्यों कमीशन बनाओ, उसको तनख्वाह दो? क्यों हमारे सिर फुड़वाओ? क्यों जाति बिरादरी का नाश करवाओ। हम पीम गेंड आर्डर चाहते हैं। वह मजबूत कौम जो बोर्डर पर बैठी हुई है उसको तंग मत करो। उसकी मदद करो, उसकी खिदमत करो। वह बीच में नहीं बैठे हुए हैं, वह मध्य प्रदेश में नहीं बैठे हैं। वह बोर्डर पर बैठे हुए हैं। वह पाकिस्तान का मुकाबला करने के लिए तैयार हैं, वह चीन का मुकाबला करने के लिए तैयार हैं। हम तो सारे पंजाबी हैं इस बात

के लिए। लेकिन हमें दूर ले जा रहे हो, हमें बहुत दूर ले जा रहे हो। मैं चाहता हूँ कि आप कमीशन को वापस बुला लो और प्राइम मिनिस्टर साहब उनको बुलायें, ममझायें, बहुत सी बातें हल हो जायेंगी।

18.08 hrs.

#### RISK GUARANTEE AGREEMENT WITH USA\*

श्री मधु लिमये (मुंगेर) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, आज मैं बहस उठाना चाहता हूँ अमरीका के साथ जोखम के सम्बन्ध में जो करार किया गया है उसको लेकर। यह सवाल कुछ अरसे के पहले मैंने तारकित प्रश्न के रूप में उठाया था जिसका कि नोटिस दिसम्बर महीने में ही दिया गया था। फिर भी मुझे खेद है कि मन्त्री महोदय ने उस दिन हमारे प्रश्नों का कोई उत्तर नहीं दिया। सभा पटल पर जो बातें रखने के लिए सभापति जी ने उनसे अनुरोध किया था वह बातें भी मुझे दुःख है कि सभा पटल पर नहीं रखी गईं। उस वक्त उनसे यह पूछा गया था कि यह जो आपने गारण्टी दी है कौन क्षेत्र ऐसे हैं जिन क्षेत्रों के बारे में आप महसूस करते हैं कि अमरीका की पूंजी आनी चाहिए। अगर वह नहीं आयेगी तो हमारा काम नहीं बनेगा। इसके बारे में कोई खबर नहीं दी गई। हर एक आवश्यक जानकारी के लिए काफ़ी मेहनत करनी पड़ती है। अभी जो यह करार सबसे पहले हुआ 1957 में वह मैंने देखा। उस करार से मुझे पता चला कि यह करार अमरीका का जो म्युचुअल सिक्योरिटी ऐक्ट है 1954 वाला उस की धारा 413 बी (4) के मातहत यह करार किया गया है। अब जब बड़ी विदेशी ताकतों के साथ करार किये जाते हैं और सो भी उनके किसी कानून के मातहत तो मेरा ख्याल है कि कम से कम उस करार के साथ उस कानून का वह हिस्सा जोड़ना चाहिए।